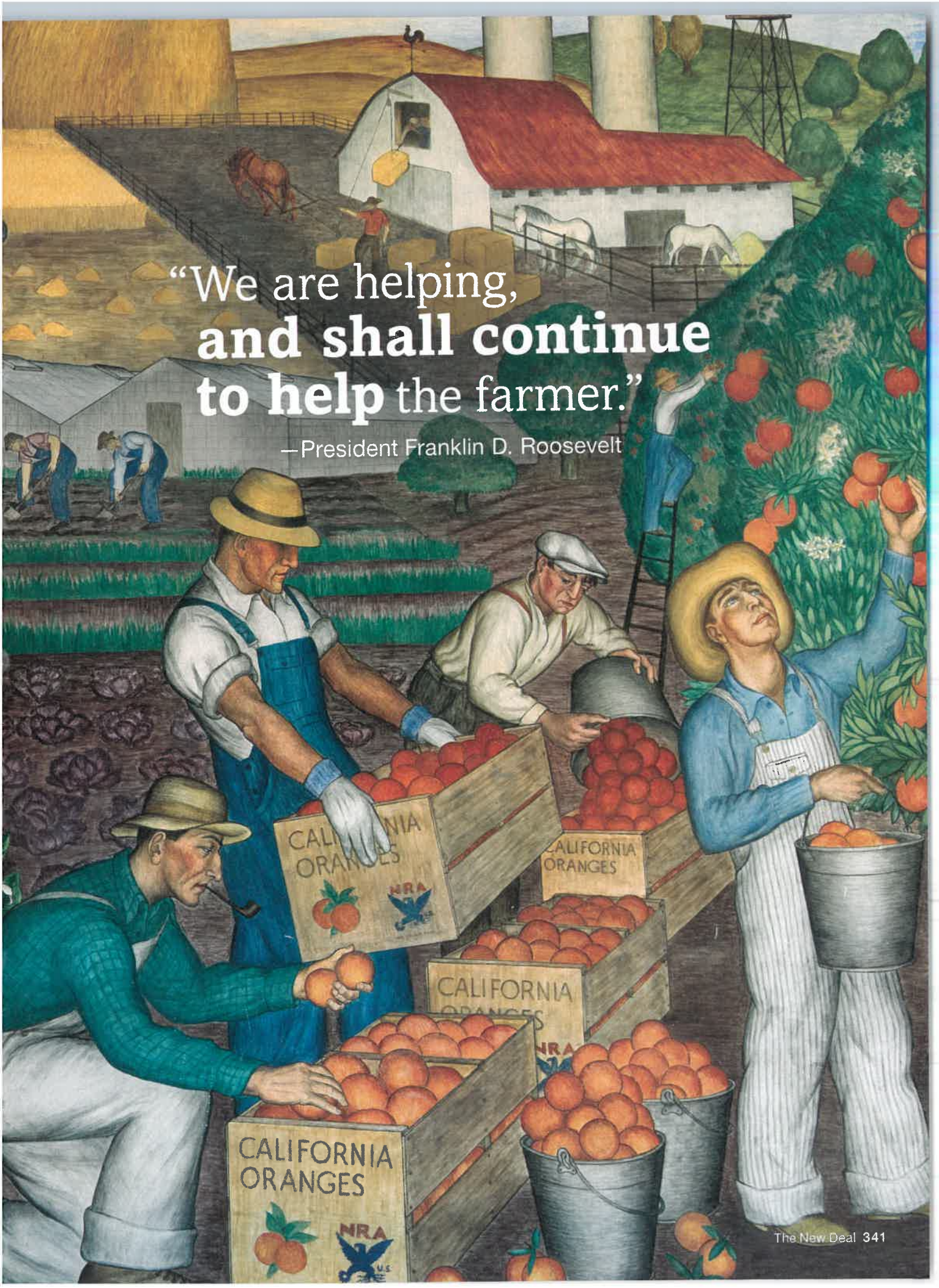
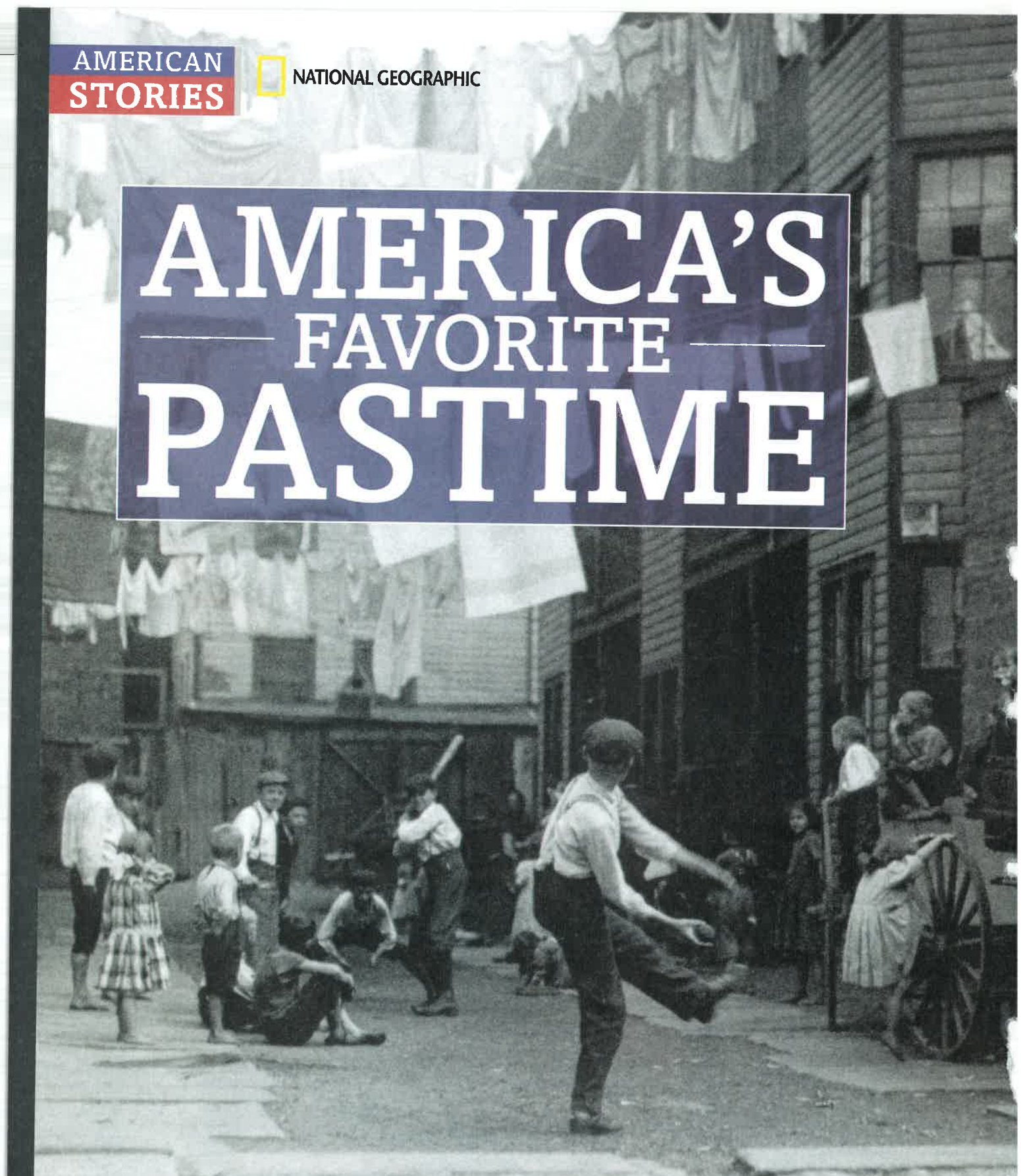
Chapter 11


"We are helping,
and shall continue
to help the farmer."
—President Franklin D. Roosevelt
CALIFORNIA
ORANGES
NRA
CALIFORNIA
ORANGES
CALIFORNIA
ORANGES
NRA

AMERICAN STORIES

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

AMERICA'S FAVORITE PASTIME



CRITICAL VIEWING Sandlot baseball—baseball played by neighborhood kids on vacant lots, playgrounds, or open fields—filled many hours of a typical American childhood in the 1900s. What does this photo reveal about the changing landscape of New York City and the division of cities according to race, ethnicity, and class?

In our sundown perambulations of late, through the outer parts of Brooklyn, we have observed several parties of youngsters playing "base," a certain game of ball. . . . Let us go forth awhile and get better air in our lungs. Let us leave our close rooms. . . . The game of ball is glorious.

—American poet Walt Whitman, 1846

Opening day ticket for the Cincinnati Baseball Club, April 18, 1895

When you hear the expression "America's pastime," you know the topic is baseball. Although some other popular sports, such as basketball and football, also developed in the United States, there's something about baseball that uniquely symbolizes the American identity. Russell Lewis, Chief Historian of the Chicago History Museum, has this theory about the sport in the early 1900s: "Baseball was . . . extremely popular, and I think it really cut across the ethnic groups. I think a lot of minorities found baseball one of the ways they could participate in being an American."

IN THE STADIUM AND ON THE RADIO

During the 1930s, the United States was in the grip of the Great Depression, and its human toll was widespread, touching nearly every household. Struggling to make ends meet, many Americans could not afford the cost of a ticket to the ballpark, so attendance at major league fields suffered. Between 1930 and 1933, the number of spectators at games decreased by 40 percent. Still, many people made room in their budgets for an escape to the ballpark when they could. Writer Ray Robinson, who was a child in New York City during the Depression, remembered people would "go to the ballpark to get away from the economic horrors of empty wallets and ice boxes." Children like Robinson saw "guys selling apples on street corners for a nickel. Along the Hudson River," he explains, "you had some of these guys living in ramshackle huts in rags. So going to the ballpark was a big thing."

Those who couldn't get to the ballpark could follow the games on the radio. In the 1920s, commercial radio was still a concept unfamiliar to most. The airwaves were mainly used by the military and by a handful of amateur ham radio operators. But in 1921, the World Series was first broadcast "live" by a studio announcer who read the play-by-play descriptions relayed to him from a news feed printed on a strip of paper called ticker tape. In some early radio broadcasts, a special effects operator provided sounds of an imaginary ballpark. By the 1930s, announcers were broadcasting from actual stadiums—no special effects needed. Not all team owners permitted radio coverage of the games, fearing that fans would stay home to listen and ballpark attendance would drop.

Listening to baseball on the radio in the 1930s was more challenging than it is today. Radios, cumbersome and far from portable, resided in the family living room, and often produced scratchy or static-filled sound. Sportswriter Robert Creamer wrote about listening to the World Series during the 1930s: "As a nine-year-old boy, I heard those World Series games on our living-room radio, which my mother, who was not even a fan, turned on and tuned in before I came home from school. Those old radios took a long time to warm up, and tuning to the right station took patience and a deft hand." Still, the role of radio in terms of popularizing baseball within American culture was profound.

AMERICAN STORIES

Toward the end of the 1930s, ballpark attendance began to rebound as the Depression lifted with the start of World War II. After the war ended and the soldiers returned, game attendance would return to—and even exceed—its pre-Depression levels. In the meantime, an intriguing new way to enjoy baseball made its debut during a game between the Brooklyn Dodgers and Cincinnati Reds on August 27, 1939. That day, station W2XBS in New York City broadcast live television coverage of the game to the fortunate TV owners who lived within 50 miles of the station. A *New York Times* sportswriter reported delightedly, "At times it was possible to catch a fleeting glimpse of the ball as it sped from the pitcher's hand toward home plate."

BASEBALL LEGENDS

One name drew eager fans to the ballparks more than any other: that of legendary power hitter George Herman "Babe" Ruth of the New York Yankees. Ruth broke the single-season home run record in three consecutive seasons, hitting 29 in 1919, 54 in 1920 and 59 in 1921. In the early 1920s, he drew such a crowd that Yankees owner Jacob Ruppert built a new stadium to fit more spectators. Completed in 1923, Yankee Stadium was immediately given the nickname "The House that Ruth Built."

During the 1927 season, Ruth smashed 60 home runs, setting a record that remained unbroken until Roger Maris, who played in an era when the baseball season was 8 games longer, came along in 1961 and hit 61 home runs.

CRITICAL VIEWING **Yankees hero Babe Ruth showed a group of attentive young boys in New York City how to grip a baseball bat. How might the relationship between professional athletes and their fans during the 1920s and 1930s compare to that of today?**

National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum Cooperstown, New York

Baseball legend Babe Ruth hit three home runs with this 36-inch wooden bat—a bat worthy of a museum collection—in Game Four of the 1926 World Series.

During his stellar 1927 season, Ruth hit more home runs than most major league teams—only the St. Louis Cardinals, Chicago Cubs, New York Giants, and his own team, the Yankees, managed to out homer him. To the dismay of his opponents, he hit home runs in every stadium of the American League.

In the 1930s, even though his home run stats were in decline, Ruth remained a force to be reckoned with. In the 1932 World Series, he helped the Yankees to victory over the Cubs with a three-run homer and a single in the third game of the series. Ruth hit his last major league home run at Forbes Field in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on May 25, 1935. Aging and out of shape, he nonetheless hit three homers in a single game. The last of these, described by the Pittsburgh pitcher as "the longest cockeyed ball I ever saw in my life," was the first ball ever hit completely out of that park. It was Babe Ruth's 714th and final home run.

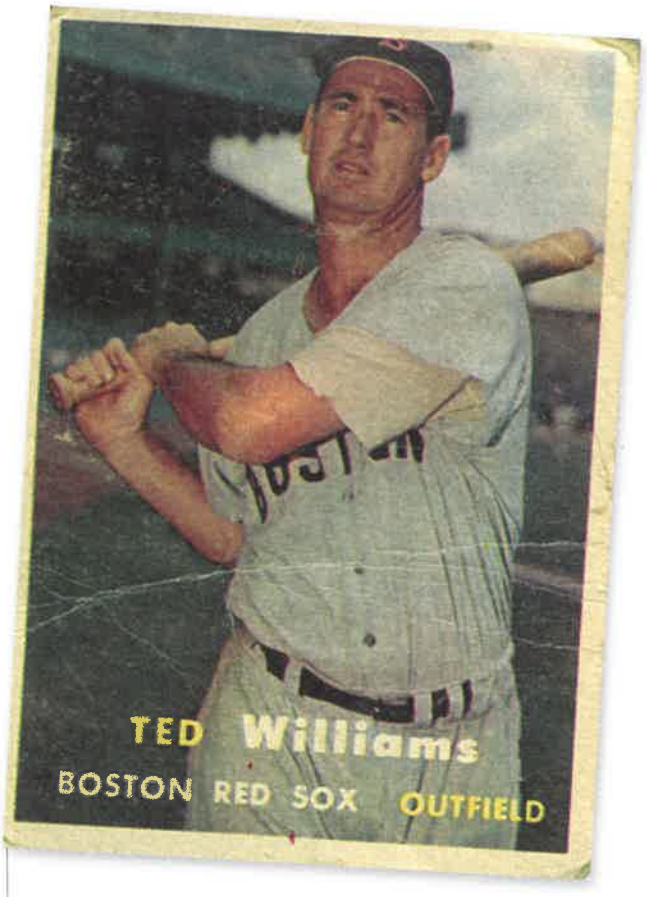
While all eyes were on Babe Ruth, his teammate Lou Gehrig was quietly setting a major league record of his own. Between May 1925 and May 1939, he played in 2,130 consecutive games, earning the nickname "The Iron Horse." When asked why he wouldn't take a rest, Gehrig replied, "There's no point to it. I like to play baseball." Gehrig's record remained unbroken for 56 years, until Cal Ripken, Jr., of the Baltimore Orioles played his 2,131st consecutive game.

