

# The NEW DEAL

## THE BIG PICTURE

The New Deal was President Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan for overcoming the Great Depression. His plan gave government jobs to the unemployed and increased government regulation of the economy. Although New Deal programs achieved varied levels of success, they did represent a basic change in American society.



## California Standards

### History-Social Sciences

**11.6** Students analyze the different explanations for the Great Depression and how the New Deal fundamentally changed the role of the federal government.

**11.8** Students analyze the economic boom and social transformation of post-World War II America.

**11.10** Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.

### Skills FOCUS

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Artist Ben Shahn painted this mural for the community center of Jersey Homesteads. The panel shown here celebrates the planning of the New Jersey town, which was built as part of a New Deal program for garment workers.

**Interpreting Visuals** Why do you think Shahn included a poster of Roosevelt among the symbols in the mural?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30



U.S.



March 1933

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt is inaugurated.



1933

1934



World

March 1933

Germans elect Adolf Hitler as chancellor.





## History's Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

A Gallant Leader  
Franklin D. Roosevelt



**August 1935**  
Congress passes Social Security Act.

**December 1936**  
United Auto Workers stage a sit-down strike against General Motors.

**July 1937**  
Farm Tenancy Act gives tenant farmers the opportunity to buy their own land.



**October 1938**  
Radio broadcast of H.G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* frightens listeners.

1935

**September 1935**  
Germany passes Nuremberg Laws, discriminating against Jews.

1936

**1936**  
Spanish Civil War begins.

1937

**1937**  
The German airship *Hindenburg* explodes at Lakehurst, New Jersey.

1938

**September 1938**  
Mexico nationalizes foreign oil companies.

1939

**1939**  
Germany invades Poland.





# Launching the New Deal

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

In 1933 Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president of a suffering nation. He quickly sought to address the country's needs, with mixed results.

### READING FOCUS

1. What were the key events of the presidential election of 1932?
2. What was the nature of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's political partnership?
3. What initial actions did Roosevelt take to stabilize the economy?
4. How did the New Deal run into trouble in Roosevelt's first term?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

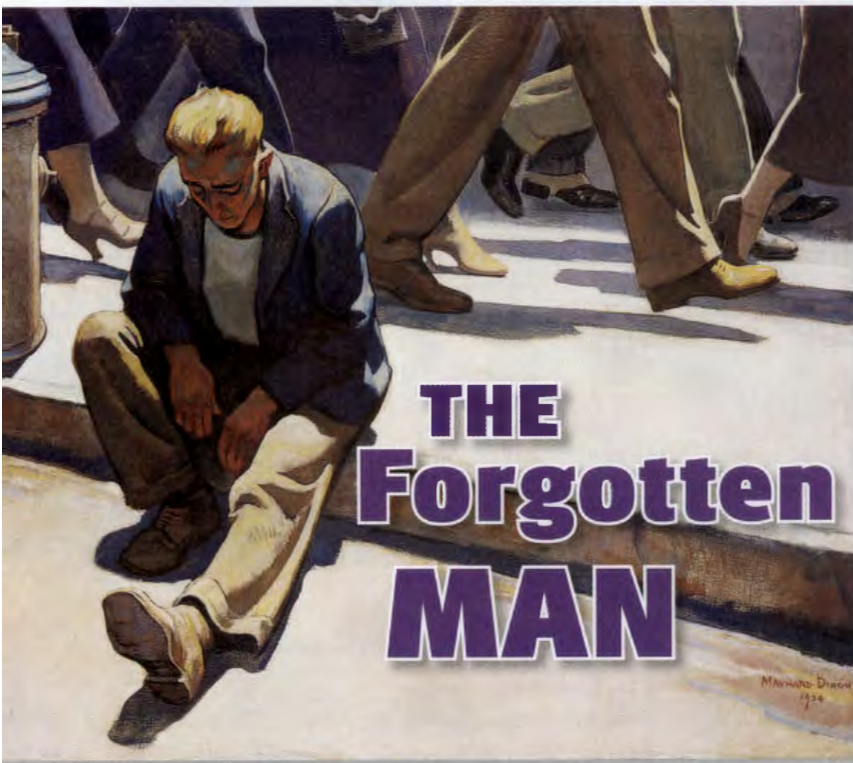
Franklin Delano Roosevelt  
public works  
fireside chat  
Eleanor Roosevelt  
Hundred Days  
New Deal  
subsidy  
Huey P. Long  
Father Charles Coughlin  
Dr. Francis Townsend



**HSS 11.6.2** Understand the steps taken by the Congress and Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt to combat the economic crisis.

**HSS 11.6.4** Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal policies.

**HSS 11.8.5** Describe the increased powers of the presidency in response to the Great Depression.



▲ Roosevelt's "forgotten man" speech was as powerful as Maynard Dixon's 1934 painting of the same name.

### THE INSIDE STORY

*How did it feel to be a forgotten victim of the Great Depression?*

Franklin Delano Roosevelt seemed to know. In 1932 Roosevelt was one of several candidates seeking the Democratic presidential nomination. Some critics dismissed him as "an amiable man... without very strong convictions." But in an April 1932 speech, Roosevelt took a strong stand. He criticized the policies of President Hoover as ineffective and wrongly directed at only the "top of the social and economic structure." By contrast, Roosevelt pledged to help the "forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid." Only by helping these people, Roosevelt claimed, would the nation's economic ills be cured.

Roosevelt's speech included few specific proposals. Yet that did not seem to matter to the Depression-weary citizens reading his words or watching the newsreels at the movie houses. Here at last was someone who understood the plight of ordinary citizens. He remembered them, he cared about them, and he seemed to understand that their fate was key to the nation's recovery.

The personal connection Roosevelt established was something few Americans felt they had with Herbert Hoover. It would serve Roosevelt well in the months and years ahead. ■



## The Election of 1932

The 1932 presidential election presented the Democrats with a great opportunity to recapture the White House for the first time in 12 years. With joblessness mounting and banks collapsing in record numbers, many Americans placed the blame squarely on President Hoover. Eager to unseat him, Democrats competed fiercely for their party's nomination. **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** emerged the victor.

**Roosevelt's rise** Franklin Roosevelt was a distant relative of former president Theodore Roosevelt. He had served as assistant secretary of the navy under Woodrow Wilson. He had also run unsuccessfully for vice president in 1920.

Soon after, the ambitious young politician was stricken with polio. The disease nearly killed him and left him without full use of his legs. Yet Roosevelt rebounded from that experience to become governor of New York in 1929. Many considered Roosevelt's record as governor impressive. He launched a groundbreaking relief program to aid the state's many victims of the Great Depression. By 1932 Roosevelt's program had provided help to 1 of every 10 New York families. His record stood in stark contrast to Hoover's insistence on limited government action.

**The 1932 campaign** During the campaign, Roosevelt offered some general ideas about what he would do as president. He promised relief for the poor and more **public works** programs—government-funded building projects—that would provide jobs. He also talked about lowering tariffs.

Mainly, though, Roosevelt attacked Hoover and the Republicans for their response to the Great Depression. "For at least two years after the crash," Roosevelt railed in an October 1932 speech, "the only efforts made by the national administration to cope with the distress of unemployment were to deny its existence." At the same time, Roosevelt criticized Hoover for spending too much money, and he promised to cut the federal budget. In general,

his speeches laid out the case for change at the White House without tying him down to specific promises or policies.

Though Roosevelt's speeches were vague and sometimes contradictory, they alarmed Hoover. Considering the prospect of Roosevelt's election, he predicted disaster. "The grass will grow in the streets of a hundred cities," cried Hoover. "The weeds will overrun the fields of millions of farms."

**A landslide victory** Hoover's warnings failed to stir many voters. On election day, the voters handed Roosevelt a clear victory. Roosevelt received more than 57 percent of the popular vote and swept the electoral vote in all but six states. In addition, the Democrats gained 90 seats in the House of Representatives and 13 seats in the Senate to take control of both houses of Congress.

### READING CHECK Making Generalizations

What was Franklin Roosevelt's campaign strategy in the election of 1932?

## THE ELECTION OF 1932

Candidate	Political Affiliation	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
F. D. Roosevelt	Democratic	472	22,821,857
Herbert Hoover	Republican	59	15,761,841



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS

Roosevelt won by a landslide in 1932.

**Region** What region was the Republican stronghold? How many electoral votes went to the Republican candidate, and how many to the Democratic candidate?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H21



# Franklin Delano ROOSEVELT

1882–1945



Raised in a wealthy New York family, Franklin Roosevelt had private tutors and traveled to Europe frequently. He won election in 1910 to

the New York State Senate, but he resigned in 1913 to serve as President Wilson's assistant secretary of the navy.

Roosevelt's career seemed over when he contracted polio in 1921. With the help of his wife, Eleanor, Roosevelt returned to public service. In 1928 he won the race for governor of New York, serving during the early years of the Depression. His work in easing New Yorkers' suffering helped him win the 1932 Democratic presidential nomination.

**Explain** How did Roosevelt's experience in New York help him nationally?

## A Political Partnership

As a politician, Roosevelt's greatest asset may have been his personality. He had an appealing blend of cheerfulness, optimism, and confidence. These qualities were illustrated by his response to the illness that had left him unable to walk without assistance.

Rather than giving in to his disability, Roosevelt had worked tirelessly to regain strength in his legs and to continue his public career. In this era before television, most Americans were unaware of Roosevelt's handicap. However, his personal struggle gave him a strength that many found very reassuring. In this way, Roosevelt took a personal challenge and turned it into one of his greatest political strengths.

Roosevelt also possessed a warmth and charm that made him an effective communicator. As president, he used the radio to great effect, particularly in his **fireside chats**. As the name suggests, these addresses were meant to sound as though Roosevelt were in the listener's living room, speaking personally with the family. He spoke calmly and clearly and in a way that ordinary people could understand. He conveyed real concern and gave reassurance to millions of troubled Americans.

"I never saw him," recalled one Depression survivor, "but I knew him." This ability to help people feel better during their time of hardship won Roosevelt lasting support with voters.

**Roosevelt's philosophy** As you have read, Roosevelt sent some unclear signals during his 1932 presidential campaign. Sometimes he attacked Hoover for not doing enough to fight the Depression—and sometimes for doing too much. At heart, however, Roosevelt was a reform-minded Democrat in the tradition of Woodrow Wilson and the Progressives who came before him.

As he had demonstrated as governor of New York, Roosevelt believed that it was the government's job to take direct action to help its people. His basic faith in the ability of government to solve economic and social problems and to help people in need ran deep.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

**"I assert that modern society, acting through its Government, owes the definite obligation to prevent the starvation or the dire want of any of its fellow men and women who try to maintain themselves but cannot."**

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Campaign Speech, October 13, 1932

**Eleanor Roosevelt** While still in law school, Franklin Roosevelt had married his distant cousin, **Eleanor Roosevelt**. Their marriage would play a central role in Franklin Roosevelt's political success.

Throughout her husband's career, but especially following his bout with polio in the 1920s, Eleanor served as her husband's "eyes and ears." With his mobility impaired, Franklin Roosevelt relied on his wife to collect and share information gained in her wide travels. He deeply valued his wife's keen insight.

In her own right, Eleanor became a powerful political force. She threw her energies into several major social issues, including the campaign to stop the lynching of African Americans. In the process, she helped change the role of First Lady.

During her husband's presidency, Eleanor began writing her own newspaper column, called "My Day." She received thousands of letters every week. These letters demonstrate the trust and affection many Americans held for the First Lady. They also revealed people's faith in her influence. "Thank you very much for helping me to keep my house," wrote one admirer. "If it wasn't for you, I know I would have lost it."



Not everyone was a fan of Eleanor Roosevelt and her active political role. She was a frequent target of the enemies of her husband's administration. Yet even her critics agreed that no First Lady had ever played such an important role in the government of the nation.

**READING CHECK** **Summarizing** What did President Roosevelt believe was the proper role of government in the lives of American citizens?

## Roosevelt Takes Action

By the time Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933, four months had passed since the election. Hoover had struggled during that time to prevent a worsening of the economy. As the loser of the presidential race, however, Hoover had little power to accomplish anything. The crisis deepened.

Rescuing the nation's banking system presented the most immediate challenge facing Roosevelt when he took office. The problems facing the nation's banks had gotten so bad that when leaders gathered in Washington, D.C., for Roosevelt's March 4 inauguration, hotels would not accept checks from out-of-town guests. The hotels feared that the guests' banks might fail before the hotels were able to receive payment.

**The banking crisis** Roosevelt could see that the nation faced a critical loss of confidence. He wasted no time in addressing the situation. In his inaugural address, the new president sought to calm the public.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.”

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933

Two days later, Roosevelt took action. The shaky state of the nation's banks had led many people to withdraw all their money from their accounts. They feared losing their savings if the bank collapsed. Such large-scale withdrawals could—and did—ruin even healthy banks. This created more panic, more withdrawals—and more bank failures. To stop this cycle, Roosevelt issued an executive order temporarily closing all of the nation's banks. The president called it a bank holiday.

