## Planning Guide

### Key to Ability Levels
- **BL**: Below Level
- **OL**: On Level
- **AL**: Above Level
- **ELL**: English Language Learners

### Key to Teaching Resources
- **Print Material**
- **Transparency**
- **CD-ROM or DVD**

### Levels
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Note: Please refer to the Unit 6 Resource Book for this chapter’s URB materials.

* Also available in Spanish
### Levels

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#### Teacher Resources

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#### CLOSE

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✓ Chapter- or unit-based activities applicable to all sections in this chapter.
### Using Glencoe’s Vocabulary Tools

#### Teach With Technology

**What Glencoe technology products improve students’ vocabulary?**

*Vocabulary eFlashcards*, *ePuzzles and Games*, and *Vocabulary PuzzleMaker* all build students’ vocabulary and help students understand key words and concepts from the textbook.

**How can these products help my students?**

*Vocabulary eFlashcards* help students review and test their recall of content vocabulary, academic vocabulary, and people, places, and events for each chapter. *ePuzzles and Games* are an entertaining way for students to study the key facts, concepts, and vocabulary introduced in each chapter. The *Vocabulary PuzzleMaker* lets you quickly create word searches, crosswords, and jumbles that students can use to practice vocabulary from each chapter.

For *Vocabulary eFlashcards* and *ePuzzles and Games*, visit glencoe.com and enter a student™ code to go directly to student resources for the chapter. For *Vocabulary PuzzleMaker*, enter a teacher code to go to teacher resources.

### History ONLINE

Visit glencoe.com and enter a student™ code TAV9399c19T for Chapter 19 resources.

You can easily launch a wide range of digital products from your computer’s desktop with the McGraw-Hill Social Studies widget.

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The following videotape programs are available from Glencoe as supplements to this chapter:

- The Tennessee Valley Authority (ISBN 0-76-700031-5)
- Eleanor Roosevelt: A Restless Spirit (ISBN 1-56-501405-7)

To order, call Glencoe at 1-800-334-7344. To find classroom resources to accompany many of these videos, check the following home pages:

- A&E Television: [www.aetv.com](http://www.aetv.com)
- The History Channel: [www.historychannel.com](http://www.historychannel.com)

Use this database to search more than 30,000 titles to create a customized reading list for your students.

- Reading lists can be organized by students’ reading level, author, genre, theme, or area of interest.
- The database provides Degrees of Reading Power™ (DRP) and Lexile™ readability scores for all selections.
- A brief summary of each selection is included.

**Leveled reading suggestions for this chapter:**

**For students at a Grade 8 reading level:**
- *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, by Steve Potts

**For students at a Grade 9 reading level:**
- *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, by Michael Burgan

**For students at a Grade 10 reading level:**
- *Empire State Building*, by Elizabeth Mann

**For students at a Grade 11 reading level:**
- *Eleanor Roosevelt: First Lady of the World*, by Doris Faber

**For students at a Grade 12 reading level:**
- *Eleanor Roosevelt: A Life of Discovery*, by Russell Freedman

The following article relates to this chapter:


**National Geographic Society Products**

To order the following, call National Geographic at 1-800-368-2728:

- ZipZapMap! USA (ZipZapMap!)

Access National Geographic’s new, dynamic MapMachine Web site and other geography resources at:

- [www.nationalgeographic.com](http://www.nationalgeographic.com)
- [www.nationalgeographic.com/maps](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/maps)

**Timed Readings Plus in Social Studies** helps students increase their reading rate and fluency while maintaining comprehension. The 400-word passages are similar to those found on state and national assessments.

**Reading in the Content Area: Social Studies** concentrates on six essential reading skills that help students better comprehend what they read. The book includes 75 high-interest nonfiction passages written at increasing levels of difficulty.

**Reading Social Studies** includes strategic reading instruction and vocabulary support in Social Studies content for both ELLs and native speakers of English.

