

“Every Man a King” Questioning Right and Long

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Senior Division
Group Exhibit**

Process Paper

This year we were introduced to Huey Long by our English teacher and it quickly became irresistible for us to continue researching. Huey was a rather offhanded character: he had a larger than life personality, was accused of being a “dictator” while fighting for the expansion of citizens’ rights, and had incredibly elusive motives. We were drawn to discovering whether he truly believed in his platform or he had just seen populism as an easy path to power. While researching, deciding the question of his motives became even more complex, and our interest was permanently cemented.

To begin, we mostly looked at primary sources (largely from the Louisiana Digital Library), immersing ourselves in Louisiana’s political and social atmosphere. The topic presented a unique challenge in that almost every related source was incredibly biased, historian analysis and primary sources alike. Luckily, as we researched, we were able to find our own view of Long and become more objective. At this point we sent out interview requests; this allowed us to speak with various different people, including professors like Alan Brinkley, survivors of the Great Depression, and most excitingly: Senator Gerald Long, the only Long currently holding public office.

We chose an exhibit because it is the perfect medium for Long: larger than life, engaging, and allowing observers to fully immerse themselves in a tangible, touchable presentation of his ideologies. Exhibits are also accessible to the public – popular, displayed for a long time, and usually viewed in groups. This sort of group experience was perfect since Long knew how to interest crowds, so we really wanted to make sure our project had plenty of interactive features. Additionally, our topic lends itself to intriguing debate since only palatable chunks of information and analysis are needed to spark discussion. This ultimately creates a memorable

history lesson, allowing us to share a typically unknown, but incredibly interesting, topic with more people.

The building process began when we purchased wooden composite boards to create the actual frame of the board. We then used thinner wood to anchor the board and added “regal” paneling to make up the borders of each panel. Wallpaper was applied to resemble both the material of Long’s traditional hats and also the color and texture of straw (both of these creating the essence of Louisiana and the farms of the poor represented by Long). Finally we added many interactive details like video, audio, and doors to let people really play with our board.

Long and his programs were a perfect battlefield between responsibilities and rights. We look to the responsibility of a political leader, to represent that rights of his people and the Constitution, yet politicians took bribes and ignored the needs of their constituents. The irony then is that Long began to bribe others in an effort to push for universal rights for citizens, in a time when Louisiana desperately needed social progress. This leads to a critical contemplation of how these concepts interlock and how they can be properly balanced.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- "All the King's Men." Video file, 3:50. Youtube. Posted August 23, 2006. Accessed May 1, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AbyMeMApC3U&hd=1>. This Paramount News clip is of a short documentary from 1936, "Huey Long: Louisiana's Kingfish," highlighting the varying aspects of Huey Long, thus becoming subject to possible bias as it was created in the highly subjective period following Long's death. The overarching tone of the video presents Long as an intimidating politician, but then delves into the great amount of good he did for the state and common people. While his achievements had impacts across many areas of the state, the documentary also highlights the corrupt methods he used as well, showing both extremes of Long. In the end, it implies that Long's career is not easily classified as good or bad. Even though a tremendous amount was achieved, his methods were extremely questionable, leading to the question of whether the ends justified his means.
- "And Too, My Friends, You Get \$5,000 and a Mule!" Cartoon. Huey Long. Last modified 2010. Accessed April 13, 2014. <http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/politics-racism.php#>. This cartoon likely surfaced in the 1930s when Long's opposition most hoped to win support in the largely racist South, especially after African Americans had experienced success from Long's Share Our Wealth program and other services. In this cartoon, Long hugs two Jim-Crow Blacks and promises them the same benefits as whites, which was particularly damaging to his image among Southern groups, highlighting the issues that were most disliked by his opposition. However, it does shed light to the holistic way in which Long attempted to increase rights through his programs, helping all without explicitly championing for one specific group. This subsequently benefitted the African American community, and Long later refused to alter his programs even after threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. The cartoon was used to support the claim that Long wished to promote simple equality.
- Berryman, Clifford K. Cartoon. Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park. Accessed June 4, 2014. <http://fdr4freedoms.org/categories/the-presidency-and-the-great-depression>. Berryman was a popular cartoonist for the Washington Star in the Depression Era known for his extreme skepticism against both Democratic and Republican plans. This cartoon comes from February 23, 1934, the day after Long made a crucial radio address promoting the Share Our Wealth plan nationally and greatly increasing his influence, after a period in which he had had diminished power, representing a sort of revival. Here, Berryman shows Franklin D. Roosevelt waking up in the middle of the night to find Huey Long haunting him, awakened from the dead, and Roosevelt terrified. The cartoon paints Long as a major and evident threat to Roosevelt, showing his prominence in national politics in the time leading up to his death, and is used to demonstrate Long's evolution in politics.

- . "Frank, Are You Sure It Won't Explode?" Cartoon. Armstrong Economics. Last modified October 1, 2013. Accessed May 9, 2013. <http://i2.wp.com/armstrongeconomics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Roosevelt-Baking-Cartoon.jpg>.
This particular Berryman cartoon was created in the early 1930s and features Roosevelt cooking his "Democratic Recovery" surrounded by a multitude of ingredients. These include several programs created by the New Deal as well as his political opponents, such as "Huey Long Sauce." This points to the lack of stability within the New Deal because so many factors were at play; ironically, that potential instability was popularly commended by several commentators of the time. The cartoon comes in a time when the public was putting extreme faith into the New Deal, and the inclusion of Huey Long as a dangerous factor illustrates the monumental role he played in politics and the public eye. It is essential on the middle panel in showing Long's growth as a politician, as well as the drawbacks of Roosevelt's policies.
- Berryman, James T. "The Pied Piper Is Willing to Pass His Pipes." Cartoon. Fine Art America. Last modified September 9, 2012. Accessed November 13, 2013. <http://fineartamerica.com/featured/roosevelt-cartoon-1934-granger.html>.
James Berryman was a Pulitzer Prize winning cartoonist who worked for The Washington Star. Similar to his father, Clifford Berryman, he satirized conservatives and liberals alike and showed little political bias. This 1934 cartoon shows Franklin D. Roosevelt dangerously looking to Long's Share Our Wealth program with interest, after Long made several radio addresses and the program had achieved increased public support nationally. With Long dressed as the Pied Piper, the implication is that similar programs would lead FDR astray, hurting the people as a whole. The source shows both Long's influence on FDR and politics, from the point of view of someone seemingly opposed to all of the major liberal economic programs of the Great Depression.
- Bethanie, Marie. Marie Bethanie to Weiss, September 11, 1935. 89-37-L. Louisiana Digital Library. Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans. Accessed December 8, 2013. <http://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/HPL/id/5/rec/15>.
Marie Bethanie writes and extends her condolences to the Weiss family from Ireland after the death of their son, Carl Weiss, during his assassination of Huey Long in 1935. She discusses the good motives of Weiss, suggesting that God had a purpose for him and that his actions were both justified and good for the people of Louisiana. This is similar to the many condolence letters that the Long family received, also attributing his actions to a higher calling. The letter shows the two very polarized opinions on Long and allows for a greater understand of the motives on the side of the opposition which is somewhat difficult to find displayed in the words of a common person. This source also sheds light on how extremely well-known Long became, having his influence spread to other countries.
- Block, Herbert. "The Crown Jewels." Cartoon. Herblock's Gift. Last modified October 22, 2010. Accessed March 7, 2014. <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/swann/hbgift/hbgift-exhibit.html>.
Herblock, one of the most famous American cartoonists has created a number of extremely popular cartoons promoting mostly liberal causes. This particular cartoon was

published in April 1935, showcasing Huey Long vehemently promoting his mantra, "Every Man a King," while Louisiana crouches on his knees beside Long, blinded and chained. The cartoon sought to point to the irony of Long's proposals of equality when he held more control than anyone in Louisiana, and was released at a time when Long was at the height of his power, collecting support for his presidential campaign. Herblock attempts to remind the public of the nearly absolute power he exerts in Louisiana, presumably malignant for the country, while many laud and promote him as a good potential president. This source gives insight to both Long's rise to power and presents the epitome of his opposition.

Braxton, Anestire. Anestire Braxton to Rose Long, September 12, 1935. Accessed November 30, 2013. <http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/condolence-letters.php>.

Anestire Braxton, a young colored girl from Port Arthur, Texas writes to the widow of Long in the days after his assassination and extends her condolences. The letter is incredibly biased in favor of Long, stating that Long was incredibly dear "friend" to the colored people throughout the United States and expressing her own regrets for the lost. This letter is essential in providing the perspective of common people on Long, without political influence, as the letter was a very private gesture. Furthermore, it shows Long's influence throughout the United States, having spread from Louisiana to Texas before his death.

Carter, Hodding. "He's a Demagogue, That's What He Is." *The New Republic*, February 13, 1935. Accessed December 1, 2013. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5108>.

Hodding Carter, a liberal editor in Louisiana, is featured here in the *New Republic* warning the public of how seemingly unsustainable Long's plans were. This article is then followed by Gerald L.K. Smith defending Long. Carter makes the critical assertion that Long's Share Our Wealth program would fail because the necessary money simply could not be generated, he also discusses some of his absolutist and corrupt methods and criticizes Smith for being "biased" and "short-sighted" in his defense of Long's policies and plans. The article was helpful in showcasing some of the more poignant, empirically supported claims against Long as well as the moral issues that arose from his chosen methods.

Chanler House, Interior. Photograph. 1915. *American Landscape and Architectural Design, 1850-1920*. Library of Congress, Cambridge, MA. Accessed June 2, 2014. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.award/mhsalad.230102>.