Next, the president called Congress into emergency session and pushed through the Emergency Banking Act. The law gave government officials power to examine each bank,

**“Hoover sent the army; Roosevelt sent his wife.”**

A World War I veteran

### FACES OF HISTORY

**Eleanor ROOSEVELT**

1884–1962



Orphaned at the age of 10, Eleanor Roosevelt was raised by her mother's relatives. A sad and shy teenager and a serious and scholarly young

woman, she married the fun-loving, outgoing Franklin D. Roosevelt.

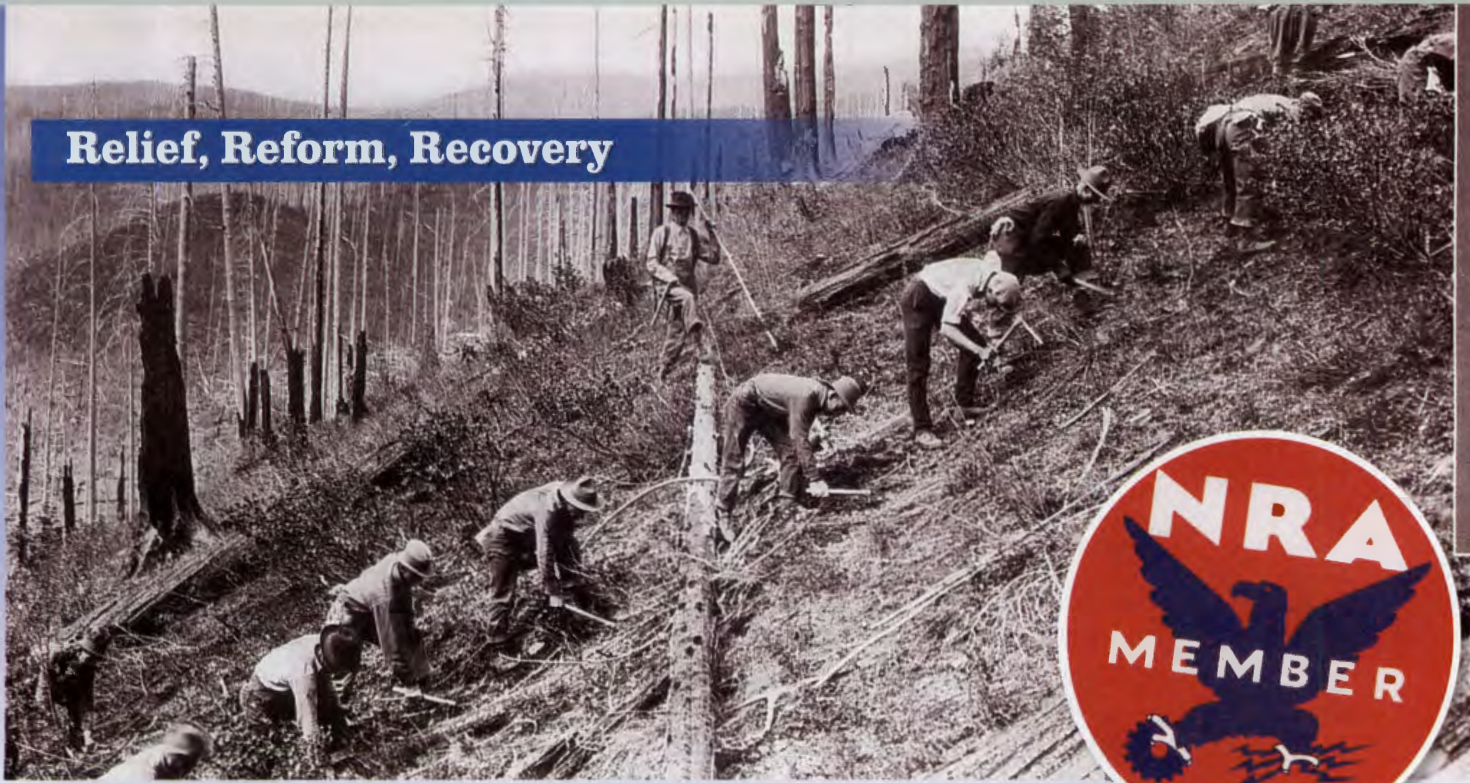
Eleanor grew into her roles in life, becoming one of the most respected women in America. With dynamic energy, she labored for charities, traveled the world making speeches, and spoke out for women's rights and against racial discrimination. After her husband died in office, Eleanor began a new chapter in life. She served as a delegate to the United Nations, chaired President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women, and remained active in American politics.

**Make Inferences** What choices did Eleanor Roosevelt make in life, and what did those choices reflect about her character?

When a second Bonus Army came to Washington in 1933, Roosevelt sent Eleanor to investigate. Her tour of their camp in Virginia ended in a sing-along.



## Relief, Reform, Recovery



determine its soundness, take steps to correct problems, and, if necessary, close it. To explain to the worried public what was going on, Roosevelt gave the first of his famed fireside chats.

The plan worked. Within days, banks began to reopen with government assurances that they were on solid footing. Ordinary people, who had been frantically taking money out of their banks, started to return funds. Some banks never did reopen, but the crisis was over. In just over a week, the nation had regained crucial confidence in its financial system.

In the days ahead, Congress enacted additional banking reforms. The Glass-Steagall Act of 1933 created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, or FDIC. This provided government insurance for depositors' savings. Individual depositors no longer needed to fear losing their savings if their bank collapsed.

Reassured by the new law, even more depositors took the money they had stuffed in home safes and under their mattresses and returned it to the banking system. Within a month, about \$1 billion in new deposits flowed into the system.

**The Hundred Days** The resolution of the banking crisis was just the beginning of a critical period of government activity that came to be known as the **Hundred Days**. During this

time, Roosevelt pushed Congress to put in place many of the key parts of his program—what he called the **New Deal**.

Roosevelt first used the phrase in a campaign speech in which he promised “a new deal for the American people.” The New Deal came to include a wide range of measures aimed at accomplishing three goals:

- (1) *relief* for those suffering the effects of the Great Depression;
- (2) *recovery* of the depressed economy;
- (3) *reforms* that would help prevent serious economic crises in the future.

The Civilian Conservation Corps, or CCC, was typical of the reform programs passed during the Hundred Days. Established in March 1933, it sought to address an immediate problem: unemployment among young men 18 to 25 years old.

Americans enrolled in the CCC were paid to work on a variety of conservation projects, such as planting trees and improving parks. CCC workers lived in army-style camps and were required to send most of their earnings to their families.

Two key recovery programs sought to reinforce the twin pillars of the economy—agriculture and industry. The Agricultural Adjustment Act, or AAA, gave farmers a **subsidy**, or government payment, to grow fewer crops. A smaller





Civilian Conservation Corps workers replant a clear-cut Oregon hillside with seedlings in 1939 (left). The CCC brought immediate relief to families and provided work for 3 million young men. Businesses following fair-practice business codes displayed the NRA's blue eagle emblem (above).

supply of crops on the market would increase demand for those crops. This would drive prices up and help farmers earn more.

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) mandated that businesses in the same industry cooperate with each other to set prices and levels of production. In the days of Theodore Roosevelt, government had viewed such cooperation as a violation of antitrust laws. Now, with the NIRA, government sought to promote it as a way of helping business.

The NIRA also included \$3.3 billion for public-works programs. These were managed through a new agency called the Public Works Administration, or PWA. (The New Deal was famous for creating an “alphabet soup” of government agencies known by their initials.) Labor unions benefited, too, from the NIRA. For the first time, labor got federal protection for the right to organize.

The Federal Securities Act emerged as a major reform effort of the Hundred Days. The measure forced companies to share certain financial information with the public. The purpose was to help investors and to restore confidence in the fairness of the markets.

In 1934 Congress established the Securities and Exchange Commission. The SEC would serve as a government watchdog over the nation’s stock markets.

One of the most far-reaching and ambitious programs of the New Deal was the Tennessee Valley Authority, or TVA. Created in May 1933, this massive program was charged with developing the resources of the entire Tennessee River Valley, a vast region in the Southeast United States.

The TVA built dams and other projects along the Tennessee River and its tributaries. These dams controlled floods, aided navigation and shipping along the river, and provided hydroelectric power to be used by industries. (See the History and Geography feature on the TVA at the end of this section.)

**Beyond the Hundred Days** President Roosevelt had campaigned promising action and “bold, persistent experimentation.” He had delivered. Many Americans applauded his efforts. Journalist and former Roosevelt critic Walter Lippmann wrote, “In the hundred days from March to June we became again an organized nation confident of our power.”

Amid the successes, there was also much to criticize. Even Roosevelt admitted in a fireside chat, “I do not deny that we make mistakes.” Comparing himself to a baseball player, he said, “I have no expectation of making a hit every time we come to bat.”

Yet FDR and the Congress kept trying, passing significant legislation in the period after the Hundred Days. In November 1933, for example, the Civil Works Administration (CWA) was created. This agency provided winter employment to 4 million workers. CWA crews built miles of highways and sewer lines, hundreds of airports, and more.

In June 1934 Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act. It reversed previous policies by recognizing the tribe as the key unit of social organization for Native Americans. It limited the sale of Indian lands and provided assistance to native groups in developing their resources, economy, and culture. It also granted some limited rights of self-rule.

Many Native Americans hailed the new direction. Others viewed it more skeptically, as just another instance of outsiders telling them what to do.

**READING CHECK** **Identifying Supporting Details** What were the three main categories of the programs and actions of Roosevelt’s New Deal?

**ACADEMIC VOCABULARY**  
mandate  
require



## ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**significant**  
meaningful

## Trouble for the New Deal

The New Deal marked a significant shift in the relationship between government and the American people. Never before had government assumed such a central role in the business and personal lives of its citizens. Not surprisingly, this shift triggered strong reactions.

Some reformers and radicals believed the New Deal had not gone far enough in reforming the economy. They wanted a complete overhaul of capitalism. The New Deal, they complained, merely propped up the old banking system and gave new freedoms to business. These, critics charged, were the same people and powers that had led the nation into the Great Depression in the first place.

Conservatives, on the other hand, attacked the New Deal as a radical break with traditional American ideals. Senator Carter Glass of Virginia lamented in 1933 that “Roosevelt is driving this country to destruction faster than it has ever moved before.”

**Leading critics of the New Deal** Over time, several leading critics of the New Deal emerged. Perhaps the most powerful of these

was Senator **Huey P. Long** of Louisiana, who believed Roosevelt’s policies were too friendly to banks and businesses.

In 1934 Long set up his own political organization, the Share Our Wealth Society. Long’s idea, reflected in the slogan “Every Man a King,” was to give every family \$5,000 to buy a home, plus an income of \$2,500 a year. To pay for this, Long proposed heavy taxes on wealthy Americans. Long’s organization attracted millions of followers. Roosevelt’s advisers feared his possible role in the 1936 election.

**Father Charles Coughlin**, a Catholic priest, was another one-time Roosevelt supporter who turned against the president. At the peak of Coughlin’s popularity, one-third of the nation tuned in to the weekly radio broadcasts of the “radio priest.” His program, featuring religious messages and political commentary, was sharply critical of the nation’s bankers and financial leaders. When Coughlin concluded that the president was not doing enough to curb their power, he called the president “Franklin Double-Crossing Roosevelt.”

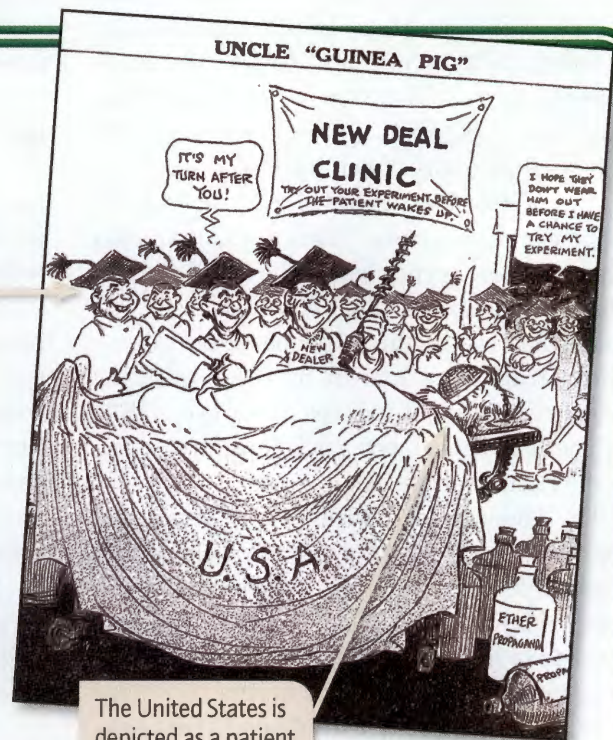
Coughlin also began to attack leading Jewish figures in the administration and elsewhere. As his speeches became more extreme,

### PRIMARY SOURCES

## Political Cartoon

The New Deal represented a great change in the role of the federal government in the lives of Americans. Government agencies became involved in people’s business and personal lives in many new ways—and not everyone was pleased with the results.

This long line of eager scholars represent government officials carrying out New Deal programs.