[www.jamestowneducation.com](http://www.jamestowneducation.com)
**Focus**

**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

**Can Government Fix the Economy?**

Ask students to give examples of some of the ways that government tries to fix the economy, such as the Federal Reserve Board’s regulation of interest rates. Discuss with students the questions listed on p. 649. Challenge students to activate prior knowledge of regulation of any of the economic sectors mentioned. AL

**Teach**

**The Big Ideas**

As students study the chapter, remind them to consider the section-based Big Ideas included in each section’s Guide to Reading. The Essential Questions in the activities below tie in to the Big Ideas and help students think about and understand important chapter concepts. In addition, the Hands-on Chapter Projects with their culminating activities relate the content from each section to the Big Ideas. These activities build on each other as students progress through the chapter. Section activities culminate in the wrap-up activity on the Visual Summary page.

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**Section 1**

**The First New Deal**

**Essential Question:** In what areas did the New Deal attempt to make major economic improvements? (The New Deal targeted banks [FDIC], the stock market [SEC], debt relief for home owners [HOLC], farms [FCA and AAA], industry [NRA], and public works programs to aid the unemployed [CCC, PWA, CWA].) Tell students that in Section 1 they will learn about many programs that were developed to stimulate the economy. OL

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**Section 2**

**The Second New Deal**

**Essential Question:** How did the Second New Deal assist unions, the elderly, and the unemployed? (The Wagner Act gave workers the right to organize in unions. The Social Security Act benefited both the elderly workers and the unemployed.) Inform students that in this section they will study programs that still exist. OL
Can Government Fix the Economy?

During the 1930s, New Deal programs increased government regulation of banking, industry, and farming; gave greater rights to workers; and provided government aid to the unemployed and senior citizens.

- What kind of problems do you think government can solve?
- What difficulties can result when the government tries to regulate the economy?

Analyzing Long-Term Effects

Make a Folded Chart Foldable showing major New Deal programs and their long-term effects. In one column, describe the program’s original purpose. In the second column, identify how those programs still influence government and society today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>&quot;Court-packing&quot; plan creates controversy</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>Sit-down strikes force General Motors to recognize UAW</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Fair Labor Standards Act sets minimum wage and 40-hour workweek</td>
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<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>World War II begins</td>
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MAKING CONNECTIONS

Can Government Fix the Economy?

During the 1930s, New Deal programs increased government regulation of banking, industry, and farming; gave greater rights to workers; and provided government aid to the unemployed and senior citizens.

- What kind of problems do you think government can solve?
- What difficulties can result when the government tries to regulate the economy?

Making Connections

Visual Literacy

After becoming disabled, Roosevelt had a special Model A Ford with hand controls built for his use. Driving that car, he could feel physically independent. During campaigning, however, he often used a driver to free him for greeting voters. During his first campaign, he delivered almost 60 speeches, 27 of them major addresses, to allay fears that he was not physically strong enough to endure the strain of the presidency.

Dinah Zike’s Foldables

Dinah Zike’s Foldables are three-dimensional, interactive graphic organizers that help students practice basic writing skills, review vocabulary terms, and identify main ideas. Instructions for creating and using Foldables can be found in the Appendix at the end of this book and in the Dinah Zike’s Reading and Study Skills Foldables booklet.

Section 3

The New Deal Coalition

Essential Question: What was the legacy of the New Deal? (New Deal programs gave many people a stronger sense of stability and security by creating a safety net. It positioned the federal government as conflict mediator in a broker state.) Tell students that in Section 3 they will learn about the lasting effects of the New Deal.

More About the Photo

Visual Literacy

After becoming disabled, Roosevelt had a special Model A Ford with hand controls built for his use. Driving that car, he could feel physically independent. During campaigning, however, he often used a driver to free him for greeting voters. During his first campaign, he delivered almost 60 speeches, 27 of them major addresses, to allay fears that he was not physically strong enough to endure the strain of the presidency.
The First New Deal

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president in 1932, following his promise of a “new deal” for Americans. In his first 100 days in office, he let loose a flood of legislation designed to rescue banks, industry, and agriculture and provide jobs for the unemployed.

