THE PEOPLE'S RECORDER

EPISODE 9: IS THIS LAND YOUR LAND?

HOST: Throughout US history, it seems California has always attracted outsiders. From the 1848 Gold Rush to the migrants fleeing the Dust Bowl during the Great Depression, people have traveled to the Golden State in search of new opportunities or as a way to start over and re-invent themselves.

Or sometimes just to zone out on a nice beach…

DAVID BRADLEY: *I came to California pretty much because I was an avid runner, and you didn't have to deal with snow, and then I found you could run on the beach, which was great on your joints.*

HOST: Novelist David Bradley came west to California in the 1980s. And found himself discovering the surprising footsteps of the WPA writers from fifty years before.

DAVID BRADLEY: *And I found one beach. And it was a perfect beach. It was a perfect six miles down and back. But at one point I was reading the California Guide that said this beach is exclusively for Negroes. Now the beaches in California are open to everyone. Seems to be part of the California ethos. It never occurred to me that I was running on a beach that was once segregated. And if it wasn't for the California Guide, I never would've known.*
[Theme music starts]

HOST: This is the People's Recorder, and I'm your host Chris Haley. This is the podcast that explores the work of the Federal Writers' Project, the 1930s program that set out to document the United States. In its quest to hold up a mirror to America, it ended up raising just as many questions as it answered - questions that we are still asking ourselves today.

In the Great Depression, politics and creative arts got all tangled up together. Hmm, maybe it was not so different from now.

The Federal Writers' Project was right in the center of that debate. Putting unemployed people to work documenting America in all its diversity for a series of guidebooks was a controversial idea for many Americans. But the experience of the Project echoed through the halls of publishers and universities for decades.

David Bradley is known for his PEN/Faulkner-award winning book, *The Chaneysville Incident.* Although the Writers' Project ended before he was born, Bradley encountered it when he was a college student in Philadelphia.

DAVID BRADLEY: *The first time I heard about it was from one of my college professors, a guy named Jerre Mangione, who was in the Project.*

HOST: In the 1930s, Jerre Mangione had been a young assistant to Henry Alsberg, the Project's national director. In that role, Mangione had a close-up view of the inner workings of the Project.

DAVID BRADLEY: *There were very few avenues for Black people, in terms of intellectual pursuits. My father went to college in 1926, something like that, '27. And life was very different for me, but not that much different. There were still limitations. But Jerre was talking about how he had known Richard Wright and then I found out how these many Black writers had been involved in the Writers' Project and how that had given them a start. And for my development that was a very important shift in concept.*

HOST: Years passed. Bradley's historical novel, *The Chaneysville Incident*, came out and received passionate reviews and awards. Then Bradley moved across the country to California, where he once again encountered the Writers' Project and the WPA guides it produced.

DAVID BRADLEY: *When I first started coming to California, my first experience was with San Diego, and it didn't have the same vibe as I saw in the movies. And San Diego has a rich cultural legacy. And great preservation. And I wondered, how did all this happen? And I start looking around for well-written history that will sort of give me information. And I found the California Guide.*

HOST: Bradley was impressed by the WPA Guides and how they revealed some aspects of the state most people don't know about.

DAVID BRADLEY: *One of the things I love about the guides is the sense of – before there were the interstates, you had to interact with the landscape as you drove through in a way that you don't now. You're driving along the interstate, and you say, why the hell is there a town here? Um, well, because there's always been a town there, or there's been a town there since 1832, or somebody got hung there. I mean, the Guide talks about people getting hung. It talks about people getting broken outta jail. You know, there's some Wild West stuff in there.*

EXCERPT FROM THE WPA GUIDE TO CALIFORNIA (VOICED BY AN ACTOR): *Black Bart Rock is so named for the robbery of a mail stage by the elusive road agent, Black Bart, a lone highwayman, traveling on foot, who robbed 27 coaches in the Sierra and Coast Range Mountain country between 1875 and 1883. Always polite, fastidiously dressed in a line duster and mask, he used to leave behind facetious rhymes in mail and express boxes after he finished rifling them. A stay in San Quentin from 1883 to 1885 cut short his career. From the WPA Guide to California.*

HOST: But to Bradley, the WPA Guide represents so much more than wild stories about California. As he discovered that day when he was running on the beach in La Jolla, the Guide also revealed a picture of the state different from the one he thought he knew.