The United States is depicted as a patient under anesthesia.

### Skills FOCUS

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Interpreting Political Cartoons** What does this cartoon suggest is happening to Uncle Guinea Pig?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** Does this cartoon present a positive view of the New Deal? Explain.

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H31



Coughlin began to lose influence with the American people. Eventually, the Catholic Church forced him to end his radio program.

**Dr. Francis Townsend** criticized the New Deal for not doing enough for older Americans. He proposed a plan for providing pensions to people over the age of 60. Like Long and Coughlin, Townsend attracted millions of followers. Some of his ideas would later help shape the thinking and policies of President Roosevelt.

The American Liberty League spoke for many conservatives who felt the New Deal had gone too far. The League drew members from both parties, including former Democratic presidential candidate Al Smith. It also included a number of wealthy business leaders, who believed the New Deal's policies were antibusiness. But despite spending thousands of dollars to defeat New Deal candidates in elections, the League met with little success.

**Opposition from the courts** The American people supported the New Deal's attempts to bring change to the economy. The courts, however, were more skeptical.

The New Deal changed in basic ways the relationship between the American people and their government. It also threatened to alter the balance of power among the president, the Congress, and the courts. Critics feared that the

New Deal gave the president too much power over other branches of government. Presidentially appointed administrators, rather than Congress, were now making rules affecting millions of people. Some critics argued that these changes violated the Constitution.

By 1935 New Deal cases were making their way to the Supreme Court. Their decisions delivered a series of sharp blows to Roosevelt's program. For example, in May 1935, the Supreme Court issued a ruling in *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States* that destroyed key parts of the NIRA. (See the Landmark Supreme Court Cases feature at the end of this section.) In 1936 the court's ruling in *United States v. Butler* found a key part of the AAA—the tax used to raise the money for farmer subsidies—unconstitutional.

The courts managed to do what the New Deal's critics had failed to accomplish over the course of two years. As Roosevelt faced re-election in 1936, he continued to enjoy wide popularity among voters. Yet parts of his ambitious economic program were in shambles. Meanwhile, the Great Depression remained a grim fact of life for millions of Americans.

#### READING CHECK

**Summarizing** What were the two major types of complaints about the New Deal during Roosevelt's first term in office?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP12

HSS 11.6.2, 11.6.4, 11.8.5

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Define** Write a brief definition for the following term:  
**public works**  
**b. Explain** What factors made Roosevelt a good choice for the Democratic nomination in 1932?  
**c. Evaluate** Defend Roosevelt's campaign strategy in 1932.
- a. Describe** What were Roosevelt's **fireside chats**?  
**b. Analyze** How did Franklin Roosevelt's beliefs about government represent a change from those of Hoover?  
**c. Compare** Compare **Eleanor Roosevelt** to First Ladies who came before her.
- a. Define** Write a brief definition of the following terms:  
**Hundred Days, New Deal, subsidy**  
**b. Draw Conclusions** Why do you think Roosevelt's first act as president was to try to restore confidence in the nation's banking system?  
**c. Rank** Of the three main goals—relief, recovery, and reform—which do you think was most important? Explain.

- a. Identify** Identify at least three major critics of the New Deal in its early years.  
**b. Compare** What viewpoint did **Huey P. Long, Father Coughlin, and Dr. Francis Townsend** share in common?  
**c. Predict** How do you think the decisions of the Supreme Court will affect Roosevelt in the future?

### Critical Thinking

- Sequence** Copy the chart below and use information from the section to record events in sequence.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

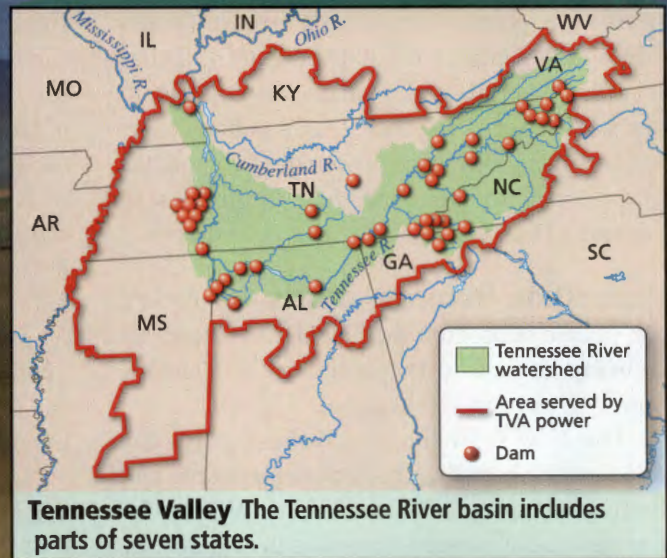
ELA W1.1, 1.3

- Persuasive** Write a letter to the editor in which you either defend or criticize Roosevelt's New Deal programs. Use details from the section to support your position.



## The Tennessee Valley Authority

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was one of the New Deal's largest projects. It brought affordable electricity to thousands of rural citizens, improved river navigation, controlled flooding, and introduced modern farming techniques to failing farmers. It fit with President Roosevelt's interests in conservation, government-owned utilities, agricultural development, and improving the lives of "Forgotten Americans."



### Locks

Locks allow boats to travel past the dams on the river. Today, about 34,000 barges carrying 50 million tons navigate through the locks annually.

### Navigational Dams

The dams in the Tennessee River serve to manage navigation and flooding. Droughts, floods, fast currents, and rocky shoals were hazards to earlier shipping. Now nine river dams maintain a water level deep enough for the barges.



## Electricity for Farms

By the 1930s, only 10 percent of rural dwellers had electricity, while 90 percent of urbanites did. Isolated farmers couldn't keep food cold or turn on a light. The Roosevelt Administration thought the government should provide electricity to citizens not yet served by private companies.



## Hydroelectric Dams

The dams built on the rivers that flow into the Tennessee River are high dams backed by huge reservoirs. These dams generated the cheap electricity needed to improve lives and lure industries that would provide jobs to the region.

## Farming Practices

Many Tennessee Valley farmers used methods that depleted and eroded the soil. The TVA taught farmers how to use crop rotation and plants like alfalfa and clover to enrich and conserve the soil.

**HSS 11.6.4**  
**HSS Analysis CS3, HI1**  
**GEOGRAPHY SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS**

[go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)  
**Interactive Map**  
Keyword: SE7 CH12

- 1. Location** Why was the Tennessee Valley a good location for this New Deal project?
  - 2. Movement** How did the TVA help boats navigate the river?
- See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20





# LANDMARK SUPREME COURT CASES

Constitutional Issue: Powers of the President

## *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States (1935)*

**Why It Matters** Can Congress broadly delegate its lawmaking authority to the administrative agencies of the executive branch? That was the question the Court faced in *Schechter*. The Court's negative ruling temporarily derailed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program. However, it also forced Roosevelt and Congress to tailor future legislation more narrowly.

### Background of the Case

In 1933 President Roosevelt created the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA supervised the development of mandatory industry-wide codes for production, prices, and wages. The standards carried the force of law. The Schechter Corporation appealed after it was convicted of violating the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions of the code for the live poultry industry.

### The Decision

In its unanimous decision, the Court cited two grounds for finding the mandatory code system unconstitutional. First, it ruled that the delegation of rule-making authority to an agency of the executive branch violated the constitutional separation of powers. The Constitution places all legislative power in the Congress. Rules or codes having the force of law could only be made by Congress, not by the executive branch.

Second, the Court ruled that the activities of the Schechter Corporation were not subject to congressional regulation. Under the commerce clause, Congress can regulate interstate commerce (conducted in more than one state), not intrastate commerce (conducted entirely within a single state). The Schechter Corporation bought and sold its chickens almost exclusively within New York State. So the commerce clause did not apply to the way that Schechter conducted business.



### THE IMPACT TODAY

The Supreme Court later took an expanded view of the commerce clause and gave Congress more authority to delegate lawmaking authority to administrative agencies. Today there is widespread governmental regulation of business and economic matters. Much of the regulation is done by administrative agencies within the executive branch. Above, President George W. Bush meets with Senate leaders to discuss energy policy.

[go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)

Research Online

Keyword: SS Court

### CRITICAL THINKING

- 1. Analyze the Impact** Using the keyword above, read about the Interstate Commerce Commission. What does the Commission do? If *Schechter* had been ruled differently, what aspects of the commission today would have created constitutional problems?
- 2. You Be the Judge** The Gun Free School Zones Act of 1990 made it a federal crime for an individual knowingly to possess a firearm in a school zone. Does the act exceed Congress's power to legislate under the Commerce Clause? State the arguments for and against the law's constitutionality.



# The Second New Deal

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

A new wave of government initiatives starting in 1935 resulted in some strong successes and stunning defeats for President Roosevelt.

### READING FOCUS

1. What were the key programs in the Second Hundred Days?
2. How did New Deal programs help to revive organized labor?
3. What were the key events of the 1936 election?
4. Why was 1937 a troubled year for Roosevelt and the Second New Deal?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Second New Deal  
Social Security  
John L. Lewis  
CIO  
sit-down strike  
deficit  
John Maynard Keynes



**HSS 11.6.2** Understand the steps taken by Congress and President Roosevelt to combat the economic crisis.

**HSS 11.6.4** Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal policies and the expanded role of the federal government.

**HSS 11.8.5** Describe the increased powers of the presidency in response to the Great Depression.

### THE INSIDE STORY

*How do you restore hope to the hopeless?* The New Deal did not end the Great Depression. Yet the sense of forward movement it created helped give people hope.

Starting in 1935, government increased its commitment to work relief. Earlier programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) had shown how such programs provided not just a source of income but also a sense of purpose and dignity. One worker described how hard work in the CCC transformed his body and mind: “[Y]ou must go through the actual experience before you can really understand the hopeless state of mind most of the prospective members of the CCC were in when we put on our ‘G.I.’ clothing and

tramped half-heartedly into the forests and fields to plant and cut trees, build dams, . . . fire breaks and trails, control insect pests, tree diseases, and risk our lives . . . protecting the forests from the most efficient of destructive forces—Fire. But our don’t-care-what-happens attitude didn’t last long . . . I am making my own way and that is sufficient for the present. What is probably more important is the fact that I am not the undernourished, furtive-eyed, scared kid that went in . . . over five years ago. Instead, my eyes are clear and my mind is receptive to whatever the future has in store. In short, the CCC has equipped me with the weapons necessary to cope with the innumerable problems that are bound to obstruct my path through life and that must be surmounted before success can be attained.” ■

## Working for Dignity

▼ Millions of Americans were uplifted by New Deal work-relief programs.





## The Second Hundred Days

With public support for the president and the New Deal running high, the Democratic Party rolled to an unprecedented victory in the congressional elections of 1934. For the first time in U.S. history, the party in control of the White House gained seats in both houses of Congress in a midterm election.

When the new Congress took office in 1935, Democrats held three-quarters of all seats. It was a clear vote of confidence in Roosevelt. As one journalist remarked, “He has been all but crowned by the people.”

Roosevelt’s victory, however, threatened to be a hollow one. The courts were in the process of finding major parts of the New Deal unconstitutional. The economy was proving stubbornly resistant to recovery. Meanwhile, more-liberal elements in the country were clamoring for the president to do more.

And he did do more. In a flurry of activity in the spring of 1935, during a period called the Second Hundred Days, Roosevelt launched the so-called **Second New Deal**. In short order, Congress passed laws extending government oversight of the banking industry and raising taxes for the wealthy. It funded new relief programs for the still-struggling population.

**Emergency relief** The major relief legislation of the Second New Deal marked a shift from Roosevelt’s earlier programs. The Emergency Relief Appropriations Act largely did away with direct payments to Americans in need. As you have read, the Second New Deal expanded on what had been a small but successful part of the first New Deal: work relief. From now on, said the president, people should work for pay.

### HISTORY’S VOICES

“[C]ontinued dependence upon relief [brings about] a spiritual and moral disintegration . . . destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit.”

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt,  
State of the Union Address, 1935

The new Works Progress Administration (WPA), created in 1935, was the largest peacetime jobs program in U.S. history. It eventually employed 8.5 million Americans on all kinds of public-works projects at a cost of about \$11 billion.

WPA workers built roads, subways, airports, even zoos. They worked in offices, schools, museums, and factories. They ventured into the fields to record the oral histories of former

## Murals of the New Deal



Men operating air drills and rope work the dangerously steep slopes of the canyon.

Workers operating a heavy crane hoist a huge conduit above a canyon.



slaves. The WPA even funded the efforts of artists, writers, composers, and actors. A number of soon-to-be-famous figures got their starts in the program, including artist Jackson Pollock and writers Ralph Ellison, Richard Wright, and Eudora Welty.

At its peak, the WPA employed some 3.4 million formerly jobless Americans. This amounted to nearly a fourth of the unemployed people in the country.

As Roosevelt had hoped, getting the opportunity to earn a paycheck rather than get a handout lifted people's spirits. As one worker put it, "You worked, you got a paycheck and you had some dignity."