Roosevelt’s Rise to Power

MAIN Idea Franklin D. Roosevelt was governor of New York when he was elected president in 1932, promising a New Deal for the American people.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you believe your past experiences can make you stronger? Read how FDR’s experiences helped prepare him to be president.

A distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt grew up in Hyde Park, New York. In his youth he learned to hunt, ride horses, and sail; he also developed a lifelong commitment to conservation and a love of rural America. Roosevelt was educated at Harvard and Columbia Law School. While at Harvard, he became friends with Theodore Roosevelt’s niece Eleanor, whom he later married.

Intensely competitive, Roosevelt liked to be in control. He also liked being around people. His charming personality, deep rich voice, and wide smile expressed confidence and optimism. In short, his personality seemed made for a life in politics.

Roosevelt began his political career in 1910, when he was elected to the New York State Senate. Three years later, having earned a reputation as a progressive reformer, he became assistant secretary of the navy in the Wilson administration. In 1920 his reputation (and famous surname) helped him win the vice presidential nomination on the unsuccessful Democratic ticket.

After losing the election, Roosevelt temporarily withdrew from politics. The next year he caught the dreaded paralyzing disease polio. Although there was no cure, Roosevelt refused to give in. He began a vigorous exercise program to restore muscle control. Eventually, by wearing heavy steel braces on his legs, he was able to walk short distances by leaning on a cane and someone’s arm and swinging his legs forward from his hips.

While recovering from polio, Roosevelt depended on his wife and his aide Louis Howe to keep his name prominent in the New York Democratic Party. Eleanor Roosevelt became an effective public speaker, and her efforts kept his husband’s political career alive.

By the mid-1920s, Roosevelt was again active in the Democratic Party. In 1928 he ran for governor of New York. He campaigned hard...
Roosevelt’s First Inaugural Address

March 4, 1933

“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—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

. . . Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

. . . Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war.

. . . Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action.”

—from The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin Roosevelt delivers his First Inaugural Address.

To demonstrate that his illness had not slowed him down, and he narrowly won the election. Two years later he was reelected in a landslide. As governor, Roosevelt oversaw the creation of the first state relief agency to aid the unemployed.

Roosevelt’s popularity in New York paved the way for his presidential nomination in 1932. Americans saw in him an energy and optimism that gave them hope despite the tough economic times. After Roosevelt became president, his serenity and confidence amazed people. When one aide commented on his attitude, Roosevelt replied, “If you had spent two years in bed trying to wiggle your big toe, after that anything else would seem easy.”

In mid-June 1932, with the country deep in the Depression, Republicans gathered in Chicago and nominated Herbert Hoover to run for a second term as president. Later that month, the Democrats also held their national convention in Chicago. When Roosevelt won the nomination, he broke with tradition by flying to Chicago to accept it in person. His speech set the tone for his campaign:

**Primary Source**

“Let it be from now on the task of our Party to break foolish traditions. . . . It is inevitable that the main issue of this campaign should revolve about . . . a depression so deep that it is without precedent. . . . Republican leaders not only have failed in material things, they have failed in national vision, because in disaster they have held out no hope. . . . I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people.”

—from The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt

From that point forward, Roosevelt’s policies for ending the Depression became known as the New Deal. Roosevelt’s confidence that he could make things better contrasted sharply with Herbert Hoover’s apparent failure to do anything effective. On Election Day, Roosevelt won in a landslide, receiving the electoral vote of all but six states.

**Interpreting** What events in Roosevelt’s life shaped his ideas and character?

Writing a Newspaper

**Step 1: Identifying American Groups to Watch** Small groups of students receive their assignments.

**Directions** Divide the class into five groups, assigning each group one of the following groups of Americans: women, children, African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic Americans. Tell students that they will create a newspaper from the viewpoint of their assigned group during the 1930s. The newspaper will include news stories, editorials, and cartoons. Encourage students to begin a separate section of their notebooks to take notes on the chapter from their assigned viewpoint and to record findings from additional research in the library or on the Internet.