Gehrig was not far behind Ruth in slugging abilities, nearly equaling Ruth's record with 47 home runs of his own in 1927. In 1932, he surpassed one of Ruth's accomplishments by hitting four home runs in a single game. Perhaps because of Ruth's fame and flamboyant personality, Gehrig spent the first half of the 1930s in Ruth's shadow, even though he was scoring runs at a faster pace than the aging star.

The 1930s saw the birth of new baseball legends as well as the passing of an earlier golden age. Center fielder Joe DiMaggio made his debut with the New York Yankees in 1936, introducing himself to the major leagues by hitting 29 home runs and batting in 125 runs during his rookie year. DiMaggio helped lead the Yankees, without Ruth, to four consecutive World Series championships between 1936 and 1939.

Also in 1939, Ted Williams, playing for the Boston Red Sox, had possibly the best major league rookie year in all of baseball: 31 home runs, 145 runs batted in, and a batting average of .327. Both DiMaggio and Williams would become dominant players in the major leagues in the 1940s. In 1941, DiMaggio went on a spectacular hitting streak, racking up hits in 56 consecutive games. That same year, Williams achieved an unheard-of batting average of .406. No player since then has ever approached either of these feats.

Ted Williams was chosen three times (in 1954, 1957, and 1958) by baseball card manufacturer Topps as the "leadoff man," meaning his was the first card in the set.



It seems appropriate that the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, was established in 1939. That year marked the end of a decade filled with legendary players, whose names are familiar to nearly all Americans. Babe Ruth was in the first group of inductees, along with greats from earlier eras, such as Ty Cobb and Honus Wagner. Lou Gehrig was elected to the Hall of Fame later that year, even though there is normally a waiting period between a player's retirement and his induction.

THINK ABOUT IT

What connections can you make between the popularity of baseball and the Great Depression?

AMERICAN STORIES

THE NEGRO LEAGUES

Although such teams as the New York Yankees and St. Louis Cardinals dominated sports headlines throughout the 1930s, the all-white major leagues were not the only game in town. Prevented by prejudice and segregation from participating in the major leagues, African-American team owners and players formed their own leagues in the early 20th century. In 1920, Andrew "Rube" Foster, owner of the Chicago American Giants, organized the Negro National League, which consisted of eight teams in the Midwest. Other leagues soon followed, including the Negro Southern League later in 1920 and the Eastern Colored League in 1923.

Facing the same financial difficulties as the white major leagues during the Great Depression, Rube Foster's league disbanded after the 1931 season. It was soon replaced by a new Negro National League organized by Gus Greenlee, owner of the Pittsburgh Crawfords. From 1933 to 1949, Greenlee's league dominated the African-American baseball scene.

The best-known player in the Negro leagues was Leroy "Satchel" Paige, a tall, gangly pitcher with an unusual, high-legged windup and a spitfire delivery. Paige played for a number of teams, including the Pittsburgh Crawfords and the Kansas City Monarchs. There is little doubt that Satchel Paige would have been a star in the major leagues if teams had been integrated. Negro league teams did play

In a Negro league game in 1940, the Homestead Grays played the New York Black Yankees at Griffith Stadium in Washington, D.C.

The 1935 Pittsburgh Crawfords, shown here in front of their team bus, were one of the best teams in the Negro leagues.

exhibition games against major league teams, and Paige struck out some of the toughest white hitters. Hack Wilson, a major leaguer, gave this description of Paige's fastball: "It starts out like a baseball, but when it gets to the plate it looks like a marble." Paige, known for his dazzling self-confidence and showmanship, gave this response: "You must be talking about my slowball. My fastball looks like a fish egg."

For all his brilliance, Paige may not have been the best pitcher in the Negro leagues. Some sportswriters and former players have suggested that Smokey Joe Williams or Bullet Joe Rogan may have been even better. Because the Negro leagues did not keep consistent records, it is difficult to compare players' statistics.

Despite their talent and popularity, even the top Negro league players were not allowed in most white-owned hotels and restaurants while they were on the road. However, by the end of the 1930s, some people were beginning to question the segregation of baseball. A group of African-American sportswriters was joined by the CIO labor union in calling for an end to the practice. Team owners in the major leagues ignored the calls, even though they were passing up the chance to sign extremely talented players. Over the course of the Negro leagues' existence, African-American teams played white teams in at least 438 exhibition games, and the Negro league teams won 309 times.

The racial barrier finally fell in 1947, when African-American player Jackie Robinson stepped up to the plate for the Brooklyn Dodgers. After that, the Negro leagues gradually dissolved as their best talent was hired by the now-integrated major leagues. In their later years, the Negro leagues were inclusive in a way that is not often recognized. Three women—Toni Stone, Connie Morgan, and Mamie "Peanut" Johnson—played on regular Negro league teams in the early 1950s.

This Negro leagues souvenir key chain from about 1940 features pitcher Satchel Paige.

AMERICAN STORIES

WORTH THE WAIT

Much of baseball history focuses on traditionally dominant teams, such as the New York Yankees and the St. Louis Cardinals. Often overlooked are the teams that struggle a little—or a lot. One of those struggling teams—the Chicago Cubs—gained the limelight in 2016. When the opening pitch of the 2016 World Series was thrown, it had been 108 years since the Cubs had won baseball's most coveted prize. Teams like the Chicago White Sox and the Boston Red Sox hadn't fared much better.

The Cubs and the Red Sox had one other quirk in common: each team carried a famous curse. In the case of the Cubs, it was the so-called Curse of the Billy Goat. The tale goes that tavern owner William Sianis tried to bring his goat, named Murphy, to Game Four of the 1945 World Series at Wrigley Field, the Cubs' ballpark. When Murphy was turned away, Sianis supposedly proclaimed that the Cubs would lose that World Series and would never win another. The Cubs did in fact lose the 1945 World Series.

For all three long-suffering teams, the World Series drought ended in the 21st century. The Red Sox took the championship in 2004, and the White Sox in 2005. And in 2016, the Cubs won the World Series in a hotly contested, seven-game series against the Cleveland Indians. Lifelong fans across the country rooted for the team to break its epic losing streak, and after what may be the greatest World Series in history, it did. The score of the final game: Cubs 8, Indians 7.

Chicagoans welcomed their beloved Cubbies home after the win with a parade and rally that drew larger crowds than the city had ever seen. And longtime journalist Dan Rather posted his thoughts on the Cubs' historic win, reflecting at the same time on what baseball means to many Americans:

> In a world of nanosecond news cycles, baseball is measured in what by comparison is geologic time. It ties us to those who came before us—the many generations. And it stretches to those yet unborn. Fans of the future will hear about a curse and the 2016 Cubbies without fully understanding the full import of the moment. A cosmic quirk in the law of averages has been reconciled.
>
> But the sun will rise tomorrow. The calendar will turn to winter and then spring. And hope on the diamond always springs eternal.

Unprecedented crowds of emotional fans took to the streets surrounding Wrigley Field after the Cubs' 2016 World Series win.

First baseman Anthony Rizzo leapt into the air with Kris Bryant alongside Mike Montgomery, Javier Báez, and Addison Russell seconds after the Cubs made the winning out in the 2016 World Series.

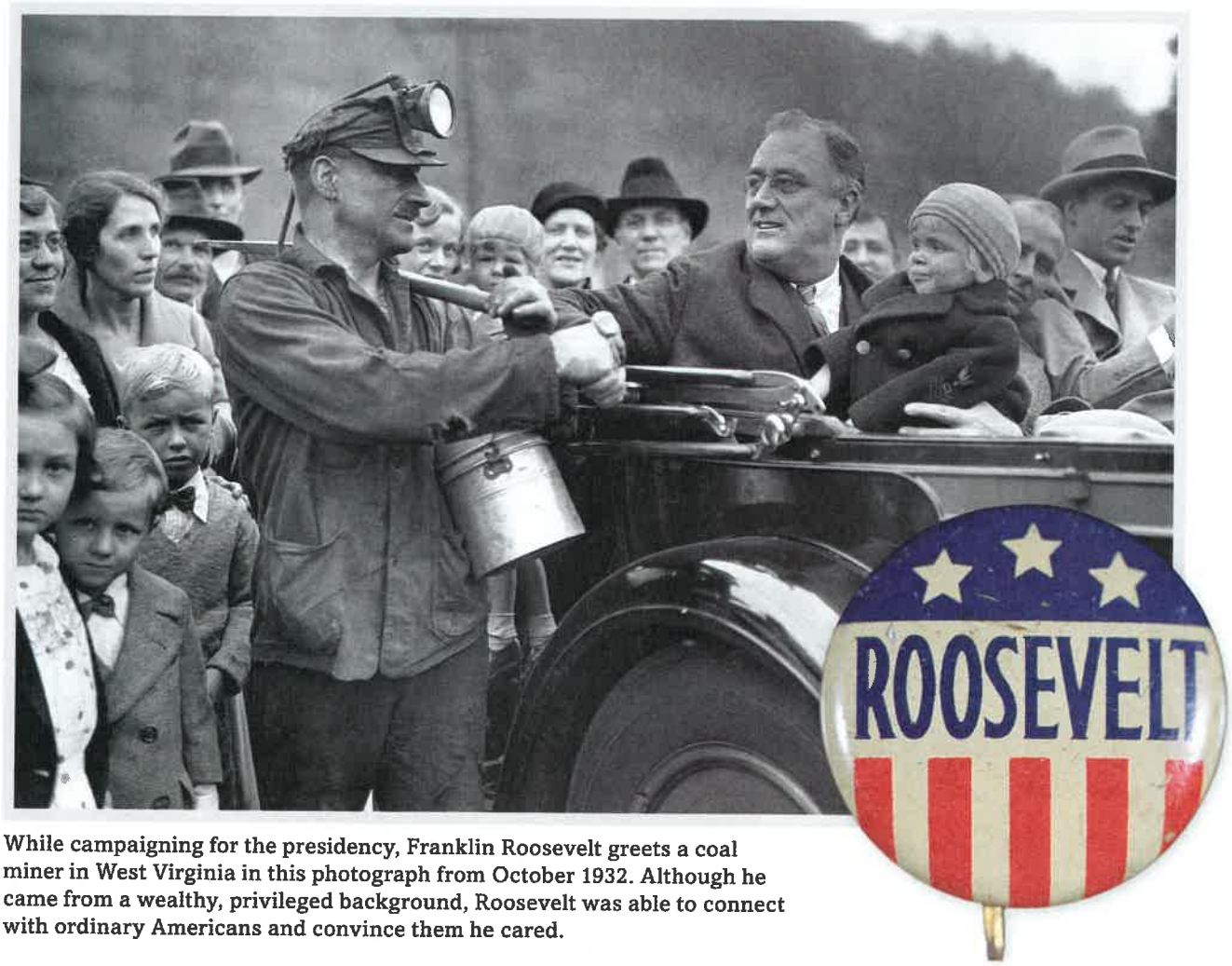
1.1 **MAIN IDEA** Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the presidency in 1932 by promising to take action to end the Great Depression.

FDR AND THE 1932 ELECTION

When a baseball team isn't doing well, sometimes the solution is to replace the manager. That's what happened in 1932 when the country was struggling through the Great Depression. Americans decided it was time for a new leader.

NOMINATING ROOSEVELT

In the years leading up to the 1932 presidential election, Republican Herbert Hoover, who was set to run for a second term, gradually lost public support. He had failed to ease the Great Depression, and many Americans had grown to resent him and wealthy people in general. The Democrats saw an opportunity to take back the presidency and began looking for an appealing and experienced candidate. **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**, popularly known as FDR, fit the bill. He was the distant cousin of a well-respected former president, Theodore Roosevelt, and he was married to Theodore's niece, Eleanor Roosevelt. Her political opinions and support of such causes as women's rights and labor had a great influence on her husband. Roosevelt was elected to



While campaigning for the presidency, Franklin Roosevelt greets a coal miner in West Virginia in this photograph from October 1932. Although he came from a wealthy, privileged background, Roosevelt was able to connect with ordinary Americans and convince them he cared.

the New York State Senate in 1910, and he served as assistant secretary of the Navy under President Wilson. In 1920, he ran as the Democratic candidate for vice president but did not win the election.

Unfortunately, in 1921, Roosevelt contracted an infectious disease called **polio** and lost the use of his legs. The public knew about his disability, though the press did not focus on his condition. Roosevelt assumed his bout of polio and the disability it caused meant the end of his political career, but Eleanor encouraged him to carry on. After taking time off to recover, Roosevelt worked hard to reenter politics. His determination paid off in 1928 when he narrowly won the governorship of the state of New York. As governor, he earned a reputation as a strong, reform-minded leader who actively worked to address such problems as unemployment and poverty.

FDR's forceful personality and "can-do" attitude impressed Democratic Party members. The Democrats felt Roosevelt's confidence and optimism would inspire hope in the many Americans who were struggling. They also believed his friendly, easy way of connecting with people would appeal to all Americans, rich and poor. At the party's national convention in Chicago, Roosevelt secured the presidential nomination, and John Nance Garner, a senator from Texas, was chosen as his running mate.

THE ELECTION OF 1932

The 1932 presidential race was not just a choice between Roosevelt and Hoover, however. The Socialist and Communist parties also nominated presidential candidates, hoping to appeal to Americans by proposing that their respective political systems offered the best solution to the Great Depression.

By October 1932, Hoover's public image was so unfavorable that Roosevelt's advisors assured the Democratic candidate that there was no need to campaign vigorously. FDR disagreed. Sensing that a passive campaign would not appeal to voters, he crisscrossed the country, giving speeches that convinced Americans their lives would improve if they elected him president.