**Social Security** A centerpiece of the Second New Deal was the Social Security Act, signed in August 1935. This law created a system called **Social Security**, which provided a pension, or guaranteed, regular payments, for many people 65 and older.

With the creation of Social Security, many retired workers no longer needed to fear hunger and homelessness once they became too old to work. The Social Security Act also included a system of unemployment insurance run jointly by the federal government and the states. This program provided payments to workers who

The WPA paid artists to create public art. *Construction of the Dam*, a mural by William Gropper, shows workers on a WPA construction project.

A group of muscular men put together a large section of steel framework.



lost their jobs, giving them a financial cushion while they looked for new work. To fund the programs, Congress passed new taxes that affected both workers and employers.

In promoting Social Security, Roosevelt responded to a number of his critics. For example, in helping older Americans, Roosevelt hoped to undermine the attacks of Dr. Francis Townsend, the California doctor whose plan for older Americans had attracted so many supporters. The president hinted to nervous lawmakers that his own plan was preferable to Townsend's more radical design.

Funding Social Security, however, posed problems. To avoid a huge tax hike that could hamper economic recovery, Roosevelt agreed to exclude certain workers from the new program. "Everybody ought to be in on it," Roosevelt had argued. In the end, millions of Americans, including farmworkers, household workers, and government employees, were left out of Social Security.

**READING CHECK** **Summarizing** What were two major elements of the Second New Deal?

## Reviving Organized Labor

After setbacks during the 1920s, the passage of the NIRA during the first New Deal marked a major step forward for organized labor. It guaranteed workers the right to form unions and bargain collectively. Yet many businesses ignored the new rules, vigorously battling the growth of unions. In 1934, unions lost a number of major strikes, as labor-related violence increased.

A cautious FDR was unwilling to push business too hard to accept labor's new powers. In addition, under NIRA's terms, government had little power to force business cooperation.

When NIRA was fatally weakened by the Supreme Court's ruling in *Schechter*, Roosevelt recognized the need to act on behalf of labor. He threw his support behind a new labor law, the Wagner Act (named for its sponsor, Senator Robert Wagner of New York).

The law, also known as the National Labor Relations Act, was stronger than NIRA. The act outlawed a number of antilabor practices, such as the creation of company-sponsored unions. It also established a powerful new National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB was given

### THE IMPACT TODAY

#### Government

The public today has come to depend heavily on Social Security. The cost to workers and employers for funding this program have risen steadily, and payments have risen as more and more Americans live longer and longer lives.



## MAJOR NEW DEAL PROGRAMS

QUICK  
FACTS

### Relief

**Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, 1933 Provided jobs on conservation projects to young men whose families needed relief

**Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)**, 1933 Provided grants to states for direct relief to the needy

**Public Works Administration (PWA)**, 1933 Provided public-works jobs for many of those needing relief

**Civil Works Administration (CWA)**, 1933 Provided public-works jobs for many of those needing relief

**Works Progress Administration (WPA)**, 1935 Provided public-works jobs on a wide range of projects for many of those needing relief

**Social Security Act**, 1935 Established pensions for retirees, unemployment insurance, and aid for certain groups of low-income or disabled people

**Farm Security Administration (FSA)**, 1937 Provided assistance to tenant farmers to help them purchase land or establish cooperatives

### Reform

**Emergency Banking Act**, 1933 Gave federal government power to reorganize and strengthen banks

**Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**, 1933 Established an insurance program for deposits in many banks

**Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**, 1934 Provided increased government regulation of the trading on stock exchanges

**National Labor Relations Act (NLRB)**, 1935 Established the National Labor Relations Board to enforce labor laws

**Fair Labor Standards Act (Wages and Hours Law)**, 1938 Established minimum wages and maximum hours for many workers

### Recovery

**Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)**, 1933 Encouraged farmers to cut production in return for a subsidy

**Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**, 1933 Promoted development projects for the Tennessee River Valley—for example, to improve navigation, produce electricity, and control floods

**National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)**, 1933 Encouraged cooperation among businesses in establishing production and labor practices

**Federal Housing Administration (FHA)**, 1934 Encouraged loans for renovating or building homes

**Rural Electrification Administration (REA)**, 1935 Encouraged the delivery of electricity to rural areas

Programs in red are still in existence.

the authority to conduct voting in workplaces to determine whether employees wanted union representation. The NLRB could require businesses to accept the voting results. With these new legal tools, organized labor membership surged by millions in the years to come.

**The CIO is born** The passage of the Wagner Act roughly coincided with a major change in the American labor movement. A new union devoted to the interests of industrial workers arose to challenge the traditional hold of the nation's largest union, the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

The AFL was created as a collection, or federation, of smaller unions representing the interests of skilled workers. These smaller

unions were organized within specific crafts rather than across broad industries, such as the auto or steel industries. In general, the AFL looked down on unskilled factory workers, many of whom were immigrants.

The growth of mass production in the 1920s, however, greatly swelled the ranks of unskilled workers. **John L. Lewis**, head of the United Mine Workers, recognized this opportunity. He sought to take advantage of it.

A fiery speaker and organizer, Lewis led a group that broke away from the AFL in 1935 to form the Committee for Industrial Organization, or **CIO**. (The CIO later changed its name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations.) It was not long before Lewis and his new organization would make their mark.



**The GM sit-down strike** In December 1936 the United Auto Workers, which was part of the CIO, launched a new kind of strike. Workers at the General Motors (GM) plant in Flint, Michigan, simply sat down inside the factory and stopped working.

A **sit-down strike**, as it was called, required the strikers to stay at the factory day and night until the dispute was resolved. They relied on supporters outside the factory to provide food and to look after their families at home.

The sit-down strike created a complicated situation for GM. It could not use traditional methods of strike breaking—bringing in security forces to scatter the picket line and hiring non-union “scab” labor to run the factory. Any effort to take back the factory might turn violent. Valuable property inside the factory could be destroyed, and the risk of negative publicity, such as images of workers being beaten or killed, was too high.

GM asked the state government for help in removing the workers, but Michigan’s governor refused. The company tried shutting off heat and water to the factory, but the strikers stayed on. When the police tried shutting off food deliveries to the factory, workers rioted. A brief battle raged between striking workers and the police until the police withdrew.

The sit-down strike was hard on the workers, but it was harder still on GM. The shut-down cost the automaker tens of millions of dollars a week in sales. After a tense six weeks, GM finally gave in and agreed to recognize the union. The workers had won.

It was an enormous victory for labor—and for the CIO. Along with a successful action against the United States Steel Corporation in 1937, the General Motors strike helped establish the CIO as a major force in American organized labor.

#### HISTORY’S VOICES

“When [GM executive William] Knudsen put his name to a piece of paper and says that General Motors recognizes UAW-CIO—until that moment we were non-people, we didn’t even exist. That was the big one.”

—Bob Stinson, sit-down striker, recorded in *Hard Times*

The CIO and other labor unions did not win every confrontation with American business in the 1930s. Indeed, unions suffered some serious losses later in the decade. Yet union membership continued to grow. By the early 1940s, nearly one-fourth of the American workforce was unionized.

#### READING CHECK

#### Identifying Cause and

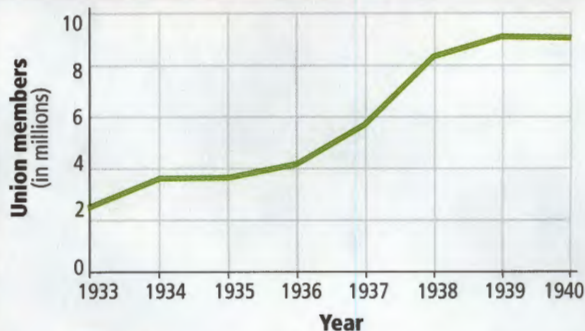
**Effect** How did the Wagner Act work to revive labor?

### GM Sit-Down Strike

Strikers make themselves as comfortable as possible on the floor of the GM plant at Flint, Michigan.



### GROWTH OF UNION MEMBERSHIP, 1933–1940



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

Skills  
FOCUS

#### INTERPRETING GRAPHS

The NLRB and the CIO strengthened unions.

**Compare** What was union membership in 1933? What was it in 1939?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H17



## The Election of 1936

As President Roosevelt entered the election year of 1936, he could look back on a productive 1935. He also knew there was more to be done before he faced the voters in November.

**Rural electricity** One goal was to provide additional help to rural Americans. Toward this end, Roosevelt in May signed the Rural Electrification Act. It empowered the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) to loan money to farm cooperatives and other groups trying to bring electricity to people living outside of cities and towns. In many areas, for-profit power companies had been unwilling to put in the miles of power lines needed to serve remote, sparsely settled areas. Under the REA, the numbers of rural homes with electricity grew from 10 percent to 90 percent in about a decade. Millions of farmers were finally able to enjoy the benefits of electricity.

**Americans re-elect Roosevelt** President Roosevelt campaigned on a solid record of legislative achievement. He also pointed to significant improvements in the economy. Unemployment, though still high, had been sliced in half. Personal incomes and corporate

earnings were up sharply. New Deal programs had given hope and help to millions, even if they had not brought about full economic recovery.

In the 1936 campaign, Roosevelt virtually ignored the Republican nominee, Governor Alf Landon of Kansas. Landon's mildly reformist positions supporting organized labor and aid to the unemployed and elderly posed no serious threat. Roosevelt also faced no serious competition from the Union Party, a new party formed by Father Charles Coughlin and Dr. Francis Townsend.

Appealing to potential Union Party supporters, Roosevelt gave speeches thundering against big business. Business leaders responded with alarm, again pouring money into the American Liberty League. To some of them, the New Deal amounted to a revolution.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“The history of these past three years will be written in the future as the history of an American revolution which was engineered and carried on under the unseeing eyes of one hundred and thirty million citizens.”

—Senator Lester Dickinson,  
*The American Mercury*, February 1936

In a bitterly waged campaign, Republicans attacked Roosevelt's New Deal for being overly bureaucratic and creating a planned economy.

On election day, however, the American voters again handed Roosevelt a tremendous victory. Landon carried only two states. The ineffective Union Party candidate polled less than 2 percent of the popular vote. The Democrats again gained in both houses of Congress. They also won 26 of the 33 races for governor.

The electoral landslide also confirmed a momentous shift in American politics. African Americans in the North switched from the party of Lincoln to the Democratic Party.

**READING CHECK** **Identifying Supporting Details** What evidence can you find to suggest that the 1936 election showed widespread support for Roosevelt and the New Deal?

### THE IMPACT TODAY

#### Technology

In what is seen as a parallel to rural electrification in the 1930s, Congress has earmarked funds to help bring high-speed Internet service to rural America today.

Historically, African Americans had supported the Republicans, the party of Lincoln. In 1936, however, a majority of African American voters chose Roosevelt and the Democrats—a shift in loyalty that has continued to this day.





## PRIMARY SOURCES

# Political Cartoon

President Roosevelt was very upset when the Supreme Court struck down some of the key provisions of the New Deal. To protect his new reforms, he attempted to "pack" the Court by adding more justices. Congress stopped this effort, marking one of the few great political defeats for the popular president. Many critics feared that such a change would threaten the balance of powers as spelled out in the U.S. Constitution. The following political cartoon originally included a caption that read, "Oh, So That's the Kind of a Sailor He Is!"

**Skills  
Focus**

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Contrasting** How do the expressions of the captain and the sailor reflect different views of the court-packing plan?
- 2. Interpreting Political Cartoons** Why do you think the artist chose this imagery?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H10, H31



On a ship, if a compass showed that the vessel was sailing in the wrong direction, the captain would change course, not demand a new compass.

The nation is frequently referred to as the "ship of state." The captain of the ship represented Roosevelt. The cartoonist may also have been referring to Roosevelt's early career as assistant secretary of the navy.

The sailor, whose instinct is to obey the ship's captain, represents the Democrat-controlled Congress, which here is shown reacting in alarm.

## A Troubled Year

Never before had Roosevelt seemed more in command than when he began his second term. His determination to overcome obstacles to his programs, however, led to a serious misstep.

**The court-packing plan** Frustrated that the courts had struck down many New Deal programs, Roosevelt surprised Congress with a plan to reorganize the nation's courts. The plan would give the president power to appoint many new judges and expand the Supreme Court by up to six justices. The president argued that changes were needed to make the courts more efficient. Most observers, however, saw it as a clumsy effort to "pack" the Supreme Court with friendly justices—and a dangerous attempt to upset the constitutional balance of power. Even the president's supporters were troubled.

The battle over Roosevelt's proposal occupied Congress for much of 1937. Even members of the president's own party began to desert him. In the end, the president who had begun the year looking invincible ended it with a crushing loss.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“Had any one man been primarily responsible for that defeat, he would be a towering figure of politics, but in fact . . . Franklin Roosevelt largely wrought his own defeat by antagonizing opinion in Congress and out.”

—*Time* magazine, January 3, 1938

**Moving forward** President Roosevelt lost much of the year in his doomed battle over expanding the Supreme Court. Congress, however, did enact some major legislation in 1937.