This picture portrays the intense economic disparity that existed in Louisiana for decades, finally leading into the Great Depression. This depicts the interior of a very wealthy house, with features that are both unnecessarily expensive and not useful for daily life. Additionally, the space is far more spacious than necessary. This contrasts the bare-bones houses of most Louisianans in the era, featuring much smaller living spaces that were shared among as many as five or six people, and often were falling apart. This image is helpful in providing a graphic representation of wealth inequality and is used to do so on the middle panel.

Children Thank Huey Long for the Free Textbooks Provided by His Administration. Photograph. LSU Libraries Special Collections. Baton Rouge, LA. Accessed June 4, 2014.

<http://www.hueylong.com/programs/education.php>.

This picture shows dozens of children surrounding Huey Long and holding-up a large sign personally thanking him for the free textbooks that their class received. This picture was likely taken by the Long Administration to generate public support and to provide evidence of the success of his programs. Prior to Long's career, Louisiana was incredibly backward in many areas, and one of the worst was in education. Many children did not have school materials, and countless more couldn't even get to school if they wanted to, due in part to the poor roads and in part to the lack of busing. The picture helps show that the impact of his programs across the state and is used to explain their progress on the first panel.

Covarrubias, Miguel. "Herr Adolf Hitler and Huey S. 'Hooey' Long versus Joseph Stalin and Benito Mussolini." Cartoon. *Vanity Fair*, June 1933. Accessed June 8, 2014.

<http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/swann/craws/craws-exhibit.html>.

Miguel Covarrubias was an immigrant from Mexico that provided a fresh view of American politics, while skewing to be more liberal. He became one of *Vanity Fair*'s principal contributors, and here depicts Huey Long among the three most powerful European dictators - Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini - for the magazine. In the cartoon, all four men are featured in Napoleonic dress, and a story follows of the four quibbling, Hitler and Long portrayed as comically powerless compared to Stalin and Mussolini. Though Hitler is portrayed as less powerful than Stalin and Mussolini, he is still shown as having more power than Long. Covarrubias both mocks Long and points to the seeming hilarity in viewing Long as a dictator, therefore, both denouncing other platforms against Long while providing real problems that he sees in his programs, such as his control over state banks.

Dirt Roads. Photograph. 1928. National Park Service. Accessed June 3, 2014.

http://www.nps.gov/features/yell/slidefile/history/1919_1945/transportation/Images/02845.jpg.

This image shows a dirt road after rain, which showcases many of the problems produced with having such poorly paved roads, including a car that is now stuck in the mud. Before Long, the vast majority of Louisiana was covered by dirt roads, and then Long was able to build thousands of miles of paved roads through his public works programs. By replacing the old roads, transportation became a realistic option across the entire state, despite being largely avoided by even those that could easily afford cars before. This picture allows for a basis of comparison and thus shows the development of the state under Long.

Evans, Chas. Chas. Evans to Rose Long, September 10, 1935. Accessed November 30, 2013.

<http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/condolence-letters.php>.

Chas Evans, the secretary of the "Share Our Wealth" Societies in Jones County, Mississippi, writes to Huey Long's widow and offers her words of encouragement in the days after Long's death. He is obviously incredibly biased in the favor of Long since he worked within Long's program to further the concept of "Share Our Wealth." He

compares Long to figures such as Jesus, Socrates, and Abraham Lincoln and relates the untimely deaths they all suffered to the benefit to the common good that their work represented. He goes on to tell her that his soul must live on among the people, much like the souls of the greats before him did. The letter shows how well-respected Long and his efforts must have been to many, to the point of being regarded as a martyr.

"Every Man a King." Performed by Randy Newman. Recorded 1974. On *Good Old Boys*. Warner Bros. Records, 2005, compact disc.

On the album *Good Old Boys*, originally released in the 1970s, Newman attempts to portray every level of the Southern mentality across 13 songs, touching many taboo subjects such as slavery and the hypocrisy of Southern bigotry - both in the sense that it is still practiced, and in the sense that those criticising bigotry can become bigots when done in excess. The album mainly takes the point of view of the common man in the South, showing both the victories and the losses, such as the Mississippi Flood in 1927. Among the songs, he revamps Long's old campaign song, *Every Man a King*, to show the glorious influx of power and money that the common man enjoyed under his power. The song shows the continued influence of Long in the Southern mentality, even decades after his death.

"Every Man a King (Fisher)." Youtube. Video file, 0:48. Posted June 21, 2011. Accessed November 16, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VzU0Cok3guQ>.

This video shows Long and Castro Carazo, the band director at Louisiana State University, singing his self-written campaign song in 1935. It prominently reflects Long's slogan, "every man a king, but no one wears a crown," as taken from a speech by a famous populist, William Jennings Bryan, and was central to Long's campaign in his later years. The song was played frequently at public events and on the radio, popularizing both Long's campaign and the motto itself. The song allows for immersion into the body of propaganda surrounding Long and demonstrates the ways in which the song easily appealed to the common man.

Genella, L. J. "Humankind Will Learn These Words by Heart." *Louisiana Author's Journal* (New Orleans), October 1935. Accessed December 8, 2013.

<http://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/HPL/id/190/rec/16>.

This newspaper is a special edition of a local Louisiana paper, published as a memorial to Long, showing the quotes and pictures that would resonate the most with the common man and highlighting his backwoods approach. The source comes in the highly subjective period following Long's death and essentially glorifies his programs and his intents. It presents Long as a man of the people, claiming that his heart was with them, not with the corrupt and distant politics of the Senate and explains that he maintained the sense of a local politician, even when he managed to rise to the national level. From the source, it is evident that Long was able to appeal more to the average person, becoming an average person in their eyes in the end, and local communities mourning his death as if they had all known him well.

Gerald Long. Photograph. June 11, 2012. Accessed April 26, 2014.
<http://sonc.com/look/?p=2092>.

This image of Senator Gerald Long puts a face to the transcript from his phone interview. Senator Long, the only remaining Long currently in office, helped to clarify the lasting impact of Huey Long even today. His public policy in Louisiana has shifted from the issues Huey Long faced, but the people of Louisiana still benefit from and care about the work that Long did to improve infrastructure across the state- ranging from education, transportation, hospitals, and more public services to a general sense of pride in the state. Long transformed one of the worst states in the nation into one that its inhabitants are proud to live in today.

Houghtly, C. A. C. A. Houghtly to Huey Pierce Long, September 10, 1935. Accessed April 27, 2014. <http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/condolence-letters.php>.

Among a collection of condolence letters to Rose Long, this letter from C. A. Houghtly was found, in which he writes to Huey Long himself from Fort Sonilac, Michigan, wishing him a speedy recovery, unaware that Long will die that same day due to the assassination attempt made on him two days prior. In his letter he explains that his entire family has regarded the South begrudgingly since his uncle died because of the actions of Southerners. He goes on to tell Long that he is the first Southern man that he has supported and felt badly for since that time and begins to compare him to Abraham Lincoln, as a crusader for justice and equality, compelling him to continue his efforts for humanity. This shows the large extent to which Long was able to amass support throughout the United States, as well as the strength of the ideologies he promoted.

Huey and His Family on the Porch of Their Shreveport Home (Son Palmer and Wife Rose on Left, Children Russell and Rose on Right). Photograph. State Archives of Louisiana. Accessed April 23, 2014. <http://www.hueylong.com/life-times/early-career.php>.

This photograph, taken in the early 1920s, showed how Huey Long wanted himself portrayed in the media, as he later circulated for his campaigns in order to gain popularity. In the picture, Long happily sits on a porch swing at his new home with his children and wife, Rose Long. Although it seemed that he was close to his family in the media's perspective, Huey did not make frequent contact with them. Long wanted to be perceived as a common man, believing in what was simply right - family ideals, equality, and helping children. This picture is the epitome of his idealistic campaign and helps to clarify the political style of Long.

Huey Long. Photograph. Library of Congress. Accessed June 6, 2014.

http://americanhistory.unomaha.edu/module_display.php?mod_id=131&review=yes.

This photograph of Huey Long, taken in early 1935, shows Long as a powerful orator, delivering a speech on his Share Our Wealth program. His passion as a speaker is obvious, with both hands raised and one blurred as it is waved while the picture was taken. The picture corroborates the claim that Long's public speech was entertaining and appealed to the masses, which even his greatest opponents acknowledged. In the photograph, several audience members can also be seen, many of which are poorer people. Since his greatest target was the average man, who would be most benefited by

his programs and the ideology of the Share Our Wealth clubs, it was crucial for Long to be a master of public speaking.

Huey Long. Photograph. Huey P. Long Photograph Collection. New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, LA. Accessed May 26, 2014.
<http://nutrias.org/photos/hueylong/hueyfl.htm>.

Huey Long is shown here marching alongside dozens of veteran supporters, advocating for a veteran's bonus pension. FDR originally did not support the idea, but widespread dissent from those supporting it as well as Long's continued advocacy for them forced Roosevelt to support a veteran's bonus. Long made sure to support programs and ideas that would have a positive impact on the people of the state, and therefore focused on programs like veteran benefits, old age pensions, and greater opportunity for the poor to vote. This consequentially resulted in a strong base of support from the groups Long looked out for, as well as by those that found the concept of a politician like Long fighting for them comforting. This source is also clearly shows Long's willingness to directly support the people and help their causes on a personal level.

"Huey Long and Father Charles Coughlin Speak 1935." Video file, 2:43. Youtube. Posted August 1, 2011. Accessed December 16, 2013.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nfu_pLb0swA&hd=1.

