

The Great Depression and New Deal

Backwards Planning Curriculum Units

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	IV
Lecture Notes	S1
Student Handouts	H1
Backwards Planning Curriculum:	
Great Depression and New Deal: Backwards Planning Activities	1
Project #1: The New Deal in Your Town	3
Project #2: Great Depression and New Deal Primary Source Kits.....	9
Project #3: Did FDR Exceed His Powers?	14
Great Depression and New Deal: Multiple-Choice Quiz	21
Great Depression and New Deal: Multiple-Choice Quiz Answer Key	26

How To Use This Unit

Backwards planning offers an innovative yet simple approach to meeting curriculum goals; it also provides a way to keep students engaged and focused throughout the learning process. Many teachers approach history instruction in the following manner: they identify a topic required by state and/or national standards, they find materials on that topic, they use those materials with their students, and then they administer some sort of standard test at the end of the unit. Backwards planning, rather than just starting with a required instructional topic, goes a step further by identifying exactly what students need to know by the end of the unit—the so-called “enduring understandings.” The next step involves assessment: devising ways to determine whether students have learned what they need to know. The final step involves planning the teaching/learning process so that students can acquire the knowledge needed.

This product uses backwards planning to combine a PowerPoint presentation, activities that involve authentic assessment, and traditional tests (multiple-choice and essay) into a complete curriculum unit. Although the materials have enough built-in flexibility that you can use them in a number of ways, we suggest the following procedure:

1. Start with the “essential questions” listed on slide 2 of the PowerPoint presentation (these also appear in the teacher support materials). Briefly go over them with students before getting into the topic material. These questions will help students focus their learning and note taking during the course of the unit. You can also choose to use the essential questions as essay questions at the end of the unit; one way to do this is to let students know at the outset that one of the essential questions will be on the test—they just won’t know which one.
2. Next, discuss the activities students will complete during the unit. This will also help focus their learning and note taking, and it will lead them to view the PowerPoint presentation in a different light, considering it a source of ideas for authentic-assessment projects.
3. Present the PowerPoint to the class. Most slides have an image and bullet points summarizing the slide’s topic. The Notes page for each slide contains a paragraph or two of information that you can use as a presentation script, or just as background information for your own reference. You don’t need to present the entire PowerPoint at once: it’s broken up into several sections, each of which concludes with some discussion questions that echo parts of the essential questions and also help students to get closer to the “enduring understandings.” Spend some time with the class going over and debating these questions—this will not only help students think critically about the material, but it will also allow you to incorporate different modes of instruction during a single class period, offering a better chance to engage students.
4. Have students complete one or more of the authentic-assessment activities. These activities are flexible: most can be completed either individually or in groups, and either as homework or as in-class assignments. Each activity includes a rubric; many also have graphic organizers. You can choose to have students complete the activities after you have shown them the entire PowerPoint presentation, or you can show them one section of the PowerPoint, go over the discussion questions, and then have students complete an activity.

5. End the unit with traditional assessment. The support materials include a 20-question multiple-choice quiz; you can combine this with an essay question (you can use one of the essential questions or come up with one of your own) to create a full-period test.

6. If desired, debrief with students by going over the essential questions with them again and remind them what the enduring understandings are.

We are dedicated to continually improving our products and working with teachers to develop exciting and effective tools for the classroom. We can offer advice on how to maximize the use of the product and share others' experiences. We would also be happy to work with you on ideas for customizing the presentation.

We value your feedback, so please let us know more about the ways in which you use this product to supplement your lessons; we're also eager to hear any recommendations you might have for ways in which we can expand the functionality of this product in future editions. You can e-mail us at access@socialstudies.com. We look forward to hearing from you.

Dr. Aaron Willis
Chief Education Officer
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The Great Depression and New Deal



The 1920s had been characterized by exceptional economic growth, the development of a consumer society, an expansion of the middle class, and rapid social change. While many Americans revealed these “ballyhoo” years, ominous signs showed an impending financial catastrophe. The resulting depression—and the government and society’s response to it—revealed much about the American character, broke new ground in terms of social legislation and centralized control of the economy, and changed the way in which people conceptualized what the role of federal government should be—all legacies which persist to this day.

Many Americans were unable to eat regularly during the Depression years unless they could get a free meal from a charity soup kitchen or breadline. Gangster Al Capone funded the Chicago soup kitchen shown in this slide.

Essential Questions

- What underlying issues and conditions led to the Great Depression?
- What economic conditions led to the stock market crash of 1929?
- Why were the policies of the Hoover Administration ineffective in dealing with the problems of the Depression?
- Why did the New Deal seek to solve the problems of the Depression through public works, rather than the dole?
- What impact did the New Deal have on arts and letters in the 1930s?
- How did President Franklin D. Roosevelt change the role of the presidency in American history?
- How successful was the New Deal in solving the problems of the Depression and restoring American prosperity?

Fundamental Causes of the Depression

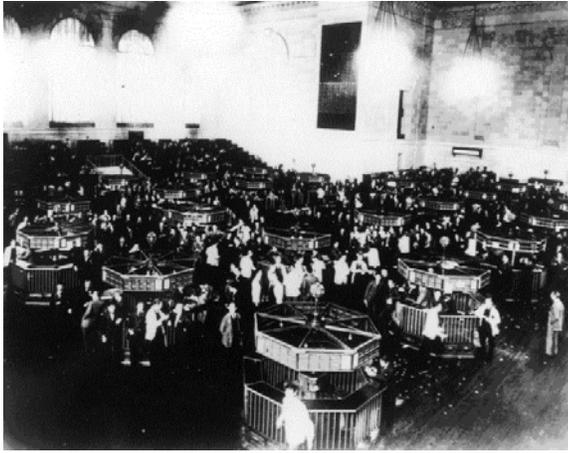
- Drop in farm prices
- Massively uneven distribution of income
- “Get rich quick” schemes in real estate and especially in stocks
- Overextension of credit
- Increased inventories of goods
- Immediate cause: October 1929 stock market crash



Many consumers in the 1920s bought items such as this ironer on credit

- During the 1920s, few farmers shared in the prosperity that supposedly extended nationwide. This discrepancy in farm prices was a warning sign that the economy was in serious trouble.
- Although many viewed the 1920s as an “era of prosperity,” the vast majority of people in America were middle class or poor. Since most of the real wealth in the country lay in the hands of only a few people, most citizens didn’t have the cash to purchase goods.
- Many believed that speculation in real estate—and especially in stocks—would result in easy money. People also bought stock “on margin,” putting down 10 percent of the stock’s value and then owing the rest to a broker. If the stock continued to climb in value, the investor was safe. However, if the value of the stock declined the broker would make a “margin call,” demanding payment for the rest of the amount owed. If the investor couldn’t pay the other 90 percent, the broker would sell the stock, hoping to recoup his losses. As the market as a whole declined in value, this process became a vicious circle, further driving down stock prices.
- Many consumers in the 1920s overextended themselves financially due to the easy availability of credit. New consumer goods such as washing machines, radios, automobiles, and refrigerators appealed to consumers, even though they might not have had the financial resources to buy them. The ability to pay in installments put these goods in the reach of more people. However, this also led to industries showing only “paper profits,” thereby further creating the illusion of prosperity.
- As more people bought products with money they didn’t have, manufacturers continued to produce more and more goods. Soon the supply of goods far exceeded demand, and unsold items piled up in producers’ warehouses.
- The October 1929 stock market crash signaled the start of the Depression. While the U.S. economy did not completely and immediately collapse, the crash marked the beginning of a major decline.

The Day the Bubble Burst



The trading floor of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929

- October 29, 1929
- More than 16 million shares traded in one day
- Stock market lost \$30 billion
- Beginning of the “Great Depression”

While the fundamental causes of the Depression took years to lead to financial calamity, many point to a single day when the Depression began: October 29, 1929, when the stock market crashed. On that day, more than 16 million shares were traded (a record at the time) and the market lost \$30 billion—nearly the amount the U.S. had spent fighting World War I. While the market had rapidly increased in value from 1927–1929 (approximately 140 to 360 points), it fell nearly more than 100 points in the months after the crash. As the Depression worsened, the market hit a low of approximately 40 as the election of 1932 loomed, and did not approach the 100 mark again until after Franklin D. Roosevelt’s inauguration.

By the time Roosevelt took office, stocks had lost 80 percent of their total value. Confidence in the market declined sharply as former investors felt betrayed and unwilling to buy stock. Since they refused to purchase shares, much-needed investment and expansion did not occur, which further hampered economic recovery.

Banking System Collapse

- Banks invested heavily in the market
- Collapse of market led to bank failures
- Many depositors panicked, leading to even more bank failures



Worried depositors wait outside a bank hoping to withdraw their savings

While many investors lost their money in the market, many other people found their savings wiped out because banks had irresponsibly invested depositors' money in the market as well. Therefore, when the crash occurred banks also lost millions.

Banking was already a risky business, with more than 600 banks failing every year from 1920–1929. Following the stock market crash, however, bank failures jumped dramatically. Between 1930 and 1933, nearly 10,000 banks failed nationwide, with 4000 failing in 1933 alone.

Unfortunately for these banks' depositors, there was no national "safety net" to protect their money. While some states did have insurance programs for bank deposits, bank failures in the period before the crash had essentially wiped out those programs, leaving depositors completely unprotected.

Hoover's Response



President Herbert Hoover

- President Hoover overwhelmed
- Believed that private charity was best suited to solve problems
- Most efforts failed
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation achieved some success

As the nation spiraled downward economically, President Herbert Hoover became increasingly frustrated in his efforts to stem the collapse. As a conservative Republican, Hoover was convinced that private charities such as churches and relief agencies were best suited to deal with the effects of the Depression. However, private agencies soon found themselves overwhelmed by the number of relief cases. Hoover was unable to find solutions to reduce unemployment, stop bank failures, eliminate foreclosures, or hasten economic recovery.

However, a few of Hoover's programs did achieve some success. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation provided loans and grants to railroads, banks, and some other industries in an attempt to provide "trickle-down" relief by keeping those businesses solvent, thereby allowing these companies to keep more workers employed.

As a whole, Hoover's program to end the Depression was grossly ineffective. Public opinion turned against him, and he was ridiculed and blamed for the Depression's economic woes, and the Republicans lost control of Congress and the White House in 1932.

Hoovervilles

- Settlements of shacks inhabited by transients and unemployed
- Derisively named after President Hoover
- Many cities and towns had at least one



Nearly anything that was a sign of the Depression or its hardships was linked to the beleaguered Hoover. A “Hoover blanket” was an old newspaper that might be used to cover someone. A “Hoover flag” was a person’s turned-out empty pocket. A piece of cardboard used to cover the hole in a worn-out shoe sole was called “Hoover leather.” An automobile powered by horses because the owner couldn’t afford gasoline might be called a “Hoover wagon.”

Most notable, however, were “Hoovervilles.” Many cities and towns had at least one Hooverville, a settlement of shacks in which many transient and unemployed people lived. “Hoovervillas” might be made out of any sort of material: cardboard, wood scraps, piano boxes, or even stones.

The photo in this slide shows a Hooverville in Portland, Oregon, and was shot by Arthur Rothstein for the Farm Services Organization.

The Bonus Army



With the U.S. capitol visible in the distance, shacks erected by the Bonus Expeditionary Force burn

- Patman Bill was to move up bonus payments from 1945 to 1933
- Veterans camped near the Capitol to support the bill
- Bill failed in Congress
- Hoover's removal of vets made Hoover appear heartless

The U.S. government had promised World War I veterans a bonus, to be paid in 1945. Most veterans would have received a payment of approximately \$500. However, when the Depression hit, Texas Representative John Wright Patman introduced a bill in Congress that would move the bonus payment up to 1933. In support of the Patman Bill, nearly 10,000 World War I veterans came to Washington D.C. Calling themselves the "Bonus Expeditionary Force," they were led by a former Army sergeant, Walter W. Waters.

The Patman Bill passed in the House but failed in the Senate. Some marchers left and went home, while others remained in the Anacostia Flats camp near the U.S. capitol. President Herbert Hoover believed that the criminals and political radicals had infiltrated the remaining marchers, so he ordered Douglas MacArthur, the military commander of the District of Columbia, to remove them. MacArthur, along with his second in command Major Dwight D. Eisenhower, sent troops in to disperse the BEF. In the ensuing action, two veterans were shot and killed, tear gas asphyxiated two infants, several others were injured, and the Bonus Army camp burned down. Many people across the country saw Hoover as heartless and unsympathetic to the veterans' plight because of the excessive force he used to remove the BEF. His actions contributed to his loss in the 1932 presidential election.

Discussion Questions

1. Which of the fundamental causes of the Depression would have been the easiest to fix, in your view? Explain.
2. Why do you think there hasn't been a major stock market crash similar to the Crash of 1929?
3. Why was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation successful?
4. What "grade" would you give Hoover and his handling of the Depression? Why?
5. Do you believe that Congress should have passed the Patman Bill? Why or why not?

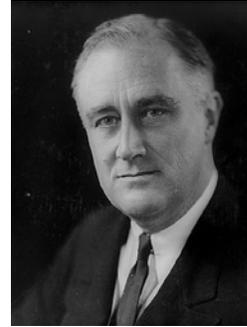
1. Many students may see the overextension of credit as the easiest problem to fix. Banks and stores could have reduced the number of loans or amount of credit they gave, which would have curtailed the credit problems that led to the Depression. Other students may note that had the government adequately warned farmers of the perils of farm surpluses, farm prices might have remained higher.
2. Most students will probably note that the later inclusion of laws and regulatory agencies regarding the market have ensured that the effects of large downturns in the stock market are minimal. For example, the stock market was closed for several days after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, to ensure that panic selling of stocks did not occur. While the market did take substantial losses after it reopened, the losses did not severely affect the economy.
3. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was probably successful because it provided direct aid to businesses and financial institutions, and allowed them to invest the funds in equipment and hiring workers, which helped lead to a slight upturn in the economy.
4. Most students would probably grade Hoover relatively low (probably a "D" or an "F" because of his inability to stem the effects of the Depression). Some might grade him higher, however, because they might believe that he did his best amid very difficult circumstances.
5. Based on the hardships suffered by the BEF, many students may support the idea of passage of the Patman Bill. They may also note that giving the bonus in advance would have put more cash into people's hands, which might have helped stimulate the economy. However, other students may believe that to pay that much money in bonuses to veterans might have crippled the federal government, or that funding for other federal relief programs might have suffered as a result.

The Election of 1932



Hoover

- Republicans renominated Hoover
- Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt
- Hoover's inability to solve the Depression became the chief issue
- FDR won in a landslide



Roosevelt

The Republicans renominated Herbert Hoover for president in 1932. The Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt, the governor of New York, as their candidate. Hoover's inability to effectively tackle the problems of the Depression became the chief issue. In the end, FDR defeated the Republican incumbent in a landslide. In electoral votes, FDR won easily, beating Hoover 472–59. He also garnered nearly 23 million popular votes to Hoover's 16 million. Roosevelt carried 43 of 48 states and 57 percent of the popular vote. With the exception of parts of the Northeast, he carried every region of the country.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

- Born in 1882
- Distant relative of Theodore Roosevelt
- Married to Eleanor Roosevelt, TR's niece
- Political career mirrored TR's
- Lost 1920 election for vice president
- Paralyzed in 1921



One of only three photos of FDR in a wheelchair, taken in 1941

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born in 1882 to well-to-do parents in Hyde Park, New York. Educated at Groton Preparatory School and Harvard College, he idolized his distant relative President Theodore Roosevelt, and sought to mirror his personality and political career after his more-famous relative. He took to wearing similar eyeglasses and would frequently pepper his sentences with Theodore's familiar exclamation, "Bully!" In addition, FDR held many of the same offices Theodore did, including New York State assemblyman, undersecretary of the Navy, and governor of New York.

In 1905, FDR married Theodore Roosevelt's niece, Eleanor, in a White House ceremony. Their relationship eventually deteriorated because of FDR's affair with Eleanor's social secretary Lucy Mercer; however, the Roosevelts remained married in order to maintain FDR's political career.

In 1920, again following his cousin Theodore, FDR was nominated as vice president on the Democratic ticket. He and his presidential running mate, James Cox, were defeated by the Republican ticket of Harding and Coolidge.

The next year, doctors diagnosed FDR with what was then called "infantile paralysis," or polio. (Experts have since reassessed FDR's condition as Guillain-Barré syndrome, which has many of the same symptoms.) The disease left him unable to walk and confined him to a wheelchair for the rest of his life. While many believed that his illness signaled the end of his political career, FDR hid the extent of his condition so well that many did not realize he was unable to walk, and he won the office of New York governor, and later, four consecutive terms as President of the United States during the Depression and World War II. Physically exhausted by nearly 13 stressful years in the White House, FDR died of a cerebral hemorrhage in April 1945, just slightly more than two weeks before the end of World War II in Europe.