EXCERPT FROM THE WPA GUIDE TO CALIFORNIA (VOICED BY AN ACTOR): *La Jolla occupies a small rocky promontory popular with easterners who have built lovely homes and gardens on top of its sheer cliffs overlooking the sea. The seven La Jolla Caves, now accessible from Coast Blvd (admission 24 cents) were formerly visited only by boat. In the contrast of light and darkness from within the caves the openings of the sea show strange and distinct forms, sometimes human in aspect. La Jolla's most popular spot is The Cove… Pacific Beach is a small farming district and resort suburb. A section of its beach is exclusively for Negroes. From the WPA Guide to California.*

DAVID BRADLEY: *It said exclusively for Negroes. Did that mean that that's all the Negroes had to go there, or that white people weren't allowed? I don't think that's what it meant, but here was a time – not that long ago. You don't think about those things in connection with Southern California, but there it is.*

HOST: That story got me thinking about other instances where a book opened up a place I thought I knew, in a way that didn't fit the pictures in my head. That power in the guidebook came from giving people who hadn't been in the picture a role in painting it.

Writer Eluard McDaniel and painter Miné Okubo's experiences in California help give us a profound new lens on the American identity. This is just a taste of these artists and their work. Each could merit an episode all on their own, and we encourage you to find out more about them after listening.

The first was a young Black man named Eluard Luchell McDaniel. Born in Mississippi, he was working by the age of ten. With no prospects in the Jim Crow South, he lit out for the West, part of what was later called The Great Migration, when African Americans left the American South for other parts of the country. As McDaniel recalled in an oral history later, here read by an actor:

ELUARD MCDANIEL (VOICED BY ACTOR): *I worked two years then left my home, left my family. Hoboing. I got the train at Gulfport. I was between ten and eleven. I hit California on my eleventh birthday.*

HOST: Young McDaniel stopped in San Francisco, where he sold newspapers and shined shoes to get by. He was able to finish high school and studied art. Big for his age, he also got involved in the labor movement. In fact, he joined the union organizing effort at the same waterfront strike attended by another Writers' Project figure – Tillie Olsen. During that strike, the police cracked down hard.

[Archival newsreel of the 1934 strike]

NEWSCASTER (ARCHIVAL): *Open warfare rages through the streets of the city as 3,000 union pickets battle 700 police. Guns, tear gas, clubs and fists bring injuries to more than 80 persons and caused the death of two.*

ELUARD MCDANIEL (VOICED BY ACTOR): *I was radicalized on the waterfront itself.*

I was doing extra longshoremen work. I worked on the waterfront doing propaganda for unions. Maritime Federation. We started that right on the San Francisco waterfront. That's where the Congress of Industrial Organizations come from, the San Francisco waterfront.

HOST: McDaniel was on the frontlines at a defining moment for American labor. He rode freight trains up and down the California coast for the union. But he was looking for steady work.

In 1936, McDaniel heard about an opportunity to join the Writers' Project in San Francisco. McDaniel would bring his nomadic experience to the task of documenting America for the WPA guidebooks. He was different than most on the Writers' Project, in several ways. For one thing, he was Black. Nationwide only two or three percent of the Writers' Project staff were African American.

McDaniel also stood out because of his writing style. He approached his work with a direct, conversational voice that few writers matched. After work, on his own time, McDaniel wrote about his life with the community that newspapers labeled as hobos, bums, migrants, floaters, refugees - people of the road. He called his essay "Bumming in California." In his own voice, he described a community avoiding the police and taking care of each other.

ELUARD MCDANIEL (VOICED BY ACTOR): *In the railroad yard, floaters were from all parts of America. The railroad Bulls stayed busy trying to keep bums from riding the trains. Policemen were busy ordering floaters out of town throughout California. There were four in our group. Not one had enough money to buy food. We were saving the twenty-five cents for the ferry into San Francisco. When we were three miles past San Bernardino, Asti Butt Slim spied some farmer's ranch.*

We stayed on that ranch for two days. That farmer paid us six dollars for the two days. We went some distance from that ranch and began our usual old-time game. Gambling on everything but the time of day. With six dollars each, we had something to gamble with. We made an agreement not to break each other. All of us had been broke once. No one could lose any more than three dollars on that train.