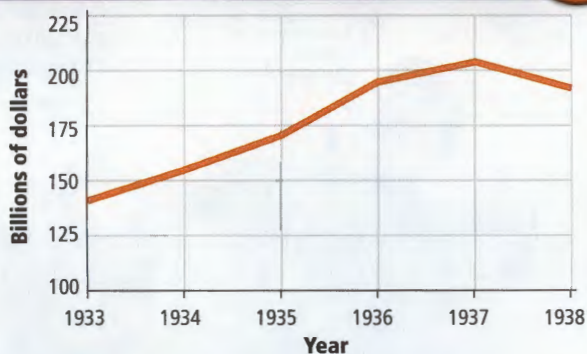
The Farm Tenancy Act aided some of the poorest of the nation's poor—tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Many had been forced off the land as a result of New Deal programs that paid landowners to take fields out of production. The new law gave tenants and sharecroppers a chance to buy land of their own.

Roosevelt also won some important victories in an unlikely place—the Supreme Court. Even as he was trying to push through his court-packing plan, the Court handed down rulings that favored key New Deal programs. In March 1937 the Court upheld a rather



## GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP), 1933–1938

**QUICK FACTS**



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

**Skills FOCUS**

### INTERPRETING GRAPHS

The economy made some progress during Roosevelt's time in office. Which year between 1933 and 1938 saw the worst performance?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H17

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**classical** well known, original

controversial Washington State law requiring a minimum wage for workers. The ruling signaled a new willingness to let legislatures regulate the economy—a decision with clear implications for the New Deal.

In April the Court also ruled clearly in favor of a key element of the Wagner Act. In May it declared Roosevelt's Social Security plan to be constitutional.

The favorable rulings pleased Roosevelt. They effectively killed any remaining support for his court-packing plan, however.

**Recovery in doubt** In the fall of 1937, the nation's economy suffered another setback. It began in a familiar way with a sharp drop in the stock market. By the time the year was over, about 2 million more Americans had lost their jobs.

The return of hard times changed Roosevelt's plans. He had hoped to cut back on government spending, fearing the growing federal budget **deficit**. A deficit occurs when a government spends more money than it takes in through taxes and other income. But as unemployment rose in late 1937 and early 1938, Roosevelt again found himself seeking large sums of money to help the unemployed.

Roosevelt may have been troubled by deficits, but the new spending was supported by the theories of British economist **John Maynard Keynes**. Contrary to classical economic theory, which stressed balanced budgets, Keynes argued that deficit spending could provide jobs and stimulate the economy.

In fact, the economy did begin to rebound in the summer of 1938. By then, however, the positive feelings about Roosevelt and the New Deal had begun to fade.

### READING CHECK

**Sequencing** What events made 1937 a troubled year for President Roosevelt?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com  
Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP12

HSS 11.6.2, 11.6.4, 11.8.5

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify** Identify the significance of the following terms: Second New Deal, Social Security

**b. Make Inferences** What lessons did Roosevelt draw from the 1934 election?

**c. Evaluate** What do you think of Roosevelt's decision to cut back on programs that provided relief without work?
- a. Identify** What was the CIO?

**b. Explain** What factors contributed to labor's growth after 1935?

**c. Rank** Which do you think was more important in labor's success: the passage of the Wagner Act or the success of the sit-down strikes? Explain.
- a. Recall** What was Roosevelt's 1936 election strategy?

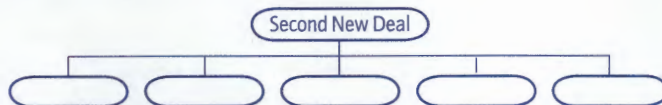
**b. Summarize** What were the results of the 1936 election?

- a. Identify** Identify the significance of the following: deficit, John Maynard Keynes

**b. Summarize** Why did the court-packing plan cause so much damage to Roosevelt?

### Critical Thinking

- 5. Understand Cause and Effect** Copy the chart below and use information from the section to fill it in.



### FOCUS ON SPEAKING

ELA W1.1, 1.3

- 6. Persuasive** Deliver a speech in which you argue for or against Roosevelt's court-reorganization plan.



# Life during the New Deal

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

The Great Depression and the New Deal had a deep impact on American culture during the 1930s.

### READING FOCUS

1. How did the public roles of women and African Americans change during the New Deal?
2. How did artists and writers of the era tell the story of the Great Depression?
3. What forms of popular entertainment were popular during the Great Depression?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Frances Perkins  
Black Cabinet  
Mary McLeod Bethune  
Dorothea Lange  
swing



**HSS 11.6.3** Discuss the human toll of the Depression.

**HSS 11.10.7** Analyze the women's rights movement, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

## The Best Woman for the Job

### THE INSIDE STORY

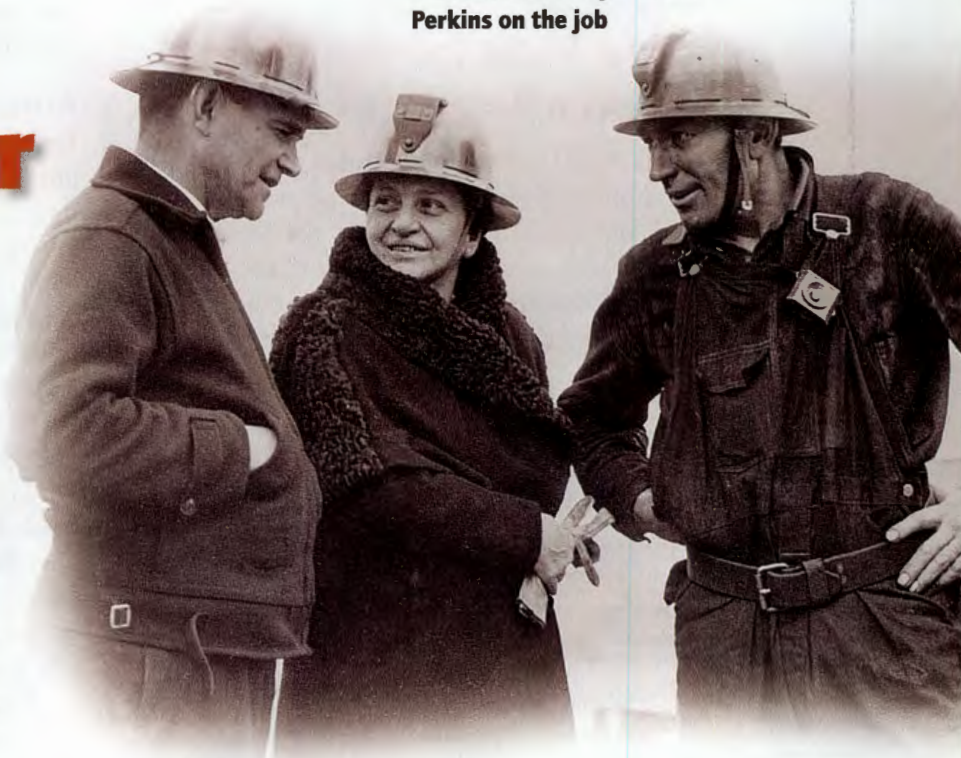
*How did one woman help to change public views of women in government?*

"[M]en will take advice from a woman, but it is hard for them to take orders from a woman." That was a bit of counsel Franklin Roosevelt received when he was considering naming Frances Perkins to a key post in his administration.

Women's suffrage was not yet a decade old when Roosevelt, as New York's governor, made Perkins the top labor official in the state. When Roosevelt became president, he named Perkins to be his secretary of labor—the first woman ever to serve in the cabinet.

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Perkins was already a social reformer when she witnessed the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York City in 1911. That gruesome tragedy, in which 146 people died, spurred her interest in working to improve conditions in the workplace.

▼ Labor Secretary Frances Perkins on the job



During her time in Washington, her tireless efforts and great skill won her many admirers—and the grudging respect of her enemies. Perkins played a central role in the creation of many New Deal programs, and she led the White House team that created the Social Security system.

Perkins served in Roosevelt's cabinet from 1933 until after his death in 1945. Her example advanced the cause of women in government. ■



Mary McLeod  
**BETHUNE**

1875–1955



The fifteenth child of former slaves, Mary McLeod Bethune rose from the cotton fields of South Carolina to be a pioneer in several fields.

In 1902, with borrowed furniture and \$1.50, Bethune opened a school for African American girls in Daytona, Florida. This effort reflected her belief in the power of education as a means of advancement. Her little school later became Bethune-Cookman College.

Fiercely determined, a stirring speaker, and a tireless fundraiser, Bethune eventually gained national prominence. She worked for the voting rights of African Americans and women. An adviser to four presidents, she was the first African American woman to head an agency of the federal government

**Summarize** How did Mary McLeod Bethune make a lasting impact?

## New Roles for Women and African Americans

The New Deal brought great change in American life and society. Under the pressure of an economic emergency, old ways of doing things gave way to new. For women and African Americans, these changes brought hope for an expanded role in public life.

**Women in the New Deal** As you read in Section 1, Eleanor Roosevelt played a major role in her husband's administration. In addition to her tireless support for her husband's programs, she actively pursued issues of importance to women, helping leaders of women's groups gain access to the president.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

“When I wanted help on some definite point, Mrs. Roosevelt gave me the opportunity to sit by the president at dinner and the matter was settled before we finished our soup.”

—Molly Dewson, quoted in *Beyond Suffrage* by Susan Ware, 1981

Other women besides the First Lady served in prominent government posts during the New Deal, none more so than Secretary of Labor **Frances Perkins**. As the first woman to head an executive department, Perkins played a leading role in the formation of major New Deal policies. This included, as you have read, the

Social Security system. Perkins, however, was not the only prominent woman in the government. Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, served as minister to Denmark. Roosevelt also appointed women to such posts as director of the U.S. Mint and assistant secretary of the Treasury. Women served as leaders in several New Deal agencies. In short, Roosevelt's record at promoting and recognizing women was simply unmatched for his time.

Still, women faced challenges and discrimination. New Deal programs, for example, generally paid men higher wages than women in work-relief jobs. Men continued to enjoy far more work opportunities. The attitude in the wider world to women in the workforce ranged from grudging acceptance to outright hostility. For example, one journalist put forward his idea for solving unemployment: “Simply fire the women, who shouldn't be working anyway, and hire the men. Presto! No unemployment.”

### African Americans in the New Deal

Roosevelt's administration also broke new ground in appointing African Americans. William Hastie, for example, became the first black federal judge in U.S. history. African Americans were also hired to fill posts in the government. A group of these officials, known as the **Black Cabinet**, met under the leadership of **Mary McLeod Bethune**, director of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration.

The Black Cabinet acted as unofficial advisers to the president. They stood as a powerful symbol of rising African American influence in government. In addition, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt visibly championed civil rights, frequently staking out bold positions in advance of what her husband felt he could take.

Still, African Americans continued to face tremendous hardships in the 1930s. New Deal programs left largely unchallenged the discrimination that African Americans faced in the larger society. In addition, thousands of African American sharecroppers and tenant farmers suffered terribly. Many never saw real benefit from any New Deal program.

Roosevelt often explained his record with respect to African Americans by saying he was at the mercy of southern Democrats in Congress. Many of these legislators strongly opposed efforts to aid African Americans.

THE IMPACT  
**TODAY**

**Government**

Today it is commonplace for women, African Americans, and members of other minorities to fill cabinet and other top government posts. They continue, however, to hold a relatively small share of these positions.



Roosevelt felt that angering southern Democrats would jeopardize the entire New Deal. “They will block every bill I ask Congress to pass to keep America from collapsing,” he told the head of the NAACP when he was pressed to support an antilynching law. “I just can’t take that risk.”

Although President Roosevelt’s record was not perfect, African American voters apparently decided that their best hopes lay with the Democratic Party. Staunchly Republican since the Civil War, a majority of African Americans for the first time in history voted Democratic in the 1934 midterm elections. As you have read, this support continued in the 1936 presidential election as well.

**READING CHECK** Making Generalizations

What was the overall effect of Roosevelt’s policies on women and African Americans in the 1930s?

## Telling the Story of the Depression

Responding to unprecedented economic calamity, artists showed a new interest in social problems and activism. Painters and sculptors fashioned works depicting the struggles of the working class. Authors and playwrights focused on the plight of the rural and urban poor. For example, you read in the last chapter about John Steinbeck’s moving tale of Dust Bowl refugees, *The Grapes of Wrath*. Songwriter Woody Guthrie celebrated the grandeur of America and the lives of ordinary people.

**The work of Dorothea Lange** Photographer **Dorothea Lange** was another celebrated chronicler of the Great Depression. In her hometown of San Francisco, Lange recorded images of jobless people. Yet her most famous subjects were the rural poor, who were especially hard hit in the 1930s.