FDR's First Inaugural Address

- Attempted to restore confidence in the American people
- “The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”
- Asked for broad executive powers to combat the Depression



FDR and Herbert Hoover on the way to the inauguration

By March 1933, the nation's confidence was at a low. Most people desperately needed some relief from hunger, unemployment, and bank failures. FDR recognized this lack of confidence and sought to restore America's resolve with his 1933 Inaugural Address. The speech offered such pronouncements as, “The only thing we have to fear is fear itself,” and “This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive, and will prosper.” Meanwhile, FDR did not minimize the effort it would take to solve the problems that the economic collapse had caused. He stated that in order to remedy the Depression, he would need to ask Congress for “broad executive power, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.”

The photo in this slide shows Hoover and FDR traveling from the White House to the U.S. Capitol for the inaugural ceremonies on March 4, 1933. Many accounts note that Hoover still appeared bitter about his loss to FDR in the November 1932 election.

The “New Deal”



FDR campaigning in 1932

- Named after a phrase in FDR’s 1932 nomination speech
- Became the nickname for FDR’s economic program
- Consisted of three separate aspects:
 - Relief
 - Recovery
 - Reform

In his speech accepting the 1932 Democratic nomination, Franklin D. Roosevelt announced, “I pledge you, I pledge myself to a ‘new deal’ for the American people.” The words “new deal” soon became the label for Roosevelt’s plan to solve the crises of the Depression. The New Deal had three separate purposes:

- **Relief:** attempting to solve the immediate problems of the Depression. In Roosevelt’s view, the most pressing problem was to find jobs for the large number of unemployed, as well as to curb the number of bank failures. Programs such as the Public Works Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Works Progress Administration provided work for millions, while the Emergency Banking Relief Act called for a four-day “bank holiday” to inspect the condition of banks and allow only those banks that could demonstrate solvency to reopen.
- **Recovery:** taking steps to get the economy back to pre-crash levels. The National Industrial Recovery Act formed the centerpiece of the New Deal recovery program.
- **Reform:** ensuring that the conditions that led to the Depression never reoccurred. Regulatory agencies such as the Securities and Exchange Commission, as well as programs such as the Social Security Act, safeguarded the economy from future catastrophes.

In many instances, the programs overlapped in purpose, with some designed both for relief and recovery. Other New Deal programs, such as Social Security and the Tennessee Valley Authority, became permanent parts of the national landscape.

The “Brain Trust”



Adolph Berle

- Group of advisers who assisted FDR in making early economic policy
- Members included Profs. Moley, Tugwell, and Berle
- Members had varying opinions about jumpstarting the economy
- Eventually disbanded to make way for other experts



Rexford Tugwell

As FDR began to plan the New Deal, he also recognized that he needed the help of experts who could assist in the development of policy to combat the Depression. The group of experts FDR gathered was soon nicknamed the “Brains Trust” (later the “Brain Trust”). Foremost, members of the Brain Trust were three professors from Columbia University: Raymond Moley, Rexford Guy Tugwell, and Adolph Berle, Jr. As the Brain Trust began its work, other members joined, including Hugh Johnson, who later became the head of the National Recovery Administration.

While the Brain Trust had internal debates about what role the federal government should take in regard to economic control, they were instrumental in assisting development of various bills that Congress passed in Roosevelt’s First Hundred Days. Once the focus of the New Deal swung more toward reform, the Brain Trust disbanded in order to make room for other experts to draft follow-up legislation.

The First Hundred Days

- Three-month period after inauguration
- Flurry of legislative activity
- “Honeymoon” period between FDR and Congress
- Saw most of New Deal’s relief program established, including:
 - Agricultural Adjustment Act
 - Tennessee Valley Authority
 - Glass-Steagall Banking Act



FDR signing the TVA into law

Almost immediately after his swearing-in, FDR began to send his legislative package to Congress, starting with the Emergency Banking Relief Act, which initiated the bank holiday. He originally planned to allow Congress to adjourn after passing the act, but when Congress passed it quickly, he decided to keep Congress in session and introduce several other pieces of New Deal legislation.

First, FDR introduced the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. Soon after, Congress passed more than 15 major pieces of legislation, including bills to create the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, which created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Solving the Banking Crisis

- 1930–1933: Nearly 10,000 banks closed
- Michigan governor ordered banking “moratorium” in state
- FDR changed wording to bank “holiday”
- Banks closed for four days for inspection
- Glass-Steagall Act created FDIC



A policeman stands guard outside a closed New York bank

By 1933, the nation’s banking system was in a serious crisis. Between 1930 and 1933, more than 10,000 banks nationwide had failed, with more than 4000 closing in 1933 alone. To stop the continued bank closings in his state, Michigan Governor William Comstock ordered a “banking moratorium” and shut down all banks for a seven-day period in February 1933. However, this did not seem to stop the increased number of bank closings. When FDR took office a few weeks later, he decided to expand the bank moratorium nationally for a four-day period. FDR decided to change the name of the bank closings from “moratorium” to “bank holiday” in order to make it more acceptable to the American public.

During the four days of the bank holiday, all banks across the nation closed. Federal inspectors reviewed each bank’s assets, and if the bank was considered healthy enough, it was allowed to reopen. If not, the inspectors kept the bank closed until a solution to make the bank solvent again could be found.

In the long term, Congress passed the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, which created the Federal Depositors Insurance Corporation (FDIC). The FDIC was designed to make the federal government the insurer of individual bank deposits, thereby safeguarding private accounts from bank failures.

Fireside Chats



FDR addresses the nation during a 1935 fireside chat

- Radio “talks”
- FDR spoke plainly with audience about issues and concerns
- Usually conducted in an informal manner
- FDR gave 30 chats while in office

Many view FDR as a master at informing the American people about his programs and gaining support for his New Deal legislation. Using a tactic from his years as New York governor, Roosevelt held regular “fireside chats” in which he discussed issues and concerns with the public via the relatively new medium of radio. FDR held 30 such chats during his term, discussing subjects ranging from solutions for the banking crisis to war policy.

Roosevelt tended to use down-to-earth, easily understandable language in his chats, frequently calling his listeners “my friends” rather than using more formal language. Many radio listeners felt that FDR was specifically speaking to them, and the chats did much to allay fears and restore confidence, as well as to gain support for New Deal programs.

“Pump Priming” and the Dole

- Federal Emergency Relief Act passed in 1933
- FERA pumped money into the economy for job programs
- Also provided relief for the unemployed
- Spent billions on public works through Civil Works Administration and Emergency Work Relief programs



Harry Hopkins

While Roosevelt grappled with the problems of banking, he also recognized the need to provide relief programs administered by state and local governments. In order to provide funding for relief, the Roosevelt guided the Federal Emergency Relief Act through Congress, and created the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to handle the enormous task of doling out funds.

Harry Hopkins, a nationally known social worker and close advisor to FDR, headed the program. FDR directed FERA to focus on three primary objectives: first, to maintain the “adequacy” of relief efforts; second, to provide work for employable people on the relief rolls; and third, to ensure the diversity of relief programs.

One of the FERA’s hallmark programs was the Civil Works Administration (CWA). The CWA was designed as a short-term program for getting people to work. Within a few months, the CWA had cost the government more than \$1 billion, and was replaced by the less costly Emergency Work Relief program.

While Hopkins was concerned about the welfare of people, he also believed that relief was better applied by giving people jobs rather than giving them handouts. In this way, he thought people needing help could keep their dignity and self-respect, rather than be forced to accept charity.

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think Hoover had such a difficult time winning the reelection in 1932? If you had been one of his campaign advisors, what strategy would you have suggested?
2. Do you think that federal spending specifically to create jobs for Depression victims was a good idea, or would it have been better to ask the states and private charities to take a larger role in the relief efforts? Why?

1. It would likely have been an insurmountable task for any president with the amount of “baggage” that Hoover had to overcome the odds and win a second term. However, some students may note that if Hoover had reversed his earlier “pull yourself up by your own bootstraps” philosophy and had pumped a large amount of federal money into the economy to help support it, he could have stood a better chance for reelection.
2. Hoover indeed did try to put most of the burden of Depression relief on the states and private charities, so most students will probably say that this strategy failed outright. Based on their knowledge of FDR’s policies and the New Deal, most students will likely say that only direct federal intervention could effectively have addressed the problems of the Depression.

Discussion Questions (cont.)

3. Should the banks and bankers who speculated with depositors' money have been penalized for their roles in the large number of bank failures between 1930 and 1933? What kinds of punishments would you have recommended?
4. How do you believe the average American reacted to FDR's fireside chats? Had it existed then, would Roosevelt have been as effective a communicator on television as he was on radio? Why?

3. Some students may note that since a large number of bank officers had also lost much of their own money when their banks failed, it would have been difficult for the government to hold them financially liable for depositors' losses. Other students may point out that since the questionable policies that bank officers followed were not illegal at the time, they therefore should not have been prosecuted criminally. However, other students may say that bank officers should have been held financially liable for their depositors' losses, and should have been required to repay at least some of the losses.
4. Based on the number of chats and the duration of them throughout FDR's term, most students would state that the chats were very effective in explaining policy to the wisest possible audience. Moreover, based on their reading or viewing of other resources, they may note that the public had a highly favorable opinion of the chats. Whether FDR would have been as effective coming across on television is debatable: though he had no TV experience, most would say he was personable, direct, or confident enough to come across well. On the other hand, millions of Americans would have been more aware of FDR's handicap in a television age. Roosevelt took great pains to hide his inability to walk, and he did not want the American people to be constantly reminded of his illness for fear that it would imply weakness in his policies as well.

FDR's Farm Program

- Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 sought to reduce farm surpluses
- Resettlement Administration
- Farm Security Administration
- Rural Electrification Administration
- Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1936



A poster advertises help to farmers available through the Resettlement Administration

Like much of the New Deal, the Roosevelt administration's farm program consisted of several parts, each of which met with varying degrees of success:

- The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 was an attempt to reduce farm surpluses by paying farmers subsidies not to grow specific crops. Subsidies were to be paid by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration from revenues collected from a tax on businesses that processed food. The Supreme Court later declared the AAA unconstitutional in *United States v. Butler* (1936).
- The Resettlement Administration aimed to assist struggling urban and rural families by relocating them in planned communities across the United States. The government created resettlement communities near various cities, including Washington D.C., Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. In addition, the Resettlement Administration funded a photography project to document rural poverty during the Depression, and two film documentaries: *The Plow That Broke the Plains* and *The River*.
- The Farm Security Administration was a radical experiment that attempted to bring farmers together to learn about new technology and farming techniques by working on government-owned farms. This program met with little success because farmers had little interest in working communally, and preferred to own their own farms instead. However, like the Resettlement Administration, the FSA had a robust photographic component that produced many well-known Depression-era photographs.
- The Rural Electrification Administration provided electric power to rural areas that would not otherwise have had electricity. Critics of the REA felt it unfair that the federal government was competing with private power companies.
- Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1936 to replace the earlier AAA that the Supreme Court had struck down. Since the 1936 AAA did not rely on taxing food processors to pay subsidies, it passed the Supreme Court's "constitutionality test."

The Dust Bowl: Causes



A dust cloud approaches the town of Stratford, Texas, in 1935

- Overcultivation of land in the Great Plains
- Sustained drought throughout region
- High winds blew away loose topsoil

The Dust Bowl had three distinct causes:

- Great Plains farmers, in an attempt to recoup losses from drastically declining farm prices, decided to plow more land in order to grow more crops for sale. Unfortunately, they didn't understand the effect that increased supply and low demand would have on farm prices, and the increased cultivation only served to deplete land that could have been used for other purposes.
- A lengthy drought struck the Great Plains, and soil already loosened and broken up from plowing now became even more parched because the smaller soil particles dried out more quickly.
- A lack of geographical features to slow down air currents meant that the winds of the Great Plains could easily carry off valuable topsoil. The high winds blew the soil into the upper atmosphere, causing it to be transported over a great distance: soil from the Great Plains was found as far away as New England.
- Certainly the state most affected by the dust storms was Kansas, while parts of Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma were also hit hard.

The Dust Bowl: Impact

- More than 500,000 left homeless
- Storms blew large amounts of dust from the Plains into cities such as Chicago and Buffalo
- “Red snow” fell on towns in New England



The impact of the Dust Bowl was substantial. Nearly a half-million people were displaced as a result of the catastrophe. Related storms moved large amounts of dust from the Great Plains to the eastern United States. Chicago experienced a greater deluge than any snowstorm, as more than four pounds of dust *per person* fell on the city in the summer of 1934. Red and black snow fell in New England, as dust mixed with normal precipitation during the winter of 1934–1935. In some instances, persons reported near-blackout conditions with visibility of less than five feet.

The Plight of the “Okies”



A woman and her child rest beside their car during their trip west

- Farmers from Oklahoma fled the Dust Bowl
- Went to California for farm jobs
- Possibly 15 percent of Oklahoma’s population became migrants

As the misery of the Dust Bowl intensified, many farmers in the worst-affected areas left, looking for a fresh start. Many packed everything they owned into cars or trucks and went west to California.

The “Okies,” as they were frequently called, moved en masse toward the West Coast. By some estimates, as much as 15 percent of the population of Oklahoma left in search of a better life.

Hardships

- “Camps”
unsanitary
- Wages decreased
for large numbers
- California passed
an “anti-Okie”
law



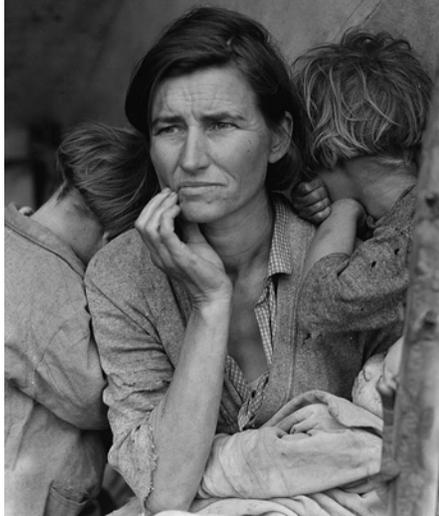
A migrant camp in California

As more and more “Okies” moved westward looking for work, they found deplorable conditions in the migrant camps where they settled. Frequently, these camps did not have running water or proper sewage facilities, and illness was rampant because of contaminated water. Camps also suffered from overcrowding, which made disease and unsanitary conditions even more likely.

Dispossessed farmers looking for work also caused an overabundance of labor in states already swamped with farm workers. Because jobs were extremely difficult to come by, growers needing migrant labor could easily offer to pay substandard wages, and workers desperately needing jobs would have no choice but to accept such wages. At a time where jobs were extremely difficult to get—particularly in the farm sector—workers were willing to accept any wage they could get.

In some states, the influx of migrant labor inflamed tensions between the migrants, the residents of those states, and state governments. Residents of states such as California were resentful of the Okies because they competed against them for scarce jobs. In 1937, California went so far as to pass an “Anti-Okie” law which made it a misdemeanor to knowingly “import” an indigent person to the state for work. While the law was eventually declared unconstitutional, many saw it as a necessary step to protect jobs and resources for California residents.

The “Migrant Mother”



- One of the most famous New Deal–era photos
- Shot for the Resettlement Administration by Dorothea Lange
- Taken in California in February or March 1936

The “Migrant Mother” is one of the best known of all pictures shot by New Deal agencies, and has come to symbolize the suffering of the Dust Bowl. This photo of a migrant woman with three of her seven children was shot by Dorothea Lange for the Resettlement Administration. Lange commented on the photo:

“I saw and approached the hungry and desperate mother, as if drawn by a magnet. I do not remember how I explained my presence or my camera to her, but I do remember she asked me no questions. I made five exposures, working closer and closer from the same direction. I did not ask her name or her history. She told me her age, that she was 32. She said that they had been living on frozen vegetables from the surrounding fields, and birds that the children killed. She had just sold the tires from her car to buy food. There she sat in that lean-to tent with her children huddled around her, and seemed to know that my pictures might help her, and so she helped me. There was a sort of equality about it” (*Popular Photography*, Feb. 1960).

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think Great Plains farmers during the Depression used unsound cultivating practices that led to the Dust Bowl?
2. Which of the New Deal farm programs do you feel was most effective. Why?
3. Do you think New Deal farm programs were designed to reform the practices that led to the price collapse? Why?

1. Most students will probably note that Great Plains farmers used flawed logic, believing that growing more crops would give them more to sell and increase their income. However, the farmers did not realize that the problem wasn't one of reduced supply, but actually of decreased demand. Putting more of the same product on the market caused farm prices to fall further, aggravating the problem. By plowing up more land for crops, farmers put too much unsuitable land into cultivation. The subsequent drought allowed topsoil from these fields to more easily blow away, causing the bleak conditions of the Dust Bowl.
2. Many students might presume that the Rural Electrification Administration was the most effective New Deal farm program because it provided a tangible benefit to farmers: electric power for their homes. Others might look most favorably at the Resettlement Administration because it gave farmers the possibility of a second chance by allowing them to start over elsewhere. Students might also view one of the two AAAs as the most effective program because it provided immediate relief to farmers in the form of cash payments.
3. Students will probably note that the New Deal farm programs were probably more about providing relief than instituting reform, in that they involved giving farmers immediate help. However, some may note that the REA and Resettlement Administration provided a sort of reform because electrification or relocation tended to provided long-term solutions.