HOST: McDaniel shared his essay with his editors in the San Francisco office. They agreed that his short memoir deserved a national showcase. They submitted "Bumming in California" for a book of personal writings by Project workers – stories, poems and essays written after work.

The book, titled American Stuff, was published in New York by Viking Press, with an introduction by the agency's national director, Henry Alsberg. McDaniel's essay, one of seven from San Francisco writers that appeared in the book, showed a national audience how "traveling while Black" was a situation that involved more dangers than white people faced.

Author David Bradley.

DAVID BRADLEY: *You know, just because there's a hotel there doesn't mean you can go in there. At this point in history, enough Black people had cars and were taking road trips for this to*

be a matter of concern. But that's something that the federal guide didn't get into too much as to where Black people could stay, where they couldn't.

HOST: Ignoring those lines could put you at risk of violence. Take this scene from his essay detailing McDaniel's run-in with the police, and how the cops treated him differently from the others.

ELUARD MCDANIEL (VOICED BY ACTOR): *The chief taken us before the desk sergeant, and said: "book these fellows…You boys is just kids, ain't you? I never got your age, McDaniel."*

"I am 14 years old."

"What did you say and how old?"

"I am 14 years old."

The officer was silent for two or three minutes. "I was fixing to turn you boys loose, but he had to lie."

"No lie, officer."

"Well, ain't no way in hell for you to get that big, fat and ugly in 14 years."

HOST: McDaniel's account filled out the picture of the migrant life in American Stuff. It showed a country on the ropes. As one critic wrote in the New York Times:

NEW YORK TIMES REVIEW (VOICED BY ACTOR): *No one can read through this volume carefully without being impressed with the picture it gives of an impoverished and struggling lower middle class in America. The WPA writers are all recording what they see. For this reason, there is almost no propaganda in this book. Altogether this book certainly gives the reader a broad and very new view of America.*

HOST: That reviewer appeared to have McDaniel in mind when highlighting, quote:

NEW YORK TIMES REVIEW (VOICED BY ACTOR): *The precision and effectiveness with which our American writers are now using not literary English, but exact American idiom.*

HOST: The Times gave a shout-out to McDaniel's essay as "a study of the wild boys of America."

HOST: Eluard McDaniel passed through the story of America like a strong wind. Without the Writers' Project, he would have hardly left any trace in print. He was the embodiment of history in action. Like the Great Migration that he was part of, he signaled a movement in American history that history books were slow to recognize.

McDaniel was also alert to news of the world beyond America.

[Archival newsreel of the Spanish Civil War]

NEWSCASTER (ARCHIVAL): *Headlines of tragedy. Pounding at the gates of Madrid, General Franco's rebel forces demolish suburb after suburb in their bid to capture the historic Spanish capital.*

HOST: In 1937, democracies were under attack. That year McDaniel left the Writers' Project and moved on to the international scene when he enlisted in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a group of Americans who volunteered to fight in the Spanish Civil War against the fascist regime backed by Nazi Germany.

Writer and Professor David Kipen:

DAVID KIPEN: *The first I ever heard of McDaniel, near as I can remember, he was this African American guy, worked on the San Francisco project, had gone to the Spanish Civil War, where he picked up the nickname "El Fantastico" because of his grenade throwing prowess.*

ELUARD MCDANIEL (VOICED BY ACTOR): *I was a machine-gun expert, but I was celebrated for throwing hand grenades. I threw with both hands. Took the pins out with my teeth. That's why they called me El Fantastico. The Fantastic One. They would bring grenades to me, and they'd pile up. I'd raise up and throw two at a time.*

HOST: McDaniel had bolted for Spain so fast in 1937 that he didn't even pick up his last paycheck from the Writers' Project. He told the story in an oral history later in life:

ELUARD MCDANIEL (VOICED BY ACTOR): *They sent the check to Spain…the last check I had coming for $94 as an editor. Didn't make sense to send it. I lost that crossing the Ebro River. We had to retreat across the Ebro, and it got wet! I finally got back here, and they couldn't clear the books on that check that I had never cashed. So, in '40, they re-issued me that check.*

HOST: By 1940 when McDaniel returned to America, the WPA Guide to California had already been published - to widely positive reviews. It was the only state guide in the whole series to be selected for the Book of the Month Club and reached millions of people across America.