**Putting It Together** Make sure that students have in-class access to copies of local and national newspapers as a model on which to base their own newspapers.
The Hundred Days

**MAIN Idea** Upon taking office, FDR launched the New Deal by sending 15 major pieces of legislation to Congress.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember reading about the “New Nationalism” and “New Freedom”? Read how those ideas influenced New Deal legislation.

Although Roosevelt won the presidency in November 1932, the country’s unemployed and homeless had to endure another winter as they waited for his inauguration on March 4, 1933. All through the winter, unemployment continued to rise and bank runs increased, further threatening the banking system.

Some of the bank runs occurred because people feared that Roosevelt would abandon the gold standard and reduce the value of the dollar in order to fight the Depression. Under the gold standard, one ounce of gold equaled a set number of dollars. To reduce the value of the dollar, the United States would have to stop exchanging dollars for gold. Many Americans, and many foreign investors with deposits in American banks, decided to take their money out of the banks and convert it to gold before it lost its value.

Across the nation, people stood in long lines with paper bags and suitcases, waiting to withdraw their money from banks. By March 1933, more than 4,000 banks had collapsed, wiping out nine million savings accounts. In 38 states, governors declared bank holidays—closing the remaining banks before bank runs could put them out of business.

By the day of Roosevelt’s inauguration, most of the nation’s banks were closed. One in four workers was unemployed. The economy seemed paralyzed. Roosevelt knew he had to restore the nation’s confidence. “First of all,” the president declared in his Inaugural Address, “let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself . . . . This nation asks for action, and action now!”

The New Deal Begins

Roosevelt and his advisers, sometimes called the “brain trust,” came into office bursting with ideas about how to end the Depression. Roosevelt had no clear agenda, nor did he have a strong political ideology. The previous spring, during his campaign for the presidential nomination, Roosevelt had revealed the approach he would take as president. “The country needs,” Roosevelt explained, “bold, persistent experimentation . . . . Above all, try something.”

The new president began to send bills after bill to Congress. Between March 9 and June 16, 1933—which came to be called the Hundred Days—Congress passed 15 major acts to resolve the economic crisis, setting a pace for new legislation that has never been equaled. Together, these programs made up what would later be called the First New Deal.

A Divided Administration

To generate new ideas and programs, Roosevelt deliberately chose advisers who disagreed with each other. He wanted to hear many different points of view, and by setting his advisers against one another, Roosevelt ensured that he alone made the final decision on what policies to pursue.

Despite their disagreements, Roosevelt’s advisers generally favored some form of government intervention in the economy—although they disagreed over what the government’s role should be.

One influential group during the early years of Roosevelt’s administration supported the “New Nationalism” of Theodore Roosevelt. These advisers believed that if government agencies worked with businesses to regulate wages, prices, and production, they could lift the economy out of the Depression.

A second group of Roosevelt’s advisers went even further. They distrusted big business and blamed business leaders for causing the Depression. These advisers wanted government planners to run key parts of the economy.

A third group in Roosevelt’s administration supported the “New Freedom” of Woodrow Wilson. These advisers wanted Roosevelt to support “trust busting” by breaking up big companies and allowing competition to set wages, prices, and production levels. They also thought the government should impose regulations to keep economic competition fair.

Additional Support

At the time of the Great Depression, the United States did not have any social programs in place for its citizens. Suggest students use the Internet to find current programs that assist those in need. The government Web site for HUD, for example, offers information on housing.

Teacher Tip

Making a Plan Before students begin reading about actual New Deal programs, divide the class into small groups of four or five. Ask each student within each group to concentrate on one of the issues facing Roosevelt: safeguarding bank deposits, providing emergency relief, bolstering business, or creating jobs. Have members of the groups review and refine each other’s ideas. Allow time for groups to present their ideas to the class.