Work-Based Relief Programs



A New Deal work-based relief program at a Florida rock quarry

- FDR considered unemployment a major, immediate problem
- Work-based programs seen as a desirable alternative to the dole
- Several programs were created to provide work in various occupations
- Some saw the “make work” programs as boondoggles

By the time FDR took office, unemployment had spiked from a low of 3.2 percent in early 1929 to a high of 24.9 percent. Seeing joblessness as a major and immediate problem, Roosevelt instituted various programs to create jobs for the country’s labor force.

The New Deal saw “make-work” relief programs as a suitable alternative to simply putting out-of-work people on the dole. Providing jobs helped maintain workers’ self-esteem while at the same time creating public works that could be used for many years after the Depression. Various make-work programs allowed workers in a variety of occupations (from carpenters and bricklayers to artists and actors) to use their expertise and skills.

However, some critics of the New Deal felt that the make-work projects were no more than a waste of money. Calling New Deal work programs “boondoggles” (after a Boy Scout craft activity meant simply to occupy scouts’ time), they criticized the impact the projects had on local economies and characterized putting people to work as ineffective.

Civilian Conservation Corps

- Provided jobs for young men aged 18–25
- Jobs included work on environmental projects
- One of the most popular New Deal programs
- “Enlistees” were paid \$30 per month, with \$25 of that sent home to their families



Designed to solve the problem of unemployment for American youth, the Civilian Conservation Corps soon became one of the New Deal’s most popular and best-known programs. More than 3 million young men aged 18–25 enlisted in the CCC, working in various environmental programs that included reforestation efforts and even animal relocation (such as moving beavers to areas where they would be less likely to cause damage).

The CCC had its roots in various federal departments, including the U.S. army (which ran the camps), and the Departments of Labor, Interior, and Agriculture. Enlistees in the CCC received food and clothing, as well as a monthly wage of \$30 (they were required to send \$25 of this home to their families).

The CCC lived up to its motto, “We Can Do It,” with various projects nationwide, many of which still exist today. However, the start of World War II made finding recruits more difficult because of the number of young men serving in the armed forces. The CCC finally dissolved in 1942. (Interestingly, some of the CCC camps were later converted to house German prisoners of war or used as relocation camps for Japanese Americans.)



This Illinois CCC recruitment poster highlights “A Young Man’s Opportunity for Work, Play, Study, and Health.”

The artist put special emphasis on the idea that the subject of the poster appears to be having fun while working on an environmental project.

Teacher’s note: You may wish to discuss this poster and its impact with the class. For example, you may ask students to point out what advantages and benefits the poster stresses about working for the CCC, as opposed to what isn’t stressed. The poster notes that the CCC is “a young man’s opportunity for work, play study, and health,” but it doesn’t mention that the CCC also provided money, food, and clothing to otherwise destitute and downtrodden young men. You may also ask students to speculate as to whether this poster made for an effective tool to recruit CCC members. Have students compare the impact of this CCC poster with that of other similar “recruitment” posters, including the famous “I Want You” armed forces recruitment poster.

National Youth Administration



Two young men of the NYA
work on an airplane engine

- Provided part-time jobs for urban youths who wanted to remain in school
- Participants paid \$6–\$40 per month for “work study” jobs
- Employed both male and female students

While the CCC provided room and board for young men needing full-time jobs, the National Youth Administration provided jobs for urban youths who wanted to earn money while remaining in school. Created in 1935 as part of the Works Progress Administration, the NYA remained in operation well into World War II; it finally ended in 1943.

Nearly 500,000 young Americans participated in NYA programs, with many learning some sort of trade or skill as a result of their experience. Participants were paid similarly to their CCC counterparts. However, while the CCC was designed only for young men, both male and female students participated in NYA activities. Future president Lyndon B. Johnson ran Texas’s NYA program.

Public Works Administration

- Money given to contractors for public works
- Administered by Secretary Ickes
- Built bridges, schools, airports, roads, Navy ships
- Spent more than \$6 billion



The Public Works Administration, administered by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, aimed to provide a “trickle down” benefit by giving federal money to private contractors for the creation of public works such as bridges, schools, airports, roads, and even ships for the U.S. navy. The great majority of PWA projects were roads, with schools as runner-up.

PWA projects include New York’s Lincoln Tunnel and Triborough Bridge, as well as the Grand Coulee Dam. In total, the PWA contributed approximately \$6 billion to help reduce unemployment.

Civil Works Administration



CWA-built public works projects included this Minnesota highway

- Mainly constructed bridges and buildings
- Spent over \$1 billion in less than a year
- Many considered it a boondoggle
- Abandoned in 1934

The Civil Works Administration also undertook significant public works projects. Reformer Harry Hopkins headed the program, but its costs quickly ballooned to more than \$1 billion. Immediately, critics complained that the CWA was a “boondoggle,” and that its benefits weren’t worth the expense. One reason the CWA proved so expensive was its scope: more than four million people received jobs. Furthermore, it provided relatively high wages for most people involved in the program, also helping to inflate costs. The federal government quickly found the CWA too costly to maintain, and abandoned it after its first year.

Works Progress Administration

- Created in 1935
- Headed by Harry Hopkins
- Focused on public works such as bridges, roads, runways
- Also included arts projects
- Some projects famous (Camp David, Dealey Plaza)

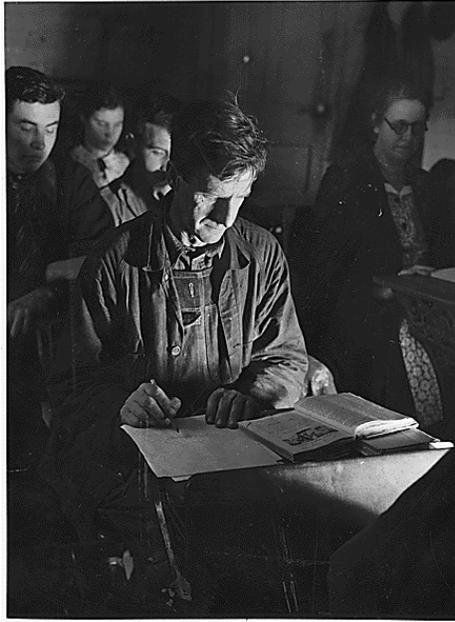


Signs similar to this one alerted the public that a site was a WPA works project

Perhaps the best-known of all the New Deal relief agencies was the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Created in 1935 by presidential order, funded annually by Congress, and headed by Harry Hopkins, it soon became the largest New Deal agency, and even coordinated other New Deal programs.

Most of the WPA expenditures went toward building projects, but the WPA included a significant arts component, employing artists, actors, and writers. By the time the agency was disbanded in 1943, it had spent more than \$11 billion.

Many WPA projects still remain in use. Camp David, the presidential retreat, was built by the WPA, as was Dallas's Dealey Plaza, the site of the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy.



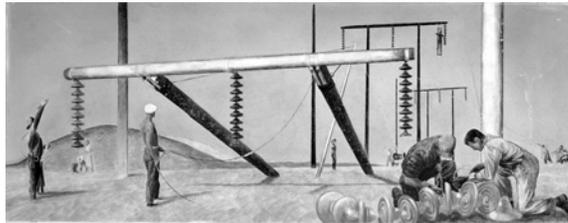
In addition to public works projects, the WPA also provided adults with job training as well as enrichment opportunities

Teacher's note: Ask students to guess the occupation of the man shown in the picture. What do they think he is studying? Ask them to speculate as to why adults might have wished to further their education during the Depression era: was it just to secure better employment, or might there have been other reasons, such as increased self-esteem?

WPA: Supporting the Arts



- WPA also provided funding for various arts programs
- Writing, theater, photography, and painting programs



While the WPA focused on public works projects, it also provided assistance for the arts with programs such as the Federal Writers Project, the Federal Theater Project, and the Federal Art Project. These projects assisted many struggling artists who might not have been able to make a living otherwise. In addition, the New Deal arts program brought cultural events to thousands in rural areas and small towns who might otherwise never have been exposed to such events.

Federal Theater Project

- Part of the “Federal One” project
- Headed by Hallie Flanagan
- “Living Newspapers”
- Included Orson Welles, John Houseman, and Arthur Miller
- Ran into several controversies



The Federal Theater Project, like the Federal Art Project and Federal Writers Project, was part of the WPA’s “Federal Project Number One” (nicknamed “Federal One”). Hallie Flanagan, a theater professor at Vassar College, was named director of the FTP. Many alumni of the FTP were already (or would later become) famous in film, theater, or television. Orson Welles, who later directed the film *Citizen Kane*; actor John Houseman; and playwright Arthur Miller, who would later write *Death of a Salesman* and *The Crucible*, were all involved in the Federal Theater Project.

One theater innovation of the FTP was “Living Newspapers,” in which researchers for the FTP would write plays about the era’s hot-button issues. *Triple A Plowed Under*, for example, was a commentary on the Supreme Court’s *U.S. v. Butler* decision, which declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 unconstitutional.

The FTP was a popular program, but also sparked some controversy. Critics decried some of its productions as “too left-wing.” The FTP eventually met with significant congressional criticism and ended in 1939 when its funding was cut.

Federal Art Project



- Specialized in visual arts
- Created more than 200,000 works
- Included art production, art instruction, and art research

Another of the Federal One projects was the Federal Art Project, which existed from 1935 to 1943. The FAP resulted in more than 200,000 individual works of art. Filling several functions, the FAP involved art production, instruction, and research into various types of and trends in art. Artists of the FAP created paintings, sculptures, and murals in cities across America, many of which are still considered significant works of art. The FAP also provided art for non-federal government buildings such as courthouses, schools, and libraries.

Federal Writers Project

- Allowed writers to work directly for the government
- Writers paid a “subsistence” wage
- Several famous writers participated



As with many of the other Federal Arts projects, the Federal Writers Project allowed unemployed writers to work directly for the federal government. Writers who participated received a “subsistence” wage of \$20 per week. One major project that the FWP conducted was the “American Guide” series, which was published by state governments and included a detailed history of nearly every town and city. Almost 6500 writers participated in the project. In addition, several famous or soon- to-be-famous writers worked for the FWP, including John Steinbeck, Studs Terkel, Richard Wright, and Zora Neale Hurston.

As with the Federal Theater Project, the FWP had its share of critics, particularly those who felt that the work of several of the writers was too “left-wing” or communist-leaning. The FWP continued at the federal level until 1939; after that, state governments continued to sponsor it until 1943.

Discussion Questions

1. Why did many see the work-based relief programs of the New Deal as a desirable alternative to the dole?
2. In your view, which of the New Deal relief programs was the most effective? Explain.
3. Do you think the focus on work-based relief programs for the young (CCC and NYA) was worthwhile? Why?
4. If you had been president in the mid-1930s, would you have felt promoting the arts was a valid use of federal funds to fight the Depression? Why or why not?
5. Should the federal government have taken on so much debt in order to provide work projects for unemployed? Explain.

1. New Deal planners recognized that the Depression had just as much of an emotional and psychological effect as an economic effect. By providing the unemployed with jobs rather than simple handouts, the New Deal also helped raise the self-esteem of millions who felt like failures because they did not have jobs. In addition, the make-work projects provided facilities such as schools, roads, and parks for towns and communities that might not have been able to build them otherwise.
2. Many students might consider the WPA to be the best example of a successful New Deal relief program, mainly because of its arts components and its longevity. While the WPA proved expensive, it did provide substantial benefits to many. Other students might see the CCC as the most successful program because of its ability to not only provide employment for many otherwise destitute youth, but to generate various works projects that helped economically depressed areas. Furthermore, since the CCC required participants to send the majority of their monthly salary home, it helped to improve families' financial security.
3. Most students would probably agree that the work programs for American youth (CCC and NYA) were necessary and worthwhile, since a substantial number of Depression-era youth were destitute. In addition, students may note that providing young people with jobs and training also helped them stay financially solvent into their adult years.
4. Students may note that artists and writers needed an income just as much as factory workers and farmers. In addition, some might also suggest that the arts program was extremely worthwhile because it exposed people in smaller communities to cultural events they might not otherwise see, such as a Broadway play or professional artwork. As with several of the New Deal projects, a large proportion of the arts program's paintings, plays, and photography is still appreciated nearly 75 years after the start of the New Deal.
5. Most students may note that the New Deal had to work fast to provide relief for the unemployed. The work-based relief plans did this, but they were very expensive, causing the government to go into substantial debt. Other students may assert that the same result could have been accomplished with limited debt by providing incentives for businesses and industries to expand, thereby providing more jobs and higher wages for workers.

National Industrial Recovery Act

- Centerpiece of New Deal recovery program
- Sought to promote fair competition, raise wages and prices, and institute collective bargaining
- Created “codes of fair competition”
- Enforced by the NRA



A main goal of the New Deal was to spark industrial recovery—that is, to bring business back to a pre-crash level. The centerpiece of the New Deal recovery plan was the National Industrial Recovery Act. In order for the NIRA to be effective, the government suspended antitrust laws in favor of “codes of fair competition,” which artificially inflated wages and prices. The codes also required businesses and industries to meet certain quality requirements so that consumers knew they were getting a good product for the price. In addition, section 7a of the NIRA allowed collective bargaining for workers. Through collective bargaining, workers could band together to negotiate with management for raises and benefits.

Responsibility for enforcing the codes fell to the National Recovery Administration (NRA), headed by Hugh Johnson. The NRA aimed to ensure that businesses didn’t engage in price gouging or other unfair practices. Consumers knew that a particular business subscribed to the codes if it posted the NRA’s “Blue Eagle” emblem and its slogan, “We Do Our Part.”

One of the main drawbacks to the NRA was its bureaucracy. The administration created literally thousands of pages of codes and orders, which made it difficult for NRA agents to fully know and understand all the provisions.

The NRA's Blue Eagle



Merchants proudly supported the NRA by prominently posting Blue Eagle posters at their places of business

Teacher's note: Ask students to speculate as to how this restaurant employee might have felt about the NRA and its codes. Some may note that the employee might not have had a specific interest if the price codes did not affect them directly, but most would probably note that the possibility of higher wages and the ability to bargain collectively might have made her proud and happy to let people know she worked in a business that supported the NRA.

The “Sick Chicken” Case

- *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Co. v. U.S.* (1935)
- Supreme Court unanimously struck down the NIRA
- Decided that Congress had given the president too much lawmaking power
- Also ruled that NIRA violated the Constitution’s commerce clause

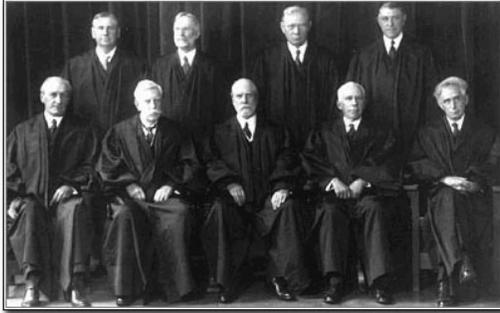


Supreme Court Chief Justice
Charles Evans Hughes

In 1935, the U.S. Supreme Court dealt a major blow to Roosevelt and the New Deal in the *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Co. v. U.S.* decision, also known as the “Sick Chicken” case. In this decision, the Court declared the NIRA—one of the most important New Deal programs—unconstitutional. In the case, the federal government accused the Schechter Brothers, poultry merchants in New York City, of violating the NIRA codes, specifically by selling diseased (or sick) chicken. The Schechters were prosecuted and found guilty, but appealed the verdict. In the Court’s unanimous decision, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes determined that the Congress had relinquished too much of its lawmaking power to the Executive Branch through the NIRA codes. The codes were laws, the Court said, and therefore violators could be punished for not following them. Chief Justice Hughes noted, “Congress is not permitted by the Constitution to abdicate, or to transfer to others, the essential legislative functions with which it is vested... The delegation of legislative power sought to be made to the President by Section 3 of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933, is unconstitutional, and the Act is also unconstitutional, as applied in this case, because it exceeds the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce and invades the power reserved exclusively to the States.” In his view, Congress had allowed the New Deal to not only enforce but to make law.

The Court also noted that the federal government had unconstitutionally attempted to regulate intrastate commerce (commerce within a state). It wrote, “When the poultry had reached the defendants' slaughterhouses, the interstate commerce had ended, and subsequent transactions in their business, including the matters charged in the indictment, were transactions in intrastate commerce.” In essence, the Court ruled that the chicken had “come to roost” in New York. Once that had occurred, the Schechter Brothers were engaged in *intrastate*—rather than *interstate*—commerce. The Constitution stipulates that the federal government can only regulate *interstate* commerce.