In this 1935 video clip, Huey Long and Father Coughlin, two major opponents of FDR, are criticizing his New Deal. Long asserts that it did too little for the poor and then discusses the ramifications of wealth inequality, at one point turning to speak of the "economic slavery" that the poor are forced to endure. This is a prime example of Long's powerful oratory skills, using his ability to connect with the people he spoke to as a means of extending his influence. His speech is heavily involved, with his arms swaying rapidly and his face contorted with passion. The video explains the speaking style of Long, as well as establishing his general stance toward FDR and the New Deal and revealing an opponent, Father Coughlin.

"Huey Long - Difference between Republicans and Democrats." WMV video, 1:09. Youtube. Posted by Brian Johnston, October 22, 2011. Accessed April 21, 2014.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLyfrb15v-Q>.

This clip features Huey Long giving one of his most famous speeches, the "High Popalorum and Low Popahirum" speech, in which he references two popular medicines and the methods by which they are extracted, both well-known to the public. He then uses them to create a metaphor, both extracted by stripping trees, one from the top-down and the other in reverse, Long going on to say that both political parties are skinning the common man, just in subtly different ways. This speech is essential in giving light to the way that Long was able to incorporate several political tactics into his own compelling rhetoric. Long tactfully appeals to his public by allying himself with the common people, using their language and things represent in their daily life to generate support, while maintaining himself as an authority, slightly better and enviable than them but not so much that he became detached.

"Huey Long Flashmob." Youtube. Video file, 2:10. Posted by Sons & Daughters of the Kingfish, January 26, 2012. Accessed November 30, 2013.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a3mKZTku-WI>.

A Louisiana group called the Sons and Daughters of the Kingfish has modernly assembled to protest the same issues that Long did - big oil dominating Louisiana and her coasts, class disparity. Their method for furthering their agenda is to stage flash-mobs imitating Huey Long. In January 2012, on the 80th anniversary of Long's career as a US Senator, they marched to the Roosevelt Hotel, where a meeting was being held by the Louisiana Mid-Oil and Gas Association. There they sang "Every Man a King," and recited a passage of one of Long's speeches on the toll of the oil industry's abuses. The group shows Long's name surviving as a method of getting across the interests of the common man, in the creative, theatrical way Long also approached politics. This in and of itself shows the lasting influence Long's legacy holds in Louisiana.

Huey Long's Funeral. Photograph. LSU Libraries Special Collection. Baton Rouge, LA.

Accessed January 5, 2014. <http://hueylong.com/life-times/assassination.php>.

This picture shows Long in his casket following his assassination by Dr. Carl Weiss in mid-1935. In the months leading up to his assassination, Long's campaign for president was beginning to take hold and seem like a serious possibility, with some historians even alleging that he could have taken office. While no statistics can verify or negate this claim, his influence had reached millions of Americans, with nearly eight million members of his Share Our Wealth clubs. In this picture, several common people have come out to support Long, displaying his widespread influence. This characterizes Long as a man who was determined to see his ideals realized in the state, and eager to attempt to see them established across the nation, and well-loved by the people.

Huey Long's Funeral. Photograph. September 1935. Accessed February 21, 2014.

<http://www.corbisimages.com/images/Corbis-HU023870.jpg?size=67&uid=19c26829-166f-4c59-a920-2b1d657b665c>.

At Long's funeral, he was laid in an open-casket, as pictured here. The somber mood of those in the room with him reflects the attitude of Louisiana following his death: great mourning, with thousands of condolence letters flooding the Long family and an estimated 200,000 people at his funeral. Following Long's death, the state had no stable leader and its government defaulted to sub-standard Long supporters that believed in his ideology but were far more corrupt. While Louisiana still prospered through the end of the Depression, this was largely due to the massive success of Long's public works programs and reforms; even without stable government, the progress Long made was resilient. The picture helps personalize Long in his death, showing the grave atmosphere in the state following his assassination.

"Huey Long: Share the Wealth." Video file, 3:49. Youtube. Posted by AJ Fowler, September 13, 2010. Accessed June 5, 2014. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hphgHi6FD8k>.

This is one of Long's most famous speeches, given in December 1934, also known as the "Barbecue Speech." In the speech he relates collective wealth to the meat shared by all at a barbecue and then suggests that when one man grabs the vast majority of the meat, there is no solution but to make him give some of it back; the rest of the group must eat

too and he does not need it all. The speech has a clear appeal to the common man, explaining wealth inequality in simple terms that would have been incredibly relatable. His speaking gives insight to the methods that Long used to appeal to his followers: disassociating himself from his own wealth, becoming a wise friend of the people rather than their oppressor, using relatable metaphors, and maintaining authority regardless.

Huey Long Speaks. Photograph. May 2, 1935. Accessed May 18, 2014.

http://www.realclearpolitics.com/lists/irs-scandal/huey_long.html?state=stop.

This photo of Huey Long at the National Broadcasting Company depicts his use of the radio to nationally gain support for his bills in the Senate. In the early 1930s, few politicians had thought to take advantage of the emerging radio, despite a rapidly increasing proportion of families across the nation who owned a radio set, and the only one to use radio more heavily than Long was FDR himself. As he faced an unresponsive Senate, Long took to the radio to disperse his message to as many Americans as possible, actually coming back from a decrease in power through the radio in 1934, reaching his highest influence soon after. The photo helps to show Long as a speaker and orator, and ultimately a man of the people, with his pleasant expression and apparent joy at the opportunity to speak to the nation.

"Kingfish." Performed by Randy Newman. Recorded 1974. On *Good Old Boys*. Warner Bros. Records, 2005, compact disc.

Randy Newman is an American rock singer who wrote the songs on the album *Good Old Boys* as an homage to the South and the different viewpoints of Southerners in the 1970s. On this album he both does a cover of Long's old campaign song, "Every Man a King," and writes his own song "Kingfish," after Long's nickname. The song takes on the viewpoint of blue collar workers and begins by describing their struggles, pointing to the indifference of lofty politicians to those struggles. The song then shifts to listing different programs of Long and painting him as a poor boy that helped other poor boys gain power. The very existence of this song shows the continued influence of Long's legacy in Louisiana as well as his importance as a figure to the common man.

Long, Huey Pierce. "Carry Out the Command of the Lord." Speech presented at United States Senate, United States Capital, DC, February 5, 1934. Social Security History. Accessed January 19, 2014. <http://www.ssa.gov/history/longsen.html>.

This speech, presented by Huey Long in early 1934, laid out the groundwork for his Share Our Wealth plans. He aimed to take money from the wealthiest citizens - those who owned over one million dollars in net wealth, or about sixty million today - and provide a basic home, car and income for all families. This goal was to establish a poverty line in the nation that let every family have some belongings and a decent quality of life. This is the famous speech that was the foundation of his political principles, and his most well-known ideology. Seeing Long's plan in his own words identifies what the plan would have seemed like to an impoverished family in the midst of economic turmoil during the Great Depression. Long was able to align himself with these people, building a strong base of support from average citizens.

- . *Every Man a King*. New Orleans, LA: Da Capo Press, 1933.
Huey Long's autobiography was released in 1933 in anticipation of his impending effort in 1934 to increase his national power, it was also sent to every member of his Share Our Wealth clubs as a way of informing them of his core ideologies. It spans the entire scope of his political development, from childhood to Senator, and was obviously biased because Long was trying to directly promote himself through the novel, while it is clear that at certain points in the novel he is able to become objective. Hearing Long's stance, however, is incredibly valuable as it is not often well-traced and can lead to a better understanding of his actions and motives. Long has often been mistreated by other politicians and his eventual accomplishments are vast, and represented as such in the book.
- . "Every Man a King." Speech, February 23, 1934. Senate. Accessed April 21, 2014. <http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/EveryManKing.pdf>.
This speech, given by Senator Huey P. Long on CBS Radio in February 1934, represented a turning point in his career. Prior to his use of the national radio, Long's power had decreased as the papers strongly opposed him and he withdrew slightly. This speech was the first of a series that would bring him to the height of his power and served as a way to nationally popularize his Share Our Wealth program, his proposed solution for the economic problems faced because of wealth inequality. The speech represented the core of Long's political ideologies and reflected the most popular perception of Long as he was displayed in the time leading up to his death, leading to a greater understanding of both his legacy and appeal.
- . *Have the People a Right to Be Heard?* Baton Rouge: Allied Printing, 1930. Accessed December 8, 2013. <http://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/HPL/id/3/rec/20>.
The Long administration printed this pamphlet, written by Huey Long himself, in the early 1930s. Long urges citizens to register to vote and re-elect him. He does not explicitly ask for their vote, but rather says that they have the choice to accept a list of his accomplishments- more roads, rights, education, and all for no increased taxes. He also points out that many people reading the pamphlet would not be able to vote at all if he had not repealed the poll tax, which caused a surge of 175,000 new voters, nearly doubling voter turnout. While these claims do hold true, they ignore the corrupt nature of the Long administration, which used strong-arm tactics to be able to offer the list to voters. Still, the source is a convincing view from the perspective of the common man in Louisiana.
- . Huey Pierce Long to Ross S. Sterling, telegram, August 16, 1931. Texas State Library and Archives. Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, TX. Accessed December 10, 2013. <https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/governors/personality/sterling-long-1.html>.
Long's thought process with economics is revealed in this letter to the State government of Texas, in which Long proposes the ban of any production of cotton for a full year due to the lowered prices in the world market. He suggests that to raise prices back to an acceptable level for the South, they cut the supply drastically, forcing the demand to rise

and consequentially increasing the cost at which a farmer can sell his produced goods. His willingness to take drastic measures such as these make him appear to be a very direct leader, which helps to explain why his ideas were so revolutionary. Given the success of his economic programs, his drastic moves may have been more effective than a cautious approach.