Starting in 1935, Lange worked on behalf of the Farm Security Administration. This organization focused on the lives of tenant farmers and sharecroppers. One of her most famous photographs appears at right. These and other pictures helped raise awareness about the poorest of the poor. Indeed, in 1937 the federal government finally began to provide help to tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

### IMAGES OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION



Ella Watson, a Washington, D.C. charwoman, with her three children

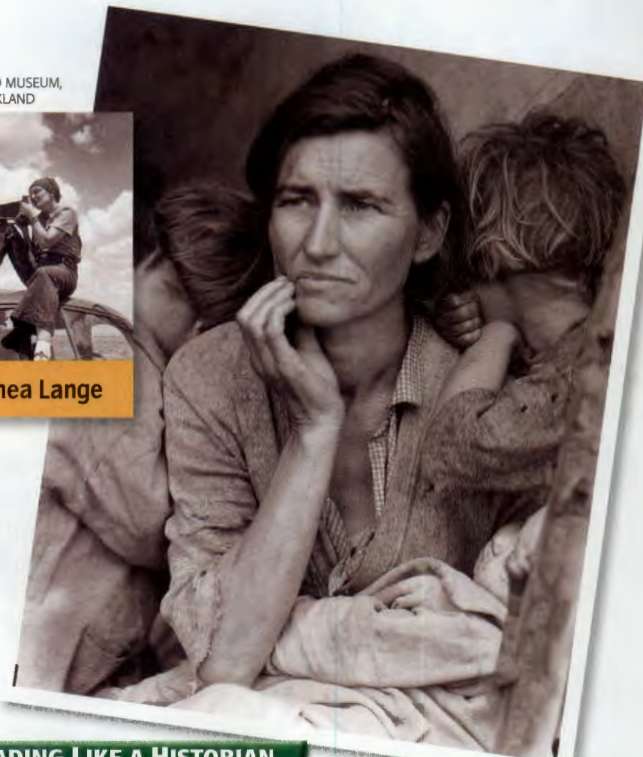
Gordon Parks

© THE OAKLAND MUSEUM, THE CITY OF OAKLAND



Dorothea Lange

Destitute mother of seven children in California



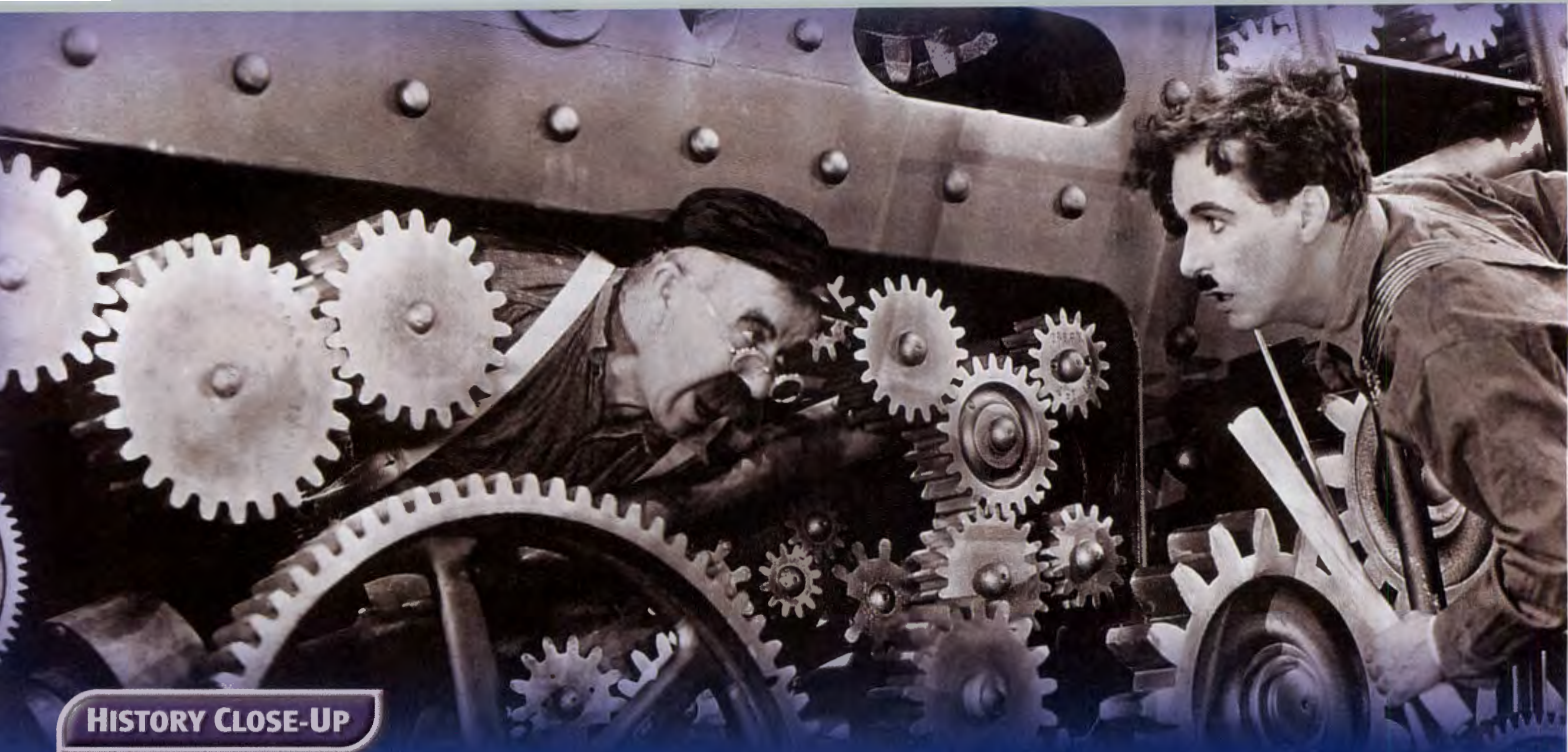
Skills FOCUS

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Photographers like Gordon Parks and Dorothea Lange were hired to document the plight of the poor and, through their images, gain public support for Roosevelt’s New Deal programs.

**Interpreting Visuals** Do you think these photographs succeed in showing a sympathetic view of their subjects? Explain.





## HISTORY CLOSE-UP

# Going to the Movies

At an average of 25 cents a ticket, movies were one of the most affordable forms of entertainment in the 1930s. More than that, movies served the public's emotional needs.

▲ Comedian Charlie Chaplin wrestles with machinery in *Modern Times*, a film that criticized the dehumanizing effects of industry.

**Agee, Evans, and *Famous Men*** Writer James Agee and photographer Walker Evans also depicted the lives of sharecroppers in the Lower South. Their work, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, focused on a group of families in rural Alabama. This work received little notice when it was first published. Yet Evans's compassionate and unblinking images and Agee's powerful descriptions form a moving record of the reality of rural poverty and the great dignity of those who struggled against it.

**READING CHECK** **Comparing** How did artists such as Lange, Parks, Agee, and Evans seek to tell the story of the Great Depression?

## Popular Entertainment in the 1930s

Despite the hard times of the 1930s, Americans still found the handful of pennies it cost to go to a movie theater. Radio also continued to

grow in popularity in the 1930s. A large majority of American households had a radio, and a wide range of programming, including sports, was available.

**Movies** One study in 1935 showed that nearly 80 million of the nation's 127 million Americans attended a movie each week. Throughout the decade, movie studios produced some 5,000 feature-length films.

A few of these movies focused on the hardships of life during the Great Depression. For example, Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* was turned into a successful Hollywood film in 1940. Another example of a successful Depression-themed film was *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*. This told the tale of a jobless man who is lured into a life of crime. *Make Way for Tomorrow* portrayed the financial hardships of an older couple.

For the most part, however, films of the 1930s steered clear of troubling reminders of the hard times gripping the nation. Indeed,





THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

▼ Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire were the picture of glamour and grace for a downtrodden public.



▲ The Fabulous Fox San Francisco Theatre opened in 1929 with 5,000 seats. Such grand theaters could make moviegoers feel rich, if only for an hour or two at a time.

▲ *King Kong* roared into movie theaters with state-of-the-art special effects in March 1933. In the film's opening week, about 150,000 American moviegoers flocked to the theaters to be frightened by the giant ape.

**Skills Focus**

**INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS**

**Making Inferences** How do you think attending movies like the examples above helped people through the Great Depression? Discuss each example separately, including the theater.

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H7

filmmakers seemed to realize that most Americans went to the movies in an attempt to escape from their own problems—even if only for a couple of hours.

Highly popular in the 1930s were grand musicals featuring glamorous dancers gliding across lavish sets or living it up at posh nightclubs. In the exciting, imaginary lives of characters played by actors such as Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, viewers got a glimpse of a life they could only dream about.

Comedy was another popular choice for the public. The Marx Brothers used a zany style to produce a string of hits in the 1930s. Charlie Chaplin continued to be popular. Not only did he make the transition to talkies successfully but he also continued to produce silent movies. The classic *Modern Times* took a hilarious look at a serious subject—the dehumanizing effect of industrial life.

Director Frank Capra captured the spirit of the times in films that combined social themes with a sentimental and comic view of life. Films

such as *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* told of the triumph of the “little guy.”

The 1930s also saw the introduction of some new moviemaking techniques. For example, Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* was history’s first full-length animated feature. It drew huge audiences. *The Wizard of Oz* delighted audiences not only with its charming story and performances but also with the use of color photography and special effects. *Gone with the Wind*, which came out the same year as *The Wizard of Oz*, was also a color blockbuster.

**Radio** Radio had an important role in American politics. From President Roosevelt’s fire-side chats to Father Coughlin’s rants against the New Deal, radio brought a variety of news and views into millions of American homes.

Of course, radio also provided listeners with religion, music, sports, and other forms of entertainment. Though by today’s standards



the sound quality was poor, families in living rooms across the country were enthralled by action shows such as *The Lone Ranger* and comedies such as *Fibber McGee and Molly*.

Radio's power to captivate listeners was dramatically demonstrated in October 1938. The actor Orson Welles produced a radio broadcast of the H. G. Wells science fiction tale *The War of the Worlds* that was so realistic, it convinced many panicked listeners that Earth was actually under attack by spaceships from Mars.

Radio helped broaden the appeal of jazz. This vibrant form of music had its roots in African American communities in New Orleans and other big cities. It had spread northward and taken root in cities such as New York. There, performers such as Louis Armstrong dazzled audiences with their ability at improvising.

A new, highly orchestrated type of jazz known as **swing** swept the country in the 1930s. This music tended to feature larger groups of musicians known as big bands. Audiences often danced to the music, performing such steps as the jitterbug or the Lindy Hop (named after Charles Lindbergh).

Swing had its share of African American stars. Duke Ellington and Count Basie were two famous big-band leaders. At the same time, white big-band leaders such as Benny Goodman and the Dorsey Brothers reached audiences that had been untouched by the jazz masters of the 1920s.

Joyous or soulful, the unrestrained moods of jazz were medicine for the times. Said one

critic, "This was the Depression. It was not an easy period. And this was a music that was just pure pleasure. Pure physical pleasure."

**Sports in the 1930s** The 1920s is widely regarded as the golden age of sports. The Great Depression did limit the ability of many Americans to buy tickets and attend events in person. Nevertheless, interest in sports remained quite strong.

Baseball remained a popular attraction. The legendary Babe Ruth, who had become a huge star in the 1920s, continued his career until the mid-1930s. He was soon replaced on the roster of the New York Yankees by a new star—the great Joe DiMaggio.

Meanwhile, former Ruth teammate Lou Gehrig stirred the emotions of the nation when, stricken with a terrible illness that would soon end his life, he ended his record streak of consecutive games played.

Sports fans also thrilled to the exploits of Babe Didrikson Zaharias. A multisport star, Zaharias won fame for her talents in softball, golf, basketball, and track and field.

Boxing was hugely popular in the 1930s. The big star was heavyweight fighter Joe Louis. His 1938 bout against German Max Schmeling came to represent the growing conflict between Germany and the United States. You will read more about this contest in the next chapter.

### READING CHECK Identifying the Main

**Idea** How did popular entertainment help Americans cope with the stresses of the Great Depression?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP12

HSS 11.6.3, 11.10.7

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify** Who were Frances Perkins and Mary McLeod Bethune?

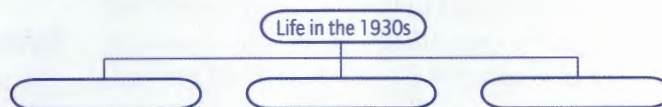
**b. Make Generalizations** How did women and African Americans fare under the policies of the Roosevelt administration?
- a. Identify** Who was Dorothea Lange?

**b. Make Generalizations** Why do you think Lange, Evans, and Agee focused on the plight of sharecroppers and tenant farmers?
- a. Define** Write a brief definition of the following term: **swing**

**b. Draw Conclusions** What can you conclude about the importance of movies in American life based on the average weekly audience in the 1930s?

### Critical Thinking

- Find Supporting Details** Copy the chart below and use information from the section to find supporting details for the main idea given.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1

- Descriptive** Write a brief description of American popular entertainment in the 1930s, using examples from your reading of the chapter.



# Analyzing the New Deal

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

The New Deal had mixed success in rescuing the economy, but it fundamentally changed Americans' relationship with their government.

### FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What was the impact of the New Deal on the nation in the 1930s?
2. In what ways was the impact of the New Deal limited?
3. How did the New Deal come to an end?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Marian Anderson  
minimum wage  
incumbent



**HSS 11.6.2** Understand the causes of the Great Depression and the steps taken to combat the crisis.

**HSS 11.6.4** Analyze the controversies arising from New Deal policies and the expanded role of the federal government since the 1930s.

**HSS 11.6.5** Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor.

### THE INSIDE STORY

*How far would white society go to battle racial discrimination in the 1930s?* As a

musically gifted African American child, **Marian**

**Anderson** got her vocal training the only way she could: singing in the choir at the local church. In time, her talents took her from the choir box to some of the world's most famous concert halls.

Like many African American performers of her day, Anderson went to Europe first to build up her reputation. She returned to America as an international star. But success did not protect her from discrimination at home.

In 1939 Anderson's manager tried to book a concert for her at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C. The owners of the hall, a prestigious group called the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), turned him down, citing a contract clause that said "concert by white artists only."

Many Americans were outraged. Eleanor Roosevelt and other prominent women resigned from the DAR. The First Lady then arranged for Anderson to hold a concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Some 75,000 people turned out, hearing Anderson's glorious voice sing the words, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty." Millions heard the national radio broadcast. Anderson later gave a private concert at the White House.

Eleanor Roosevelt's actions on behalf of Marian Anderson were typical of her efforts to aid African Americans. However, the incident also illustrated just how widespread racism was in 1930s America. A principled stand, a public cry of outrage, and groundbreaking symbolism went far in changing attitudes. Indeed, within four years, Constitution Hall changed its whites-only policy and invited Anderson to sing there. Meanwhile, however, there was no move to legally challenge the injustice done to Anderson or the racism it represented. The architects of the New Deal, including President Roosevelt, chose not to fight that battle. ■

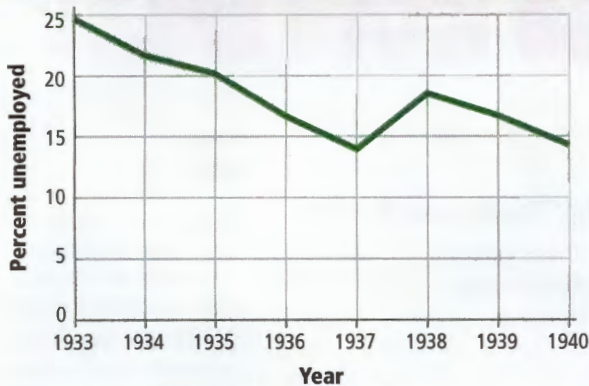
**"OF THEE  
I SING..."**



► **Marian Anderson performs on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.**

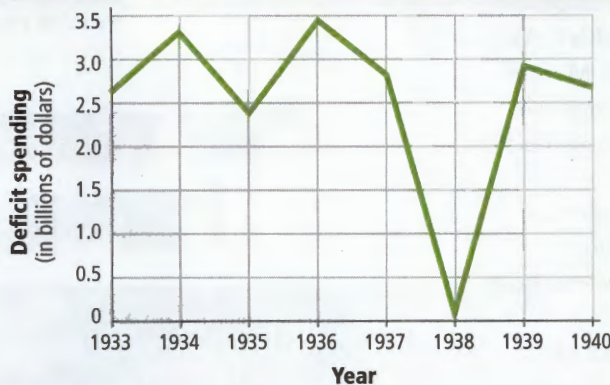


**UNEMPLOYMENT, 1933–1940**



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

**DEFICIT SPENDING, 1933–1940**



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

**Skills  
FOCUS**

**INTERPRETING GRAPHS**

1. What was the overall trend of unemployment between 1933 and 1940?
2. What was significant about 1938?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H17

**The Impact of the New Deal**

From the moment he took office, Franklin Roosevelt knew he faced an economic crisis—and a crisis of spirit. Though he could not hope to please everyone, he knew he had to take action. “Take a method and try it,” he said, describing his approach. “If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something.”

**Relief, recovery, and reform** What was the record of the New Deal? Was the promise of relief, recovery, and reform met?

Certainly, the relief programs enacted in 1933 and 1935 put billions of dollars into the pockets of poor Americans. Millions of people

enjoyed some form of help, from direct relief to jobs that provided a steady paycheck. Programs such as Social Security and unemployment insurance, moreover, became a fixture of American government.

The New Deal was less successful in delivering economic recovery. Joblessness initially fell from a high of 13 million in 1933 to about 9 million by 1936. Wages, factory output, and other economic indicators rose to levels at or even above those of 1929. Unfortunately, many early gains were wiped out in the downturn of 1937 and 1938. At decade’s end, some 10 million workers remained unemployed.

Historians continue to debate the reasons for the New Deal’s mixed results. Some argue that Roosevelt’s policies, which were never popular with big business, hurt business confidence and slowed the pace of recovery. Others believe that the New Deal was too timid and that real unemployment reduction would have required spending billions more.

New Deal reforms proved more successful—and long-lasting. For example, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation helped restore public confidence in the safety of the nation’s banks. This was a critical step in stopping the nation’s slide into chaos in 1933. The FDIC has continued to serve the nation’s economy ever since. Similarly, the Securities and Exchange Commission, established in 1934, helped the public regain faith in the stock markets. Investors today continue to rely on SEC oversight.

The New Deal also left an impressive legacy in the form of thousands of roadways, bridges, dams, and public buildings. The WPA built 2,500 hospitals and nearly 6,000 schools. WPA artists painted over 2,500 murals and erected nearly 18,000 sculptures in public places.

**Changing relationships** Americans have long argued about whether the New Deal was good or bad for the nation. What is undeniable is that the New Deal changed some basic relationships in American society.<sup>1</sup>

In general, the New Deal changed the link between the American people and their government. The leaders of the 1920s had promoted business as the best way to achieve progress, and they generally viewed government as a barrier to progress. Roosevelt believed that government could help businesses and individuals achieve a greater level of economic security.



The new role for government meant a much bigger government. Dozens of new programs and agencies put people in contact with their government in ways they had not experienced before. Americans now began to look regularly to government for help. Roosevelt and the New Deal were both praised and hated for this. For some, this change brought a welcome shift from the laissez-faire policies of the 1920s. To others, it threatened the basic character that had always held the country together.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

“It cannot be successfully denied that whatever the merits of the New Deal policies, they have, as a whole, caused an appreciable drift away from individual responsibility and self-reliance. They have brought about an excessive, utterly [false] and dangerous reliance upon government.”

—*Saturday Evening Post*, November 6, 1936

#### READING CHECK Making Generalizations

How did the New Deal impact relationships among important segments of American society?

## Limits of the New Deal

The New Deal was never as sweeping as its supporters or its opponents claimed. In practice, New Deal programs often compromised—some might say contradicted—Roosevelt’s desire to build “a country in which no one is left out.”

Relief programs provide a clear example. While they gave aid to millions of people, these programs were never meant to be a permanent solution to joblessness. Nor were they able to provide jobs to all those who needed them.

Roosevelt had hoped the federal government would assist all but about 1.5 million “unemployable” people, who would be left to the states to care for, but some 4.7 million went unserved. Work-relief programs could only provide temporary help. In addition, pay scales were very low. An unskilled worker might make a mere third of what the government deemed a minimum family income. Government leaders did not want wages to be so high that workers would be discouraged from seeking nongovernment jobs.

### COUNTERPOINTS

## Role of Government in Everyday Life

*Although Charles McNary of Oregon was a Republican, he supported most New Deal programs, including the Social Security Act.*

“I am confident that once the magnitude of this problem is clearly recognized, once we face squarely the fact that it has passed beyond the ability of the individual to master, and is distinctly national in its character, we shall set ourselves to the task of its solution.”

**Senator Charles McNary, 1935**

*Daniel Reed of New York took a strong stand against Social Security.*

“I was taught and the people I have the honor to represent believe that the greatest heritage of a free people is the right to transmit that freedom to their children. I loathe this attempt to deceive and betray industry and labor and further fasten upon them this foreign system of regimentation [strict rule].”

**Representative Daniel Reed, 1935**



**Skills FOCUS**

#### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

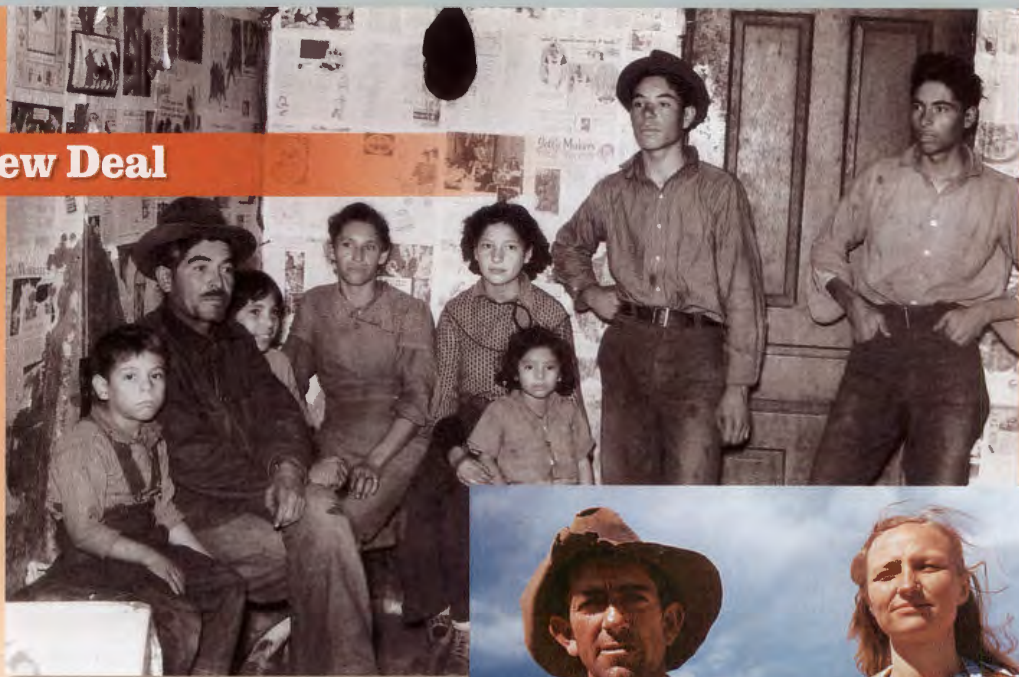
**Analyzing Primary Sources** Why does McNary believe that Social Security is needed? Why does Reed oppose it?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–29



## Limits of the New Deal

The New Deal did not lift everyone out of poverty. Many working families, such as these migrant workers in Minnesota (right) or these homesteaders in New Mexico (far right) had little choice but to make the best out of the cramped and impoverished conditions in which they lived.



The level of government assistance also varied by state. For example, under Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a child in Massachusetts might receive more than \$60 a month, while one in Arkansas might get \$8.

In addition, New Deal programs sometimes permitted discrimination against African Americans, Hispanic Americans, women, and others. New Deal leaders, Roosevelt included, were unwilling to irritate local populations by requiring programs to go against “local standards”—including discriminatory ones.

**READING CHECK** **Summarizing** What were some of the limits of the New Deal?

## The End of the New Deal

The sense of optimism accompanying Roosevelt’s victory in 1936 withered by 1937. The fight over court-packing cost the president some of his support within his party and with the American public. The economic downturn of 1937–1938 delivered a further blow to his efforts. By the end of 1938, the New Deal era of reform launched in 1933 was, in reality, over.

**Weakening support** Roosevelt’s setbacks emboldened his opponents in Congress. In late 1937, a group of anti–New Deal senators made

up of Republicans and southern Democrats issued a direct challenge to Roosevelt’s policies. They called on the president to cut taxes, balance the budget, and return more power to the states. This group was strong enough to stop most legislation they disliked.

One target of this group’s opposition was the president’s plan to reorganize the executive branch of the government. Roosevelt said his goal was to help make the executive branch work more smoothly.

Critics, however, complained that the measure gave too much power to the president. As one member of Congress stated, “This is just a step to concentrate power in the hands of the president and set up a... form of dictatorship.” Such a charge carried real weight after the court-packing episode.

Only one major piece of legislation emerged from Congress in 1938: the Fair Labor Standards Act. This law established a **minimum wage**—the lowest wage an employer can legally pay a worker. It also set the maximum number of required hours for a work week at 44. (This was later lowered to 40.) The Fair Labor Standards Act also included a requirement that workers receive the overtime rate of time-and-a-half—payment at one-and-a-half times their normal rate for any hours over the weekly maximum.



The new law did not cover many large groups, such as farmworkers. Still, it marked a major victory for millions of workers.

Southern Democrats opposed the bill. Southern industry, they argued, depended on paying workers less than in other parts of the country. But Roosevelt worked hard to win passage of the bill. Although he did not know it, the bill would be the last major New Deal law.

**The 1938 elections** Facing opposition in Congress, President Roosevelt decided his best hope lay in defeating his opponents in the 1938 congressional elections. This included opponents within his own party. He handpicked candidates to fight for the Democratic nominations in several southern states.

President Roosevelt traveled to the South to tell voters he needed new senators to help pass his program. The embattled senators responded by enflaming white fears that African Americans were becoming political empowered, sponsored by Roosevelt.