The “Nine Old Men”



- Supreme Court dominated by conservatives
- FDR unable to make appointments to Court
- Court declared several New Deal programs unconstitutional
- FDR believed that the Court was hampering needed relief and reform

The *Schechter* case was just one example of conflict between the Executive Branch and the Supreme Court over the New Deal. The 1930s Court took a conservative view of the Constitution, and believed that several New Deal programs violated this interpretation.

Elected by a wide margin in 1932, FDR believed that he had a mandate from the American people to do whatever was necessary to solve the problems of the Depression, including innovative economic programs. The Supreme Court felt otherwise, and began to reject New Deal legislation, frequently by a 5–4 vote. Not only did the Supreme Court declare the NIRA unconstitutional, but it also ruled against the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 in *U.S. v. Butler*, rejected a law guaranteeing pensions for railroad employees, and invalidated several New Deal–supported state laws that provided reforms such as a minimum wage. At the time, the Court was on the verge of hearing cases on two other centerpiece programs: the 1935 Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Act (also known as the Wagner Act).

Roosevelt felt that the Supreme Court was unfairly attacking the New Deal. In his first term, he was not able to make any appointments to the Court, but believed that some sort of extraordinary action was needed in order to protect the remainder of the New Deal programs.

FDR's "Court-Packing" Plan

- FDR determined to preserve New Deal reforms
- Introduced legislation for revamping the judiciary
 - Law would allow him to appoint one new judge for every Supreme Court member over age 70½
 - Would increase Supreme Court to a maximum of 15 members
- Plan soundly defeated; FDR lost political support
- Court-packing battle ended as a draw

The actions of the conservative Supreme Court convinced FDR that his New Deal was in danger of being wiped out in a flurry of judicial decisions. He decided to take action, and in 1937 he announced that he wanted to revamp the federal judiciary. His plan would allow him to appoint an additional Supreme Court justice for each sitting justice over the age of 70½, increasing the size of the Court from nine to 15 justices. While his public rationale was to help the "old, overworked" judges, it became evident that he was targeting the six conservative members of the Court who consistently voted against New Deal legislation.

However, several changes made the court-packing plan unnecessary. Some of the conservative members decided to retire. In addition, the Court became more flexible in regard to New Deal legislation, and upheld several of its programs. Nonetheless, FDR continued to push for the court revamping, and his insistence to do so cost him politically. Eventually, the Senate killed the court-packing plan. Energized by their apparent victory over FDR, Congressional conservatives capitalized on anti-FDR sentiments and blocked many Roosevelt-sponsored economic bills.

In the end, the court-packing fight was essentially a draw. Roosevelt did ultimately manage to change the direction of the court (he appointed eight justices during his remaining years in office) and protected much of the existing New Deal. However, he lost a large amount of public support and political collateral by pushing his judiciary-reform program.

New Deal “Agitators”

- Opposed New Deal before a national audience
- All felt FDR had gone too far, or not far enough
- None had much influence on the 1936 election or on the New Deal in general



While FDR had a great deal of public support for his reelection campaign, some felt that the New Deal had not adequately addressed the problems of the Depression. Some “fringe” groups and individuals believed that the New Deal needed to be radically changed, or even abolished. However, none of these groups had much of an effect on the New Deal or on how the government confronted the problems of the Depression, nor did they affect the 1936 election. FDR won in a landslide, and it became apparent (at least for a while) that the nation approved of the New Deal.

The American Liberty League



- Saw FDR as a “traitor to his class”
- Believed the New Deal was leading the country toward socialism
- Several famous members
- Challenged the legality of the Wagner Act
- Disappeared by 1940

One group that opposed FDR and his policies called itself the “American Liberty League,” and held that the New Deal had gone too far in trying to solve the problems of the Depression. The League claimed that the Roosevelt Administration was leading the country toward socialism; noting FDR’s wealthy background, they called him a “traitor to his class.”

The Liberty League boasted several famous members, including 1928 Democratic presidential nominee and FDR’s mentor, Al Smith; 1924 Democratic presidential nominee John Davis; future Secretary of State Dean Acheson; as well as several members of the DuPont family. The League supported Republican candidates in the 1936 election and also challenged the legality of the National Labor Relations Act (i.e., the Wagner Act). However, when the Supreme Court upheld the Wagner Act, the Liberty League lost its credibility and completely disappeared by 1940.

Father Charles Coughlin

- Catholic priest who used radio to reach mass audience
- First a New Deal supporter; later a critic
- Sympathetic to anti-Semitic policies of Hitler and Mussolini
- Federal broadcast rules eventually forced Coughlin off the air



Father Charles Coughlin speaks at a stadium

Another agitator against the New Deal was Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest based at the National Shrine of the Little Flower Church in Royal Oak, Michigan. At first an FDR supporter (he remarked frequently in his early radio broadcasts, “Roosevelt or ruin”), he became an extremely vocal critic of the New Deal. Coughlin founded the National Union of Social Justice, an anti–New Deal organization, and targeted the Federal Reserve System, which he blamed as largely responsible for the Depression.

While attempts by the Roosevelt Administration to have the Catholic Church silence Coughlin failed, Coughlin hurt his own cause with his increasingly anti-Semitic broadcasts, hinting that Hitler and Mussolini’s anti-Jewish policies were acceptable. Several radio stations refused to broadcast his weekly shows, and the National Association of Broadcasters put stricter limits on broadcasting controversial shows after the beginning of World War II.

Finally, in 1942, the Catholic Church ordered Coughlin to end his political activities and concentrate on parish work. He returned as pastor of the Little Flower Church until he retired in 1966, although he continued to write anti-Communist pamphlets until his death in 1979.

Huey Long: “The Kingfish”



Senator Huey P. Long

- Louisiana governor and senator
- Believed New Deal hadn't done enough
- Proposed “Share the Wealth” program
- Assassinated in 1935
- Revenue Act of 1935 incorporated some of Long's ideas

Next to FDR, perhaps no politician was as popular as the colorful Huey P. Long of Louisiana. First as governor, then as senator, Long was a man people either loved or hated: some considered him a great humanitarian, others saw him as a dictator. Calling himself “The Kingfish” (after a popular *Amos and Andy* character), Long believed that the New Deal hadn't done enough to solve the problems of the Depression—particularly the unequal distribution of wealth. He proposed a “Share the Wealth” plan, which would redistribute wealth across the nation by heavily taxing large personal incomes. Using the slogan, “Every Man a King,” Share the Wealth clubs grew nationwide.

Predictably, Long's ideas and tactics made him many enemies in Louisiana as well as in Washington. In his years in the Senate, no bills that he introduced were passed into law. Still, many (including FDR) believed that Long would make a run for the White House in 1936. However, in 1935 he was assassinated by the son-in-law of a political opponent. After Long's death, Gerald L.K. Smith unsuccessfully attempted to keep the Share the Wealth movement alive.

FDR, realizing the popular support that the Share the Wealth movement had, incorporated many of Long's ideas into the Revenue Act of 1935, which placed a high tax rate on large personal incomes.

The Townsend Plan

- Proposed a monthly pension of \$200 for all citizens over 60
 - To be paid for by a national sales tax
 - Recipients required to spend entire payment each month
- Townsend Plan groups spread across nation
- Social Security Act



Dr. Francis Townsend

Retired California physician Francis Townsend also believed the New Deal had not done enough to solve the problems of the Depression. After observing two elderly women picking through his garbage for food, he realized that something had to be done to help the nation's retired citizens. He proposed a plan: all U.S. citizens over age 60 would receive a pension of \$200 per month, paid for by a national sales tax. Recipients would be required to spend the entire \$200 each month, and this influx of money would help other segments of the economy. His ideas gained support as groups dedicated to the "Townsend Plan" sprang up across the country.

However, most economists and government officials believed the Townsend Plan to be unworkable and impossible to fund. The New Deal later put forward its own old-age pension plan—Social Security. Once Social Security became a reality, Townsend and his plan faded into memory.

The Election of 1936

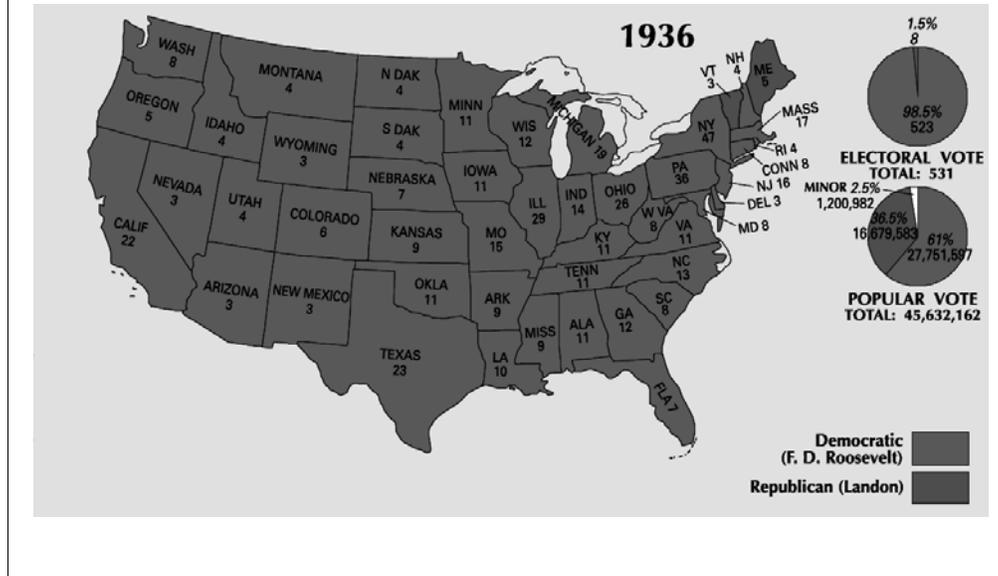


- FDR decided to seek a second term
- Republicans nominated Kansas Governor Alf Landon
- FDR won in a landslide

In 1936, FDR decided to run for a second term as president. He faced no real Democratic primary opposition, though several Republican candidates decided to enter the race, with Kansas Governor Alfred M. ("Alf") Landon winning the GOP nomination.

Roosevelt was popular, and it was evident from the start that he would likely win reelection. Landon targeted the New Deal's failures; however, he was not an effective campaigner, and his attacks did little to stop the Democratic juggernaut that prevailed in November. In the fall election, Roosevelt won in a landslide, defeating Landon by nearly 11 million votes.

Election of 1936: Results



This election map demonstrates FDR's overwhelming victory in 1936. He won nearly 61 percent of the popular vote, a record that would stand until Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 victory against Barry Goldwater. His Electoral College triumph was even more dramatic: FDR carried 523 of 531 electoral votes—a margin of 97 percent. Landon was only able to carry the New England states of Maine and Vermont.

While FDR's eventual victory was readily apparent to most, one source had predicted a different outcome: the *Literary Digest*, a nationally known publication, predicted a landslide victory for Alf Landon. Unfortunately for the *Digest*, it used seriously flawed logic to reach its conclusion. First, its polling relied on automobile registrations and telephone listings for its sampling. Most owners of automobiles and telephones belonged to the economic upper class, which was tended to vote Republican. Furthermore, the *Literary Digest* used Maine as its "bellwether" state, believing that its poll results indicated a national electoral trend. At any rate, the *Digest* was embarrassed and discredited by its conclusions, and soon ceased publication.

“New Deal Coalition”

- Diverse coalition of various groups who supported FDR in 1936:
 - Labor unions
 - Urban political machines
 - Racial and religious minorities
 - Southern whites
- Groups agreed on little besides the New Deal
- Based on this framework, Democrats dominated the federal legislature from 1932–1980

FDR enjoyed the support of a diverse coalition of various interest groups throughout his presidency, including labor unions, Democratic political machines in major cities, a range of minorities (such as African Americans, Catholics, and Jews), and Southern whites; outside of the New Deal, these groups agreed on little. This “New Deal Coalition” not only helped reelect FDR three times, but it also kept Democrats in control of Congress almost continually from 1933 to 1980 (losing only twice, in 1946 and 1952) and elected Democrats to the White House seven times during the period 1932–1980.

FDR's Second Inaugural Address

"I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see one-third of a nation, ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-nourished..."

Franklin D. Roosevelt
January 20, 1937



The cover of the program for FDR and Vice President Garner's inauguration

In his Second Inaugural Address, FDR reminded the audience of the work still needed to solve the problems of the Depression. His "I see one-third of a nation" statement became nearly as famous as his "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself" line from his 1933 inauguration.

Teacher's note: You may want to take a few minutes and ask students to compare the tone of the two speeches to determine if FDR's message about dealing with the Depression had changed dramatically since the beginning of his first term.

Discussion Questions

1. How effective do you think the NIRA was at solving the problem of industrial recovery? Explain.
2. Do you feel that the Supreme Court overstepped its checks-and-balances function in striking down New Deal legislation? Should the rules have been “bent” for New Deal programs? Why or why not?
3. Some believed that with his court-packing plan, FDR was seeking dictatorial powers. Do you believe this criticism was justified? Why or why not?
4. Do you feel that Roosevelt’s reelection in 1936 was due more to public approval of the New Deal or to his personal popularity? Why?
5. Which of the New Deal “agitators” do you think were most justified in their criticism of FDR and the New Deal? Why?

1. Students may point to the fact that businesses voluntarily subscribed to the codes as evidence that many of them supported the New Deal and the NIRA. In addition, students may also think that fixed prices and wages would help spur industrial growth. Other students may note that the NIRA was burdened with a great deal of bureaucracy and regulations, and since it did not become law until 1933 (and was declared unconstitutional in 1935), it didn’t have sufficient time to prove its effectiveness at solving industry’s woes.
2. Students may believe that the Supreme Court took a heavy-handed approach to interpreting the constitutionality of New Deal legislation. Some may point to previous national crises (such as the Civil War) as proof that the government sometimes needs to take extraordinary powers in order to deal with extraordinary situations. Other students may suggest that the Supreme Court plays a crucial role in the system of checks and balances, and that to simply ignore that role would be dangerous and might have led exactly to the result that many conservatives feared—a virtual dictatorship under FDR.
3. While FDR almost certainly wasn’t trying to build a dictatorship, he did want to preserve as much of the New Deal as possible. In addition, he feared that the Supreme Court would declare other key provisions of the New Deal unconstitutional—specifically, the Social Security Act and National Labor Relations Act. FDR’s tactics might appear suspect, however, but without the benefit of hindsight, it might have been difficult for FDR to come up with other ways to protect the New Deal.
4. FDR’s landslide victory came largely because of personal popularity, but also because the public approved of the New Deal in general. More people probably liked FDR than approved of all the New Deal measures.
5. In all likelihood, most students would not support Long, Coughlin, or the American Liberty League. However, many may sympathize with the views of Dr. Townsend—especially the idea of providing pensions for retirees.

New Deal Reform Measures

- Sought to ensure that conditions leading to Depression did not reoccur
- Many reforms radically changed American society
- Several New Deal programs and reforms still in effect today
 - Social Security
 - Pure food and drug laws
 - Tennessee Valley Authority
 - FDIC



While much of the New Deal focused on relief and recovery during the Depression, the Roosevelt Administration also focused on reform—that is, ensuring that the conditions leading to the Depression would not occur again. In addition, FDR wanted to provide progressive reforms that would improve Americans’ lives and protect them far beyond the scope of the New Deal. Many of these programs—including Social Security, pure food and drug laws, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—are still in effect today, nearly three-quarters of a century after the Depression.

Social Security Act of 1935



- First suggested by Frances Perkins
- Provided for
 - Old-age pensions
 - Unemployment insurance
 - Aid to dependents
- Funded by a payroll tax



One of the longest lasting New Deal reform programs became law in 1935. First proposed by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the Social Security Act became possibly the most important legacy of the New Deal. While the Townsend Plan would have given pensions to those 60 and older, the Social Security Act provided for this and more—unemployment insurance and aid to widows, dependents of covered workers, and disabled workers.

Unlike the Townsend Plan, which called for a national sales tax, Social Security was funded by a payroll tax called the Federal Insurance Contribution Act (FICA). Most workers nationwide were required to participate in the program, with a percentage of their salary going to the fund and their employer matching the contribution. Money contributed by workers would go to pay benefits for current beneficiaries.

With the passage of the Social Security Act, the United States was placed firmly on the road to becoming a “welfare state,” in which the government took care of its citizens from cradle to grave. In addition to old-age pensioners, dependents of disabled or deceased workers could expect benefit payments, as could those who had lost their jobs.

In the early 1960s, Social Security was expanded to include Medicare, which provides medical insurance for elderly Americans. However, as the growing number of retirees and cost-of-living increases for pensions has put strain on the system, many presidents (and presidential candidates) have wrestled with the issue of maintaining Social Security’s solvency, as well as ensuring its availability for generations to come.