The Writers Project made Americans rethink who they were and brought new voices into the conversation.

DAVID BRADLEY: *There are things about Blacks and where people were living and how they got there that now seem freighted with meaning. And nobody knew. Nobody knew what was around the corner.*

HOST: More after the break.

HOST: When American Stuff was published, it included sixteen paintings and prints that illustrated the writings by Eluard McDaniel and the other contributors. Those pieces came from the Federal Art Project and were selected by Henry Alsberg. They highlighted people typically left out of official murals, like families on the street. The artists of the Federal Art Project, like the federal writers, were depicting American life with new images.

This brings us to our last story of New Deal arts programs in California. There are many ways to be branded as "the other." Perhaps none more shattering than the experiences of a young artist, a Japanese American woman named Miné Okubo.

Born and raised in the Los Angeles suburb of Riverside, Miné Okubo followed her dream: to become a successful artist.

Seiko Buckingham and Jeanie Tanaka remember Okubo, who had gained international fame by the time she died in 2001, as their Aunt Miné. We caught up with them recently as they were going through some of her papers.

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *Miné was a great letter writer. She had a really good sense of humor, good wit. And I can never read her handwriting, but they always had little drawings. This is a Christmas letter that she sent out, and that's her celebration hat. And then I guess the character next to her is a chicken with a flag or something.*

HOST: Miné Okubo kept in close touch with her family, even when a whole continent lay between them.

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *Miné was always up to date on what was happening in California, and I think momma always kept abreast of what Miné was doing. They did phone calls and letters constantly. Miné would fly out to California for various meetings. We'd get a phone call, and it was like, "Okay, everybody gather at this Chinese restaurant. Miné's coming into town." So, we'd see her for maybe two or three hours, and then she'd be off going to another engagement. So, it was very brief, but we always tried to get together.*

HOST: Even after Okubo flew back to New York, she thought about her family more than they realized. After her death, the nieces discovered that Okubo had written a great deal about her family and her early life.

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *She had started a chronology of her life, or an autobiography. Actually, I just picked this up this morning and I thought, "oh my gosh, you know, I'd never seen this before" because it was buried in one of my files. One of these days, I'm gonna have to go through this and, and try to transcribe it.*

It says, "My father and mother came to this country to further their education. And then she goes on, let's see, "My parents were creative people."

I think the influence of art came directly from her mother. The stories we heard was that her mother told her she should draw a cat every day. And not just draw it but to capture the emotion of the cat. So, you see a lot of cats in her artwork.

In junior college, she had an art teacher, and he thought the best place for her to continue her education was in Berkeley. So, she goes on to say that she was really scared and unsure of herself, but she pushed herself to go.

HOST: After Berkeley, Okubo received an art fellowship that sent her to Europe in 1938. She returned two years later, a mature painter. But it was the Depression, and times were still hard for artists in America. So, Okubo found a job with the Federal Art Project, which was painting large murals in schools and other public buildings. For that program, Okubo was helping the famous muralist, Diego Rivera. In her words, read by an actor:

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *I had just returned from two years of study in Europe on a University of California fellowship and was working in the Federal Art Program doing mosaic and fresco murals commissioned by the U.S. Army.*

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *We've heard her in different interviews say that she was on the scaffolding when Diego was painting, and she was down below, and people would think that she was one of his children or something like that.*

HOST: Okubo's work for the Federal Art Project was cut short by America's entry into World War II.