On election day, November 8, 1932, Roosevelt won in a landslide, securing 57 percent of the popular vote and an overwhelming 89 percent of the electoral vote. Democratic candidates benefited from FDR's popularity, gaining 90 seats in the House and 13 in the Senate. The election proved a major disappointment to both the Socialist and Communist parties. The Socialist candidate received fewer than 1 million votes, and the Communist candidate collected only about 100,000. Herbert Hoover was now a **lame duck**, an outgoing elected official soon to be replaced by a successor. For many Americans, his exit could not come soon enough. In fact, Congress was in the process of ratifying the **20th Amendment**, which would move up the presidential inauguration from March to January.

PRIMARY SOURCE

This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

—from Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933

Meanwhile, the Great Depression continued to deepen. By the morning of Roosevelt's inauguration on March 4, 1933, many banks in New York City, the nation's financial capital, were closing. Roosevelt took the presidential oath of office in a steady, chilling rain. "Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment," he told the huge crowd in attendance and the millions who listened on the radio. "This nation asks for action, and action now," he declared.

Roosevelt offered few specific solutions that day. His objective was to persuade a dispirited people to have faith in him and in themselves. Standing straight in his leg braces, he stressed four major themes: sacrifice, discipline, compassion, and hope.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Why did Democrats believe Franklin Roosevelt was a good candidate for president?
2. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** Review Roosevelt's political career before the 1932 election. How did the positions he held and the order in which he held them prepare him for the presidency?
3. **MAKE INFERENCES** Why do you think the press did not focus on FDR's disability?
4. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** What did FDR mean when he said "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself"?

1.2 **MAIN IDEA** As president, Franklin Roosevelt took immediate action to address the problems of the Great Depression and thus expanded the federal government's role in the nation's economy.

AN ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT

As the old saying goes, sometimes you have to spend money to make money. Roosevelt and his advisors believed that the best way to move the United States toward economic recovery was to spend government money, so they emptied the nation's wallet and invested in the thousands of desperate Americans in need of work.

THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS

As soon as Roosevelt stepped into the White House, things began to change. Roosevelt asked several university professors, whom journalists called the "**brain trust**," to offer ideas on how to fix the still-floundering economy. With their help, he generated within his first few months in office 15 effective laws that fortified the nation's economy. This time of frenzied lawmaking was later dubbed the **First Hundred Days**.

The brain trust advised Roosevelt to proclaim a holiday for all the country's banks to prevent people from withdrawing their money in a panic. The **bank holiday**, which Roosevelt declared on March 6, 1933, stopped all banking operations nationwide. Roosevelt also called Congress back into a special session, so he could present laws designed to restore public confidence in the nation's banking industry. Americans were understandably anxious about the financial industry after many of them had lost their money when numerous banks closed throughout the nation. With both the House and the Senate now under firm Democratic control, Roosevelt had little trouble getting these bills passed.

The brain trust based their advice on theories developed by **John Maynard Keynes**, a leading British economist. Years before, Keynes had proposed that the best way for a government to jump-start an economy was to invest all of its money back into the country, a strategy he called "priming the pump." The solution was risky because it created a **deficit**, or negative balance, in the national treasury. Basically, the idea was to print more money and give it to individual citizens, who would then stimulate the economy by spending it. The Federal Reserve Bank soon began printing more money. The brain trust also suggested a plan to regulate the banks. They called for the federal inspection of all banks, after which the banks with cash on hand would be allowed to reopen. The remaining banks would be reorganized, if possible, or closed for good.

The National Museum of American History Washington, D.C.

Instead of sitting before a fire for his chats, President Roosevelt sat before an array of microphones, including the first one used for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Carleton Smith, who set up the RCA type 50-A microphone for NBC and introduced the radio broadcasts, donated it to the museum.

Roosevelt then decided to address America's concerns about the banking industry directly. On March 12, 1933, he gave his first **fireside chat**, a radio broadcast that became a tradition throughout the rest of his presidency. More than 60 million Americans tuned in to listen. In the days that followed, as the stronger banks reopened, people began depositing money again. By the end of March, almost $1 billion had been returned to bank vaults. The banking crisis was over.

Roosevelt's strategy revealed his pragmatism, or practicality, and his belief in an activist government. Instead of taking a radical

In the 1930s, President Roosevelt was photographed as he delivered one of his 30 fireside chats. He began the practice 8 days after his inauguration in 1933 and continued it until 1944.

approach—giving the government control of all the nation's banks, for example—he demonstrated that his primary mission was to preserve capitalism. Roosevelt was willing to experiment with a wide array of ideas to save capitalism from its own excesses.

The special session of Congress continued meeting. In that time, the president established government agencies with the aim of creating jobs. One such agency was the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, which combined the president's enthusiasm for conservation with his belief in national service. The corps provided outdoor jobs to young men ages 17 to 24. They worked on soil-erosion and flood-control projects and developed many state parks by paving roads, building cabins, and planting trees. Popular and successful, the CCC eased unemployment, lowered urban crime rates, and helped countless families.

Roosevelt chose a social worker and one of his closest advisors, **Harry Hopkins**, to help him manage the **New Deal**, a group of laws, agencies, and programs designed to combat the economic crisis. They coined the name of their plan from Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal, and they hoped it would be as successful.

SUPPORT FOR RURAL AREAS

Roosevelt wanted to help all Americans through the Depression, including those who lived in rural areas. His New Deal featured programs designed to help poor farming families. Two major programs were in Tennessee and California.

The Tennessee River drained land in seven states. The 4 million people who lived there were some of the country's poorest farmers. Their communities were isolated and lacked doctors, proper schools, electricity, and paved roads. In May 1933, Roosevelt established a federal agency called the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)** to construct dams and power plants along the river and its tributaries. Within a decade, 16 dams and hydroelectric plants operated along the river, providing thousands of jobs and bringing electrical power to residents.

In California, the New Deal funded the **Central Valley Project (CVP)**, a plan to irrigate the arid San Joaquin Valley, a portion of the state's vast Central Valley. Like the TVA, the CVP involved the construction of dams to create reservoirs for storing and delivering water.

Throughout the country, most farmers' incomes had been falling since the 1920s. In 1932, for instance,

PRIMARY SOURCE

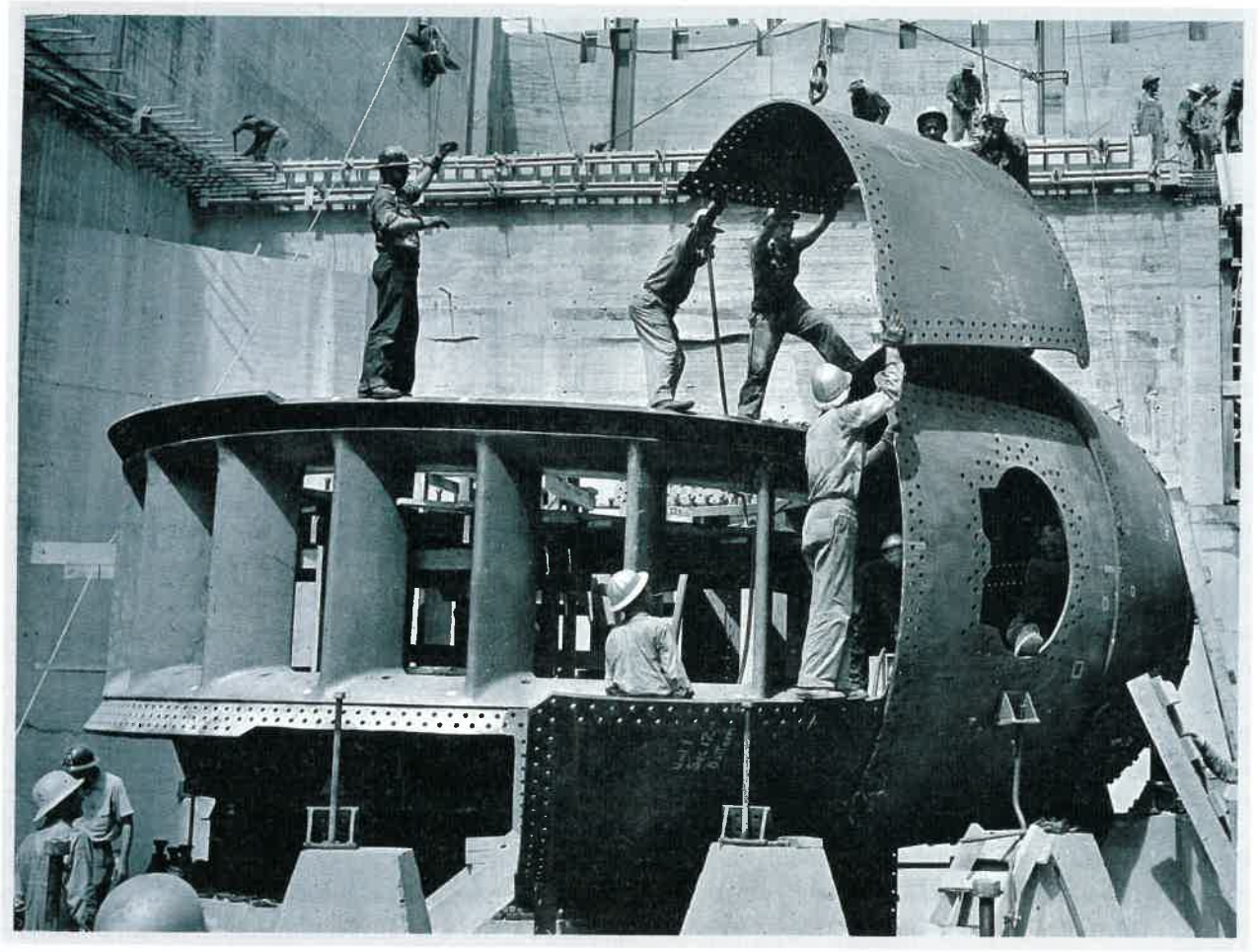
The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union began during a meeting of 27 African-American and white sharecroppers held in a schoolhouse in eastern Arkansas in 1934. One man spoke up to convince the white farmers to join an integrated union.

We live under the same sun, eat the same food, wear the same kind of clothing, work on the same land, raise the same crop for the same landlord who oppresses and cheats us both. For a long time now [we] have been fighting each other and both of us has been getting whipped all the time. We don't have nothing against one another but we got plenty against the landlord.

—from a speech by African-American tenant farmer Isaac Shaw, given at an Arkansas schoolhouse, 1934

farmers were earning less than one-third of their 1929 incomes, even though the introduction of tractors and high-grade fertilizer allowed farms to produce more crops than ever.

The **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)** was the New Deal's solution to declining farm incomes. Passed in 1933, the act limited the quantity of such staple crops as cotton, wheat, and corn that farmers could grow. It also paid farmers who voluntarily stopped growing crops on some of their land. The AAA was based on a theory called **planned scarcity**, in which the government lowers the supplies of certain products in order to create a high demand for them and raise their prices. The government also offered generous loans to farmers who stored their crop surpluses in government warehouses. Roosevelt funded the AAA by taxing businesses that processed farm goods, such as flour millers, cotton gin operators, and meatpackers. The plan worked. Within a year, more than 3 million farmers had signed individual contracts with the AAA. Farm incomes shot up almost 60 percent between 1932 and 1935.



In 1941, workers completed the construction of a turbine to generate hydroelectric power from water falling over the Cherokee Dam in Tennessee. The Cherokee Dam was one of 16 dams the TVA built between 1933 and 1943.

In the 1930s, members of the Civilian Conservation Corps could show their pride in the work they did for the CCC by purchasing and displaying items like this decorative pennant.

The AAA helped countless farm families, yet the system barely reached desperately poor tenant farmers, who did not own the land they farmed but rented it. Some tenant farmers were sharecroppers, who gave part of their harvest as rent. Tenant farmers made up almost one-half of the nation's white farm families and three-quarters of its African-American farm families. Under AAA regulations, tenants were supposed to get a fair share of the government payments, but this rarely occurred. Few landlords obeyed the rules, and some evicted their tenants in order to take even more land out of production.

In response, sharecroppers and other tenant farmers formed their own organization, the **Southern Tenant Farmers' Union**, to fight for their rights. But those who joined the union were evicted from their homes, ignored by potential employers, and denied credit at banks and stores. The union's organizers were beaten and jailed, and the union soon collapsed.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT

The president's brain trust soon expanded to include such advisors as Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins. The group experimented with centralized **economic planning**, or management of the economy by the federal government. The chief way Roosevelt centralized economic planning was through the **National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)**, enacted in June 1933. The act created two federal agencies: the **Public Works Administration (PWA)** and the **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**.

The Public Works Administration provided jobs for the unemployed and also generated new orders for factories in the steel, glass, rubber, and cement industries. It worked differently from most other New Deal agencies because it helped individual contractors hire and pay their own workers, instead of having the federal government pay the employees' wages. Roosevelt selected his Secretary of the Interior, **Harold Ickes**, to run the agency. Ickes managed hundreds of PWA projects, including the construction of the Hoover Dam in Nevada, the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, the Bonneville Dam between Washington and Oregon, and the Lincoln Tunnel in New York City.

The National Recovery Administration, led by General Hugh S. Johnson, established codes of fair business practices for individual industries. The idea was to set clear expectations for both business owners and workers in order to reduce labor strikes and allow the economy to stabilize. The NRA's main goals were to abolish child labor and give labor unions the right to organize and negotiate contracts. Johnson signed up major industries first—coal, steel, oil, automakers, and shipbuilders—and then moved on to smaller businesses. By the end of 1933, the NRA had 746 agreements in place.

But the NRA ran into trouble when small business owners complained that the codes encouraged monopolies and drowned them in paperwork. Labor leaders claimed that employers ignored the wage and hour expectations and continued to discourage union activity. To cover the cost of implementing the standards, manufacturers charged more for their products. Then consumers began to blame the NRA for rising prices.

During a court case in 1935, the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional on the grounds that Congress had delegated too much legislative authority to the president. Relieved, Roosevelt confided to an aide, "It has been an awful headache. I think perhaps NRA has done all it can do."

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Describe the ways in which President Franklin Roosevelt used his increased presidential powers in response to the Great Depression.
2. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** In what ways did the expanded role of the federal government affect society and the economy in the 1930s?
3. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** How does the Southern Tenant Farmers Union symbolize the advance and retreat of organized labor?

THE NEW DEAL

In the 1930s, the United States faced an enormous economic crisis. Many Americans, citizens and leaders alike, disagreed about how the federal government should respond to massive unemployment, business failures, labor strikes, and social unrest. It was a frightening time for the country.