National Labor Relations Act

- Also known as the “Wagner Act”
- Allowed for collective bargaining
- Protected rights of laborers to form unions
- Also created the NLRB



FDR signs the Wagner Act as Labor Secretary Perkins looks on

Section 7a of the NIRA had guaranteed the rights of labor to bargain collectively, but in *Schechter Brothers v. U.S.* (1935), the Supreme Court had declared the NIRA unconstitutional. However, that year’s National Labor Relations Act reestablished labor’s right to bargain collectively and to form unions. Sponsored by New York Senator Robert F. Wagner, this legislation soon became known as the “Wagner Act.” The NLRA also created the National Labor Relations Board, which was charged with investigating charges of unfair labor practices and ensuring fair elections to decide whether workers would join a union.

Early on, however, many unions simply chose to strike rather than utilize the NLRB to settle labor disputes. The Wagner Act passed a major hurdle in 1937 when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law as constitutional in the case *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation*.

Businesses resented the measure and worked to undermine it. In 1947, over the veto of President Harry Truman, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which limited the power of the Wagner Act.

Fair Labor Standards Act



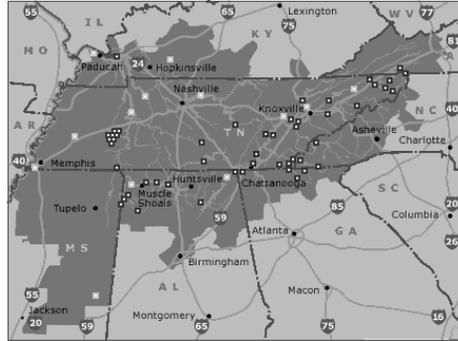
The FLSA prohibited children (such as the one shown in this photo) from working in hazardous jobs

- Guaranteed a federal minimum wage
- Set at 25 cents per hour in 1938
- Guaranteed overtime pay at “time and a half”
- Prohibited “oppressive child labor”

Another law that protected the rights of workers was the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. The law guaranteed the first federal minimum wage—set at 25 cents per hour—and ensured “time and a half” overtime pay in most instances. The minimum wage jumped to 40 cents per hour during the World War II. In addition, the FLSA prohibited “oppressive child labor,” which included most employment of minors. The FLSA also provided a framework for underpaid workers to collect back wages, as well as damages against their employer for underpayment.

Tennessee Valley Authority

- Created to assist Tennessee Valley area
- Headed by David Lilienthal
- Provided flood control and cheap hydroelectric power
- Also protected the social and economic welfare of people in the area



Another controversial New Deal reform program was the Tennessee Valley Authority, created in 1933 to benefit those living in the Tennessee River Valley area. Under the direction of David Lilienthal, the TVA built dams for flood control, provided cheap hydroelectric power for people in the region, and also created several recreational lakes. The first dam along the Tennessee River was completed in 1936. By the end of the 20th century, the TVA was the nation's largest producer of hydroelectric power.

The TVA was not without controversy. Building the dams and diverting rivers meant displacing more than 15,000 farmers. In addition, many private power companies criticized the TVA's ability to sell hydroelectric power at a reduced rate. In the case of *Ashwander v. TVA* (1936), the Supreme Court upheld the TVA's constitutionality, ruling that the regulation of streams and waterways fell under legal use of the commerce power. In regard to the contention that the federal government competed unfairly with power companies, the Court ruled that the production of electricity was a byproduct of waterway regulation and was therefore legal.

Help for Homeowners

- Home Owners Loan Corporation: low-interest loans for current homeowners
- Federal Housing Authority: loans for home repair and new building projects
- United States Housing Authority: low-cost public housing



Federal Housing Authority logo

The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) provided low-interest loans to assist homeowners who could not meet mortgage payments. More than a million homeowners had their mortgages refinanced through the HOLC. However, even with extended terms many homeowners still could not repay their mortgages.

The Federal Housing Authority facilitated loans for building projects as well as home repair. This increased the number of homes purchased or built because more people had the ability to qualify for a mortgage and buy a home.

Created in 1937, the United States Housing Authority provided for low-cost public housing. The USHA razed slum areas and built new housing complexes on the sites.

Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act



Lash-Lure, a cosmetic eyeliner which blinded at least one user, was one product banned by the FDA

- Signed into law in 1938; strengthened FDA
- Set standards for and regulated quality of food
- Evaluated safety and legitimacy of drugs
- Controlled product advertising

The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 aimed to protect the consumer from impure or dangerous foodstuffs, medications, and cosmetic products. By the time of the law's passage, tainted products had led to several instances of consumer illness, disability, or death. In one instance, more than 100 children died from taking Elixir Sulfanilamide, a sulfa drug which is safe in tablet or powder form, but when administered as a liquid, contains a chemical similar to antifreeze.

Under the law, pharmaceutical companies had to prove the effectiveness and safety of new medication to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). The act also empowered the FDA to regulate food packaging and quality, and to conduct factory inspections. The FDA could enforce the law with court injunctions against suspect manufacturers.

The impact of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act is still evident today, from government investigations of improper claims by manufacturers, to the names of food-color additives, which still use the label "FD&C" (such as FD&C Red #40) to show compliance with federal regulations.

Securities and Exchange Commission

- Created through Securities Act of 1933 and Securities Exchange Act of 1934
- Laws required truth in sales of securities and fair treatment of investors
- SEC's purpose to provide market stability and protect investors



Joseph P. Kennedy,
the first head of the SEC

The Securities and Exchange Commission resulted from the passage of two laws: the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. The laws were designed to protect investors against fraud by requiring sellers of securities to tell the truth about what exactly they were selling and to treat investors fairly and honestly, to keep the market more stable than it had been in pre-Depression years, and to compel investment companies to put the interests of investors first. The SEC was created to enforce the newly passed security laws, promote stability in the market, and protect investors. As the first head of the new SEC, FDR selected banker and financier Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of the future President John F. Kennedy.

Creation of the “Welfare State”



FDR signing the Social Security Act into law

- New Deal signaled the beginning of the “welfare state”
- Government became the overseer of citizens’ welfare from “cradle to grave”
- Many New Deal reform programs still greatly affect American life
- Some see the costs and level of government involvement as drawbacks

As the New Deal attempted to solve the problems of the Depression, it began to change the relationship between government and citizen in an arrangement known as a “welfare state.” In such a system, the government takes responsibility for the health and safety—i.e., the welfare—of the individual citizen “from cradle to grave.”

Many of the New Deal’s reform programs carried out functions of a welfare state and are still evident today: The Social Security Administration not only furnishes pensions for the elderly and retired, but also offers compensation to the unemployed and payments to dependents of deceased and disabled persons. Dams created by the Tennessee Valley Authority still control flooding and generate hydroelectric power for the region. The Food and Drug Administration (acting under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act) acts as a watchdog for the health and safety of consumers. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation insures bank deposits up to a certain amount.

Such a system does have its drawbacks, however. While the government does provide “cradle to grave” protection for citizens, it does so at a significant cost. Due to the increasing number of retirees, the financial health of Social Security has been a major concern of the government for some time, and the possibility exists that the system may go bankrupt. Other welfare state programs have put a significant financial burden on the federal government as well as state governments. Some physicians and seriously ill people have voiced concerns that the FDA has become overcautious in approving drug treatments for various diseases.

All in all, most Americans look at many of the programs related to the New Deal as “birthrights,” and resist any attempt to significantly reduce the scope of or eliminate these programs.

Women of the New Deal Era



Eleanor Roosevelt



Mary McLeod Bethune



Frances Perkins



Marian Anderson

- Eleanor Roosevelt: The first lady was extremely active in social and political causes, and worked to bring the concerns of the downtrodden and “dispossessed” (including African Americans) to a much wider audience. After FDR’s death in 1945, she continued to be active in human rights issues as well as the women’s rights movement. She headed the United Nations committee that drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.
- Frances Perkins: As FDR’s Secretary of Labor, she held the distinction of being the first female Cabinet member. Perkins remained in the Cabinet for 12 years, longer than any other Labor Secretary. While she was instrumental in the writing of several New Deal bills, she is perhaps best known for her work on the President’s Committee on Economic Security, which essentially authored the Social Security Act of 1935. She served on the U.S. Civil Service Commission following her retirement from her Cabinet post.
- Marian Anderson: A noted opera singer, Anderson performed in the U.S. and across Europe. In 1939, she was denied permission to perform at Constitution Hall in Washington D.C. because of her race. Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of the organization that operated the hall (the Daughters of the American Revolution), resigned from the group in protest, and also helped arrange Anderson’s famous Easter Sunday performance at the Lincoln Memorial.
- Mary McLeod Bethune: A child of former slaves, Bethune founded what is known today as Bethune-Cookman University. She also served as Director of Negro Affairs for the National Youth Administration from 1936 to 1944, and unofficially headed the “Black Cabinet,” a group of lower-level New Deal officials who advised FDR on civil rights issues.

FDR and Civil Rights

- Significant debate regarding FDR's civil rights record
- Refused to support anti-lynching law
- Did not work to integrate armed forces
- FEPC ensured equal opportunity for African Americans in government and defense-industry jobs
- Appointed African Americans to government positions



Ralph Bunche

Many historians have debated FDR's record regarding civil rights. Some find fault with his failure to support an anti-lynching bill and laws that would have given African Americans increased employment rights and integrate the armed forces. Others look at the necessity of protecting New Deal legislation, as well as of maintaining the New Deal coalition, as the rationale behind his reluctance to support civil rights legislation. Favoring civil rights for African Americans would likely have led influential Southern senators to withdraw their crucial support for New Deal programs.

On the other hand, FDR's administration did support some civil rights legislation, such as the executive order creating the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), which gave equal opportunity to African Americans in the defense industry and government jobs. He also included African Americans in higher-level New Deal positions, including Mary McLeod Bethune and Ralph Bunche.

However, FDR's lack of support for the anti-lynching measure, as well as his reluctance to integrate the armed forces during World War II, lead many to rate his civil rights record mixed at best.

Picture note: Photograph in this slide by Carl Van Vechten, housed at the Library of Congress.

Discussion Questions

1. Do you feel that New Deal welfare programs exceeded the federal government's authority? Explain your answer.
2. What functions does the Social Security Administration serve? In your view, which of these is the most important? Why?
3. On a scale from A to F, how would you grade FDR's civil rights record? Why?

1. Many students may say that New Deal welfare programs served an important function in guarding the rights and safety of American citizens, possibly noting that the federal government has far more power to enforce such laws than state or local governments, and much more sway in dealing with companies that endanger the public. Other students may feel that allowing the federal government these powers might have led to a "Big Brother" arrangement in which federal power and authority could endanger the rights and freedoms of individuals to make their own choices.
2. The Social Security Administration was designed to provide pensions to older Americans, unemployment compensation, and benefits for the dependents of disabled workers. Most students would probably view the pension aspect as the most important, since it affects the most people.
3. Many students would probably give FDR low marks with respect to civil rights, especially because of his reluctance to support the anti-lynching bill. On the other hand, students may understand FDR's concerns about keeping the New Deal Coalition together. (You may wish to focus on students' justification for FDR's grade, rather than the grade itself.)

Discussion Questions (continued)

4. Should the government exercise control over the buying and selling stocks and securities, as it does through the SEC? Why?
5. Why do you think so many women were directly involved in administering New Deal programs?
6. Which of the New Deal's social welfare programs do you feel was the most important overall? Why?

4. Students may note that the buying and selling of stocks and securities often involve complicated transactions. With their knowledge of the causes of the Depression and the reasons for the 1929 stock market crash, students will probably assert that the government should provide some safeguards for the consumer regarding stocks, securities, and banking.
5. Most students would probably feel that the reason so many women participated in administering New Deal programs was Eleanor Roosevelt: her influence and activism likely inspired others, and she was also in a unique position to persuade her husband to include women and African Americans as target audiences of the New Deal.
6. Probably because it's so well-known (and because some students or their families might be direct beneficiaries), Social Security will probably be the most frequent answer. You should consider and discuss students' rationale for why they selected a particular program as the most important.

Popular Culture in the New Deal Era

- Music of Woody Guthrie
- Novels of John Steinbeck (*The Grapes of Wrath*)
- 1930s movies
- Humorist Will Rogers
- Radio's impact on American life (*The War of the Worlds*)



A 1930s-era movie theater

Even in the depths of Depression, popular culture abounded in the areas of music, films, books, and other forms of entertainment. Woody Guthrie wrote folk songs about Depression-era America—especially life in the Dust Bowl—and penned the classic, “This Land Is Your Land.” John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* told the story of the hardships the Joad family faced in leaving Oklahoma for a better life in California.

The 1930s produced a golden age of film. In particular, 1939 saw the release of several classic films, including *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, *The Wizard of Oz*, *Young Mr. Lincoln*, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, and what many consider one of the greatest films of all time, *Gone With the Wind*. By spending a few cents, theater patrons could forget about the problems of the Depression by watching films whose subjects ranged from romance to comedy to monster films.

Another extremely popular form of entertainment was radio. Adults tuned in regularly to hear shows including “Burns and Allen,” “The Shadow,” “Gunsmoke,” “Fibber McGee and Molly,” and many others. Kids also listened to programming regularly, including “The Lone Ranger,” “Superman,” and “Little Orphan Annie.” However, what demonstrated the power of radio more than any other event was the mass hysteria created by the Orson Welles production, “The War of the Worlds.” Set up as a news broadcast about aliens invading New Jersey, the play fooled many people into thinking it was real.

Woody Guthrie



- Folk singer
- Wrote “This Land Is Your Land” and other songs about Depression-era life
- Inspired several 1960s folk singers
- Died in 1967

Perhaps no singer/songwriter of the Depression captured the spirit of the times better than Woody Guthrie. Born in Oklahoma in 1912, he quickly became the voice of the working man and the otherwise dispossessed through his songs about the Depression, the Dust Bowl, and the hard lives of farmers.

Guthrie’s best-known song is “This Land Is Your Land,” although he also wrote and performed other staples of the folk genre, including “Deportees,” “Dust Bowl Blues,” as well as a series of children’s songs. Though never actually a member of the Communist party, he often spoke of his support for the party’s ideals. He was a member, however, of the International Workers of the World labor union. As the nation moved from the Depression into World War II, his songs became increasingly anti-fascist in nature, and he sported a “This Machine KILLS Fascists” sticker on his guitar while performing.

Terminally ill from the 1940s till his death in 1967, he had to stop performing, although other folk singers—Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, and Judy Collins, to name a few—emulated his style and recorded his songs, bringing them to a new, younger audience.

John Steinbeck

- Known for his novels about California
- *The Grapes of Wrath* describes the Joad family's travels from Oklahoma to California
- Praised and criticized by many
- Novel won Pulitzer Prize; soon made into a film



The Grapes of Wrath, a 1939 novel by John Steinbeck, is considered by many as one of the most realistic and poignant portrayals of the Dust Bowl and the plight of the Okies. The novel chronicles the travels of the Joad family, Oklahoma farmers forced to leave their home and travel to California looking to start a new life. While the novel received high critical praise, it also was subject to a great deal of criticism: some dismissed it as propaganda, while others criticized its socialist leanings. The book won Steinbeck a Pulitzer Prize in 1940, and was made into an Academy Award–winning film that same year.

Films of the 1930s



Clark Gable as Rhett Butler in
Gone With the Wind

- Hollywood's "golden era"
- Allowed viewers a brief escape from daily problems
- Several famous films made in 1939
- Stars became part of American culture

Even with America in the grip of the worst depression in history, many consider the decade of the 1930s as the "golden age" of Hollywood. During the period, many of Hollywood's most popular and enduring films were made, and several performers became "immortal" stars. For many, the chance to see a film provided a brief escape from the problems of daily life. Films generally tried to avoid stories of hardship and bleak situations, relying instead on happier themes and lively musicals to ensure big box-office results. Movies such as *Gone With the Wind*; *The Wizard of Oz*; *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*; *Wuthering Heights*; and *Young Mr. Lincoln*—all produced in 1939—became instant classics, with several becoming box-office smashes not only in original release but in subsequent re-releases as well. Several stars of these films became legends: Clark Gable, Cary Grant, James Stewart, Bette Davis, Joan Crawford, Fred Astaire, and Ginger Rogers all continued to have "star appeal" long after the Depression years.

Will Rogers

- American humorist
- Radio and movie star and newspaper columnist
- Satirized politics and current events
- Killed in 1935 plane crash



Well-known to movie and radio audiences as well as newspaper readers, humorist and entertainer Will Rogers consistently had his finger on the pulse of Depression-era America. Beginning his career as a Wild West and roping star, Rogers soon rose through the vaudeville ranks, becoming a star in the Ziegfeld Follies. He would later star in several silent and sound films, but his greatest fame came from his newspaper columns and radio commentaries.