Activity: Collaborative Learning
**Eleanor Roosevelt**

1884–1962

Orphaned at age 10, Eleanor Roosevelt was raised by relatives and later attended boarding school in England. When she returned home as a young woman, she devoted time to a settlement house on Manhattan’s Lower East Side. During this time, she became engaged to Franklin D. Roosevelt, a distant cousin. They were married in 1905. At their wedding, Eleanor’s uncle, President Theodore Roosevelt, gave her away.

During FDR’s presidency, Eleanor Roosevelt transformed the role of First Lady. Rather than restricting herself to traditional hostess functions, she became an important figure in his administration. She traveled extensively, toured factories and coal mines, and met with factory workers and farmers. She then told her husband what people were thinking. In doing so, she became FDR’s “eyes and ears” when his disability made travel difficult.

Eleanor was also a strong supporter of civil rights and prodded her husband to stop discrimination in New Deal programs. When the Daughters of the American Revolution barred African American singer Marian Anderson from performing in its auditorium, Eleanor intervened and arranged for Anderson to perform at the Lincoln Memorial instead.

After FDR’s death, Eleanor remained politically active. She continued to write her syndicated newspaper column, “My Day,” which she began in 1936, and became a delegate to the United Nations Memorial instead.

**How might Franklin Roosevelt’s political career have been different if Eleanor had not been his wife?**

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**Banks and Debt Relief**

**Main Idea** President Roosevelt took steps to strengthen banks and the stock market and to help farmers and homeowners keep their property.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever watched a presidential address? Read about Roosevelt’s “fireside chats” and how they encouraged optimism that the economy would get better.

As the debate over policies and programs swirled around him, President Roosevelt took office with one thing clear in his mind. Very few of the proposed solutions would work as long as the nation’s banks remained closed. The first thing he had to do was restore confidence in the banking system.

On his very first night in office, Roosevelt told Secretary of the Treasury William H. Woodin that he wanted an emergency banking bill ready for Congress in less than five days. The following afternoon, Roosevelt declared a national bank holiday, temporarily closing all banks, and called Congress into a special session scheduled to begin on March 9, 1933.

When Congress convened, the House of Representatives unanimously passed the Emergency Banking Relief Act after only 38 minutes of debate. The Senate approved the bill that evening, and Roosevelt signed it into law shortly afterward. The new law required federal examiners to survey the nation’s banks and issue Treasury Department licenses to those that were financially sound.

On March 12 President Roosevelt addressed the nation by radio. Sixty million people listened to this first of many “fireside chats,” direct talks in which Roosevelt let the American people know what he was trying to accomplish. He told people that their money would be secure if they put it back into the banks: “I assure you that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress.” When banks opened the day after the speech, deposits far outweighed withdrawals. The banking crisis was over.

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**Extending the Content**

**Eleanor Roosevelt** Not used to public speaking, Eleanor Roosevelt experienced stage fright when confronted with an audience. Her knees shook, but she soon became one of the most successful speakers of her time. She was also the first First Lady to hold her own regular press conferences, which offered female reporters the opportunity to find out White House information. When the Second Bonus Army marched on Washington, D.C., Eleanor went down to visit the veterans, who were using an army camp the president had offered them. Even though the bonuses were still not paid, veterans were offered food, medical care, and a navy band. One said, “Hoover sent the army. Roosevelt sent his wife.” Eleanor traveled to check on so many government projects that the Secret Service gave her the code name “Rover.”

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**Differentiated Instruction**

**Advanced Learners** Invite students to find out the usual amount of time it takes for present-day Congresses to write and pass a bill. Then have them compare that to FDR’s request for a banking bill in less than five days, perhaps using a chart to explain their findings to the class.