Political cartoons during FDR's administration depicted Roosevelt in a variety of ways. Some painted him as strong, caring, and affable, while others characterized him as a sneaky politician, out for power. This cartoon from 1934 shows FDR surrounded by happy, dancing children who represent the various agencies established by the New Deal.

CRITICAL VIEWING Do you think this cartoon presents a positive, negative, or neutral characterization of FDR? Support your opinion with details from the cartoon.

DOCUMENT ONE

Primary Source: Speech from Franklin D. Roosevelt's first fireside chat, March 12, 1933

In his first fireside chat to the nation, President Roosevelt outlined his plans to restore confidence in banks. He faced a daunting challenge: how to rally a downtrodden citizenry from the depths of economic despair.

CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE What challenge does FDR present Americans in place of "rumors or guesses" about the failing financial system?

> After all, there is an element in the readjustment of our financial system more important than currency, more important than gold, and that is the confidence of the people themselves. Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan. You people must have faith; you must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system, and it is up to you to support and make it work. It is your problem, my friends, your problem no less than it is mine. Together we cannot fail.

DOCUMENT TWO

Primary Source: Letter from an anonymous letter to Senator Robert F. Wagner, March 7, 1934

Some Americans were wary of FDR's plans to get the country back on its feet. Many wrote letters to members of Congress and to the president himself, warning of the dire threats that the New Deal and other Roosevelt policies posed to the American social, political, and economic system.

CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE According to the author of this letter, what specific factors will lead to "disaster to all classes"?

> My Dear Senator:
>
> It seems very apparent to me that the Administration at Washington is accelerating its pace towards socialism and communism.
>
> Everyone is sympathetic to the cause of creating more jobs and better wages for labor; but, a program continually promoting labor troubles, higher wages, shorter hours, and less profits for business, would seem to me to be leading us fast to a condition where the Government must more and more expand its relief activities, and will lead in the end to disaster to all classes.

DOCUMENT THREE

Primary Source: Newspaper article from "The Roosevelt Record," *The Crisis*, November 1940

Roy Wilkins was one of the civil rights movement's most important figures. He was the editor of *The Crisis*, the official publication of the NAACP, from 1934 to 1949. From the 1940s through the 1960s, he helped organize legal efforts to overturn "separate but equal" segregation in public schools, participated in marches and protests, and served as the executive director of the NAACP.

CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE According to Wilkins, what problem could not be solved by the New Deal?

> It is foolish to deny the imperfections and shortcomings of the New Deal. . . . The New Deal could not perform miracles. It could not overturn entrenched prejudices. The poor and the underprivileged, among whom are to be found most Negroes, need not look for comparison to the days of Herbert Hoover. They need only glance about them to see who is against the present administration. We are all Americans. We all seek security, justice, liberty, peace. But by what methods? And for whom?

SYNTHESIZE & WRITE

1. **REVIEW** Review what you have learned about the events surrounding the development and implementation of New Deal policies.
2. **RECALL** List the main ideas about the New Deal expressed in the three documents above.
3. **CONSTRUCT** Construct a topic sentence that answers this question: How did the federal government respond to the Great Depression, and what were the reactions to the New Deal?
4. **WRITE** Using evidence from this chapter and the documents, write an informative paragraph that supports your topic sentence in Step 3.

2.1 **MAIN IDEA** Roosevelt launched the second part of the New Deal while facing difficult challenges at home and abroad.

THE SECOND NEW DEAL

In 2007, the American economy almost collapsed, and more than 8 million people lost their jobs as a result. Double that number and you have some idea of the need that overwhelmed the country during the Great Depression.

JOBS, JOBS, JOBS

The progress made by Roosevelt's administration in its first hundred days was enough for Roosevelt to earn the American voters' loyalty. The economy was rebounding, and things were looking up. But the Roosevelt administration knew that too many citizens were still dealing with the persistence of poverty. When the Democrats gained even more seats in the House and Senate after the midterm elections of 1934, Roosevelt was confident Congress would pass more relief legislation. He presented Congress with a new set of reforms, the **Second New Deal**.

Despite the progress, millions of Americans remained unemployed. Roosevelt decided once again to rely on his pragmatic and activist government to address this problem. His administration launched the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)** in 1935, which provided jobs on small construction projects in communities around the country. WPA regional development projects ranged from building new schools, bridges, and landing fields for airplanes to improving more than 650,000 miles of roads. The WPA also funded projects that employed writers, teachers, musicians, and artists. Most of the WPA jobs were temporary and relatively low-paying, so as not to compete directly with private businesses. Nonetheless, the WPA, headed by Harry Hopkins, employed more than a quarter of the entire United States' workforce by 1936.

A separate division of the WPA, inspired by Eleanor Roosevelt, provided part-time jobs specifically for high school and college students. The agency, called the **National Youth Administration (NYA)**, employed several million young people.

SOCIAL SECURITY

In addition to promoting job opportunities, Secretary of Labor **Frances Perkins** urged the government to provide for those who could not work. The war years had led Americans to value independence, hard work, and sacrifice for the sake of their country. People were expected to be financially responsible for themselves. But the Depression changed that attitude. The crash proved that even the hardest workers could face financial setbacks created by economic forces over which they had no control.

In response to Perkins's request, Roosevelt proposed the **Social Security Act**, a law that would provide old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, and financial aid to the disabled and others in need. The program established a **pension fund**, or a pool of money used to pay people a small, established income after they retire. The Social Security Act was passed in 1935 and was funded by taxes paid by both employees and employers beginning in 1937.

Although the Social Security Act provided many benefits, it had some flaws and provoked controversies. It excluded millions of people, including the self-employed, farmers, and domestic workers. Benefits were not high—between $20 and $30 a month—but they were better than what those in need had been receiving: nothing. Some retired and disabled people were literally starving.

THE FASCIST CHALLENGE

While President Roosevelt labored to right the economic ship at home, some other countries were reacting to the Great Depression in very different, and in some cases, disturbing ways.

Artists working for the Works Progress Administration Federal Art Project designed posters that publicized WPA initiatives in such areas as education, recreation, safety, and health. WPA artists created the posters shown above between 1936 and 1941.

The changing face of European politics in the 1930s would challenge the United States' foreign policy as brutal authoritarian leaders emerged in several nations, particularly in Germany and Italy.

As you have read, Benito Mussolini had risen to power in the 1920s, instituting a fascist government in Italy that was based on extreme nationalism and militarism. A few years later, **Adolf Hitler** began his rise to power in Germany when he helped form the National Socialist German Workers Party. Also known as the **Nazi Party**, this organization was one of the many extremist groups that developed after World War I. Hitler modeled himself, to some degree, on Mussolini. Both were fascist dictators who established **totalitarian** regimes, in which the government relies on force to exert complete control over a country. Hitler's philosophy of **National Socialism** promoted the superiority of Germany and the German people, rejected communism, and carried anti-Semitism—hatred of Jewish people—to extreme levels. Both Hitler and Mussolini wanted to spread their power, which stirred fears of conflict in Europe and beyond.

PRIMARY SOURCE

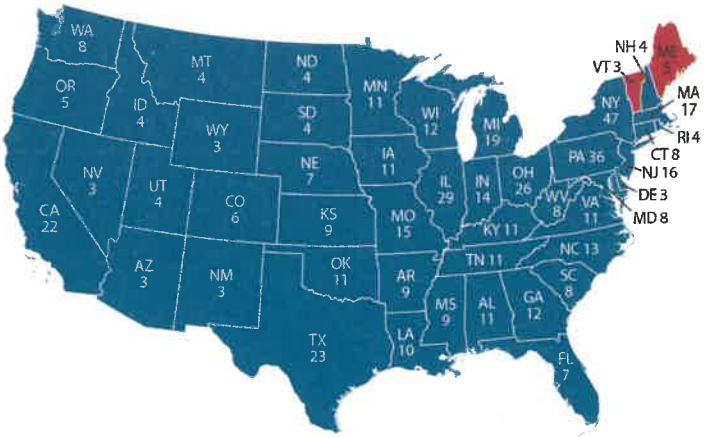
Out of our first century of national life we evolved the ethical principle that it was not right or just that an honest and industrious man should live and die in misery. He was entitled to some degree of sympathy and security. Our conscience declared against the honest workman's becoming a pauper, but our eyes told us that he very often did.

—from *People at Work,* by Frances Perkins, 1934

Some leaders with fascist tendencies also gained popularity in the United States. **Huey P. Long**, the fiery governor of Louisiana, was a champion of the poor but acted ruthlessly in gaining power in his state. He abolished local government and took control of job appointments in education, police, and fire departments throughout the state. He also controlled the state militia, the judiciary, and the election system. In 1936, shortly after he announced that he would run for the presidency, he was assassinated in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest and an influential radio host from Michigan, also gained a loyal following by championing the poor. However, he began expressing anti-democratic and anti-Semitic views, which resulted in the Catholic Church ordering him to stop broadcasting in 1942. He went on to help form a new political group called the Union Party. Both Long and Coughlin were considered **populists**, or politicians who claim to represent the concerns of ordinary people.

Midway into the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge in California, Frances Perkins (center) came to observe the work in March 1935.



The 1936 Election

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democrat

Electoral Vote: 523 votes, 98.5%

Popular Vote: 27,750,866 votes, 60.8%

Alfred M. Landon, Republican

Electoral Vote: 8 votes, 1.5%

Popular Vote: 16,679,683 votes, 36.5%

Union and Other Parties

Popular Vote: 1,216,442 votes, 2.7%

THE 1936 ELECTION

As the 1936 election approached, FDR had reason to be concerned about his political future. Although personal income and industrial production had risen dramatically, the country's unemployment rate was still very high. Some of his fellow Democrats argued that he needed to do more to ease Americans' suffering. In addition, more than 80 percent of the nation's newspapers and most of the business community remained loyal to the Republican Party, which meant that Roosevelt's major presidential opponent could count on strong editorial and financial support.

A **coalition**, or alliance, of Republican and Democratic opponents of the New Deal had formed an organization in 1934 called the **American Liberty League**. Members of the League claimed that some New Deal programs were unconstitutional because they gave increased power to the president to regulate the economy rather than to the judicial and legislative branches. League members were intent on defeating Roosevelt in the 1936 election.

But the Democrats had hope. Roosevelt's policies appealed to workers, farmers, African Americans, southern whites, and educated northerners. Many members of such religious groups as Catholics and Jews also backed the New Deal. This coalition had a good chance of keeping FDR in the White House.

The Republicans chose Kansas governor Alfred M. Landon to head their ticket, and Frank Knox, a Chicago publisher, as the vice presidential nominee. Landon, a political moderate, promised "fewer radio talks, fewer experiments, and a lot more common sense." However, Landon lacked the compassion and confidence that made Roosevelt so popular with many Americans.

Once again, Roosevelt faced presidential challenges from the Communist and Socialist parties. Both ran spirited campaigns in 1936, demanding more federal aid for the poor. Roosevelt was also opposed by the newly formed Union Party, which nominated William "Liberty Bill" Lemke, an obscure North Dakota congressman, as its presidential candidate.

Roosevelt's strategy in the 1936 election was to present himself as a champion of the common people, as opposed to the wealthy. In his final campaign speech in New York, he declared that the wealthy had "met their match" in the Roosevelt administration. If the rich and powerful hated him for that, he thundered, "I welcome their hatred."

On November 3, 1936, FDR crushed his opponents in the most one-sided election in over a century. The final totals showed Roosevelt with 27,750,866 popular votes, Landon with 16,679,683, and Lemke with about 890,000. The Socialist and Communist parties together won less than 270,000 votes. Roosevelt won every state except Maine and Vermont, securing 98.5 percent of the electoral vote. The Democratic Party added 9 seats each to its already huge majorities in the two houses of Congress.

HISTORICAL THINKING

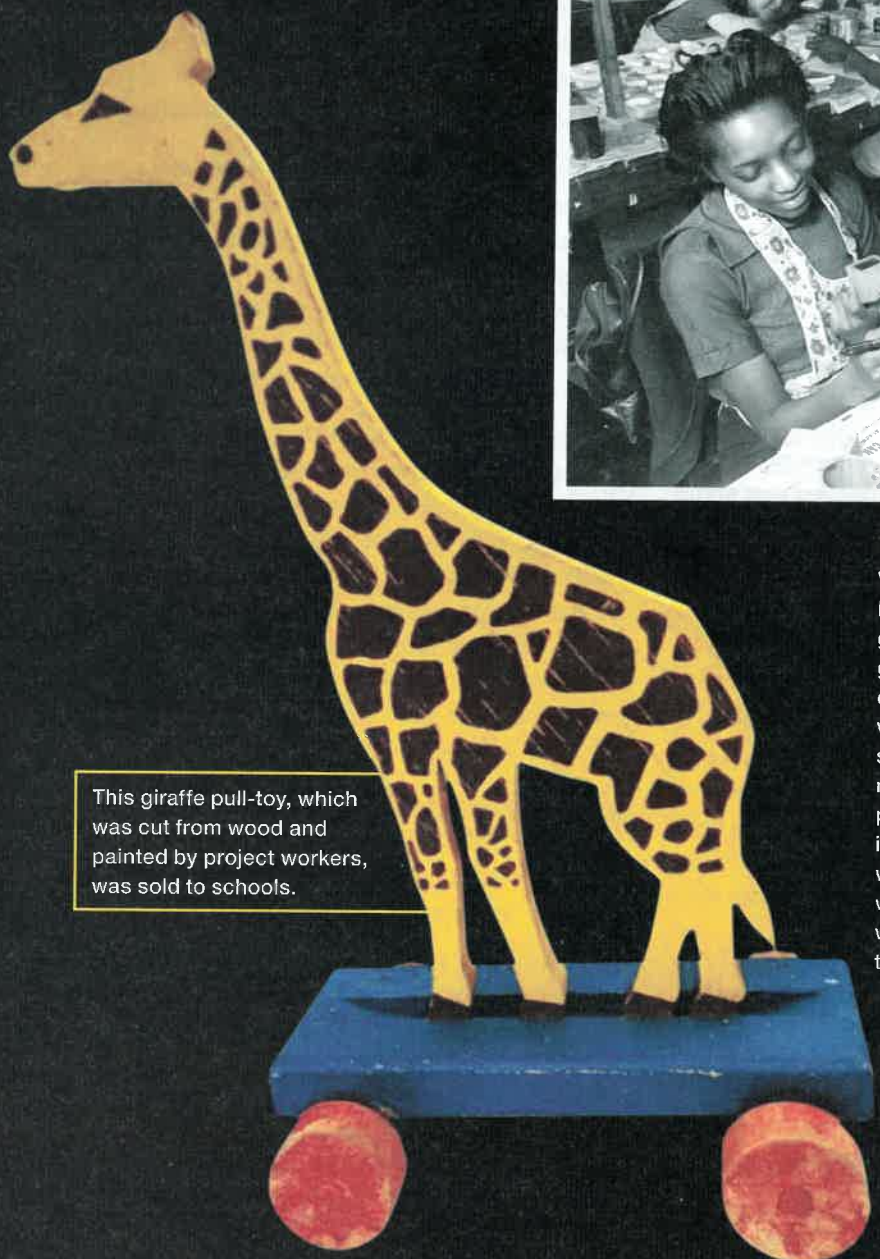
1. **READING CHECK** In what ways did the Second New Deal improve people's lives?
2. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Why might people be drawn to fascist or ruthless leaders who promote extreme nationalism during difficult economic times?
3. **MAKE GENERALIZATIONS** What segments of American society did the Second New Deal target?
4. **COMPARE AND CONTRAST** How were Roosevelt's New Deal policies criticized by both Democrats and and Republicans?