Many of Rogers' pithy statements became commonplace, such as "I don't belong to any organized political party—I'm a Democrat," and "Be thankful we are not getting all the government we are paying for," as well as his famous saying, "I never met a man I didn't like." At one point, Rogers enjoyed such popularity that he was offered the Democratic nomination for governor of Oklahoma—which he refused.

Rogers's other great love was flying. In 1935, he traveled to Alaska on a sightseeing trip with famed aviator Wiley Post. Near Point Barrow, Alaska, both he and Post were killed when their experimental aircraft crashed.

The War of the Worlds



Orson Welles

- Produced by Orson Welles
- Episode on “Mercury Theater on the Air”
- Nearly caused mass panic
- Anxiety over events in Europe heightened fear

Perhaps no single event demonstrated the impact of mass media on the average American as clearly as Orson Welles’s version of *The War of the Worlds*, a 1938 production of the famous H.G. Wells story. Welles’s *The Mercury Theater on the Air*, a relatively unpopular program on the CBS radio network, had a time slot opposite one of the most popular radio shows of the day, *The Chase and Sandborn Hour*, starring ventriloquist Edgar Bergen. H.G. Wells’s story involves Martians invading Earth and trying to wipe out the human race and take over the planet.

Welles wanted the broadcast to sound as realistic as possible. He used real place names (such as Grovers Mill, New Jersey) and had his actors listen to the broadcast of the Hindenburg disaster to get the right amount of hysteria. Welles even cast actors whose voices sounded similar to government officials’. During the first commercial break of that night’s *Chase and Sandborn Hour*, thousands of listeners twirled their radio dials to *The War of the Worlds*. Having missed the announcer’s statement that the program was a dramatization and not the real thing, panic ensued as thousands believed that they were listening to news reports of an actual Martian invasion. Surveys after the broadcast determined that nearly six million people had heard at least part of the show, and more than a million believed it to have been true and had been “genuinely frightened” by it. Many believe to this day that Welles knew when the first *Chase and Sandborn* commercial break would occur, and planned the first announcements of the “Martian invasion” for the same time.

Experts have long debated how Welles’s broadcast could cause such an uproar. Many believe that audiences had come to expect reports of troubling events because of European radio broadcasts in the days prior to World War II; therefore, the panic wasn’t directly related to Martians landing on Earth, but to the possibility of a Nazi invasion.

Picture note: Photograph in this slide by Carl Van Vechten, housed at the Library of Congress.

The Election of 1940

- Wendell Willkie, the “dark horse” GOP candidate
- FDR allows himself to be drafted for third term
- FDR wins, but with a smaller margin of victory than in 1932 and 1936



Wendell Willkie

The Election of 1940 pitted Wendell Willkie, an Indiana corporate attorney, versus FDR, who had decided to allow himself to be drafted for an unprecedented third term. With American involvement in World War II looming, some Americans felt it would be unwise to “change horses in midstream,” and chose to keep Roosevelt in office.

Both candidates were internationalists who believed that the United States should take an active role in world affairs. Willkie, previously a Democrat and a New Deal supporter, became a critic of FDR after the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority. As a “dark horse” candidate for the GOP nomination, Willkie won on the sixth ballot against several better-known candidates, including Thomas E. Dewey and Robert Taft.

On election day, FDR defeated Willkie, but with a smaller margin of victory than in the elections of 1932 and 1936. Roosevelt received nearly 27 million votes to Willkie’s 22 million. Willkie, for his part, did manage to carry 10 states.

Willkie later became a strong proponent of U.S. involvement in European affairs leading up to World War II. However, his sudden death in 1944 ended any thought of a repeat run for the Republican nomination.

The End of the New Deal



Workers assemble a military aircraft

- A recession and jump in unemployment raised concerns about the New Deal
- Several New Deal agencies continued into the early 1940s
- Full employment and the end of the Depression only occurred with U.S. involvement in World War II

Although the New Deal had made inroads in solving the problems of the Depression, many Americans still saw economic recovery as a far-off goal. A recession and a four-percent jump in unemployment in 1937 and 1938 caused many to doubt that Roosevelt had actually solved the economic crisis.

Several relief agencies created in the early days of the New Deal, such as the CCC and WPA, continued into the 1940s. Many economists note that while the New Deal didn't fix all the problems caused by the Depression, it did make them less severe. However, other economists believe that the New Deal policies actually prolonged the Depression.

If the New Deal did not actually end the Depression, the onset of World War II did. Long before Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the United States had begun to mobilize for an eventual war with Germany and Japan. To accomplish this, millions of new jobs had to be created, along with the institution of the nation's first peacetime draft. For the first time in years, the U.S. was at full employment, and with the increase in war-related manufacturing the nation's GNP rose significantly.

The Legacy of the New Deal

- Enlargement of government
- Deficit spending
- Welfare state
- Inspiration for future welfare programs, such as LBJ's "Great Society"



FDR shakes hands with Texas NYA director—and future president—Lyndon Johnson

The New Deal changed American life more than any other set of programs in the nation's history. While it did not completely solve the problems of the Depression, it did expand government influence by regulating banking, the stock market, and food and drug companies, as well as protecting millions from joblessness and starvation.

Another lasting legacy of the New Deal is the beginning of the welfare state, in which the government takes care of its citizens over their whole lives. Programs such as Social Security, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have become fixtures of the American landscape.

Furthermore, FDR's example has guided other presidents toward enacting their own social welfare programs. Probably the best-known of these programs was Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society," which sought to extend the New Deal's welfare programs even further through programs such as Medicare, which brought low-cost health insurance to millions of elderly persons.

Assessing the New Deal's legacy has proven controversial. Many point to the New Deal and its social welfare programs as the beginning of runaway government spending because of its large number of entitlement programs. Others believe that the New Deal led to the federal government becoming too involved in Americans' lives. No one, however, disputes the influence that the New Deal exerted—and continues to exert—upon Americans' lives.

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think that Guthrie and Steinbeck accurately depicted life during the Depression? Why or why not?
2. What impact did the films of the 1930s have on life in the Depression era. Why?
3. Do you believe that mass hysteria such as that which occurred with *The War of the Worlds* could happen today? Why or why not?
4. Do you think American foreign policy would have been different had Wendell Willkie won the 1940 presidential election? Why?
5. Do you think that the New Deal effectively solved the problems of the Depression? Why or why not?

1. Most students will probably agree that the work of Guthrie and Steinbeck accurately portray Depression-era life. Several students may already be familiar with some of Guthrie's songs or Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, and may be able to more deeply discuss the accuracy of each artist's work.
2. Many persons during the Depression era used movies to temporarily escape the problems of everyday life. Moviemakers understood this and frequently produced films with light, escapist themes. In addition, movie theaters provided some comfort from the elements for millions who lived in substandard housing. However, some films, such as *The Grapes of Wrath* gave audiences an unvarnished view of conditions during the Depression.
3. Most students would probably note that in the 21st century, the chances of a media event causing mass hysteria would be fairly remote. However, some students may say that the impact of mass media is much greater now than in 1938, and with the advent of 24-hour news channels, streaming Internet video, and other forms of media, rumors and inaccuracies spread much faster now than in the 1930s.
4. Since Willkie was considered an "internationalist" similar to FDR, many students may feel that American foreign policy wouldn't have been substantially different had Willkie won the election. They may add that FDR found his hands somewhat tied in providing aid to the Allies in their fight against the Axis Powers, and that the deciding factor for U.S. entry into World War II was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.
5. Some students may note that since it was U.S. entry into World War II—and not the New Deal—that ended the Depression, the New Deal could be classified as a failure. Other students may believe, however, that the New Deal did effectively reduce the severity of the Depression, helping millions of Americans to find jobs, protecting their savings, and providing for their health and welfare.

The Great Depression and New Deal



Essential Questions

- What underlying issues and conditions led to the Great Depression?
- What economic conditions led to the stock market crash of 1929?
- Why were the policies of the Hoover Administration ineffective in dealing with the problems of the Depression?
- Why did the New Deal seek to solve the problems of the Depression through public works, rather than the dole?
- What impact did the New Deal have on arts and letters in the 1930s?
- How did President Franklin D. Roosevelt change the role of the presidency in American history?
- How successful was the New Deal in solving the problems of the Depression and restoring American prosperity?

Fundamental Causes of the Depression

- Drop in farm prices
- Massively uneven distribution of income
- “Get rich quick” schemes in real estate and especially in stocks
- Overextension of credit
- Increased inventories of goods
- Immediate cause: October 1929 stock market crash



Many consumers in the 1920s bought items such as this ironer on credit

The Day the Bubble Burst



The trading floor of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929

- October 29, 1929
- More than 16 million shares traded in one day
- Stock market lost \$30 billion
- Beginning of the “Great Depression”

Banking System Collapse

- Banks invested heavily in the market
- Collapse of market led to bank failures
- Many depositors panicked, leading to even more bank failures



Worried depositors wait outside a bank hoping to withdraw their savings

Hoover's Response



President Herbert Hoover

- President Hoover overwhelmed
- Believed that private charity was best suited to solve problems
- Most efforts failed
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation achieved some success

Hoovervilles

- Settlements of shacks inhabited by transients and unemployed
- Derisively named after President Hoover
- Many cities and towns had at least one



The Bonus Army



With the U.S. capitol visible in the distance, shacks erected by the Bonus Expeditionary Force burn

- Patman Bill was to move up bonus payments from 1945 to 1933
- Veterans camped near the Capitol to support the bill
- Bill failed in Congress
- Hoover's removal of vets made Hoover appear heartless

Discussion Questions

1. Which of the fundamental causes of the Depression would have been the easiest to fix, in your view? Explain.
2. Why do you think there hasn't been a major stock market crash similar to the Crash of 1929?
3. Why was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation successful?
4. What "grade" would you give Hoover and his handling of the Depression? Why?
5. Do you believe that Congress should have passed the Patman Bill? Why or why not?

The Election of 1932



Hoover

- Republicans renominated Hoover
- Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt
- Hoover's inability to solve the Depression became the chief issue
- FDR won in a landslide



Roosevelt

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

- Born in 1882
- Distant relative of Theodore Roosevelt
- Married to Eleanor Roosevelt, TR's niece
- Political career mirrored TR's
- Lost 1920 election for vice president
- Paralyzed in 1921



One of only three photos of FDR in a wheelchair, taken in 1941

FDR's First Inaugural Address

- Attempted to restore confidence in the American people
- "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."
- Asked for broad executive powers to combat the Depression



FDR and Herbert Hoover on the way to the inauguration

The “New Deal”



FDR campaigning in 1932

- Named after a phrase in FDR’s 1932 nomination speech
- Became the nickname for FDR’s economic program
- Consisted of three separate aspects:
 - Relief
 - Recovery
 - Reform

The “Brain Trust”



Adolph Berle

- Group of advisers who assisted FDR in making early economic policy
- Members included Profs. Moley, Tugwell, and Berle
- Members had varying opinions about jumpstarting the economy
- Eventually disbanded to make way for other experts



Rexford Tugwell

The First Hundred Days

- Three-month period after inauguration
- Flurry of legislative activity
- “Honeymoon” period between FDR and Congress
- Saw most of New Deal’s relief program established, including:
 - Agricultural Adjustment Act
 - Tennessee Valley Authority
 - Glass-Steagall Banking Act



FDR signing the TVA into law

Solving the Banking Crisis

- 1930–1933: Nearly 10,000 banks closed
- Michigan governor ordered banking “moratorium” in state
- FDR changed wording to bank “holiday”
- Banks closed for four days for inspection
- Glass-Steagall Act created FDIC



A policeman stands guard outside a closed New York bank

Fireside Chats



FDR addresses the nation during a 1935 fireside chat

- Radio “talks”
- FDR spoke plainly with audience about issues and concerns
- Usually conducted in an informal manner
- FDR gave 30 chats while in office

“Pump Priming” and the Dole

- Federal Emergency Relief Act passed in 1933
- FERA pumped money into the economy for job programs
- Also provided relief for the unemployed
- Spent billions on public works through Civil Works Administration and Emergency Work Relief programs



Harry Hopkins

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think Hoover had such a difficult time winning the reelection in 1932? If you had been one of his campaign advisors, what strategy would you have suggested?
2. Do you think that federal spending specifically to create jobs for Depression victims was a good idea, or would it have been better to ask the states and private charities to take a larger role in the relief efforts? Why?

Discussion Questions (cont.)

3. Should the banks and bankers who speculated with depositors' money have been penalized for their roles in the large number of bank failures between 1930 and 1933? What kinds of punishments would you have recommended?
4. How do you believe the average American reacted to FDR's fireside chats? Had it existed then, would Roosevelt have been as effective a communicator on television as he was on radio? Why?

FDR's Farm Program

- Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 sought to reduce farm surpluses
- Resettlement Administration
- Farm Security Administration
- Rural Electrification Administration
- Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1936



A poster advertises help to farmers available through the Resettlement Administration

The Dust Bowl: Causes



A dust cloud approaches the town of Stratford, Texas, in 1935

- Overcultivation of land in the Great Plains
- Sustained drought throughout region
- High winds blew away loose topsoil

The Dust Bowl: Impact

- More than 500,000 left homeless
- Storms blew large amounts of dust from the Plains into cities such as Chicago and Buffalo
- “Red snow” fell on towns in New England



The Plight of the “Okies”



A woman and her child rest beside their car during their trip west

- Farmers from Oklahoma fled the Dust Bowl
- Went to California for farm jobs
- Possibly 15 percent of Oklahoma’s population became migrants

Hardships

- “Camps”
unsanitary
- Wages decreased
for large numbers
- California passed
an “anti-Okie”
law



A migrant camp in California

The “Migrant Mother”



- One of the most famous
New Deal–era photos
- Shot for the Resettlement
Administration by
Dorothea Lange
- Taken in California in
February or March 1936

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think Great Plains farmers during the Depression used unsound cultivating practices that led to the Dust Bowl?
2. Which of the New Deal farm programs do you feel was most effective. Why?
3. Do you think New Deal farm programs were designed to reform the practices that led to the price collapse? Why?

Work-Based Relief Programs



A New Deal work-based relief program at a Florida rock quarry

- FDR considered unemployment a major, immediate problem
- Work-based programs seen as a desirable alternative to the dole
- Several programs were created to provide work in various occupations
- Some saw the “make work” programs as boondoggles

Civilian Conservation Corps

- Provided jobs for young men aged 18–25
- Jobs included work on environmental projects
- One of the most popular New Deal programs
- “Enlistees” were paid \$30 per month, with \$25 of that sent home to their families





This Illinois CCC recruitment poster highlights “A Young Man’s Opportunity for Work, Play, Study, and Health.”

The artist put special emphasis on the idea that the subject of the poster appears to be having fun while working on an environmental project.

National Youth Administration



Two young men of the NYA work on an airplane engine

- Provided part-time jobs for urban youths who wanted to remain in school
- Participants paid \$6–\$40 per month for “work study” jobs
- Employed both male and female students

Public Works Administration

- Money given to contractors for public works
- Administered by Secretary Ickes
- Built bridges, schools, airports, roads, Navy ships
- Spent more than \$6 billion



Civil Works Administration



CWA-built public works projects included this Minnesota highway

- Mainly constructed bridges and buildings
- Spent over \$1 billion in less than a year
- Many considered it a boondoggle
- Abandoned in 1934

Works Progress Administration

- Created in 1935
- Headed by Harry Hopkins
- Focused on public works such as bridges, roads, runways
- Also included arts projects
- Some projects famous (Camp David, Dealey Plaza)



Signs similar to this one alerted the public that a site was a WPA works project



In addition to public works projects, the WPA also provided adults with job training as well as enrichment opportunities

WPA: Supporting the Arts



- WPA also provided funding for various arts programs
- Writing, theater, photography, and painting programs



Federal Theater Project

- Part of the “Federal One” project
- Headed by Hallie Flanagan
- “Living Newspapers”
- Included Orson Welles, John Houseman, and Arthur Miller
- Ran into several controversies



Federal Art Project



- Specialized in visual arts
- Created more than 200,000 works
- Included art production, art instruction, and art research

Federal Writers Project

- Allowed writers to work directly for the government
- Writers paid a “subsistence” wage
- Several famous writers participated



Discussion Questions

1. Why did many see the work-based relief programs of the New Deal as a desirable alternative to the dole?
2. In your view, which of the New Deal relief programs was the most effective? Explain.
3. Do you think the focus on work-based relief programs for the young (CCC and NYA) was worthwhile? Why?
4. If you had been president in the mid-1930s, would you have felt promoting the arts was a valid use of federal funds to fight the Depression? Why or why not?
5. Should the federal government have taken on so much debt in order to provide work projects for unemployed? Explain.