**Answer:** If Eleanor Roosevelt had not been Franklin’s wife, his political career may well have ended when he contracted polio. His effectiveness as president would have been less without her unannounced eyewitness observations.
The FDIC and SEC

Although President Roosevelt had restored confidence in the banking system, many of his advisers urged him to go further. They pushed for new regulations for both banks and the stock market. Roosevelt agreed with their ideas and supported the Securities Act of 1933 and the Glass-Steagall Banking Act.

The Securities Act required companies that sold stocks and bonds to provide complete and truthful information to investors. The following year, Congress created a government agency, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), to regulate the stock market and prevent fraud.

The Glass-Steagall Act separated commercial banking from investment banking. Commercial banks handle everyday transactions. They take deposits, pay interest, cash checks, and lend money for mortgages. Under the Glass-Steagall Act, these banks were no longer allowed to risk depositors’ money by using it to speculate on the stock market.

To further protect depositors, the Glass-Steagall Act also created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to provide government insurance for bank deposits up to a certain amount. By protecting depositors in this way, the FDIC greatly increased public confidence in the banking system.

Mortgage and Debt Relief

While some of Roosevelt’s advisers believed low prices had caused the Depression, others believed that debt was the main obstacle to economic recovery. With incomes falling, people had to use most of their money to pay their debts and had little left over to buy goods or services. Many Americans, terrified of losing their homes and farms, cut back on their spending to make sure they could pay their mortgages. Roosevelt responded to the crisis by introducing several policies intended to assist Americans with their debts.

The Home Owners’ Loan Corporation

To help homeowners make their mortgage payments, Roosevelt asked Congress to establish the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC). The HOLC bought the mortgages of many
The Farm Credit Administration Three days after Congress authorized the creation of the HOLC, it authorized the Farm Credit Administration (FCA) to help farmers refinance their mortgages. Over the next seven months, the FCA lent four times as much money to farmers as the entire banking system had for the year before. It was also able to push interest rates substantially lower. These loans saved millions of farms from foreclosure.

Although FCA loans helped many farmers in the short term, their long-term value can be questioned. FCA loans helped less efficient farmers keep their land, but giving loans to poor farmers meant that the money was not available to lend to more efficient businesses in the economy. Although FCA loans may have slowed the overall economic recovery, they did help many desperate and impoverished people hold onto their land.

Explaining How did the government restore confidence in the banking system?

June 16

The National Recovery Administration is authorized to begin setting codes and regulations for industry.

Analyzing TIME LINES

1. Analyzing What groups of people were targeted for help in the first hundred days of Roosevelt’s first term?
2. Drawing Conclusions What was Roosevelt’s first act after becoming president? Why do you think he chose this as a first step?

Answer:
Roosevelt ordered a bank holiday, signed the Emergency Banking Relief Act into law, and addressed the nation in a “fireside chat.” He also supported the Glass-Steagall Act, which created the FDIC to provide government insurance for bank deposits.

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Language Arts Have students listen to a recording of one of Roosevelt’s fireside chats, which are available at libraries and on the Internet. Then have them view an address by the current president. Discuss how the speeches and delivery compare and contrast. Ask: How do the styles of speaking reflect the people in office and the events going on at the time of the speech? (Answers will vary depending on the speeches that students hear.)
Critical Thinking

Predicting Consequences

Have students read only the first paragraph of the section “The AAA.” Then ask them to predict what would happen to prices after farmers followed the advice of the AAA. (They would rise.)

Writing Support

Persuasive Writing

Ask students to write a newspaper editorial in favor of or opposed to the policy of slaughtering animals and taking fields out of production during a time of hunger. Remind them to support their ideas with facts.

Farms and Industry

**MAIN Idea** New Deal legislation tried to raise crop prices and stabilize industry.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Can you think of a product that gets more expensive when less of it is available? Read to learn how some New Deal programs tried to raise prices.