2.2 CURATING HISTORY

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

The Milwaukee Public Museum is the largest natural and human history museum in the state of Wisconsin, and one of the largest in the Midwest. Chartered in 1882, its collection contains more than 4 million objects, and its exhibits feature world cultures, life-size dioramas, walk-through villages, dinosaurs, a rain forest, and a live butterfly garden.

The museum's WPA Milwaukee Handicraft Project collection (MHP) contains artifacts and photographs that tell the story of one of the first national welfare programs. During the Great Depression, it employed more than 5,000 women and minorities in Milwaukee and broke gender and color barriers, while bringing fame to the city.



This giraffe pull-toy, which was cut from wood and painted by project workers, was sold to schools.

Integrated Workforce

Workers on the Milwaukee Handicraft Project were paid by the federal government to create handmade goods such as toys, dolls, furniture, coverlets, and books. The products were then sold to public institutions such as schools, for the cost of the materials alone. As shown in the photo above, the MHP was racially integrated while most WPA projects were segregated. The MHP also hired women, though most WPA projects were structured to provide work for the male head of a household.

Original Designs

Although its focus was on providing work, the MHP produced beautiful, original, high-quality products that were sold throughout the United States. MHP products were designed by trained art educators and artists who taught basic crafting skills to the workers. The workers in the photograph above are printing designs onto fabric using linoleum blocks. This fabric would then be made into draperies or sold by the yard.

This coverlet is made of appliquéd cotton, with a design called "Horse." It was sold to nursery schools for children's napping cots.

"The Milwaukee Public Museum's unique WPA collection **reflects the artistic focus** the WPA had in Milwaukee."

—Ellen Censky
Senior Vice President

This upholstered chair represents the variety of skills taught on the MHP: woodworking for the frame, weaving for the fabric, and upholstery for the chair seat and back.

Skills Training

Many of the female workers who came to the MHP had never worked outside of their homes. The impact of the Great Depression caused many women to seek jobs for the first time to help support their families. The MHP trained the women to produce handicrafts that gave them skills they could apply to work outside of the WPA, sewing as seamstresses, repairing books, and working in factories.

2.3 **MAIN IDEA** With the backing of progressives and New Deal legislation, American workers won the right to organize and improve their salaries and working conditions.

SUPPORTING LABOR

When you are used to having no car at all, you might be thrilled to finally own an old vehicle that still runs. But once you have that, you might wish for a nicer car. As Americans' lives got better under the New Deal, their acceptance of hardship and struggle gave way to a desire for more improvements in their lives.

GAINS BY LABOR

Despite his progressive leanings, Franklin Roosevelt never fully supported organized labor. He felt uneasy when the head of the United Mine Workers, **John L. Lewis**, tripled his labor union's membership by announcing to workers, "The president wants you to join a union!" When other major labor leaders began using the same tactic to increase membership numbers, Roosevelt became irritated.

Unions needed large memberships to maintain the authority to stand up to corporate managers. As you have read, one effective labor tactic was to organize strikes to persuade management to listen to workers' demands. The more people involved in a strike, the greater the impact.

Unions used strikes to fight for the right of **collective bargaining**, or negotiation between

New laws passed during FDR's first term guaranteed workers the right to organize and strike. The practice continues today. In this photo from April 2016, members of a janitors' union march peacefully in downtown Los Angeles to publicize their campaign for higher pay and benefits.

an employer and union leaders on behalf of all union members. Union members had become aware that pay rates and benefits were not uniform for workers doing the same job. Because workers negotiated their wages and benefits individually and secretly with factory managers, two workers hired for the same position could be offered different hourly wages. Before collective bargaining, employees might complain to management, but their complaints had little effect. Union organizers used collective bargaining to negotiate employment contracts that guaranteed standard pay ranges and equal benefits for all workers.

Unfortunately, labor disputes resulted in violence on numerous occasions as scabs—workers brought in to replace those on strike—and police fought with striking workers. In 1933, for example, 60 workers at the Spang-Chalfant Seamless Tube Company, which produced steel tubing and was located near Pittsburgh, went out on strike after management increased their work hours. As the strikers were protesting on a **picket line**, 200 armed police officers arrived. A picket line is a group of strikers who form a barrier to keep scabs, or strikebreakers, from entering a building to work in their place. When the strikers refused to leave the picket line, the police began firing tear gas. When that tactic failed, the police fired bullets, killing 1 bystander and injuring 15 strikers and onlookers. The strike finally ended after three weeks when the workers agreed that the company could make changes to the work schedule. In return, the company agreed to consult union leaders about shift changes and increases or decreases in work hours.

In response to this kind of violence, Senator Robert Wagner of New York wrote a bill to protect the rights of striking workers. His legislation, later called the **Wagner Act**, passed in 1935. A portion of the act—the **National Labor Relations Act**—required employers to allow unions to collectively bargain for wages and benefits. It also prohibited employers from engaging in a wide range of "unfair labor practices," such as discriminating against a worker because of union membership and punishing workers for filing complaints against an employer. In addition, it created the **National Labor Relations Board** to supervise union elections and assign union representatives to advocate for workers. This board still meets today.

The Wagner Act made forming unions easier, but its enforcement revealed deep racial divisions when workers in non-unionized factories attempted to organize. At the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), an organization of labor unions, John Lewis pleaded with fellow union leaders to begin serious membership drives in the steel mills, automobile plants, and rubber factories. These industries employed many African Americans and immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. But most AFL leaders, who represented such skilled trade workers as masons and carpenters, had little interest in organizing such unions.

Determined, Lewis joined with like-minded labor leaders who agreed with him to form the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**. The goal of the CIO was to create powerful unions in mass-production industries, such as auto manufacturing and steel.

CONFLICT OVER THE SUPREME COURT

In his second inaugural address, which he delivered at the Capitol on January 20, 1937, Roosevelt emphasized the New Deal's unfinished business. "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," he declared. His landslide election had provided him with a strong popular **mandate**, or authority to act. In addition, he enjoyed huge Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, enabling him to continue his political agenda.

PRIMARY SOURCE

In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt proposed changes to the Supreme Court, which had opposed some of his New Deal legislation. In a fireside chat, he explained to the American people his view of the conflict.

Last Thursday I described the American form of Government as a three-horse team provided by the Constitution to the American people so that their field might be plowed. The three horses are, of course, the three branches of government—the Congress, the Executive and the Courts. Two of the horses are pulling in unison today; the third is not. Those who have intimated that the President of the United States is trying to drive that team, overlook the simple fact that the President, as Chief Executive, is himself one of the three horses.

It is the American people themselves who are in the driver's seat.

It is the American people themselves who want the furrow plowed.

It is the American people themselves who expect the third horse to pull in unison with the other two.

—from a fireside chat given by President Franklin Roosevelt, March 9, 1937

The only branch of government not on FDR's side was the judicial branch—specifically, the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court was dominated by elderly, conservative justices who strongly opposed the New Deal legislation. Roosevelt knew that in the coming months the justices would be reviewing two of the New Deal's most important accomplishments—the National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act. He took action to save his programs.

In February 1937, without consulting Congress, Roosevelt ordered a complete reorganization of the federal court system. Under his plan, the Supreme Court would gain six new members, raising the total number of justices to fifteen. Roosevelt would be able to fill these new positions with judges who shared his political views. This **court-packing plan** was legal; the Constitution set no limits on the size of the Supreme Court.

Roosevelt had miscalculated the power of his mandate, however. Some politicians worried that expanding the judicial branch would throw off the balance among the three branches of government. As opposition to the plan grew stronger, aides urged Roosevelt to withdraw it. The Senate later defeated it.

As it turned out, the president did not need to pack the court. In the spring of 1937, the Supreme Court changed course. By a vote of 5 to 4, the court upheld both the National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act. Then, one by one, the old conservative justices decided to retire, making FDR's plan unnecessary. Roosevelt—the only president in American history to make no Supreme Court appointments during his first four-year term—filled five vacancies over the next three years. The liberal justices he chose—especially Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William O. Douglas—would steer the court for decades to come.

Autoworkers at a General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, staged a strike by sitting in the seats made to be installed in cars, as shown in this 1936 photograph.

Protected by state-of-the-art safety gear in 2016, a welder performs detailed work on aluminum for a lighting manufacturer. Welding has always been a hazardous occupation. Welders first began to wear modern safety gear in the 1930s, when factories invested in goggles and face shields at the urging of workers and unions.

CONFLICT OVER UNIONS

Away from Washington, new battles raged in the automobile plants of Michigan, the textile mills of North Carolina, and the coal mines of Kentucky. Workers in such major industries demanded union recognition under the banner of the CIO, but management ignored their demand.

On November 12, 1936, a small group of autoworkers at a General Motors (GM) plant in Flint, Michigan, staged a **sit-down strike**. Instead of leaving their jobs, the workers stayed in the plant, refusing to work. They thus prevented management from bringing in scabs to continue production and shut down the plant. Unlike the Spang-Chalfant strike, the Flint strike was effective and mostly peaceful.

In addition to seeking recognition for the CIO, the sit-down strikers wanted higher wages and safer working conditions. At the time, the average autoworker earned $900 a year, far below the $1,600 the government deemed necessary to support a family of four. In addition, hundreds of workers had died in auto plants in Michigan because of dangerous working conditions. Soon, the strike spread as workers at other General Motors plants began sitting down at their jobs. Journalists called this first major labor dispute between autoworkers and management "the strike heard 'round the world."

The 44-day Flint sit-down strike ended when GM recognized the CIO's United Automobile Workers (UAW) union as the bargaining agent for its employees and raised wages. The success of the strike motivated other autoworkers to protest as well. Within a few weeks after the strike, 87 more sit-down strikes occurred in the Detroit area alone. Chrysler came to terms with strikers a few months later. Other industry leaders followed suit after the UAW victory, including Firestone, General Electric, and RCA.

Some industry leaders were not so quick to give in to unions, however. Henry Ford hired an army of thugs to rough up union organizers and disrupt strikers on picket lines. The worst violence, however, occurred outside Republic Steel's South Chicago mill on Memorial Day 1937, when heavily armed police battled rock-throwing strikers on a picket line. Casualties included 10 workers killed by gunfire, and dozens more injured. Under pressure from the National Labor Relations Board, Ford and Republic Steel gradually accepted unions as a legitimate force in American manufacturing. With a membership approaching 3 million, the CIO had come a long way since its break with the conservative, trades-oriented American Federation of Labor a few years before.

The Supreme Court battle and the sit-down strikes slowed the political momentum that followed FDR's re-election landslide in 1936. In addition, a serious recession in 1937 eroded public confidence in the New Deal. Other problems loomed in Europe, where fascism continued to gain strength. For President Roosevelt, the road ahead appeared even steeper and rockier than before.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What gains did American labor make during the 1930s?
2. **EVALUATE** Why were unions important to American workers in the 1930s?
3. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Was the Wagner Act effective? Support your opinion with evidence from the text.
4. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** What sequence of events made Roosevelt's court-packing plan unnecessary?

2.4 THROUGH THE LENS **AMERICAN PLACES**

Golden Gate Bridge San Francisco, California

The iconic Golden Gate Bridge extends across the Golden Gate Strait and connects the city of San Francisco to Marin County, California. Opened in 1937, this steel suspension bridge is the product of thousands of hours of backbreaking, dangerous labor by hundreds of American workers. It was built during the Great Depression, a time when one out of four Americans were unemployed. Those who worked on it were grateful for their jobs. Bridge workers were hired through local unions, such as the Ironworkers Local Union 377, and included people from a wide range of backgrounds: farmers, lumberjacks, cowboys, and taxicab drivers. It took nerves of steel to work on the Golden Gate Bridge. Workers faced many physical challenges, including water, wind, and blinding fog. But creating this gateway to the "Golden City" during one of the lowest points in American economic history gave union workers financial stability and pride. "It was never just a job to me. I loved the work," said bridge worker Harold McClain.

CRITICAL VIEWING Measuring 1.7 miles long, the Golden Gate Bridge weighs nearly 900,000 tons. Two towers support two enormous carbon-steel cables, which are secured at each end by giant anchorages. Based on what you notice in the photograph, what challenges did workers probably face while building the bridge?

3.1 **MAIN IDEA** Eleanor Roosevelt led the way in gaining opportunities and benefits for women under the New Deal.