- . Huey Pierce Long to Sarah Jane Willis, Ms., March 23, 1935. Louisiana Digital Library. Louisiana Research Collection, New Orleans. Accessed December 8, 2013. <http://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/HPL/id/151/rec/13>. In a March 1935 letter to Sarah Jane Willis, a proponent of an elderly pension, Huey Long identifies his stance on the issue and outlines why he supports her idea. Long's response is cordial and outlines why he agrees entirely with her, and then blames the failure of the bill he proposed (the first old age pension bill heard in Congress) on the lack of support by FDR. He also highlights that FDR only supported old age pensions in Washington DC, which casts doubt on whether Roosevelt wanted to help the elderly or if he merely sought to gain their support. This explains part of Long's political stance, and also is a prime example of his opposition to FDR, showing the way in which he subtly undermines the reputation of Roosevelt.
- . "The Long Plan for Recovery." *The Progressive* (Madison, WI), April 1, 1933. Accessed December 8, 2013. <http://www.progressive.org/wx040909.html>. This 1935 Huey Long speech is a typical Share Our Wealth speech, in which Long clarifies the basic ideology of the Share Our Wealth movement and the way in which he intended to put it into place. It does, however, come with a notable focus on the president, FDR. By pointing out that FDR made campaign promises to redistribute wealth, Long gained two things with his speech. First, he built support for the Share Our Wealth program- but more importantly, he forced the public to question FDR. This helped to build support for Long because of his perceived accountability. Despite the popularity of the New Deal with some, Long's intense criticism of Roosevelt's policies ultimately led to their reform.
- . *My First Days in the White House*. N.p.: Telegraph Press, 1935. This book, also referred to as Huey Long's "second autobiography", portrayed Long's fantasy of becoming the president of the United States. Long revealed how he would approach the presidency, subtly showing his political mind and how he would manipulate his cabinet to give himself even more power and less opposition. The book serves as evidence of the dynamics of Long's change as a rural citizen to an impactful political figure; it steps away from his individualized, backcountry approach to a more politicized version that connects less with the common man. Long never reached this level of control, though it is contested as to whether he could have been elected in the 1936 or 1940 presidential elections had he avoided assassination.
- . "Share the Wealth." Speech, April 1935. *Huey Long Talks to the Nation*. Accessed January 13, 2014. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5109/>. In this 1934 speech, Long discusses how Roosevelt's New Deal has failed, only promising to borrow more money and continuing to increase debt- to be paid off for years

to come. Long then uses this opportunity to promote and explain the aims of the Share Our Wealth program, and then broadens the topic to why redistribution of wealth is generally a positive route for the United States. The source highlights the competition between Long, Roosevelt and Father Charles Coughlin for presidency, on one of their main platforms: the radio. No other prominent figures, in politics or otherwise, had taken to the radio by this time in history. Long's message in particular affected millions of Americans across the nation, and his unique usage of an emerging technology gave him an incredible edge and ability to promote his ideals thousands of miles away from his home state.

———. Speech presented at US Senate, US Capitol, Washington D.C., March 12, 1935. Official Social Security Website. Accessed May 26, 2014.

<http://www.ssa.gov/history/longsen.html>.

This speech, given over radio and then published by the Senate under Long's request, addressed FDR specifically and claimed that the threat to Roosevelt was not Long, but the New Deal's failed policies and the denial of campaign promises that won critically needed votes. Long explained why the president was not making good on his campaign promises, and why the Long plan under Share Our Wealth would do a better job solving the issues of wealth inequality in the Depression. His method of presenting this information, by using the radio to impact the most people possible, characterized Long's style of politics from the start: with a heavy focus on the individual appeal, Long wanted to impact as many families in America that he was able to help support.

———. Speech presented at US Senate, US Capitol, Washington D.C., July 22, 1935. Official Social Security Website. Accessed February 17, 2014.

<http://www.ssa.gov/history/longsen.html>.

This speech, another radio broadcast by Huey Long published through the Senate, is a direct attack on FDR that first claims that he supported Long's Share Our Wealth plan before his 1932 election. It proceeds to further state that FDR has opposed every measure of the Long plan since he was elected. Long then outlines the basic principles of his program, ranging from education to veterans' benefits to an old-age pension, and the fact that FDR directly worked against each bill being passed. This paints FDR in an incredibly negative light and is insightful when analyzing the extent to which Long was successful in his use of the radio to contact the nation at large. It also reveals another aspect to Long's campaign: he was able to successfully slander his opponents, illuminating the fact that Long's speech could be used for more than simply promotion of his ideals, but also doing damage to his political opponents.

———. *What Is It They Want to Undo?* N.p.: Huey Pierce Long, ca. 1932-1935. Accessed November 30, 2013.

<http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/HPL/id/193>.

This article is another statement from Huey Long, which adds bias but gives a clear picture of him as a leader. It is an explicit list of his achievements in the state, which are well documented both by his administration's personal publications and a general consensus among historians, including his harshest critics. This article is also meant to encourage the people of the state to preserve him as governor, arguing that with even the

little time he was given, he brought great changes to Louisiana. Ultimately, this is a firm example of what accomplishments Long himself thought he achieved, and the writing dictates which ones he was most triumphant and proud about.

Long in Cap and Gown. Photograph. Accessed June 8, 2014.

<http://www.knowla.org/uploads/2/Encyclopedia/photograph/thumbs-lg/lg-governor-long-in-cap-and-gown-as-he-receives-an-honorary-degree-from-loyola.jpg>.

In 1935, Loyola University granted Huey Long an honorary diploma for his work as a lawyer and later political career. Long is shown in a cap and gown, receiving the diploma from the university. This is another example of the love the people of the state had for him. Rather than draw from just a collection of the poor, his supporters ranged from all walks of life, including universities and their administrations. The deep changes he made to the government structure of Louisiana, and massive public works programs that targeted the weak infrastructure of the state, brought many people who relied on this infrastructure to Long's side in political arguments. Many viewed him as a hero, which is shown acutely here.

Louisiana Senator Huey Long. Photograph. Library of Congress. Accessed May 26, 2014.

<http://www.pri.org/stories/2013-06-26/are-filibusters-used-outside-united-states>.

This photograph shows Long giving a speech, intensely involved in his message. Long's main appeal to many was his strong oratory skills, especially among his core supporters—the poor. His ability to connect with individuals in massive amounts led the people to feel very close to him, even if they had never met him. This was one of the aspects of Long that enabled him to both achieve more as a politician and to get away with more intense corruption while dodging impeachment or public outrage. While many take an anti-Long stance, he also had a strong base of support, ranging not only within Louisiana but to all stretches of the nation.

Map of Louisiana Showing Progress of Hardsurfacing Program. Photograph. State Library of Louisiana. Accessed June 7, 2014.

http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma01/Kidd/thesis/pdf/long_paved_roads.pdf.

The roads of Louisiana prior to Long's political career were predominantly made of dirt, with almost no paved roads between any major cities. When Long came to office, he revolutionized the highway system of the state, building over 3,000 miles of paved concrete roads. While the statistics behind the progress made by Long are highly impressive, an image of the improvements done across the state helps place these statistics into context. By seeing how poor the state's road system was before Long, and how extensive it was afterward, the impact of Long on the roads of Louisiana is fully understood. Without a stable road system, a state's citizens are limited by their ability to travel, which restricts the state from development at the source. Long targeted areas in the state that had poor infrastructure, along with aiming to support the very poor, which established his political presence in the state.

Natale, Comte M. *Huey Long*. Illustration. 1932. Louisiana State Collection. Accessed May 21, 2014. <http://www.knowla.org/uploads/2/Encyclopedia/painting/thumbs-md/md-governor-huey-p.-long-.jpg>.

This portrait of Huey Long, painted by Comte M. Natale for use in the new state capital, depicts Long standing regally with papers in his hand. The image depicts him as an active governor, working tirelessly to develop and expand the programs of the state. Long's focus on infrastructure was the major component of his platform, creating the basis for "Every Man a King." His desire to create an extravagant new capitol building, combined with the types of decorations he preferred- such as portraits like this one- paint Long as a man of extreme wealth. This goes against his ideological beliefs, but does not provide evidence against them or even that he does not fully believe them.

New State Capitol Building under Construction. Photograph. 1931. State Library. Accessed January 13, 2014. <http://www.knowla.org/image/378/&ref=entry&refID=497>.

The new Louisiana state capitol building, built under Long's administration, served as a status symbol and represented the style of leadership Long adopted. The 450-foot tall tower is clearly excessive for a simple government building, but Long pushed the project through the state Congress by arguing that it would bolster job growth and provide Louisiana with a new, more hopeful image for its government. By Long funneling money toward a project so excessive, he exemplifies the fact that he is interested in wealth himself, whether or not he wishes to redistribute the wealth of other rich people. However, his arguments are also valid, since he revolutionized Louisiana into a technologically-adept state from the backward one in which he entered politics.

The New York Times. "Obituary of Huey Long." September 11, 1935. Accessed December 22, 2013. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1162.