National Industrial Recovery Act

- Centerpiece of New Deal recovery program
- Sought to promote fair competition, raise wages and prices, and institute collective bargaining
- Created “codes of fair competition”
- Enforced by the NRA



The NRA's Blue Eagle



Merchants proudly supported the NRA by prominently posting Blue Eagle posters at their places of business

The “Sick Chicken” Case

- *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Co. v. U.S.* (1935)
- Supreme Court unanimously struck down the NIRA
- Decided that Congress had given the president too much lawmaking power
- Also ruled that NIRA violated the Constitution’s commerce clause



Supreme Court Chief Justice
Charles Evans Hughes

The “Nine Old Men”



- Supreme Court dominated by conservatives
- FDR unable to make appointments to Court
- Court declared several New Deal programs unconstitutional
- FDR believed that the Court was hampering needed relief and reform

FDR’s “Court-Packing” Plan

- FDR determined to preserve New Deal reforms
- Introduced legislation for revamping the judiciary
 - Law would allow him to appoint one new judge for every Supreme Court member over age 70½
 - Would increase Supreme Court to a maximum of 15 members
- Plan soundly defeated; FDR lost political support
- Court-packing battle ended as a draw

New Deal “Agitators”

- Opposed New Deal before a national audience
- All felt FDR had gone too far, or not far enough
- None had much influence on the 1936 election or on the New Deal in general



The American Liberty League



- Saw FDR as a “traitor to his class”
- Believed the New Deal was leading the country toward socialism
- Several famous members
- Challenged the legality of the Wagner Act
- Disappeared by 1940

Father Charles Coughlin

- Catholic priest who used radio to reach mass audience
- First a New Deal supporter; later a critic
- Sympathetic to anti-Semitic policies of Hitler and Mussolini
- Federal broadcast rules eventually forced Coughlin off the air



Father Charles Coughlin speaks at a stadium

Huey Long: "The Kingfish"



Senator Huey P. Long

- Louisiana governor and senator
- Believed New Deal hadn't done enough
- Proposed "Share the Wealth" program
- Assassinated in 1935
- Revenue Act of 1935 incorporated some of Long's ideas

The Townsend Plan

- Proposed a monthly pension of \$200 for all citizens over 60
 - To be paid for by a national sales tax
 - Recipients required to spend entire payment each month
- Townsend Plan groups spread across nation
- Social Security Act



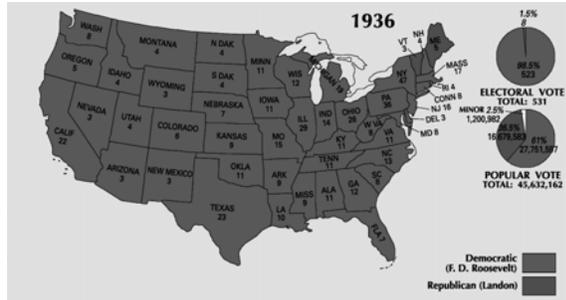
Dr. Francis Townsend

The Election of 1936



- FDR decided to seek a second term
- Republicans nominated Kansas Governor Alf Landon
- FDR won in a landslide

Election of 1936: Results



“New Deal Coalition”

- Diverse coalition of various groups who supported FDR in 1936:
 - Labor unions
 - Urban political machines
 - Racial and religious minorities
 - Southern whites
- Groups agreed on little besides the New Deal
- Based on this framework, Democrats dominated the federal legislature from 1932–1980

FDR’s Second Inaugural Address

“I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see one-third of a nation, ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-nourished...”

Franklin D. Roosevelt
 January 20, 1937



The cover of the program for FDR and Vice President Garner’s inauguration

Discussion Questions

1. How effective do you think the NIRA was at solving the problem of industrial recovery? Explain.
2. Do you feel that the Supreme Court overstepped its checks-and-balances function in striking down New Deal legislation? Should the rules have been “bent” for New Deal programs? Why or why not?
3. Some believed that with his court-packing plan, FDR was seeking dictatorial powers. Do you believe this criticism was justified? Why or why not?
4. Do you feel that Roosevelt’s reelection in 1936 was due more to public approval of the New Deal or to his personal popularity? Why?
5. Which of the New Deal “agitators” do you think were most justified in their criticism of FDR and the New Deal? Why?

New Deal Reform Measures

- Sought to ensure that conditions leading to Depression did not reoccur
- Many reforms radically changed American society
- Several New Deal programs and reforms still in effect today
 - Social Security
 - Pure food and drug laws
 - Tennessee Valley Authority
 - FDIC



Social Security Act of 1935



- First suggested by Frances Perkins
- Provided for
 - Old-age pensions
 - Unemployment insurance
 - Aid to dependents
- Funded by a payroll tax



National Labor Relations Act

- Also known as the “Wagner Act”
- Allowed for collective bargaining
- Protected rights of laborers to form unions
- Also created the NLRB



FDR signs the Wagner Act as Labor Secretary Perkins looks on

Fair Labor Standards Act

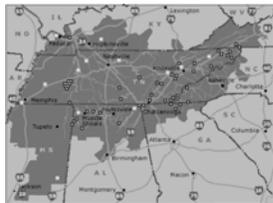


The FLSA prohibited children (such as the one shown in this photo) from working in hazardous jobs

- Guaranteed a federal minimum wage
- Set at 25 cents per hour in 1938
- Guaranteed overtime pay at “time and a half”
- Prohibited “oppressive child labor”

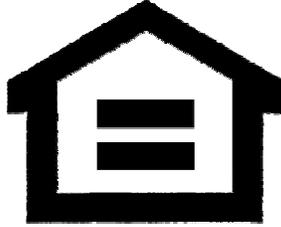
Tennessee Valley Authority

- Created to assist Tennessee Valley area
- Headed by David Lilienthal
- Provided flood control and cheap hydroelectric power
- Also protected the social and economic welfare of people in the area



Help for Homeowners

- Home Owners Loan Corporation: low-interest loans for current homeowners
- Federal Housing Authority: loans for home repair and new building projects
- United States Housing Authority: low-cost public housing



Federal Housing Authority logo

Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act



Lash-Lure, a cosmetic eyeliner which blinded at least one user, was one product banned by the FDA

- Signed into law in 1938; strengthened FDA
- Set standards for and regulated quality of food
- Evaluated safety and legitimacy of drugs
- Controlled product advertising

Securities and Exchange Commission

- Created through Securities Act of 1933 and Securities Exchange Act of 1934
- Laws required truth in sales of securities and fair treatment of investors
- SEC's purpose to provide market stability and protect investors



Joseph P. Kennedy, the first head of the SEC

Creation of the “Welfare State”



FDR signing the Social Security Act into law

- New Deal signaled the beginning of the “welfare state”
- Government became the overseer of citizens’ welfare from “cradle to grave”
- Many New Deal reform programs still greatly affect American life
- Some see the costs and level of government involvement as drawbacks

Women of the New Deal Era



Eleanor Roosevelt



Mary McLeod Bethune



Frances Perkins



Marian Anderson

FDR and Civil Rights

- Significant debate regarding FDR’s civil rights record
- Refused to support anti-lynching law
- Did not work to integrate armed forces
- FEPC ensured equal opportunity for African Americans in government and defense-industry jobs
- Appointed African Americans to government positions



Ralph Bunche

Discussion Questions

1. Do you feel that New Deal welfare programs exceeded the federal government's authority? Explain your answer.
2. What functions does the Social Security Administration serve? In your view, which of these is the most important? Why?
3. On a scale from A to F, how would you grade FDR's civil rights record? Why?

Discussion Questions (continued)

4. Should the government exercise control over the buying and selling stocks and securities, as it does through the SEC? Why?
5. Why do you think so many women were directly involved in administering New Deal programs?
6. Which of the New Deal's social welfare programs do you feel was the most important overall? Why?

Popular Culture in the New Deal Era

- Music of Woody Guthrie
- Novels of John Steinbeck (*The Grapes of Wrath*)
- 1930s movies
- Humorist Will Rogers
- Radio's impact on American life (*The War of the Worlds*)



A 1930s-era movie theater

Woody Guthrie



- Folk singer
- Wrote “This Land Is Your Land” and other songs about Depression-era life
- Inspired several 1960s folk singers
- Died in 1967

John Steinbeck

- Known for his novels about California
- *The Grapes of Wrath* describes the Joad family’s travels from Oklahoma to California
- Praised and criticized by many
- Novel won Pulitzer Prize; soon made into a film



Films of the 1930s



Clark Gable as Rhett Butler in *Gone With the Wind*

- Hollywood’s “golden era”
- Allowed viewers a brief escape from daily problems
- Several famous films made in 1939
- Stars became part of American culture

Will Rogers

- American humorist
- Radio and movie star and newspaper columnist
- Satirized politics and current events
- Killed in 1935 plane crash



The War of the Worlds



Orson Welles

- Produced by Orson Welles
- Episode on “Mercury Theater on the Air”
- Nearly caused mass panic
- Anxiety over events in Europe heightened fear

The Election of 1940

- Wendell Willkie, the “dark horse” GOP candidate
- FDR allows himself to be drafted for third term
- FDR wins, but with a smaller margin of victory than in 1932 and 1936



Wendell Willkie

The End of the New Deal



Workers assemble a military aircraft

- A recession and jump in unemployment raised concerns about the New Deal
- Several New Deal agencies continued into the early 1940s
- Full employment and the end of the Depression only occurred with U.S. involvement in World War II

The Legacy of the New Deal

- Enlargement of government
- Deficit spending
- Welfare state
- Inspiration for future welfare programs, such as LBJ's "Great Society"



FDR shakes hands with Texas NYA director—and future president—Lyndon Johnson

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think that Guthrie and Steinbeck accurately depicted life during the Depression? Why or why not?
2. What impact did the films of the 1930s have on life in the Depression era. Why?
3. Do you believe that mass hysteria such as that which occurred with *The War of the Worlds* could happen today? Why or why not?
4. Do you think American foreign policy would have been different had Wendell Willkie won the 1940 presidential election? Why?
5. Do you think that the New Deal effectively solved the problems of the Depression? Why or why not?

Great Depression and New Deal: Backwards Planning Activities

Enduring understandings:

The Great Depression was the worst economic calamity in American history
Several flawed economic and political policies contributed to the stock market crash
The Depression affected Americans of all economic and social strata
The New Deal demanded significant spending on the federal level to combat the Depression
The New Deal sought to solve the problems of the Depression by providing public works projects, as well as by promoting the arts
The New Deal changed the role of government in American life
The reach and impact of the New Deal affected American life from the 1930s into the 21st century

Essential questions:

What underlying issues and conditions led to the Great Depression?
What economic conditions led to the stock market crash of 1929?
Why were the policies of the Hoover Administration ineffective in dealing with the problems of the Depression?
Why did the New Deal seek to solve the problems of the Depression through public works, rather than the dole?
What impact did the New Deal have on arts and letters in the 1930s?
How did President Franklin D. Roosevelt change the role of the presidency in American history?
How successful was the New Deal in solving the problems of the Depression and restoring American prosperity?

Learning experiences and instruction:

Students will need to know...	Students will need to be able to...
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fundamental causes of the Depression 2. Main reasons for the stock market crash of October 1929 3. How the Depression affected ordinary Americans 4. How the New Deal sought to solve the immediate problems of the Depression 5. How the New Deal transformed American society and the economy 6. How President Franklin D. Roosevelt's leadership style affected the nation's attitude in dealing with the problems of the Depression 7. How the Depression and New Deal affected women and minorities 8. How the Depression and the government's response affects current American economic policy 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read and interpret primary source documents from the Depression era 2. Make conclusions and inferences about various policies and philosophies from the Depression and New Deal periods 3. Identify key persons involved in developing economic and political policies during the New Deal 4. Recognize emerging trends in American society during the 1930s 5. Determine how the New Deal affected American life in the long term 6. Determine how the New Deal affected policy and decision making throughout the 1930s and 1940s

Teaching and learning activities that equip students to demonstrate targeted understandings:

- An overview of essential questions and basic understandings
- Class discussion of questions posed in the PowerPoint presentation
- Introduction of common terms and ideas in the essential questions and related projects
- Providing students with primary source materials from which they will complete the unit's related projects
- Students conduct research in groups to be used later in individual and cooperative projects
- Informal observation and coaching of students as they work in groups
- Delivering feedback and evaluations on projects and research reports
- Student creation and presentation of their projects
- A posttest on the presentation, made up of multiple-choice questions and one or more essential questions as essay questions

Project #1: The New Deal in Your Town

Lesson overview:

In this lesson, students research New Deal–era projects located in their community or geographic area and speculate on the impact and effectiveness of those projects on easing the hardships of the Depression. Using their research, student groups create Web pages in which they analyze those projects and make conclusions as to their importance in revitalizing local economies. (Note: If your class does not have access to Web page editing software, you may elect to adapt the lesson by substituting a multimedia presentation or conventional poster presentation. You may, however, wish to consider a free program such as Nvu (<http://www.nvu.com/>) for building Web pages. In addition, many Microsoft Office programs such as Word, PowerPoint, or Publisher can be used to create basic Web pages.)

Lesson objectives:

Having completed this lesson, students will:

- Understand the impact of the New Deal on local communities and their economies
- Develop research skills targeted at gathering information on local history
- Synthesize this information and make conclusions regarding the effect of New Deal programs on their towns or geographic areas

Time required:

Five to seven class periods, depending on the time needed for research

Materials needed:

Computer(s) with Internet access, Web editing software or multimedia presentation software, sources of local historical information (if available), and a scanner or digital camera (if needed)

Methodology:

Begin the lesson by discussing New Deal relief programs and how they attempted to provide jobs as well as revitalize cities and towns hit hard by the Depression. If you are aware of programs that had a specific or significant local impact, highlight those in the class discussion.

The PowerPoint presentation references several New Deal programs you may wish to focus on, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), National Youth Administration (NYA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), and Public Works Administration (PWA).

At the end of the discussion, explain to students that they will be working in groups to research and collect information regarding local New Deal projects and how those projects affected the local economic revitalization.

(Note: You should base the size of each group on the size and ability of the particular class participating in the project. You may also wish to assign tasks to individual students in each group; for example, one student might focus on finding related photos, another might concentrate on writing a script for the Web page, etc.)

Once you've introduced the project, allow students to research and collect information about various local New Deal programs. Since differences in location may require students to narrow their research, you might suggest that they focus their Internet searches in a way as to limit the results to local projects. You should also encourage students to conduct "conventional" research and explore things such as newspaper microfilm archives, oral histories, or other local history resources.

You may wish to have students collect and sort information using a graphic organizer, such as the four-column chart on the next page.

The New Deal in Your Town: Information Chart

Name of project	Location (street or area)	Description of the project	Project's impact on the local economy and community

Once students have completed their research, they should begin creating their Web pages. If you find yourself personally uncomfortable with directing students in the more technological aspects of the project, a “team teaching” arrangement with the school’s Web design teacher might make this phase easier to handle.

Constructing the Web page:

While you may already have a preferred format or framework for student Web page construction, recommended components include:

- Some preliminary planning, such as a storyboard
- Depth of research
- Evidence of knowledge of the subject matter
- Organization of materials
- Correct citation of copyrighted materials
- Originality or inventiveness
- Aesthetics of Web design

While some merit should be given to each of these criteria, the focus of the project should be on the evidence of knowledge of the subject matter, as well as the depth of research.

Web page construction resources:

Keystone Area Education Center Basics of Web Page Construction page
(<http://www.aea1.k12.ia.us/mark/webpages.html>)

Marilee’s Webpage Construction Links (<http://marilee.us/webpages.html>)

Kent State University’s Library and Media Services Web Page Construction Tutorials
(<http://www.library.kent.edu/page/13662>)

Evaluation:

Once students have completed their projects, evaluate their work using a suitable rubric that mirrors the objectives of the lesson. You may elect to use a school- or district-created rubric, develop your own, or use the rubric included on the next page.

The New Deal in Your Town: Web Page Rubric

Category	0–5 (poor)	6–10 (fair)	11–15 (good)	16–20 (excellent)	Total
Preliminary planning	Storyboards missing or incomplete; no evidence of planning	Storyboards incomplete; little evidence of planning (page design, color scheme, links, etc.)	Storyboards generally complete; some evidence of planning	Storyboard complete; all assigned elements included; significant evidence of planning	
Originality	No evidence of unique thought; work is a minimal collection of others' ideas	Little evidence of unique thought; work is a general collection of others' ideas	Project shows some originality; still includes a significant number of others' ideas	Project shows significant evidence of original thought and invention; majority of content demonstrates originality	
Citing of copyrighted material	Copyrighted material not properly cited	Some sources correctly cited	Most sources correctly cited	All sources properly cited	
Depth of research	No evidence that group has conducted topical research	Little evidence that the group has conducted significant research into the subject	Project shows a fair amount of research; most topics presented are backed by significant evidence	Project shows evidence of significant research; all topics are backed by significant evidence	
Evidence of knowledge	Little evidence showing group understanding of material	Some evidence showing group understanding of material	Project shows that group grasps material and concepts of the lesson	Project shows that group understands all material and concepts of the lesson	

Organization of materials	Page shows no organization; difficult to navigate	Page shows little organization; difficult to navigate	Page shows some organization; generally easy to navigate	Page shows significant organization; navigation easy and logical	
Aesthetics	Colors and text extremely difficult to read; several broken links	Colors and text somewhat difficult to read; some broken links	Colors and page text fairly pleasing to the eye; most links “live”	Colors and page text very pleasing to the eye; all links “live”	
Overall score					

Project #2: Great Depression and New Deal Primary Source Kits

Lesson overview:

Students examine various primary source materials from the Great Depression and New Deal era, then select resources that they believe merit inclusion in a primary source kit that can be used at the middle and high school levels.