WOMEN DURING THE NEW DEAL

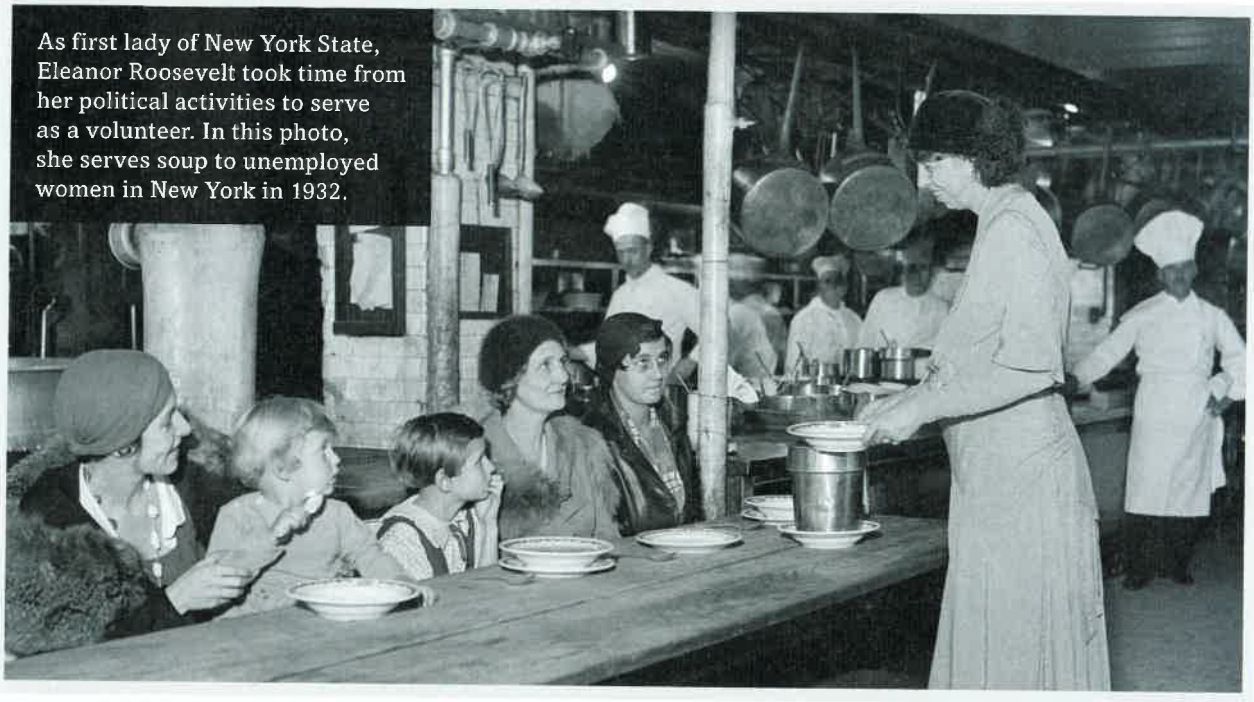
You probably take for granted that women hold important jobs and contribute to their families' financial security. But many jobs might still be closed to women if not for the efforts of pioneers like Eleanor Roosevelt.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

When the stock market crashed in 1929, men were not the only ones to lose their jobs. By 1933, about 2 million women were unemployed as well. In some families, the women were the main **breadwinners**, or contributors to a family's income. These women—in fact, all American women—had a powerful ally in Eleanor Roosevelt. The first lady was among the president's chief advisors, and her progressive beliefs strongly influenced him. An advocate for child welfare and equal rights for women and minorities, she traveled the country and reported to FDR on the social conditions she observed.

Eleanor worked to persuade those in charge of implementing the New Deal to include positions for women in their relief programs. She quoted girls and women who had written her letters telling how the Great Depression had affected them and their families. She pointed out that many women were earning their college degrees and entering the workforce with fresh ideas that the nation urgently needed. Influential leaders like Harry Hopkins listened.

Hopkins headed one of the first New Deal agencies designed to put people back to work, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). He established a division in FERA called the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which was committed to finding jobs for women. Hopkins appointed his assistant and former Mississippi legislator, **Ellen Woodward**, to lead the CWA. Woodward required that each state hire a woman to direct the program.



As first lady of New York State, Eleanor Roosevelt took time from her political activities to serve as a volunteer. In this photo, she serves soup to unemployed women in New York in 1932.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Eleanor Roosevelt received hundreds of letters from Americans asking for help during the Great Depression. After leaving the White House in 1945, she continued to fight for social change and to champion human rights.

I hope to complete my education, but I will have to quit school I guess if there is no clothes can be bought. Mrs. Roosevelt, don't think I am just begging, but that is all you can call it I guess. There is no harm in asking I guess [either]. Do you have any old clothes you have throwed back. The clothes may be too large but I can cut them down so I can wear them. Not only clothes but old shoes, hats, hose, and under wear would be appreciated so much.

—from a letter written to Eleanor Roosevelt by a 15-year-old girl from Alabama, 1936

Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.

—from a speech given to the United Nations by Eleanor Roosevelt, March 27, 1958

Women were also hired to renovate buildings, conduct public surveys, help develop museums, and carry out a variety of other projects. Job opportunities were far from equal, however. Women held only 7 percent of the jobs created by the CWA, and they were paid less than their male counterparts. The situation improved when FDR established the Works Progress Administration in 1935, replacing FERA. By 1938, more than 13 percent of the people working in the agency were women.

WOMEN LEAD THE WAY

Eleanor Roosevelt and Ellen Woodward were not the only influential women in the Roosevelt administration. Others included Frances Perkins, Josephine Roche, and Hilda Smith.

Frances Perkins, a labor rights activist from New York, was appointed secretary of Labor by FDR. She was the first woman in American history to hold a cabinet-level post. As secretary, she drew on her experiences inspecting working conditions in textile mills and advocating for working-class immigrants and African Americans. She outlined her goals for the president, including a 40-hour workweek, unemployment insurance, a minimum wage, and an end to child labor. FDR incorporated so many of Perkins's ideas that she was later called "the architect of the New Deal." As a member of the Special Board for Public Works, Perkins ensured that government funds were spent on roads, schools, and post offices. As chair of the Committee on Economic Security, she helped develop the Social Security Act, which provided aid for the elderly and workers who had been laid off and grants to states for maternal and child healthcare.

Roosevelt appointed **Josephine Roche**, Colorado's first policewoman and heir to a fuel company, as the assistant secretary of the Treasury in 1934. She had previously advocated for fair wages and health benefits for Colorado mine workers and had used her own money to establish unions in her family's mines.

Before joining the Roosevelt administration as the director of Workers' Education in FERA, **Hilda Smith** was a dean at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania and had been active in social work and women's suffrage. As director, Smith ran FERA and WPA camps and schools for unemployed women. The camps provided food and clothing, and the schools taught such classes as literacy and typing. Unlike the men's camps, however, the women's camps failed to provide work. The women's camps were closed down after three years when New Deal opponents began complaining about the cost. "As so often the case," Smith wrote, "the boys get the breaks, the girls are neglected."

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did the New Deal affect the role of women in society?
2. **IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** Why was Frances Perkins called the "architect of the New Deal"?
3. **DESCRIBE** How did Eleanor Roosevelt influence the appointment of women to important positions in New Deal agencies?
4. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** Why did the camps for unemployed women fail?

3.2 **MAIN IDEA** The New Deal provided varying degrees of relief for African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans.

Mixed Progress on Civil Rights

Perhaps the greatest challenge of American democracy has been making equal rights for all a reality. Every generation has faced this challenge.

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL

President Roosevelt crafted his New Deal policies to apply to all Americans, no matter their ethnicity. African Americans appreciated this effort, and many of them supported him at the ballot box. As you have read, the Great Migration brought many African Americans to northern cities, where they often formed a **voting bloc**, or a large group of citizens who share a common concern and tend to vote the same in elections.

Historically, most African Americans had supported the Republican Party, an allegiance that dated back to Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. With the New Deal, however, many African Americans shifted to the Democratic Party. This massive switch occurred because the Roosevelt administration provided jobs and relief benefits to all Americans, regardless of race.

Federal assistance was especially welcome in African-American communities, where the human toll of the Great Depression was especially evident. By 1933, unemployment among African Americans had reached 50 percent. Fortunately, the two New Deal administrators most responsible for creating jobs were sympathetic to minority needs. At the

AMERICAN PLACES

Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

On a chilly Easter Sunday in 1939, world-renowned opera singer Marian Anderson performed at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., before a crowd of about 75,000 people. Previously, the Daughters of the American Revolution had refused to allow Anderson to perform at Constitution Hall because of her skin color. Anderson began her performance with a moving rendition of "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

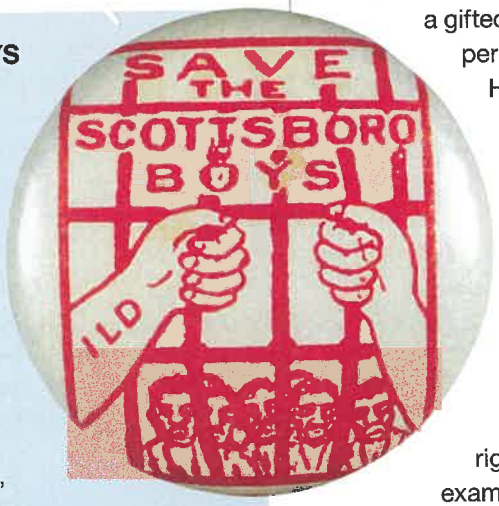
Public Works Administration (PWA), Harold Ickes insisted that African Americans receive equal pay on all construction projects. Although local officials often ignored this rule, the PWA provided thousands of jobs for African Americans and built African-American schools and hospitals throughout the segregated South. At the Works Progress Administration, African Americans received a share of the work in northern cities. Many African Americans welcomed an administration that showed some interest in their well-being. They particularly admired the efforts of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who took strong stands in favor of equal rights for minorities and women.

Eleanor Roosevelt's interest in civil rights had been fueled in large measure by her friendship with prominent African Americans, including **Mary McLeod Bethune,** founder of Bethune-Cookman College in Florida. In 1936, Eleanor Roosevelt recommended Bethune to head the National Youth Administration's Office of Negro Affairs. As the New Deal's highest-ranking African-American appointee, Bethune presided over the administration's "black cabinet," an informal group of African-American leaders who advised the White House on minority issues. Bethune went on to play an important role many years later as one of the original U.S. representatives to the United Nations and its first black female delegate.

In 1939, Eleanor Roosevelt further demonstrated her commitment to African-American rights when she resigned from a historically all-white organization called the Daughters of the American Revolution. The group had refused to allow **Marian Anderson,** a gifted African-American opera singer, to perform at Washington's Constitution Hall. A few months later, Harold Ickes arranged for Anderson to sing at the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday. An integrated audience of about 75,000 gathered to hear her stirring performance.

Yet the progressive work of Eleanor Roosevelt and others could not make up for larger New Deal failures in the field of civil rights. Throughout his presidency, for example, Franklin Roosevelt made no effort to dismantle segregation or to enable African Americans to vote. He remained on the sidelines as federal anti-lynching bills were narrowly defeated in Congress. Roosevelt argued that he could not support civil rights legislation without alienating southern Democrats, who controlled the most important committees in Congress. "They will block every bill I [need] to keep America from collapsing," Roosevelt said. "I just can't take that risk." The president's position did not prevent African Americans from supporting him in 1936, however. Roosevelt received 76 percent of their votes—the same percentage that Herbert Hoover, the Republican candidate, had won four years before.

THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS



In March 1931, nine young African-American men, ages 12 to 20, hopped aboard a freight train in northern Alabama to ride the rails as "hoboes," or homeless wanderers in search of work. A fight broke out between them and two white men. In the fray that followed, two white women, also riding the same train, accused the young black men of rape. Police arrested the nine African-American men and locked them up in the Scottsboro, Alabama, jail. From that point on, the nine were known as the Scottsboro Boys.

Over the course of the next seven years, the Scottsboro Boys would attend trials and retrials, which were marred by lies, bribes, and racial bias on the part of the accusers, the prosecuting attorney, and the judges. The victims gave vastly different accounts of the crime, and one even took back her accusation, admitting it was a lie. Even so, a series of all-white juries convicted and sentenced the young men to death several times. Each time, the defense appealed. The case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, finally ending with five convictions and four dismissals. By 1950, all of the convicted Scottsboro Boys had been either pardoned or paroled.

MEXICAN AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL

As African Americans struggled with racism and discrimination, both Mexican immigrants and American citizens of Mexican descent, or Mexican Americans, faced their own challenges during the Depression.

Despite being recruited to work on American farms just 10 years before, Mexican immigrants met with deep resentment from white Americans who felt jobs were being taken away from them. In response to this resentment, in 1929, the federal government began the Mexican Repatriation Program, which, as you've read, deported hundreds of thousands of people of Mexican descent. In this context, repatriation is the act of sending an immigrant back to his or her home country to live. Some people left the United States voluntarily, accepting the government's free train fares. Others were coerced or tricked into leaving.

Many Mexican Americans were also deported to Mexico simply because authorities did not trust their claims of nationality or did not care. Of those who remained in the United States, many experienced unemployment because farm owners were hiring fewer migrant workers and giving jobs to white workers first. Farmers in various ethnic groups had begun working as migrant farm laborers after losing their farmland in bank foreclosures during the Great Depression. Many Mexican American farmers were among those who had lost their land and become migrant laborers.

Fortunately, the New Deal provided some relief. The Farm Security Administration (FSA), a New Deal agency, established camps to provide food and shelter for migrant workers and their families. Several camps were specifically for Mexican American workers. Farmworkers who lived in the camps were able to discuss labor issues among themselves. These discussions led to the formation of Mexican-American farm labor unions, which fought for higher wages and better working conditions.

In 2005, the California State Legislature passed the "Apology Act," a long-overdue response to the deportations that took place during and after the New Deal. California senator Joe Dunn wrote the act on behalf of his constituency to acknowledge the mistreatment Americans had suffered since the 1930s simply for being of Mexican descent.

However, Mexican Americans were not the only target of federal repatriation acts. In 1935, Congress passed a repatriation act targeting Filipinos. The act encouraged both Filipino immigrants and Americans of Filipino descent to return voluntarily to the Philippines, but the Filipino American community

CRITICAL VIEWING **In 1930, a group of Filipino American farmworkers posed with tomatoes they harvested on California's Central Coast. The migrant workers followed the crops from the Mexican border to Alaska. Although migrant work was rough and the workers were often mistreated, why do you think these men mostly look happy in the photograph?**

ENCOURAGING AN APPRECIATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN ART

As Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, John Collier worked to foster the economic independence of Native Americans, partly by promoting the work of Native American artists and craftspeople. This poster is one of a series designed by Native American artists to advertise a special exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City from January to April of 1936. The goal of the exhibition was to expose white Americans to Native American cultures and encourage them to purchase works of art to decorate their homes.

resisted. One Filipino told an interviewer, "I would rather go hungry and die here than go home with an empty hand." At the end of the first year, only about 150 people had chosen to return to the islands, and by 1941 just 2,064 Filipinos had left the United States under the act.

NATIVE AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL

The New Deal brought major changes in federal policy toward Native Americans. As you have read, in 1871 the federal government had passed a law stripping Native Americans of their national sovereignty and making them wards of the state. The government had forced Native American children to attend "Indian schools," where all efforts focused on eliminating their languages and cultures. The goal was to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream American culture. The Dawes Act of 1887 attempted to turn Native Americans into farmers by dividing their reservation lands into plots intended for individual farms. However, most of the land was unsuitable for farming, and outsiders quickly bought up the best land.

When Roosevelt took office, he chose **John Collier**, a sociologist and author, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Collier was outraged by the effects of the Indian schools and the Dawes Act, and he set about making changes. He made sure that employers working on projects authorized by the CCC, NYA, WPA, and PWA hired Native American workers. He also encouraged Congress to authorize the **Indian Emergency Conservation Program (IECP)**. The IECP was similar to the CCC, but it employed Native Americans to work on physical improvements to reservations. Through the IECP, the government employed more than 85,000 Native Americans.