In one of the few published obituaries of Huey Long, the New York Times decided to make a political statement instead of paying the typical reverence found in an obituary. The source is strongly worded and does not mention the good deeds that Long accomplished with his corruption, but instead focuses on his corruption alone and labels him a dictator. This viewpoint is biased and limited because Long does not stack up next to a dictator like Stalin or Mussolini, with no strong centralized government or an oppressive streak against the people of the state. Most claims that Long was dictatorial are rendered invalid by this logic, since he held little power compared to common dictators of study. His corruption was not for personal gain, but to help the people more whenever he felt that he could do something to help directly.

O'Quinn, James J. James J. O'Quinn to Rose Long, September 10, 1935. Accessed November 30, 2013. <http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/condolence-letters.php>.

In this condolence letter written to Rose Long after Huey's assassination, James J. O'Quinn extends sympathy, comparing the loss of Long to the loss of Abraham Lincoln decades before. By valuing Long so highly, Quinn portrays him as a politician that connected so well to the common man that he was nearly divine. His long-standing impact is seen mostly clearly by the reverence some Louisianians still feel toward Long decades following his death. Long had a tremendous ability to make personal interaction with his supporters, enabling him to have intensely dedicated followers that persisted for years.

Orr, Casey. "New Deal Tyranny." Cartoon. *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), November 17, 1935. Accessed December 9, 2013. <http://apus-b.wikispaces.com/file/view/cartoon2.jpg/193556070/cartoon2.jpg>.

This political cartoon, drawn by Casey Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*, is critical of Franklin Delanor Roosevelt's New Deal. It depicts a Trojan Horse, meant to represent the New Deal, crashing into a door identified as the US Constitution. Orr implied that the federal intervention and creation of public works programs by Roosevelt was unjustified, and even illegal. Had Long gained enough power to implement the Share Our Wealth plan he designed, it is likely that Orr and similarly-minded people would speak out against the extreme redistribution proposed. This adds another level of opposition to Long. Even today, many speak out against wealth redistribution; Long's plans, while appealing to the common man, would not resonate well with the wealthy.

Parta, Dorothy. Dorothy Parta to Rose Long, September 11, 1935. Accessed November 30, 2013. <http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/condolence-letters.php>.

In this letter, Dorothy Parta, a young girl from New Orleans, writes to Long's widow extending her condolences and stating what a help Long's programs have been to her and schoolchildren in general. She also explains that because she is so young, she had to go through great lengths to send her letter. The source shows another key group that Long helped, poor children, and how strongly affected many of his followers were after his death, as evidenced by the great lengths Parta took to send her letter. Long had a tremendous and lasting impact on education within Louisiana, taking the state from one of the least educated to one with a strong education system.

Phelps Hammond, Hilda. Hilda Phelps Hammond to "Senator", May 12, 1935. Louisiana Digital Library. Louisiana Research Collection, New Orleans, LA. Accessed May 16, 2014. <http://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/HPL/id/156/rec/14>.

The chairwoman of the Louisiana Women's Committee, Hilda Hammond, writes here to an unnamed senator in mid-1935. The letter shows an increasing hostility in Hammond, who has been attempting to formally approach the Senate in having Senator Long investigated for his alleged wrongdoings, but has observed no apparent effort by the Senate to act against Long. She points to the fear that all these men seem to be unable to overcome in doing so, proving the power that Long had in politics on a national scale and bringing to light the way in which he was able to manipulate even other prominent lawmakers.

———. Hilda Phelps Hammond to United States Senate, "Petition," ca. 1935. Tulane University Digital Library. Tulane University, New Orleans, LA. Accessed May 16, 2014.

<http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/HTU/id/236/rec/6>. Hilda Hammond, chairwoman of the Louisiana Women's Committee, created in 1933, adamantly appealed to the Senate and individual senators to investigate charges of corruption and election fraud on Senator Huey Long. This 1935 petition is likely the beginning of her efforts, in which she expected to be taken seriously, but when no action was taken against Long she began a series of letters and press releases. The source provides the most convenient outline of Long's wrongdoings in a mostly formal and

objective tone, however, her releases become increasingly biased as she is continually ignored.

———. *Is the Senate Afraid of Huey Long?* N.p.: n.p., ca. 1935. Accessed May 16, 2014. <http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/ref/collection/HTU/id/190>.

In what is probably the last part of her efforts against Huey Long, Hilda Hammond releases a 13 page pamphlet outlining Long's potentially illicit actions to the general public in an attempt to rally support for an investigation of Long and his elections. This pamphlet comes after having had her calls ignored by the Senate on more than one occasion, both a formal petition and informal letters. The source again provides a convenient outline of the grievances against Long and his governing, allowing for a better analysis of his motives - whether he was fighting for the rights of men, or ignoring his ethical responsibilities for personal power.

Rothstein, Arthur. *Barn of a Negro Rehabilitation Client*. Photograph. September 1935. Library of Congress. Accessed January 11, 2014.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/fsa/item/fsa1997007206/PP/>.

This picture shows the intense poverty which many of the poor in Louisiana lived in, especially in the African-American population. This was one of the perpetual problems leading into the governorship of Huey Long that made him so necessary. The generational poverty that had existed in Louisiana for decades led the majority of citizens to be receptive to radical change, and Huey Long's platform was easy for the poor to support. He provided an ideal world, suggesting that homelessness and intense poverty would all but disappear under the Share Our Wealth program. Intensely impoverished people, composing the majority of Louisianians during the early Depression, jumped to support a politician that seemed to be so on their side.

———. *Sharecropper's House*. Photograph. September 1935. Library of Congress. Accessed March 7, 2014. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/fsa/item/fsa1997007114/PP/>.

Louisiana suffered from some of the strongest and most widespread poverty in the entire nation for decades leading up to the Great Depression. The majority of citizens were forced to work agricultural jobs, residing in bare-bones houses that were often falling apart with very limited amenities. This picture shows a typical house that a family might live in, symbolic of the poorest people in the state. Huey Long's almost full repeal of the property tax, removing the burden from the poor, allowed many of the poorest Louisianians to improve their financial prospects and quality of life. The photograph provides a good impression of life before Long.

Sculpture work room for new State Capitol. Photograph. 1931. Accessed November 13, 2013. <http://www.knowla.org/image/476/&view=summary>.

Huey Long, once elected as governor, quickly moved to create the largest State Capitol building in the entire country. The 34-story tall behemoth is still the largest capitol building to date, and was an extremely expensive and flashy display of his power. This picture shows the more intricate detail-work done on the new State Capitol. The building was built as extravagantly as possible, making it serve as a symbol of power and wealth. This contradicts the ideology of Share Our Wealth, which further leads to discussion as to

whether Long was truly dedicated to his movement or if it was simply a political facade to extend his dominance.

Sharecropper Bud Fields and His Family at Home. Photograph. 1935. Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C. Accessed January 2, 2014. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g04898/>.

This family portrait is another glimpse into the very poor class in Louisiana before the Depression hit. While the family did their best to tidy up for the photo, they clearly live in an extreme form of poverty, with clothes that are falling apart in several places and a rapidly deteriorating house. The source helps define the poverty created by years of economic hardship and helps prove the assertion that this hardship led to the need for Long as a leader.

Smith, Gerald L. K. "Huey Long Is a Superman." *The New Republic*, February 13, 1935. Accessed December 1, 2013. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5107>.

Accompanying an article that attacks Long, supporter Gerald L.K. Smith describes the depraved state of Louisiana before Long came to power- mass poverty, a major wealth gap, and disgraceful civil services. He then illustrates Long's rise and explains his programs, finally ending with an argument garnering support for Long's ideals and political actions. Smith is inherently biased in the fact that he only presents the good aspects of Long and his endeavors while ignoring his negative actions or understating the drawbacks of his programs. The article does, however, showcase what the common man in Louisiana would have thought of Long and the seemingly positive means that Long's ends sought to achieve.

"Some of Huey Long's Work." Cartoon. Long Legacy Project. Last modified 2010. Accessed February 7, 2014. <http://www.hueylong.com/programs/education.php>.

One of the most prominent successes of Huey Long's early governorship was his extreme support of education. He was able to provide free textbooks statewide, allowing children that previously were turned down entirely from education to be placed on an equal level and contribute more to both the state and their families as adults. This cartoon helps portray both the educational achievements of Long and the way that the public saw these achievements. Long was able to provide busing for all students in the state, and then furnish each student with the textbooks they needed to learn. The public responded very well to this, and helped support the Share Our Wealth movement by showing the people some of the benefits they would receive under Long.

"Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1878-1994." In *Statistical Abstracts*. N.p.: Census Bureau, 2013. Accessed June 3, 2014. http://www.census.gov/prod/www/statistical_abstract.html#.

The Census Bureau releases a yearly statistical abstract containing hundreds of indicators and statistics in many fields of government, giving a rough overview of performance in many categories. Information about employment and state programs during the Depression is difficult to obtain, but the statistical abstracts separate this information into state and national tables that allow the two to be compared. When examining Louisiana against the national average, clear progress in education, employment, infrastructure,

transportation, medical buildings, and numerous other factors was made in Louisiana while the same factors stagnated nationally. This shows the difference in Long's approach and the New Deal, suggesting that- at least in Louisiana- his programs were far more effective.

Time Magazine's Candidate Long. Photograph. Accessed December 21, 2013.

<http://www.hueylong.com/life-times/presidential-candidate.php>.

Time Magazine featured Huey Long as a presidential candidate, further adding to the possibility that he could have been nominated or even elected in the 1936 presidential election. A fear of FDR was that he would split the democratic vote, taking millions away from FDR but not enough to actually win. Long was willing to have this outcome occur, however, because he felt that he would win a landslide in 1940 if anyone but him was elected president.