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *I was with a younger brother at Berkeley in the San Francisco Bay area. I had a good home and many friends. Everything was going along fine. Then on December 7, 1941, while my brother and I were having late breakfast I turned on the radio and heard the flash.*

[Archival newsreel of the Pearl Harbor]

NEWSCASTER (ARCHIVAL): *December 7th, 1941. No American will ever forget this Sunday morning in Hawaii. High overhead, Jap raiders are on the loose. Without warning they circle Pearl Harbor and the city of Honolulu. Surprise attack borne of infamy."*

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *"Pearl Harbor bombed by the Japanese!" We were shocked. We wondered what this would mean to us and the other people of Japanese descent in the United States. At this time, I was working on mosaics for Fort Ord in Oakland. I was too busy to bother about reports of possible evacuation.*

[Archival newsreel about Japanese detention camps during World War II]

NEWSCASTER (ARCHIVAL): *Our West Coast became a potential combat zone. Living in that zone are more than 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry. The uncertainty of what would happen among these people in case of a Japanese invasion still remained. All persons of*

Japanese descent were required to register. At each re-location center, evacuees looked about with some curiosity. They were in a new area, on land that was raw, untamed, but full of opportunity.

HOST: At least, that's how the government described what was happening. The reality of that experience was very different. Okubo and her brother soon found themselves rounded up with thousands of other Japanese Americans. Their family name was reduced to a number: 13660. Labeled enemy aliens, they were forced into makeshift camps. Here's a rare, original recording of Okubo when she was 52 years old, describing her first day in the camp.

MINÉ OKUBO (ARCHIVAL): *The bus drove in front of the grandstand and we got out. And we were searched for contraband, straight edge razor and knives and liquor. And then we went to the registration table and were assigned our stable 16 and stall 50. We went inside to the dark, dimly lit back part, and saw two army cots against the wall. By then it was 10 o'clock. We decided we'll hit the hay, but it turned out so cold that we finally had to open everything in the bags and the suitcases and spread it on top of us. Finally, about 12 o'clock, fell asleep. That was our first, uh, night in camp.*

HOST: Okubo went from painting American history for the WPA to documenting the horrible turn her own life took in the language that she knew best, pictures. She drew her experience of the humiliating incarceration of Japanese Americans in detention camps.

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *In the camps, I had the opportunity to study the human race from the cradle to the grave, and to see what happens to people when reduced to one status and condition. Cameras and photographs were not permitted in the camps, so I recorded everything in sketches, drawings and paintings. Citizen 13660 began as a special group of drawings made to tell the story of camp life for my many friends who faithfully sent letters and packages to let us know we were not forgotten.*

HOST: But in her family, that experience was too painful to share. Only much later did her nieces discover their Aunt Miné had created a clear-eyed picture of one of the most chilling episodes of American history.

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *I didn't read her book until I was an adult. I don't know about Jeanie. Did you?*

JEANIE TANAKA: *Well, just after we were married.*

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *When you were an adult, too. My parents never talked about incarceration. My mother said it was too painful for her to talk about. You know, out of respect, I wasn't going to pin her down. I didn't really learn anything about the incarceration of all the Japanese Americans until I was in high school or junior high school. And you read about it in the classroom, and then you come home saying, "Oh, my gosh, what did you do?"*

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *Residents were allowed only to talk to visitors through a wire fence. We were close to freedom yet far from it. Guard towers and barbed wire surrounded the center. Guards were on duty night and day.*

There was a lack of privacy everywhere. The incomplete partitions made a symphony of yours and your neighbors' loves, hates, and joys. One had to get used to snores, baby-crying, family troubles, and even to the jitterbugs.

HOST: She also made drawings of the guards moving her group by train from the Bay Area camp to <u>another</u> camp, hundreds of miles away in the desert. Okubo's pen and ink drawings fill her book with those images: a stark desert landscape, cramped quarters, moldering mattresses, and a young woman trying to cope.

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *There seems to be a story within the pictures. For instance, there was one scene where the people are being marched into camp…*

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *The trip was a nightmare. The train creaked with age. Children cried. Suddenly the Central Utah Relocation Project was stretched out before us in a cloud of dust. It was a desolate scene. As we stepped out, we could hear band music and people cheering.*

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *And there's a band playing, and it says, Welcome to Topaz. Well, it was a concentration camp. So, there's a story within a story there.*

MINÉ OKUBO (VOICED BY ACTOR): *But it was impossible to see anything through the dust. When we finally battled our way into the building we looked as if we had fallen in a flour barrel.*

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *We're just now hearing about them because I think the families crated up the past. And that's what my parents said: "Forget about the past, move on to the future." And now that these elders are passing away and the children are discovering these things, I think they're discovering more about their own heritage.*

HOST: In 1944, after she'd been detained more than two years, one of Okubo's sketches – of a guard at the Topaz camp in the Utah desert – reached an editor at Fortune magazine. The magazine arranged for Okubo's release so she could travel to New York to illustrate a special issue, a sympathetic look at Japanese Americans.