Lesson objectives:

Students will:

- Familiarize themselves with the conditions of and artifacts from the Depression era
- Understand various aspects and programs of the New Deal
- Appreciate the concept and importance of primary source material
- Make conclusions about the validity of these sources and weigh which sources are more important

Time required:

Four to five class periods

Materials required:

A computer with Internet access, a sound card, and external speakers; a printer; video player software (for showing related video sources); and drawing software (for producing related cover art, if desired)

Methodology:

Prior to starting the activity, you should cover basic ideas and concepts of the New Deal. If possible, show the class various photos of Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, and Eleanor Roosevelt, as well other Great Depression and New Deal–era figures.

Once you're ready to begin the lesson, start class discussion with an overview of primary sources. Explain to the class that primary sources are those "directly from the past," such as letters, diaries, photos, audio clips, film clips, and so on. Tell the students that while primary source materials are still open to interpretation by historians, they have a substantial validity because they come directly from the time period.

In the discussion, the teacher may wish to give the class examples of primary source materials from other historic periods. Sources such as the Library of Congress's American Memory (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>) and the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) (<http://www.archives.gov/>) are particularly helpful.

Once class discussion regarding primary source material is completed, introduce the activity. Explain to the class that they will be creating primary source kits from the Great Depression and New Deal era. Limit kits to a predetermined number of resources, perhaps 10 to 15. Stress to the class that since they can only select a limited number of resources, they should pick only the ones they feel best reflect the period.

Depending on the technology available (including the number of computers), you may elect to have students work in groups, or instead have students complete the project individually. In either instance, have students record the location of resources, either by scanning them, printing them, or recording the URLs where they obtained them.

As they collect data, students should fill out a resource chart that includes background information on the source, a short description of the source, and a statement justifying why that source should be included in the primary source collection. You may choose to print or save sources to make a physical kit that can be used in the classroom or shared with other students.

Web resources:

A significant number of primary sources from the Great Depression and New Deal are available online. In addition to the following, you may wish to have students conduct further Web searches for other sources to use to complete the project.

America From the Great Depression to World War II: Photographs from the Farm Securities Administration—Office of War Information Collection:

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fsowhome.html>

Includes hundreds of various images of the Depression from all parts of the nation.

The New Deal Network: <http://newdeal.feri.org/index.htm>

Includes photographs, political cartoons, speeches, and other information from the New Deal era.

American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers Project, 1936–1940:

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html>

Includes more than 2900 documents assembled by the staff of the Folklore Project, a part of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Writers Project, collected by 300 writers in 24 states.

Voices From the Dust Bowl: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/afctshhtml/tshome.html>

Chronicles the lives of residents of Central California migrant camps in 1940–1941.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum:

<http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/index.html>

Depression Papers of Herbert Hoover: http://www.geocities.com/mb_williams/hooverpapers/

1930s Newsreels Archive: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~1930s2/Film/news/newsreel.html>

Modern History Sourcebook resources on the Depression:
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook41.html>

Presidential Libraries: History Uncovered: <http://www.c-span.org/presidentiallibraries/>
This C-SPAN partner site includes primary sources from every presidential library through that of President Bill Clinton. Several video and audio resources from the FDR and Hoover libraries are also included on this site.

Creating the primary source kit:

Once students have selected the resources they want to include in their projects, have them print photos and text resources using a high-quality printer such as a color inkjet, photo, or laser printer, depending of the level of quality desired for the finished product. In addition, you may also require students or student groups to create “cover art” for an envelope that contains the primary sources.

If the primary source collection contains sound files or video content, students should have access to a CD or DVD burner and blank media for storing and retrieving the files. As with any similar project, if you want to make these files available for distribution to other teachers or the community, you must follow correct protocol regarding the use of any copyrighted material.

Evaluation:

At the conclusion of the project, evaluate student work using a suitable rubric. You may wish to use a rubric developed by your school or district, or use the sample rubric included on the next page.

Great Depression and New Deal: Primary Source Kit Form

Name of source	Type of source (audio, film, speech, etc.)	Location (URL) of source	Short description of source	Importance of source (why did I/we select this source for the project?)

Great Depression and New Deal: Primary Source Kit Evaluation Rubric

Category	Excellent (10–15)	Good (5–9)	Fair (2–4)	Poor (0–1)	Score
Research	Resource chart filled out completely; evident that resources are thoughtfully selected	Resource chart mostly filled out; justification sketchy for including some resources	Resource chart incomplete; inclusion of several resources not justified	Resource chart not completed; little or no justification for including resources	
Historical accuracy	Selected resources germane to the subject and portray the period accurately; required number of resources found	Selected resources mostly germane to the subject; generally portray the period accurately; required number of resources found	Selected resources somewhat germane to the subject and rarely portray the period accurately; fewer than required number of resources found	Selected resources not germane to the subject and do not accurately portray the period; fewer than required number of resources found	
Creativity	Cover art shows high level of creativity and thought	Cover art shows a significant creativity and thought	Cover art shows only some creativity and thought	Cover art shows little creativity or thought	
Neatness of finished product	Resources arranged and printed in a neat and orderly fashion	Resources generally arranged and printed in an orderly fashion	Most resources poorly arranged and not printed in an orderly fashion	Resources are not arranged or printed in a neat and orderly fashion	
Overall score					

Project #3: Did FDR Exceed His Powers?

Lesson overview:

Students consider opposing viewpoints regarding the political reach of FDR and the New Deal. After collecting information, they write editorials to the local newspaper either praising or condemning the powers that the federal government assumed during the Depression years.

Lesson objectives:

Students will

- Understand various positions regarding the New Deal and its impact on American politics and society

- Consider varying viewpoints on the policies established by the New Deal and make conclusions about those policies

- Develop and express opinions regarding the New Deal and whether its overall effect was generally positive or negative

Time required:

One to two class periods

Materials required:

A computer with Internet access, a printer (optional); word processing software (optional)

Lesson methodology:

In covering the basic ideas and concepts of the New Deal, note that while FDR and his administration felt that relief, recovery, and reform programs offered the best way to solve the problems of the Depression, others felt that the New Deal went “too far, too fast.” Still others saw the New Deal as ineffective, saying that FDR needed to take even stronger action to combat these problems.

In the *Great Depression and New Deal* PowerPoint presentation, you may wish to have students review the slides that highlight the conflict between conservatives, liberals, and radicals over the New Deal. These include the “sick chicken” case (*A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Co. v. U.S.*) and the court-packing fight (slides 43–44), as well as the “New Deal Agitators” slides covering the American Liberty League, Senator Huey Long, Father Charles Coughlin, and Dr. Francis Townsend (slides 45–49). Several slides highlight support for the New Deal, including the “New Deal Coalition” (slide 52), as well as the slides addressing FDR’s lopsided victories in the

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elections of 1932 (slide 9) and 1936 (slides 50–51). You may also wish to search the presentation for other slides that describe the views of one side or the other.

After the discussion, inform students that they will be researching opposing views of the New Deal and writing editorials in which they take a position based on information from the presentation as well as from online resources. Students may utilize the suggested Web sites (listed on the next page) or do further searches for other information.

Web resources:

“The Republican Opposition” (<http://newdeal.feri.org/survey/40b14.htm>), by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed (originally published in *Survey Graphic Magazine*, May 1940)

Opposition to the New Deal (http://www.dlt.ncssm.edu/lmtm/docs/opp_newdeal.htm)

“The Real Deal: the Battle to Define FDR’s Social Policies” (<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA02/volpe/newdeal/intro.html>)

“Alf M. Landon, as Leader of the Republican Opposition, 1937–1940,” by George H. Mayer (http://www.kancoll.org/khq/1966/66_3_mayer.htm)

“Hoover Charges Roosevelt ‘New Deal’ Would Destroy Foundation of the Nation” (http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/elections/1932/featured_article1.html)

The Library of Congress: “FDR Was a Damned Good Man” (<http://memory.loc.gov/learn/features/timeline/depwwii/newdeal/goodman.html>)

“How FDR’s New Deal Harmed Millions of Poor People” by Jim Powell (http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=3357)

U.S. News and World Report: “Franklin D. Roosevelt’s ‘New Deal’ Sealed the Deal in 1932” (<http://www.usnews.com/articles/news/politics/2008/01/17/the-new-deal-sealed-the-deal.html>)

The Washington Post: “Roosevelt, America’s Original Man From Hope” (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/longterm/tours/fdr/legacy.htm>)

You may either allow students to develop their own position on the New Deal, or assign positions randomly. As students collect information, they should develop their point of view by completing the “Opinions Chart” below. Allow ample time for students to complete their research. Once they have finished, direct students to begin writing their editorials, using the information they collected in the “Opinion Chart” as a framework.

Evaluation procedure:

After students have completed the writing assignment, evaluate their work using a suitable rubric. You may elect to use a school- or district-created rubric, develop your own, or use the one included on the next page.

New Deal Editorial Opinion Chart

Source	What did you read?	Do you agree?	Why or why not?	How might you support/attack this view?

New Deal Editorial Opinion Rubric

<p>Structure—introduction: includes thesis statement; introduces main points</p>	<p><u>Level 1 (0–5)</u> Simple opening statement; limited identification of main points</p>	Score
	<p><u>Level 2 (6–10)</u> Thesis stated but unclear; main points unclear</p> <p><u>Level 3 (11–15)</u> Thesis stated but somewhat unclear; main points introduced with moderate clarity</p> <p><u>Level 4 (16–20)</u> Thesis is precisely stated; main points clearly introduced</p>	
<p>Structure—conclusion: summarizes thesis/main idea and main points</p>	<p><u>Level 1 (0–5)</u> Abrupt ending; limited summarizing of main points</p>	Score
	<p><u>Level 2 (6–10)</u> Thesis summarized but unclear; main point summarized but unclear</p> <p><u>Level 3 (11–15)</u> Thesis summarized but somewhat unclear; main points summarized but unclear</p> <p><u>Level 4 (16–20)</u> Thesis clearly summarized; main points clearly summarized</p>	

<p>Supporting evidence or arguments: arguments logically related to the main idea</p>	<p><u>Level 1 (0–5)</u> Arguments unrelated</p> <p><u>Level 2 (6–10)</u> Arguments unclear and not logically related to the main idea</p> <p><u>Level 3 (11–15)</u> Arguments usually clear and logically related to the main idea</p> <p><u>Level 4 (16–20)</u> Arguments very clear and logically related to the main idea</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Score</p>
<p>Evidence and examples: relevant supporting evidence; sufficient number of facts used</p>	<p><u>Level 1 (0–5)</u> Limited support of points; evidence mostly irrelevant; unrelated or limited facts used</p> <p><u>Level 2 (6–10)</u> Some points supported; some evidence irrelevant; insufficient use of facts</p> <p><u>Level 3 (11–15)</u> Most points supported with relevant evidence; sufficient use of facts</p> <p><u>Level 4 (16–20)</u> Each point supported with relevant evidence; substantial use of facts</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Score</p>

Writing mechanics: correct grammar and spelling used	<u>Level 1 (50–59)</u> Limited accuracy with grammar and spelling	Score
	<u>Level 2(60–69)</u> Some accuracy with grammar and spelling	
Additional criteria as set by the teacher:	<u>Level 3 (70–79)</u> Considerable accuracy with grammar and spelling	
	<u>Level 4 (80–100)</u> Correct grammar and spelling used almost always	
		Score

Great Depression and New Deal: Multiple-Choice Quiz

1. Which of the following does NOT qualify as a fundamental cause of the Depression?
 - a. Drop in farm prices
 - b. Bank failures
 - c. “Get-rich-quick schemes” in stocks and real estate
 - d. Increased inventory of goods

2. What Hoover Administration program created to fight the Depression saw the most success?
 - a. Reconstruction Finance Corporation
 - b. Glass-Steagall Act
 - c. Private Charity Relief Administration
 - d. Works Progress Administration

3. Which bill that was defeated in Congress would have paid World War I veterans their bonus early?
 - a. Reconstruction Bill
 - b. Bonus Bill
 - c. Patman Bill
 - d. Hoover Banking Bill

4. Which of the following provided immediate relief for the bank crisis?
 - a. Glass-Steagall Banking Act
 - b. Bank holiday
 - c. Securities and Exchange Bill
 - d. Bank Moratorium Act

5. Which New Deal agency provided government insurance for bank deposits up to \$25,000?
 - a. FDIC
 - b. CCC
 - c. NIRA
 - d. FERA

6. What were FDR's radio talks called, in which he explained the New Deal to the American people?
 - a. Daily serials
 - b. "My Day"
 - c. News flashes
 - d. Fireside chats

7. Which agency provided more than \$3.1 billion to states for public works programs?
 - a. NIRA
 - b. CCC
 - c. FERA
 - d. TVA

8. Which state had thousands of farmers affected by the Dust Bowl who moved to California looking for work?
 - a. Kansas
 - b. Oklahoma
 - c. Texas
 - d. New Mexico

9. Which New Deal program provided males 18–25 with jobs on environmental projects?
 - a. Civilian Conservation Corps
 - b. Tennessee Valley Authority
 - c. Works Progress Administration
 - d. National Youth Administration

10. Lyndon Johnson ran the Texas branch of which relief agency for unemployed youths?
 - a. Civilian Conservation Corps
 - b. National Youth Administration
 - c. Works Progress Administration
 - d. Tennessee Valley Authority.

- 11.** Which New Deal agency provided for several projects that supported the arts, such as the Federal Writers Project?
- CCC
 - NIRA
 - WPA
 - FDIC
- 12.** Which of the following did the National Industrial Recovery Act use to help industry recover from the Depression?
- Jobs programs
 - The “dole”
 - Codes of fair competition
 - Loans to banks
- 13.** What was the NRA’s symbol?
- Hammer and sickle
 - Factory smokestack
 - Dollar bill with a picture of a worker
 - Blue eagle
- 14.** In which case did the Supreme Court rule the NIRA unconstitutional?
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt v. NIRA*
 - A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Co. v. U.S.*
 - U.S. v. Butler*
 - U.S. Supreme Court v. Hopkins*
- 15.** What was FDR’s plan to protect New Deal legislation from being declared unconstitutional?
- Pass laws that would create more New Deal programs
 - Take executive power
 - Add sympathetic justices the Supreme Court
 - Become a dictator

16. Who did FDR defeat in 1936 to win a second term as president?

- a. Herbert Hoover
- b. Alf Landon
- c. Wendell Willkie
- d. Thomas E. Dewey

17. Which states did FDR not carry in the 1936 presidential election?

- a. Indiana and Illinois
- b. Florida and Texas
- c. Pennsylvania and New York
- d. Maine and Vermont

18. Which New Deal “agitator” called FDR was a “traitor to his class”?

- a. American Liberty League
- b. Huey Long
- c. Charles Coughlin
- d. Francis Townsend

19. Which New Deal “agitator” was assassinated in 1935?

- a. Frances Perkins
- b. Frances Townsend
- c. Huey Long
- d. Charles Coughlin

20. Which of the following provided pensions for the elderly?

- a. NIRA
- b. SSA
- c. FEMA
- d. TVA

21. Which law was also known as the “Wagner Act”?

- a. SSA
- b. PWA
- c. CWA
- d. NLRA

22. Which person was considered the main force behind the Social Security Act of 1935?

- a. Eleanor Roosevelt
- b. Mary McLeod Bethune
- c. Frances Perkins
- d. Marian Anderson

23. Which humorist once said, “I never met a man I didn’t like”?

- a. Woody Guthrie
- b. John Steinbeck
- c. Will Rogers
- d. Orson Welles

24. Whose broadcast of *War of the Worlds* caused a near panic in 1938?

- a. Woody Guthrie
- b. John Steinbeck
- c. Will Rogers
- d. Orson Welles

25. Of the following, which is not considered a legacy of the New Deal?

- a. Enlargement of government
- b. Less federal interference in economic affairs
- c. Deficit spending
- d. Creation of the welfare state

Great Depression and New Deal: Multiple-Choice Quiz Answer Key

1. b
2. a
3. c
4. b
5. a
6. d
7. c
8. b
9. a
10. b
11. c
12. c
13. d
14. b
15. c
16. b
17. d
18. a
19. c
20. b
21. d
22. c
23. c
24. d
25. b