Trice, Leon. *Huey Long at Impeachment Trial*. Photograph. Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, New Orleans, LA. Accessed June 7, 2014.

<http://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15140coll38/id/44/rec/29>.

At his own impeachment trial, Huey Long is the only person smiling. This can be interpreted in many ways - cockiness, an inflated ego, confidence that he will not be impeached, asserting a public air of calmness - but ultimately suggests that the fear of impeachment was not real for Long. Even though his impeachment was only missed by a mere 2 votes, he remained stably in power until his assassination. This picture helps to illustrate the personality of Huey Long as a political figure, and also suggest that he realized exactly how much he could get away with and knew not to step past that line.

The Truth Will BURY Huey Long! Illustration. 1930. Louisiana Digital Library. Historic New Orleans Collection. Accessed June 3, 2014.

<http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/HPL/id/191>.

In this anti-Long newspaper, an extensive article of charges against Long is brought alongside this comic, portraying him as a weak creature that will be ousted by the truth found in the article. This is a clearly biased criticism of him, and while the charges may be completely valid, there is a political element involved which is not easy to remove. However, since many of the sources are on one extreme or the other, this sources offers a strong argument against the benefits of Long outweighing his methods.

Veto Protest. Photograph. January 16, 2002. Louisiana Division New Orleans Public Library. New Orleans, LA. Accessed March 24, 2014.

<http://nutrias.org/photos/hueylong/huey18.htm>.

This photograph of Huey Long in a crowd of supporters conveys the political support he had from the people as he was trying to push his ideas through Congress. While he found little support from fellow Senators, he appealed far more to the average American, and many supported his efforts to bring real change to the United States through the Senate. However, FDR became a greater and greater political enemy over time, eventually aligning against all Long legislation that had any chance of being passed. As the Senate became less and less receptive to his propositions, Long took to the people for support.

The picture shows a large sign held by his followers defaming the use of veto power by FDR to eliminate Long's bills from being passed.

Warren, Robert Penn. *All the King's Men*. 2nd Harvest ed. New York, NY: Harcourt, 1946.

Robert Penn Warren wrote his fictional book, a secondary source, modeling one of the main characters after Huey Long. While the character, Willie Stark, does not completely resemble Long, he is essentially the personification of the image Long presented to the public of a poor boy who went into politics to fight corruption. In actuality, Long grew up in a fairly well-off home, lived more lavishly than his opponents when in power, and it is unclear whether his motive in pursuing politics was to help people or to simply acquire power. Moreover, the novel does accurately represent the political and economic atmosphere in Louisiana when Long was in power, showing similar political mishaps such as near impeachment, and giving Stark the same value to the poor people his programs helped. The book helped to look at a Long-like character in a less serious light, giving a good introduction to him while maintaining much contextual accuracy.

Wooldridge, Mary E. Mary E. Wooldridge to Rose Long, September 11, 1935. Accessed November 30, 2013. <http://www.hueylong.com/perspectives/condolence-letters.php>.

Mary Wooldridge wrote this condolence letter to the family of Huey Long, speaking out for the community in his memory. She states that her entire community is grateful for him, and appreciates the tremendous good he did for the state as governor and senator. She wishes that Long could have remained active, and says that she believes he could have saved the entire nation from economic collapse if he had been made president. It is clear from the sincerity of the letter than Wooldridge, and likely her community, felt an extremely strong connection to Long and a deep appreciation for his programs.

You Hear Me. Illustration. ca. 1932. Louisiana Digital Library. Louisiana Research Collection, New Orleans, LA. Accessed May 30, 2013.

<http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/HPL/id/153>.

This political cartoon features Huey Long desperately threatening to release names of citizens in mental institutions and prisons, ultimately embarrassing their families, should they expose his near-tyranny in Louisiana to the United States. The point of the cartoon likely being to decrease support for Long nationally as he began to enter the political race to presidency, around the end of the 1932 election. While Long's programs did do good for the common man, the means by which he kept them functioning were extremely desperate, and in some cases pathetic, like this cartoon points out. This source allows for a different perception of Long, in taking him from looking invincible to desperate, and forces a consideration of how justified his means actually were.

Secondary Sources

Apuzzio, Dianne. Interview by the author. New Port Richey, FL. May 24, 2014.

Dianne Apuzzio, one of the leading organizers at Volunteer Way, a food bank in Pinellas County, has worked to assist with poverty for over 15 years. She spoke about the shifting volumes of people she has seen and how prevalent poverty is in our own county, then transitioned to speaking about general information she knows about poverty throughout

the nation. The most interesting portion of the interview was speaking about what a "modern-day" Huey Long might do for the people she sees so frequently. While this interview did not focus specifically on Louisiana, it did serve to show progress over the last several decades and to inform on the problems that still face communities throughout the United States. The hypothetical discussion on Long also made the enthusiasm he received from common people much more realistic as it became very easy for us to imagine that same enthusiasm.

Asquer, Raffaele. "'We, the People, Are with You' FDR, Huey P. Long and Their Public: Rhetorical Strategies and Political Identities." PhD diss., University of Pisa, 2008.

Accessed December 8, 2013.

http://www.academia.edu/1373868/_We_the_people_are_with_you_.FDR_Huey_Long_and_their_public_rhetorical_strategies_and_political_identities.

This doctoral dissertation, written by Raffaele Asquer of the University of Pisa, discusses the communication style of Long, portraying him as a brilliant actor capable of manipulating his perception publicly in the Senate. It explains Long's journey through politics, first taking a traditional approach to get into the Senate and then adapting to a style that brought greater attention from the media and the American public when he was largely ignored by his peers. Asquer also discusses how effectively Long campaigned for the first female Senator, Hattie Caraway by speaking to common people. This source essentially shows that Long's greatest asset was his oratory skill and shows a sort of push for equality in his helping Caraway.

Bennett, Evan. E-mail interview by the author. May 30, 2014.

Evan Bennett, a professor at Florida Atlantic University, is highly experienced in both the American South and the Great Depression. He has published several novels on the complexities of the South and taught courses at leading universities, including his alma mater, the College of William and Mary. While his expertise is not focused strictly on Long, he did provide a substantial amount of information on Long's life and methods. He also explained the sense of leniency that is seen when most historians evaluate Long's political career. While Long was incredibly corrupt, often using strong-arm political tactics and manipulating his power, the incredible amount of good he did for the state made Louisiana transform from one of the worst and underdeveloped states in the entire nation into one with lasting public works programs and increased job prospects.

Brinkley, Alan. E-mail interview by the author. May 30, 2014.

Alan Brinkley, one of the premier historians on Huey Long, contributed his overall opinion on Long's programs in a brief e-mail based interview. His biography on Long, along with that of T. Harry Williams, is the most widely consulted resource to date on any issue surrounding Huey Long. Brinkley discussed the dichotomy of viewpoints that is seen through the body of research on Long. His main point was that both viewpoints must be appreciated; Long is either justified or unjustified based largely on personal interpretation. Overall, Brinkley said that the correct view of Long falls somewhere in the middle of the two. The predominant contribution of this interview was that it encouraged a more open-minded, yet skeptical, approach to research on Long.

- _____. "Huey Long, the Share Our Wealth Movement, and the Limits of Depression Dissidence." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 117-34. Accessed October 25, 2013. <http://vi.uh.edu/pages/buzzmat/Radhistory/radical%20history%20articles/Huey%20Long%20and%20Limits%20of%20US%20Dissent.pdf>. Alan Brinkley, a professor of Columbia University for over 20 years, attempts here to assess to what extent Long could be considered a "mass leader." In his assessment of Long he looks at the degree of organization of the Share Our Wealth Clubs and then he points to the relatively low degree to which Long's often aligned with his exact agenda. He goes on to make the assertion that Long was not necessarily a dictatorial leader, as his power had no formal national organization and he only had scattered support through the United States. The analysis provides a fresh perspective on Long that very few historians seem to adopt and humanizes Long by showing that he was not simply amassing fanatical supporters into a collective mental state.
- _____. *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression*. N.p.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. Alan Brinkley, a prominent professor at Columbia University and scholar on the subject of the Great Depression as well as Huey Long, wrote one of the two main biographies cited by historians when investigating Huey Long. Along with the biography by T. Harry Williams, this book provides the most detailed evidence on the merits and vices of Long, providing both information on his achievements and corruption as well as analysis of his relationship with FDR and political viability as a potential presidential candidate. Williams' biography focuses more on the opinion of Louisianians, while Brinkley focuses on the national politics of the Depression and how Huey Long was able to connect with the common man. His biography condenses most of the speculation over whether Long could have made a substantial national impact, had he not been assassinated.
- Burns, Ken, dir. *Huey Long*. Narrated by David McCullough. Produced by Richard Kilberg and Ken Burns. Screenplay by Geoffrey C. Ward. Washington D.C.: Florentine Films, 1985. DVD. Ken Burns has made several acclaimed documentaries over the last 30 years on American history, aiming to recreate history as a first-hand experience for viewers. This documentary in particular served as the inspiration for this project, highlighting the several dimensions of Long as well as the vastly differing views that those interviewed in the documentary presented. The film displays no apparent bias, showing balanced information from both sides of the spectrum, and does a good job of presenting a comprehensive picture of Louisiana under Long. It also provided essential background information for the project by presenting the political atmosphere of the time, showing how grave the economic situation was and the unresponsive nature of government before Long.

Carter, Hodding. "Huey Long's Louisiana Hayride." *The American Mercury*, April 1949, 435-49. Accessed February 27, 2014. <http://www.unz.org/Pub/AmMercury-1949apr-00435>.