Collier worked to repeal the Dawes Act through Congressional passage of the 1934 **Indian Reorganization Act (IRA)**. The IRA provided tribes with federal funds to buy back some reservation lands. It also repealed laws that prohibited Native Americans from speaking their languages and practicing their customs. In addition, it provided for federal government recognition of tribal constitutions. Collier instituted a major shift in federal policy away from assimilation and toward autonomy.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did the New Deal improve the lives of minorities in the United States?
2. **COMPARE AND CONTRAST** How did the Mexican Repatriation Program differ from the government program to repatriate Filipinos?
3. **SYNTHESIZE** What did the Scottsboro Boys case demonstrate about racism and discrimination in the United States at the time?
4. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** Trace government treatment of Native Americans between 1871 and 1934. What changed and when?

4.1 **MAIN IDEA** The New Deal helped many people survive the Great Depression, but as the decade and the depression wore on, its effectiveness started to fade.

THE NEW DEAL WINDS DOWN

The New Deal featured many ambitious, expensive programs. It had its successes and its failures, its staunch advocates and its fierce critics. By 1937, President Roosevelt had to make some hard decisions about the New Deal.

THE ECONOMY STUMBLES AGAIN

As 1937 approached, the United States' national income and production rose nearly to the levels of 1929, before the stock market crash. However, the stock market itself had yet to reach its peak levels of 1929, even though stocks had enjoyed a minor boom over the preceding five years.

Roosevelt knew that government spending on programs such as the WPA had helped combat the economic crisis and fueled this recovery, and he knew that following John Maynard Keynes's economic guidance had been effective. Still, he was uncomfortable with the huge amount of government spending his programs had required. He worried that the ever-increasing national debt would cause inflation, or rising prices for goods and services, and that federal welfare programs would diminish the recipients' initiative and self-respect. Indeed, Roosevelt had never intended for these programs to continue for the long term.

In 1937, the new Social Security payroll tax took effect, cutting into workers' take-home pay and removing billions of dollars of purchasing power from the economy. That same year, Roosevelt slashed funding for both the PWA and WPA, resulting in a loss of almost 2 million jobs. The new tax, combined with the program cuts, caused a recession. Unemployment began to rise, production plummeted, and people with no other choice began returning to breadlines and soup kitchens. The stock market fell yet again. Something had to be done, and quickly.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Elected to four terms, Franklin Roosevelt is still one of the most popular presidents in American history. But many people disagreed with his policies. For example, former president Herbert Hoover did not believe the New Deal had much chance for success.

The country is going sour on the New Deal, despite the heroic efforts of the Press. Unless there is a halt, the real question will be that, having cast off all moorings, will we swing to the "right" or to the "left." I fear first the "left," and then when the great middle class (80% of America) realizes its ruin, it will drive into some American interpretation of Hitler or Mussolini.

—from a letter written by Herbert Hoover, 1933

Four years after Hoover made his prediction, FDR was still promoting New Deal policies. In a speech to Congress, he introduced the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Our Nation so richly endowed with natural resources and with a capable and industrious population should be able to devise ways and means of insuring to all our able-bodied working men and women a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. All but the hopelessly reactionary will agree that to conserve our primary resources of man power, government must have some control over maximum hours, minimum wages, the evil of child labor and the exploitation of unorganized labor.

—from President Franklin Roosevelt's message to Congress, May 24, 1937

As the Fair Labor Standards Act took effect, it became the norm for teenagers to be in high school rather than in the workforce. In a 1941 photograph, energetic high school cheerleaders in Springfield, Pennsylvania, practice their routines.

TRIMMING THE NEW DEAL

Starting in October of 1937, Roosevelt and Congress took steps to approve $5 billion in federal funds for relief and public works programs. The economy in crisis responded positively, but Roosevelt's public image suffered because people felt he relied on government spending to solve economic problems.

By 1938, the New Deal had clearly lost momentum. Harry Hopkins, one of the architects of the New Deal, lamented that the public was "bored with the poor, the unemployed, the insecure." Congressional Republicans and conservative Democrats—in other words, Roosevelt's political opponents—gained control of the legislature in that year's midterm elections. Without a majority in Congress supporting him, Roosevelt could not enact any more progressive programs. On top of that, Roosevelt's court-packing scheme had taken a toll on his reputation. Many members of Congress had turned against him.

The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act was among Roosevelt's few legislative achievements in 1938. The act stipulated a minimum hourly wage and a maximum 40-hour workweek. It immediately raised the wages of almost a million American workers and shortened the work hours of millions as well. The act also finally abolished child labor in most industries. As you have read, prior to the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, child labor was a common practice. In 1900, for example, 18 percent of American workers were under age 16. Now American children could concentrate on their education rather than on helping to support their families.

Without the support of Congress, most of the New Deal programs came to an end from a lack of funding in 1939. However, the nation's economic battle was not completely won. More than 8 million Americans were still unemployed. Roosevelt's critics pointed out that the New Deal strategy may have offered a measure of protection for unemployed and vulnerable workers, but it had not restored the nation to the prosperity of the 1920s. As it turned out, it would take another world war—and the full **mobilization**, or enlistment of soldiers, that followed—to bring back prosperity.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Why were most New Deal programs discontinued?
2. **MAKE CONNECTIONS** What types of economic indicators contributed to a recession in 1937?
3. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Why do you think a ban on child labor passed during the time of the New Deal?
4. **SUMMARIZE** What controversies and negative effects was Roosevelt concerned about in terms of the New Deal?

4.2 **MAIN IDEA** The New Deal expanded the role and the reach of the federal government in ways that are still evident today.

THE NEW DEAL'S IMPACT

Without realizing it, you've probably encountered the New Deal in your everyday life. If you have a part-time job, you may be paying Social Security tax. If you have a bank account, your money is safe because it's insured by an agency that was part of the New Deal.

AN EXPANDED GOVERNMENT ROLE

When the Great Depression began, some people believed restricting government spending was the best way to make the economy bounce back. But President Roosevelt did just the opposite. As you have read, he took an active role in combatting the economic crisis by enacting the New Deal and following a policy of **deficit spending**, or spending more money than the government receives from taxes.

The New Deal pumped millions of dollars into the economy by creating federal jobs. It regulated banking and investment activities and increased the government's participation in the settlement of labor disputes. The New Deal also set the precedent of providing federal aid to farmers.

As you have read, the Supreme Court nullified some New Deal legislation, claiming programs were unconstitutional because they gave the executive branch of the government too much authority. Because of the new powers assumed by the executive branch, some historians have labeled the New Deal as the beginning of the **Imperial Presidency**, a presidency that exercises more power than the Constitution allows.

Some New Deal programs, such as the National Industrial Recovery Act and the WPA, reflected the principle that government has a responsibility for its citizens' welfare. Such New Deal innovations as unions' right to collective bargaining, a minimum wage, a 40-hour workweek, and Social Security also reflected that principle. Thus, the New Deal contributed to the idea of the modern **welfare state**, a system in which the government provides for the health and well-being of its citizens.

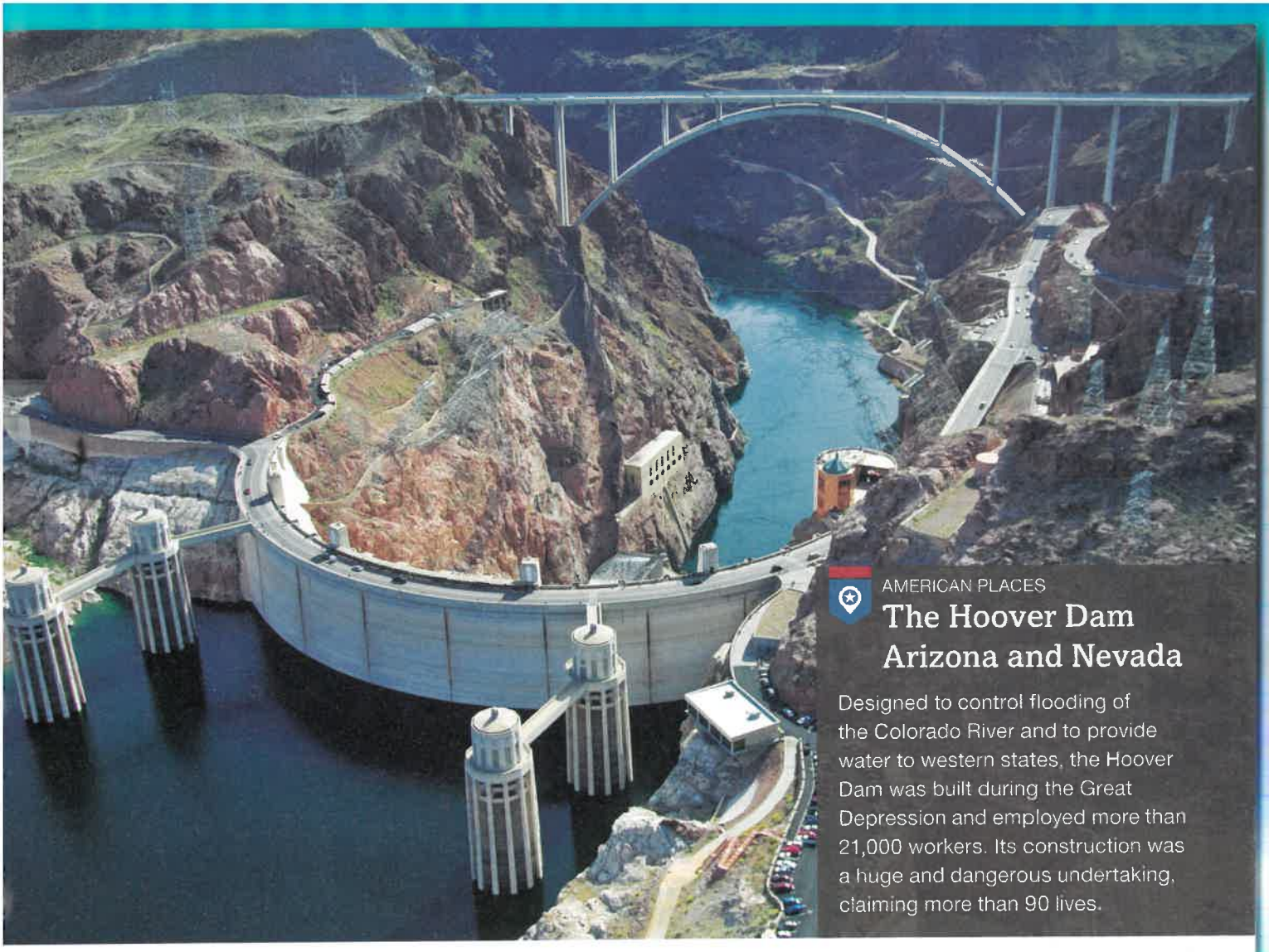
CONSERVATIVE RESPONSES

Conservatives had criticized Roosevelt's New Deal policies from the start. They believed the New Deal expanded the size and power of the federal government too much, while curbing free enterprise. They also argued that the New Deal had not reached its goals. Pointing to continuing unemployment and poverty, they claimed the New Deal had been no kind of deal at all. Some liberals, who felt the New Deal could do more to remedy social and economic problems, joined the conservatives in this criticism.

Among the New Deal's most vocal critics was Ohio senator **Robert A. Taft**, the son of former president William Howard Taft. Although he supported some New Deal programs, such as unemployment insurance, he opposed big government and thought the New Deal exhibited some of its worst aspects, from wasteful spending to excessive interference in business. The New Deal's overregulation and high taxes hurt business, Taft asserted, accusing its supporters of attacking "individual opportunity, initiative, and freedom." He continued to be a thorn in progressives' sides throughout his career.

LASTING PROGRAMS

Today, supporters and critics agree on one aspect of the New Deal: its lasting impact on the United States. Many Americans still depend on government agencies and programs that began with the New Deal. For example, most Americans take advantage of Social Security at some time. Although never intended to provide a full pension, Social Security does grant senior citizens a measure of security and a hedge against poverty. It also aids workers who have become disabled or temporarily unemployed.



AMERICAN PLACES

The Hoover Dam Arizona and Nevada

Designed to control flooding of the Colorado River and to provide water to western states, the Hoover Dam was built during the Great Depression and employed more than 21,000 workers. Its construction was a huge and dangerous undertaking, claiming more than 90 lives.

The **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**, which insures the savings accounts of individual bank depositors, was part of the Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1933. The FDIC continues to protect bank customers, insuring their deposits for up to $250,000 against loss in the event of a bank failure. After decades of urging from the big banks, Congress repealed most of the Glass-Steagall Banking Act in 1999, but it left the FDIC in place.

Another New Deal agency that still exists is the **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**, created in 1934. As you have read, the economic crash in 1929 that caused the Great Depression was driven by the collapse of the stock market. Roosevelt created the SEC to protect investors in the stock market in ways similar to how the FDIC insures bank depositors. The SEC continues to oversee the stock market today, regulating stock-trading procedures and managing the nation's economic growth.

The National Labor Relations Board also continues to meet to this day. The board mediates labor disputes between unions and employers. Under the New Deal, workers gained protection of their right to organize and negotiate collectively with employers.

Thousands of bridges, dams, highways, schools, and other construction projects that remain today are another major legacy of the New Deal. Large public works projects, including the Hoover Dam, the Bonneville Dam, the California Central Valley Project, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, changed the lives of millions of Americans, providing them with flood control, irrigation, and electrical power.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did the New Deal expand the role of the federal government in the nation's economy?
2. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** What sequence of events led to the establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and what is its function today?
3. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Do you agree or disagree with conservative critics of the New Deal? Give reasons for your opinion.

CHAPTER 11

THE NEW DEAL REVIEW

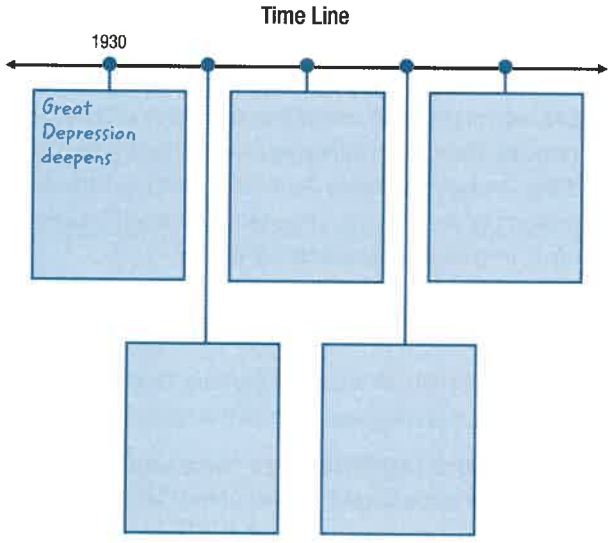
VOCABULARY

Use each of the following vocabulary words in a sentence that shows an understanding of the term's meaning.