After that, in 1946 her book Citizen 13660 was published, the first personal documentation of people's lives in the detention camps. Many Americans didn't want to hear about an experience so at odds with their view of the Land of the Free.

Many still refuse to see such a portrait. Here's Los Angeles-based writer and professor David Kipen.

DAVID KIPEN: *Well, I mean, what's a portrait? Is a portrait a photo session after a whole lot of makeup, followed by some sort of filter to airbrush all of the blemishes? No, I think the best portraits are the ones taken by an artist who actually want to understand and convey the beauty and the truth of something. It's raw and it's emotional, and it's gritty and it's gutsy and courageous. I think it's precisely when a country is up against it, as we were then – it's at those times that a true portrait is necessary, and I think it has the power to be beautiful.*

HOST: Citizen 13660 became a keynote reference forty years later, when Congress created a commission to address the demands of camp survivors for an accounting. Miné Okubo, along with over 750 others, testified in the commission's hearings. Okubo emphasized that young people needed to learn about the detention of Japanese Americans during World War II. These personal testimonies forced a change in how we saw history and helped lead to an official apology 43 years later.

[Archival clip of Ronald Reagan speaking at an event]

ANNOUNCER (ARCHIVAL): *The President of the United States.*

RONALD REAGAN (ARCHIVAL): *Thank you all very much. My fellow Americans, we gather here today to right a grave wrong. Shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in makeshift internment camps. This action was taken without trial, without jury. It was based solely on race, for these 120,000 were Americans of Japanese descent. For here, we admit a wrong. Here we reaffirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law.*

HOST: In addition to an apology from President Ronald Reagan, the 1988 Civil Liberties Act awarded Japanese Americans who survived the camps reparations for the injustice they suffered. What we see in that law decades later is that, as author William Faulkner wrote, "the past is never dead. It's not even past."

SEIKO BUCKINGHAM: *Every time I go to the Japanese American Museum, I see a different story from a different family and it's just incredible what comes out or what was buried for so long.*

Now there's more of a growing interest in Miné's art, specifically because she's not only a female, minority, early California artist, internee artist, post-war artist, book publisher. Now, I realize her whole life is really incredible.

I think this is just the tip of the iceberg. We'll probably as a family learn more and more about who our relatives were and what they went through.

And I guess history will be re-written again.

HOST: Othered. Invisible. These terms point to the long erasure felt by groups left out of the American narrative. This wider range of citizen-writers and artists recruited to document America during the Depression launched changes that continue to unfold.

Author David Bradley.

DAVID BRADLEY: *The Writers' Project changed a lot of people's imagination about what it meant to be a writer. It was a shift in consciousness ... among American writers, who saw themselves in a different way. And it gave a sense of being part of a workforce as opposed to a dilettante. You know, you're not wandering by a stream. You're actually in the world doing work. You've got a wrench as opposed to a paintbrush. I think that was an important change.*

HOST: Writers doing real work in the world. Besides creating guidebooks to America, the WPA writers and artists influenced others for decades afterwards. They forced people to ask, what really happened? Whose stories do we tell?

Harry Partch, Tillie Olsen, Elluard McDaniel, and Miné Okubo. These Californian artists didn't stick to the usual take on American history. Instead, they brought in fresh perspectives from communities whose stories often got left out or ignored.

Making new connections in the American story—that's what the Federal Writers were doing. And that's what we're doing in The People's Recorder, connecting voices from the past to our lives today.

Next time on the People's Recorder, we head to Nebraska. In our season finale, we explore the unexpected literary renaissance that led to one of the most prolific state offices in the Project's history.

This episode of The People's Recorder was brought to you with support from California Humanities and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The episode was produced by Spark Media. You can follow us on social media at @peoplesrecorder. This is Chris Haley. Thanks for listening.