Carter, already well-known for attacking Long while he was in power, looks back on Long's career in 1949, several years after his death. Despite its date, this source is categorized as a primary source as Carter was a major player while Long was in power and he draws on several incidents that he was personally involved in to create this analysis. The article explains the factors before Long that allowed him to gain power quickly and then goes into the continued influence he had on Louisiana politics even after he died. While Carter personally is extremely biased against Long, he does give credit to Long for the things that he did well while criticizing him for the rest, making the article itself relatively unbiased. The source was helpful in fully outlining Louisiana in the period around Long, making sense of both the conditions in which he gained power and explaining his legacy.

Collins, Brian David. "The New Orleans Press-Radio War and Huey P. Long, 1922-1936."

Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 2002. Accessed January 13, 2014. http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-0711102-133745/unrestricted/Collins_thesis.pdf.

Collins, writing for his master's degree, analyzes the tension between the press and the radio in the 1920s as they competed for the same clients and attempted to further their own hopes of gaining political control. In doing so, Collins also spends a great deal of time explaining Huey Long's influence in the struggle between the two and shows the minutia of Long's attempt to balance the powers and increase popular support. Long struggled for some time because of the opposition he faced from the mostly conservative papers, but rebounding to reach the height of his power in 1935 through his cooperation with the National Broadcasting Channel. This paper gives light to the changing power Long held and the tactics that he holistically used to come to his greatest power, directly preceding his assassination in 1935.

Department of Transportation and Development, Historic Context for Louisiana Bridges, , at 115 (La. 2013). Accessed December 13, 2013.

http://www.dotd.la.gov/administration/public_info/projects/historicbridges/Documents/Historic%20Context%20For%20Louisiana%20Bridges.pdf.

This source, released by the Department of Transportation and Development in Louisiana, discusses the development of the road system in the state. A section is dedicated to Long's impact, revealing that he was a major turning point for Louisiana's roads and bridges. As a government agency, it is fairly unbiased in reporting modern facts; however, this section of the website is written more subjectively because of the tremendous amount of work Huey Long did for the roads of Louisiana, despite still being reliable. The source also discusses the methods Long used to achieve his widespread and sweeping reform of a road system that was one of the nation's worst into one of its best. Overall, it provides a good summary of his work on Louisiana infrastructure.

Ferguson, John C. "New State Capitol." KnowLA. Last modified February 1, 2011. Accessed April 13, 2014. <http://www.knowla.org/entry/497/>.

John Ferguson, working as an independent scholar for the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, discusses the capitol building that Long had built in detail. He explains the

layout of both the exterior and interior along with a clear depiction of the sculptures that surround the building. As the largest state capitol building in the nation, it stood as a symbol of Long's determination and power and spoke somewhat poorly of Long, as he placed great pressure on the state government to agree to build the capitol despite the Great Depression's burden on the State. While the project did provide jobs, it represented a far greater loss for the State and showed Long's interest in developing the pretense of power, often forgotten in many historical accounts.

For the Public, It's Not about Class Warfare, but Fairness. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2012. Accessed December 22, 2013. <http://www.people-press.org/2012/03/02/for-the-public-its-not-about-class-warfare-but-fairness/>.

Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan American research group, evaluated the popular opinion on wealth inequality after the 2012 election. They found that people generally supported a lessening in the income gap, but that the most important factor for the vast majority of Americans was equality in opportunity even more than economic equality. The results also showed similarities with Long's era in that the majority believed that too few rich had too much power, showing a century-old issue that still has not been remedied. While it is modernly less acceptable to want to have wealth capped, it has become even more important now for all to have their deserved political influence. This provides a comparison between Long and current issues, showing the evolution of the people's opinion on different types of inequality.

Fuchs, Johanne. Interview by the author. Palm Harbor, FL. May 28, 2014.

Johanne Fuchs was a young girl who lived in the Palm Harbor area during the Great Depression. When economic trouble began, she was very young- only four years old. This meant that her early childhood was shaped around living through extreme poverty. She provided an understanding of just how extreme the damage done by the Depression was. Like many others in her community, the words of Huey Long promising a house, car, and basic income would have resonated extremely well with her. She felt that had her family been able to vote for him as president, they would have in a heartbeat; this provides a basic understanding of the incredible appeal Long had to the average citizen that was trying to get by during the Depression.

Huey Long Official. "Economic Reform." Long Legacy Project. Last modified 2010. Accessed April 18, 2014. <http://www.hueylong.com/programs/economic-reform.php>.

This website covers the incredible benefits that Long brought to Louisiana economically. Though inherently biased, the website remains fairly objective as it presents facts that even Long's greatest critics admit benefited the state. During the intense economic failures brought to most states by the Depression, Long was able to pull Louisiana almost entirely out of the downfall while also increasing rights and cutting many taxes. An essential change, Long also shifted the burden of taxation from the people to corporations, like Standard Oil, who were in the state to collect natural resources; thereby cutting taxes across all socioeconomic classes, including private taxes to the wealthy. All in all, Long created a Louisiana that could emerge from the Depression nearly unscathed.

"Huey P. Long: American Populist." Gnostic Liberation Front. Last modified July 18, 2010. Accessed March 2, 2014. http://www.gnosticliberationfront.com/huey_long.htm. While the website itself is incredibly biased, this particular article on Long is relatively fact-based and objective. Since the web site supports populism, it provides a unique interpretation of Long as a populist and further explains his support of Hattie Caraway, the first female senator. He personally campaigned for her, traveling across towns to speak to small groups of people at a time as many as five to six times a day, leading her to a stunning victory several well-established politicians. His actions are portrayed as benevolent and morally justified, so while the source is a unique perspective, it is limited by its failure to acknowledge the corruption that went along with Long's policies. Nonetheless, it helped to understand to what extent Long can be considered a populist and his efforts to increase holistic equality, in this case for women as well.

In Deficit Debate, Public Resists Cuts in Entitlements and Aid to Poor. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2013. Accessed December 22, 2013. <http://www.people-press.org/2013/12/19/in-deficit-debate-public-resists-cuts-in-entitlements-and-aid-to-poor/>.

Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan fact tank, released a set of reports revealing the modern outlook on domestic aid to the poor in late 2013. The findings were that the vast majority of Americans favored keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits and spending for the poor at current levels even when in conflict with reducing federal deficit. This was consistent among the three major political divisions - republicans, democrats, independents - and sheds light to the values of modern Americans, keeping the poor in mind regardless of party affiliation. The source was essential in establishing a modern comparison to the political ideologies of the population of the 1920s, showing that welfare in America is still a priority and has spread across all levels of society, but the attempt to attain it is more democratic than Long's.

Independence Hall Association. "Roosevelt's Critics." US History. Last modified 2008. Accessed December 1, 2013. <http://www.ushistory.org/us/49f.asp>.

This website gives a general overview of FDR's major opponents, discussing Father Coughlin and Huey Long most prominently. Both men felt strongly that the New Deal was far too weak, and Long specifically designed the Share Our Wealth program as a more extensive and direct alternative. It also portrays him as a serious threat to Roosevelt, as he would have stolen votes in the 1936 presidential election- if he had not stolen office. It additionally explains Long's complicated history of with FDR, explaining that Long supported him and his campaign while it was politically advantageous for him and he felt secure that Roosevelt's policies were close enough to his own to serve the nation. As this view changed, and Roosevelt failed to support any of the measures Long proposed in the Senate, Long began to align himself against FDR. The source provides a succinct overview of Long's rise into the presidential race.

Kidd, Michael Wayne. "Coughlin, Long, Sinclair: Voices for the Disaffected in 1930s America." American Studies Program. Last modified 2005. Accessed January 6, 2014. <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma01/Kidd/thesis/>.

Michael Kidd, a historian of the University of Virginia, prepared this website discussing the role of Huey Long, Father Charles Coughlin, and Upton Sinclair in representing the American people during the Great Depression. In the portion on Long, he provides a brief biography before explaining the work Long did to protect the rights of many groups by targeting those who needed help most with his policies. Kidd discusses the impacts Long had on the poor, the elderly, schoolchildren, women, and blacks, among other groups. He also emphasizes the value Long held to state infrastructure, and asserts that a 1936 presidential election could have ended in Long's favor. The site is useful for understanding the impact of Long's programs, though it does not weigh these with the results of the heavy corruption that went along with Long's leadership.

Lee, Michael J. "The Populist Chameleon: The People's Party, Huey Long, George Wallace, and the Populist Argumentative Frame." PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2006. Accessed May 16, 2014.

http://www.academia.edu/3490975/The_Populist_Chameleon_The_Peoples_Party_Huey_Long_George_Wallace_and_the_Populist_Argumentative_Frame.

Michael J. Lee's thesis for the University of Minnesota in 2006 discusses the rhetoric of populism, with Huey Long as a poignant example of applied populism; he asserts that since it is very adaptable, Long was able to create a form of populism that sought to protect the common man during the Great Depression. His stance toward Long is favorable, focusing less on the corruption and more on his ideologies, in particular the Share Our Wealth movement. By emphasizing only the ideas of Long, his perspective is limited, but it is helpful to understand the implications of what Long proposed to replace the New Deal with. The source enables Long's acute oratory skills to be linked to his success as a politician, since the success of a platform such as his requires a convincing leader.

Long, Gerald. Telephone interview by the author. March 14, 2014.