1. **lame duck**
   Once Roosevelt won the 1932 presidential election, President Hoover was a lame duck.
2. **economic planning**
3. **First Hundred Days**
4. **New Deal**
5. **court-packing plan**
6. **coalition**
7. **collective bargaining**
8. **mobilization**
9. **deficit spending**

READING STRATEGY
DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY

Use a time line like the one below to organize the major events of the 1930s. Include dates and notes on the events. Then answer the question.



10. How did New Deal policies change the lives of ordinary Americans?

MAIN IDEAS

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

11. In what way did Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 election indicate a change in direction for the country? LESSON 1.1
12. What did President Roosevelt accomplish in the First Hundred Days? LESSON 1.2
13. How did planned scarcity help the nation's economy recover? LESSON 1.2
14. What was the purpose of the Social Security Act? LESSON 2.1
15. What was the main goal of the Wagner Act? LESSON 2.3
16. How did Eleanor Roosevelt serve as the "conscience" of the Roosevelt administration? LESSON 3.1
17. Who was Mary McLeod Bethune? LESSON 3.2
18. Why did President Roosevelt view his New Deal programs as short-term solutions? LESSON 4.1
19. What New Deal programs still exist today? LESSON 4.2

HISTORICAL THINKING

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

20. **SYNTHESIZE** How did the New Deal attempt to remedy problems created by the Great Depression?
21. **MAKE INFERENCES** Why do you think President Roosevelt gathered the advisers known as the brain trust around him during the beginning of his presidency?

22. **COMPARE AND CONTRAST** How were the AFL and the CIO alike and different?

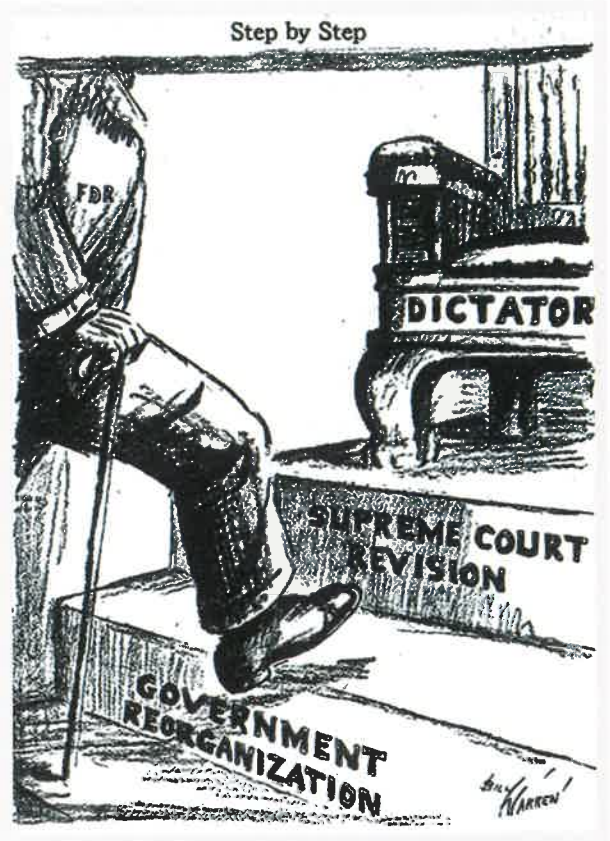
23. **MAKE PREDICTIONS** What direction might the country have taken during the Depression if FDR had not been elected president?

24. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** What events led to increased labor union membership and activity in the 1930s?

25. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Was the development of an activist government during the 1930s positive or negative? Support your opinion with evidence from the chapter.

ANALYZE VISUALS

On February 11, 1937, the *Buffalo* [New York] *Evening News* ran a cartoon by Billy Warren portraying FDR walking up some steps with a cane. Study the cartoon and answer the questions that follow.



26. What actions do the steps on the stairs represent?

27. What does the cartoon reveal about the artist's bias toward FDR's actions?

ANALYZE SOURCES

In 1998, the National Parks Service interviewed men about their work for the CCC during the Depression. In the transcript that follows, Reed Engle (RE) interviews Arthur Emory (AE), a former CCC worker. Read the excerpt and answer the question.

> RE: What do you think was the best thing about the CCC experience?
>
> AE: The chance for learning. You see most of the people that went in there had dropped out of school. And they were just allowed to roam the street. Which was bad—that'd get you in a heap of trouble. It kind of gave them a chance to get their feet on the ground. So they could learn if they wanted to, which most of them did. It was actually the best thing that ever happened to kids our age at that time. Because you actually earned your way in it. They learned to do so many different things. Like, nobody wants to use a shovel, I don't believe. But they had to learn to use a shovel, and everybody learned something.
>
> —from an interview with Arthur Emory, former CCC employee, 1998

28. How might this employee's experiences and personal biases have shaped his views toward the benefits of working for the CCC?

CONNECT TO YOUR LIFE

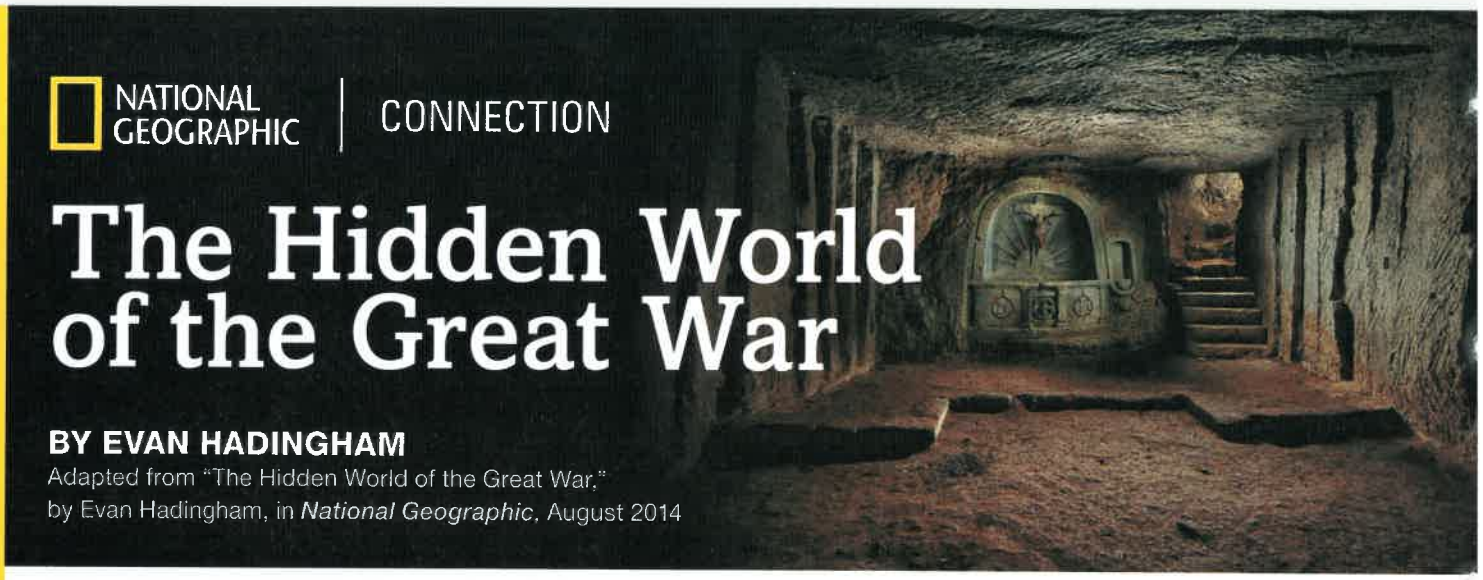
29. **INFORMATIVE** Research a New Deal artifact in your state, such as a WPA building or work of art. Write an essay describing the artifact and explaining how it reflects the New Deal.

TIPS

- Revisit the Curating History feature in this chapter. Then find more WPA artifacts at the Milwaukee Public Museum website.
- Organize your research in a two-column chart. In the first, write notes about the artifact. In the second, indicate how that information reflects the New Deal.
- Be sure to identify the New Deal agency that produced the artifact, the agency director, and who worked on the artifact, if possible. Cite information from the chapter describing the purpose of the agency.
- Conclude the essay with a paragraph that sums up what the artifact reveals about the New Deal's effects on American life.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC | CONNECTION

The Hidden World of the Great War



BY EVAN HADINGHAM

Adapted from "The Hidden World of the Great War," by Evan Hadingham, in *National Geographic*, August 2014

The entrance is a small hole in the earth in northeastern France. I'm following Jeff Gusky, a photographer and physician from Texas who has explored dozens of underground spaces like this one. Here, shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, German military engineers would take turns listening for the slightest sound of enemy tunnelers. Muffled voices or the scraping of shovels meant that a hostile mining team might be only yards away. The danger grew if the digging stopped and you heard the sounds of the enemy laying high explosives at the end of the tunnel. Most nerve-racking of all was the silence that followed. At any moment the charges might detonate and blow you apart or bury you alive.

Nearby, on one of the tunnel walls, our headlamps illuminate graffiti left by the German engineers who manned this listening post. The pencil marks appear as if they were written yesterday. The soft chalk and limestone bedrock of France's Picardy region was ideal for World War I soldiers to record their presence in penciled signatures, sketches and caricatures, carvings, and even intricate relief sculptures.

The conflict began with confidence on all sides that the fighting would be over by Christmas. By the end of 1914, the German advance had stalled, the armies had dug in, and an extensive network of trenches stretched from the North Sea coast to the Swiss border. In the grip of this deadly stalemate, the Germans, French, and British resorted to siege-warfare techniques that had changed little over the centuries. The goal was to dig under key enemy strongpoints and blow them up.

But the underground war was not confined to narrow tunnels. Beneath Picardy's fields and forests are centuries-old abandoned quarries, some of which could shelter thousands of troops. One morning, we explore one such site, led there by the owner of the property. In one cavern, we peer at an array of finely engraved badges and memorials proclaiming the French regiments that had sheltered here. Then we encounter several chapels elaborately carved and painted with religious symbols, army insignia, and the names of notable French victories.

Life in the quarries was vastly preferable to the muddy hell of the trenches above. A journalist visiting one of the caverns in 1915 noted that "a dry shelter, straw, some furniture, a fire, are great luxuries for those returning from the trenches."

The quarries kept an even temperature year-round, but as one French soldier wrote home, "vermin devour us, and it's teeming with lice, fleas, rats and mice." To pass the time, the exhausted men would daydream. Images of women proliferate on the quarry walls, including many sentimental and idealized portraits.

Both sides converted the largest quarries into underground cities, many of them remarkably intact today. Not far from the landowner's property, we find ourselves in an astonishing quarry that stretches for more than seven miles, with twisting passageways and high ceilings. In 1915, the Germans connected this network to their frontline trenches. They installed electric lights and telephones, command posts, a bakery, a butcher's shop, a machine shop, a hospital, and a chapel.

The original diesel generator and barbed wire defenses are still in place. So are dozens of street signs neatly stenciled on every corner. On the cavern walls, German troops have inscribed their names and regiments, religious and military icons, elaborately sculpted portraits and caricatures, and sketches of dogs and other cartoons.

Safe underground from the inhuman chaos of the battlefield above, the men of the First World War left these personal expressions of identity and survival. Gusky's images bring to light the subterranean world soldiers inhabited and endured while sheltering from constant shellfire.

The traces they left behind reveal a forgotten world of World War I. They also connect us to individual soldiers, many of whom would not survive the nightmare of trench warfare.

For more from National Geographic check out "1918 Flu Pandemic" online.

UNIT INQUIRY: Create a Conflict Resolution Strategy

In this unit, you learned about conflicts the United States confronted on global, national, and local levels. From fighting in World War I to addressing political and labor unrest, embracing rights for women, and managing a massive economic downturn, American leaders and citizens alike had to navigate through new territories. Based on your understanding of the text, which conflict resolution strategies worked best? Which failed? How important were leaders' approaches in producing a positive or negative outcome?

ASSIGNMENT

Create a strategy you think could have been successful in resolving a conflict that took place in the United States between 1914 and 1940. Take into account factors that led to the conflict. Be prepared to present and defend your strategy to the class.

Plan As you create your conflict resolution strategy, think about the context in which the conflict unfolded, including the clash of old and new ideas of nationalism, government, and individual human rights. Also consider the impact of war, migration, and expanded citizenship. List the factors that sparked conflict, and address the most significant ones in your strategy. Use a graphic organizer to organize your thoughts.

Goals	Obstacles	Outcome
Summary		

Produce Use your notes to produce a detailed description of your conflict and design a solid conflict resolution strategy. Write your descriptions in outline or paragraph form.

Present Present your strategy to the class. You might consider one of these options:

- Host a debate on a conflict that you have learned about in this unit. Select volunteers to represent both sides of the conflict. Provide a short summary of the conflict to remind the audience of the main issues. Then have an appointed moderator pose prepared questions for the debaters. Allow time for the audience to pose questions as well. Conclude with a vote by the audience on which debaters proposed the best resolution to the conflict.
- Launch a campaign. Create election posters that summarize a conflict and its causes and that propose viable resolutions to the problem. Include a name for your campaign, slogans, and information that communicates the core issues.
- Write a speech that describes the origins of and proposes a resolution for the conflict through use of relevant factual evidence and sound reasoning.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC | LEARNING FRAMEWORK ACTIVITIES

Write a Conflict Negotiator Profile

ATTITUDE Curiosity

KNOWLEDGE Our Human Story

Choose a historical figure you read about in this unit who demonstrated good conflict resolution skills. Research primary and secondary sources to gather evidence about his or her role in negotiating a resolution to a conflict. Note discrepancies among sources. Then write a profile for this individual or create something more visual, such as a poster or digital presentation. Your profile should include information such as birth and death dates, where the person lived, and the work she or he did. Your profile must also highlight a specific resolution to a conflict this person helped negotiate. Consider exploring what you think might have happened if she or he had not taken proactive action in negotiating a resolution.

Settle a Dispute

ATTITUDES Empowerment, Responsibility

SKILLS Collaboration, Problem Solving

Collaborate with a small group to research a dispute in your school or community. Assign roles to group members, such as researcher, interviewer, writer, and presenter. Scan the news and other diverse sources to gather evidence about the dispute, including people or groups on both (or all) sides of the conflict and important dates or events. Then, as a group, create a document or set up a poster or whiteboard on which you can chart the evidence you gather. Hold a meeting to discuss how your group might settle the dispute. Use the evidence you have gathered to put together a viable proposal. Once your group has settled on a solution, present both the dispute and your solution to the class.

UNIT 4

1931–1960

A New World Power