Georgia senator Walter George was among those targeted by Roosevelt. He compared the president's attempt to influence the election to the U.S. Army's occupation of the South during post-Civil War Reconstruction. "We answered this question before when federal bayonets stood guard over the ballot box," he observed.

Roosevelt's efforts backfired. In each case, his candidate lost, and the **incumbent** senator—the one presently in office—won the nomination and the November election. In addition, Republicans made gains in the House and Senate, further swelling the ranks of New Deal opponents.

**After the New Deal** Following the 1938 elections, President Roosevelt lacked the support he needed to pass more New Deal-style laws. Opposition was simply too strong for Roosevelt to overcome.

At the same time, Congress, the president, and the American public turned their attention away from the long struggle against the Great Depression. The possibility of a different kind of struggle lay ahead.

Now Europe appeared to be marching relentlessly toward another war. American factories now began to gear up to arm those who would fight the battles. By the millions, workers returned to the assembly lines and workshops. In a period of months in 1939 and 1940, international conflict produced what years of political struggle had failed to achieve: an end to the Great Depression.

**READING CHECK** **Sequencing** What events marked the end of the New Deal?

## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP12

HSS 11.6.2, 11.6.4, 11.6.5

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Describe** On what grounds did people praise and criticize the New Deal?

**b. Contrast** How did Roosevelt's views about the role of government differ from presidents of the 1920s?

**c. Rate** Do you think the positive impact of the New Deal outweighed the negative impact? Explain.
- a. Recall** Did the New Deal bring an end to the Depression?

**b. Make Inferences** Why were New Deal programs able to provide only limited support to the needy?

**c. Evaluate** Defend the New Deal's approach of honoring local customs in establishing levels of aid.
- a. Define** Write brief definitions of the following terms: **minimum wage, incumbent**

**b. Explain** How did Roosevelt's effort to get rid of disloyal Democrats backfire?

**c. Elaborate** How might Roosevelt have tried to improve relations with Congress and win more support for his efforts?

### Critical Thinking

- 4. Find Supporting Details** Copy the chart below and use information from the section to find supporting details for the main idea given.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1, 1.3

- 5. Narrative** Write a narrative account of the final year of the New Deal. Be sure to include details from the section about the failures and rare successes of Roosevelt as well as the reasons for the end of the New Deal.



## Perceptions of Roosevelt



HSS 11.6.2, 11.6.5

**Historical Context** The documents below provide different information on perceptions of Franklin Roosevelt.

**Task** Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then you will be asked to write an essay about perceptions of Franklin Roosevelt, using facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

### DOCUMENT 1

To his admirers, Franklin Roosevelt's appeal lay in both his policies and his personality. His energy and enthusiasm helped reassure a country that was going through hard times. Tom Vinciguerra, who grew up during the Great Depression, recalled his family's perceptions of Roosevelt.

"'Depression' was fast becoming a household word to all six of us children. Mother's pretty and usually smiling face now turned grim almost daily. The '29 crash destroyed my father's car-repair business. Survival was dependent on Dad's intermittent part-time jobs, plus welfare. Coal money ran out fast, and we weren't always warm. Hand-me-downs and leftover store bread warded off stark desperation.

In 1931, my nonpolitical mother surprised us with an announcement that the family would attend an election eve rally for Roosevelt in Camden, N.J. At the rally, I watched my mother smile and sing. I was so happy for her. As the troubled '30s rolled on, Roosevelt's alphabet soup—PA, CCC, etc. —worked its magic. Our lives improved.

In 1939, at age 13, I heard the loud wail of sirens while walking to my part-time busboy job in downtown Camden. It was Roosevelt's reelection motorcade. As it reached me, the president doffed his famous hat in my direction. Thrilled, I ran home. When I told my mother, she hugged me. I felt her tremble as she sobbed. Then she looked at me as if through me she could express her deep gratitude to the president. My brothers and sisters treated me like a celebrity. I did not bus dishes that day."

### DOCUMENT 2

Some critics argued that Roosevelt's charisma sometimes gave people false hope and hid the details of his political plans. The following editorial appeared in *The Nation* magazine after one of Roosevelt's 1936 speeches, as he was preparing for his re-election.

"Mr. Roosevelt's amazing radio message to Congress has undoubtedly strengthened his campaign fortunes, but leaves his program as unclear as ever. Politically adroit [skilled], and from the standpoint of radio oratory a magnificent achievement, it was intellectually a confused and straddling performance. . . The common man wanted to be let in on a dramatic occasion, and he had his wish. He wanted a fighting speech, and he got it. He was tuning in on history-in-the-making, and the President took pains to make it a good show . . . The President has again used some sort of magic to increase his stature, and by comparison every Presidential possibility on the Republican side seems puny and frustrate[d]...

But a sober rereading of the speech shows how consummately Mr. Roosevelt displayed his talent for leaving almost all the important things unsaid...

In the domestic field Mr. Roosevelt's message was better as a manifesto [a public statement] than as a preface [introduction] to legislative action. It was here that the speech became . . . a political rally, with the business of state being transacted under the klieg lights [bright lights used in making motion pictures]."



### DOCUMENT 3

Although he grew up wealthy and privileged, President Roosevelt had a strong appeal among many poor Americans, who felt he understood their suffering. The following cartoon reflects this idea.



*"Yes, you remembered me."*

### DOCUMENT 4

Some of Franklin Roosevelt's harshest critics were the wealthy, who resented his efforts to redistribute wealth by taxing the rich to help the poor. Some accused him of betraying his class. In this cartoon, a group of wealthy New Yorkers are going to the Trans-Lux, a popular movie theater on Madison Avenue in New York City that showed newsreels about the president.



*"Come along. We're going to the Trans-Lux to hiss Roosevelt."*

**Skills  
FOCUS**

HSS Analysis HR4, HI1

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- Identify** Refer to Document 1. What was the writer's impression of Roosevelt?
  - Analyze** How did Roosevelt change this family's life in multiple ways?
- Describe** Refer to Document 2. According to the writer, what was the main purpose of Roosevelt's speech?
  - Interpret** Why was the writer critical of the president for having strong speaking abilities?
- Identify** Refer to Documents 3 and 4. What are the two different types of people responding to Roosevelt?
  - Contrast** What do these two cartoons reflect about the personal appeal of President Roosevelt?
- Document-Based Essay Question** Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. How did President Franklin Roosevelt's personality shape public perceptions of his presidency?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29, H31



## Visual Summary: The New Deal

## The New Deal

- Two major plans—in 1933 and 1935
- Established many new government programs
- Popular at first, but limited in its success



## Criticism and Resistance

- Political opposition from right and left
- Supreme Court opposition



## Lasting Impact

- Forever changes relationship between people and government
- Introduces programs such as Social Security that are still functioning today
- Still controversial



## Reviewing Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the New Deal.

1. public works
2. fireside chat
3. Hundred Days
4. Huey P. Long
5. Social Security
6. CIO
7. deficit
8. John Maynard Keynes
9. Black Cabinet
10. Frances Perkins
11. Mary McLeod Bethune
12. minimum wage

## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

## SECTION 1 (pp. 346–353) HSS 11.6.2, 11.6.4

- 13. a. Recall** Who did the Democratic Party choose as its candidate in 1932?
- b. Contrast** What did the American people seem to like most about Roosevelt's programs? What did they find fault with?
- c. Evaluate** What can you conclude from the fact that Roosevelt and the New Deal were criticized both for doing too much and for doing too little?

## SECTION 2 (pp. 357–364) HSS 11.6.4

- 14. a. Identify** What was the Second New Deal?
- b. Draw Conclusions** What factors undermined support for Roosevelt and his programs?
- c. Evaluate** Explain this statement: In some ways, President Roosevelt's success contributed to his failure in the late 1930s.





### SECTION 3 (pp. 365–370) HSS 11.10.7

- 15. a. Recall** How did the Roosevelt administration treat women and African Americans?
- b. Make Inferences** Why do you think Eleanor Roosevelt was able to take a firmer stand for the rights of women and African Americans than her husband did?
- c. Rate** How do you think Franklin Roosevelt should be evaluated historically in terms of his treatment of women and minorities?

### SECTION 4 (pp. 371–375) HSS 11.6.4

- 16. a. Describe** What effects did New Deal programs have on the major problems of the Great Depression, such as unemployment?
- b. Summarize** On what grounds can the New Deal be considered a success? a failure?
- c. Rate** In your opinion, was the New Deal a success or a failure? Explain.

## Using the Internet

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Practice Online

Keyword: SE7 CH12

- 17.** Photographer Dorothea Lange used a camera to tell stories of life during the Great Depression. Her photographs convey many different moods, show different groups of people and different types of circumstances. Yet the pictures have much in common. Using the keyword above, research Lange's life and study some of her photographs. Then answer these questions: (a) How did Lange's own life affect her work? (b) What do her photographs reveal about the lives of people during the Depression? In your answers, refer to at least two specific photographs by their titles.

## Analyzing HSS HR4 Primary Sources

**Reading Like a Historian** This photograph shows Eleanor Roosevelt meeting with several members of the Bonus Army that formed during the early years of the Roosevelt administration.



- 18. Describe** How would you describe the interaction between Eleanor Roosevelt and the Bonus Army marchers?
- 19. Contrast** How did Eleanor Roosevelt's interaction with the Bonus Army differ from Hoover's treatment of the Bonus Army of 1932?

## Critical Reading ELA R2.2

Read the passage in Section 2 that begins with the heading "The Second Hundred Days." Then answer the question that follows.

- 20.** The issue of Social Security is most closely associated with the criticisms of
- A Congress.
  - B Dr. Francis Townsend.
  - C voters in 1936.
  - D African Americans.

## WRITING FOR THE SAT

ELA W1.1

Think about the following issue.

**Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal set off one of the most fundamental debates about government in the nation's history. Not since the debates between the Federalists and Anti-federalists had the country seen such diverging viewpoints as those between Roosevelt and his conservative opponents. The debate is as strong as ever today.**

- 21. Assignment** How far should government go to try to improve the lives of citizens? Is it appropriate to use deficit spending when necessary to relieve suffering? What standards would you apply to decide how much help is too little or too much? Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from the chapter.



## CHAPTER

## 9

## From War to Peace

1919–1928

**MAIN IDEA** The years following World War I brought unease over the apparent spread of radical influences. The American people sought leaders who offered a return to peaceful times—and they eagerly contributed to a booming, consumer-driven economy.

**SECTION 1** Far from feeling safe and at peace, many Americans in the postwar years saw threats in a variety of forms, including labor unrest, rising immigration, and radical political ideas.

**SECTION 2** The increasing availability of consumer goods—from cars to household appliances—helped inspire a growing economic boom in the 1920s.

**SECTION 3** Warren Harding captured the national mood—and the White House—with his calls for normalcy. His pro-business agenda was expanded upon by his successor, Calvin Coolidge.

## CHAPTER

## 10

## The Roaring Twenties

1920–1929

**MAIN IDEA** The 1920s was a time of widespread cultural change. Music, art, literature, and popular culture reflected dramatic demographic and cultural developments.

**SECTION 1** The changing American culture of the 1920s was reflected in new roles for women and an increase in urbanization.

**SECTION 2** Centered in New York City's Harlem community, African American culture experienced a renaissance of literature, music, and art.

**SECTION 3** The growing popularity of the radio and the movies helped contribute to the rise of a mass popular culture in the 1920s. Americans idolized the stars, both on the screen and off, that emerged from these new forms of entertainment.

## CHAPTER

## 11

## The Great Depression Begins

1929–1933

**MAIN IDEA** Following an era of apparent prosperity, the Great Depression began in 1929. Soon millions of Americans were suffering, and the political landscape of the United States stood on the brink of great change.

**SECTION 1** The American stock markets, which had ballooned in value and helped fuel the economic optimism of the 1920s, collapsed in 1929. The crash had effects far beyond the losses by investors.

**SECTION 2** In the Great Depression that followed the 1929 stock market crash, millions of people lost their jobs, their savings, and their homes. In some parts of the country, environmental catastrophe added to the suffering.

**SECTION 3** President Herbert Hoover believed in limited government action to address the growing national crisis. For many Americans, he came to be the target of much anger and unhappiness.

## CHAPTER

## 12

## The New Deal

1933–1940

**MAIN IDEA** Swept into office in 1932 on his promises to help the victims of the Great Depression, Franklin Delano Roosevelt pushed forward a series of programs that came to be called the New Deal. These programs met with some success, as well as some criticism.

**SECTION 1** As president, Roosevelt quickly sought to address the fears of the nation. New Deal laws helped repair the banking system and provide relief for the jobless, though they met with significant criticism.

**SECTION 2** The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act and Social Security helped set the pace for the Second New Deal, which helped Roosevelt win re-election as president in 1936.

**SECTION 3** The New Deal provided some new opportunities for women and minority groups. It also helped shape the popular and artistic culture of the decade.

**SECTION 4** The New Deal had mixed results in solving the economic problems of the Great Depression. However, it unquestionably changed the relationships between the people and their government.