Gerald Long, a current Louisiana senator, is the only member of the Long Family to currently hold office and the first one to actively serve as a Republican. During the interview, Long described the modern political atmosphere in Louisiana and the issues that he is most prominently faced with today, including expanding the Louisiana economy and controlling human trafficking. He later went on to describe the lasting influence of Huey Long as still seen in the education and transportation systems of the state, as well as the power that the name holds. The Long Family has had 15 different members serve at some level of Louisiana government, and Senator Long emphasized his hope that the family continues to have the opportunity to impact their state, both morally and practically. The interview was useful in explaining the very clear influence of Huey Long in even the modern politics in Louisiana, as Senator Long sees from day to day, and showing the Long Family legacy and political ideals.

Long Legacy Project. "Huey Long's Programs - Roads." Huey Long Official Website. Last modified 2010. Accessed November 30, 2013.

<http://www.hueylong.com/programs/roads.php>.

This source is a detailed analysis of the extent to which Long's road renovation programs were successful. In the eye of many supporters and critics alike, Long's success with the

development of better roads in Louisiana was one of the hallmark achievements of his career. While he brought incredible change to the state, one of the most empirically impressive improvements is the miles of roads added that were upgraded from mere dirt roads to concrete paved ones. These roads remain today one of the most lasting impacts Long had on Louisiana. This helps provide a modern connection, since even nearly a century after his career, his influence can be felt and seen. For Louisiana, Long was the greatest reformer to affect their history.

"Louisiana's Huey Long Era: Poverty and Progress." In *Louisiana: the History of an American State*. N.p.: Clairmont Press, 2007. Accessed November 19, 2013.
<http://www.oncoursesystems.com/school/webpage/documents/SD9dhPGG6fPEG89fXA/3360405-386973/downloadFile.aspx>.

In one of the only textbooks that covers Louisiana history in detail, the impact of Huey Long is summarized and his development from child, to salesman, lawyer, governor, and finally senator is traced and explained. As a textbook, it is a nearly completely objective source, which helps to place the achievements of Long correctly from other sources into historical context. The source clarifies and verifies the available knowledge on the childhood development of Long, as well as adding possible reasons for his belief in populism. This helps to portray Long from the start, since his growth had a major effect on his future as a politician.

McKeon, Margaret. Interview by the author. Palm Harbor, FL. May 12, 2014.

Miss McKeon, a local woman, was a young girl living in the South when the Great Depression began. Now 89 years old, she helped to shed light on the conditions that common Americans struggled with throughout the United States, including Louisiana. She grew up in the Palm Harbor area, and her family was in the middle class before the Depression hit. Even her family struggled to keep basic necessities available, and had to overcome numerous hardships simply to remain stable. Unlike in Louisiana, very few jobs were created by the local and state government, and their family was forced to rely on a single income after everyone else lost their jobs. This gave a unique and personal perspective on how effective Long's message was to regular people- Margaret's family would have been incredibly supportive of the Share Our Wealth program.

Mitchell, Brent. "Capturing the Ordinary: Russell Lee in Southeastern Louisiana." Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 2004. Accessed February 10, 2014.
http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-04062004-154900/unrestricted/Mitchell_thesis.pdf.
 In his 2004 dissertation, Brent Mitchell of Louisiana State University discusses the photography of Russell Lee in Louisiana, providing detailed analysis of how pictures from the Depression ought to be viewed. Russell Lee's work involved portraying the families he studied as accurately as he could, but he also allowed them to straighten up slightly before pictures, and wear their best clothes. This made little difference, as the living conditions in Louisiana at the time were terrible. Lee's work shows a more human side to these conditions, providing valuable context as to what the statistics on paper mean when they apply to an entire state. The people of Louisiana faced incredible suffering before the support Long gave to the state, and had Long not come into office, many families would have had a much less positive ending to the Great Depression era.

Mufson, Steven. "Oil Spills, Poverty, Corruption, Why Louisiana Is America's Petrostate."

Washington Post, July 18, 2010. Accessed December 20, 2013.

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/16/AR2010071602721.html)

[dyn/content/article/2010/07/16/AR2010071602721.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/16/AR2010071602721.html).

The article discusses oil in a modern context, but makes reference to the stance Huey Long took on Standard Oil- one of strong and vocal opposition. By bringing his views into a modern light, Long's point of view is given validity. The article takes a strong stance against large corporations, and in Long's time, none was bigger than Standard Oil. His opposition- seen by the ferocity of his attacks and statements against the company- is justified in the article and further defended. Long was a champion of the common man that would not benefit, but actually lose from the growth of Standard Oil; the article identifies his support of the lower class and praises it highly.

Reonas, Matthew. "Great Depression." KnowLA. Last modified December 17, 2010. Accessed

December 8, 2013. <http://www.knowla.org/entry/875/>.

Matthew Reonas, an independent scholar writing for the KnowLA encyclopedia on Louisiana state history, gives a conclusive outline of Long's development from childhood into politics. He also explains the underlying conditions in Louisiana prior to Long's 1928 governorship, citing events that made his incredible appeal to the common man an even stronger political tool. With a Louisiana that had been behind with technology and infrastructure for decades, the people themselves were ready for radical change. Long, running on a backwoods platform that appealed to the vast majority of Louisianians, was able to sweep the governor's race in 1928 partially as a result of the conditions of the state at the time.

Sacher, John M. E-mail interview by the author. June 3, 2014.

John Sacher, a professor at the University of Central Florida and doctoral graduate from LSU, interviewed on the value of Huey Long. Sacher's general conclusion was that Long, on net, provided too much to the state to be discounted for his illegal actions. While it is reprehensible to defy the law, Sacher felt that Long provided so much to such a poor state that he, and perhaps only he, was justified in taking these steps. Despite this, he urged that the corruption of Long be well-known and acknowledged heavily in the project, since his actions were only extremely circumstantially justified. This interview served to verify the general premise of the project, as well as ensure that bias was not given to either side- the opponents or proponents of Long- so as to present Long fairly.

Scott, John W. "Highway Building in Louisiana before Huey Long: An Overdue Re-Appraisal."

Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association 44, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 5-38. Accessed April 14, 2014.

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/4233900?uid=3739256&uid=2460338175&uid=2460337935&uid=2&uid=4&uid=83&uid=63&sid=21103249656013>.

John Scott, a historian at LSU, provides the only source in the literature that suggests that Huey Long's road-making programs were not as drastically effective as most assume. One of the most tangible achievements made by Long is the miles that can be traveled through the state now; this fact is unquestioned even by his greatest critics, such as Raymond Gram Swing and Hodding Carter. This is useful because it shows that the

disagreement over the facts behind Long is so great that even supposedly-objective examinations of the subject do not agree with one another on such a basic yet crucial matter.

Swing, Raymond Gram. "The Menace of Huey Long." *The Nation*, January 16, 1935. Accessed December 22, 2013.

http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1162.

Raymond Gram Swing, one of the harshest critics of Long, wrote this article that focuses mostly on the corruption of Long and charges brought against him. It highlights many of the charges that are overlooked by more favorable sources, which helps with establishing whether Long was dedicated to his cause or simply seeking power. Swing spoke outrightly against Long, making him the most public opponent to his political regime. While he goes slightly too far with some charges, this shows a strong negative view on Long, putting his corruption and political manipulation into perspective.

Talmadge, Herman. Interview by Jack Nelson. Documenting the American South. Accessed November 26, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/A-0331-1/A-0331-1.html>.

Herman Talmadge, whose father was active in Georgia politics in the Long era, provided this interview conducted by Jack Nelson that clarifies another perspective on Long. Talmadge's view, after careful studying of the biography by T. Harry Williams and a review of other sources as well, is that Long was able to do a tremendous amount of good for the state. While Long did use corrupt methods to achieve his desires, Talmadge found this easily overlooked when so much good was done for the state of Louisiana. His father shared the same opinion, and suggested that many politicians in the South felt similarly while Long was politically active.

Thompson, Rachel. "Huey Long—'Every Man a King.'" Ken Burns on PBS. Last modified 2002. Accessed October 28, 2013. <http://www.pbs.org/kenburns/hueylong/educators/>.

Rachel Thompson gives a detailed background of Huey Long's political career and social reforms. Thompson also explains how Long overcame his oppositions through intimidation and patronage, thus giving him the labeled persona of a dictator. Including the actual speech Long gave proposing his "Share Our Wealth" plan, Thompson gives a brief keynote of the outline of his plan. Rachel Thompson is currently the Educational Outreach Director at the George C. Marshall International Center. This biography's purpose is to induce a comparison of the social reforms of Long and other political figures including Robert LaFollette, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Updegaff, Ragan. "Freedom in Dialogue: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and Anti-Intellectualism in the Public Sphere." Master's thesis, Trinity University, 2005. Accessed March 2, 2014. http://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=speechdrama_honors.

This thesis deals with the communication styles of Huey Long and fellow FDR-enemy Father Coughlin. It establishes that the success of Long was based on his ability to communicate to the masses, and heavily influenced by the relatively new radio that had yet not become a common way for politicians to reach the public. With his unique use of

the radio, Long was able to form a significantly stronger connection with many, expanding his sphere of influence from Louisiana to the entire nation.

Williams, T. Harry. *Huey Long*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.

Williams, a historian at Louisiana State University most known for his definitive study on Huey Long was initially dissatisfied with the sources available to him and sought out individuals that had been involved with Long and collected interviews to feature in his book. The book itself has no bias, displaying a wide spectrum of opinions on Long, and has received both the National Book Award and Pulitzer Prize in 1970. It was used in this project to get a better sense of the public opinion that Long experienced, both intensely negative and intensely positive, many experiencing him as closely to a hero or villain as possible, thus better explaining the polarization of the public and placing the project and its analysis in historical context.