Many of Roosevelt’s advisers believed that both farmers and businesses were suffering because prices were too low and production too high. Several advisers believed competition was inefficient and bad for the economy. They favored creating federal agencies to manage the economy.

The AAA

To further help the nation’s farmers, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace drafted the Agricultural Adjustment Act. President Roosevelt asked Congress to pass the act. This legislation was based on a simple idea—that prices for farm goods were low because farmers grew too much food. Under Roosevelt’s program, the government would pay some farmers not to raise certain livestock, and not to grow certain crops. Some farmers were also asked not to produce dairy products. As the program went into effect, farmers slaughtered 6 million piglets and 200,000 sows and plowed under 10 million acres of cotton—all in an effort to raise prices. The program was administered by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA).

Over the next two years, farmers withdrew millions more acres from cultivation and received more than $1 billion in support payments. The program accomplished its goal: the farm surplus fell greatly by 1936. Food prices then rose, as did total farm income, which quickly increased by more than 50 percent.

In a nation caught in a Depression, however, raising food prices drew harsh criticism. Furthermore, not all farmers benefited. Large commercial farmers who concentrated on one crop profited more than smaller farmers who raised several products. Worse, thousands of poor tenant farmers, many of them African Americans, became homeless and jobless when landlords took their fields out of production.

The TVA

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was a New Deal project that produced visible benefits. The TVA built dams to control floods, conserve forest lands, and bring electricity to rural areas.

Today, TVA power facilities include 17,000 miles of transmission lines, 29 hydroelectric dams, 11 fossil-fuel plants, 4 combustion-turbine plants, 3 nuclear power plants, and a pumped-storage facility. These combine to bring power to nearly 8 million people in a seven-state region.

Since 1998, the TVA has been working to reduce air pollution. Projects are designed to cut harmful emissions released into the air. The TVA is committed to developing programs that protect the environment.

Activity: Economics Connection

Supply and Demand

Remind students of the economic law of supply and demand in establishing prices. Discuss any current situation in which this law is affecting their lives. For example, bad weather in California or Florida affects the availability of fresh, inexpensive produce. **Ask:** Do you believe it is right to keep fields out of production when people are hungry in order to drive up prices? (Students’ opinions will vary, but may suggest that feeding people is more important than making a profit.)
The NRA

The government turned its attention to manufacturing in June 1933, when Roosevelt and Congress enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The NIRA suspended antitrust laws and allowed business, labor, and government to cooperate in setting up voluntary rules for each industry.

These rules were known as codes of fair competition. Some codes set prices, established minimum wages, and limited factories to two shifts per day so that production could be spread to as many firms as possible. Other codes shortened workers’ hours, with the goal of creating additional jobs. Another provision in the law guaranteed workers the right to form unions. The codes also helped businesses develop codes of fair competition within industries.

Under the leadership of Hugh Johnson, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) ran the entire program. Business owners who signed code agreements received signs displaying the National Recovery Administration’s symbol—a blue eagle—and the slogan, “We Do Our Part.” The NRA had limited power to enforce the codes, but urged consumers to buy goods only from companies that displayed the blue eagle.

The NRA did revive a few American industries, but its gains proved short-lived. Small companies complained, justifiably, that large corporations wrote the codes to favor themselves. American employers disliked codes that gave workers the right to form unions and bargain collectively over wages and hours. They also argued that paying high minimum wages forced them to charge higher prices to cover their costs.

The codes were also difficult to administer, and business leaders often ignored them. Furthermore, businesses could choose not to sign code agreements and thus not be bound by their rules. It became obvious that the NRA was failing when industrial production actually fell after the organization was established. By the time the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional in 1935, it had already lost much of its political support.

Critical Thinking

Analyzing Information  Ask students to analyze why the National Recovery Administration largely failed in its task. Tell them to find at least three reasons for the failure. (Large companies wrote the codes to favor their interests, employers disliked unions and paying higher wages, and rules were difficult to administer and voluntary.) OL

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Answers:
1. Kentucky, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi
2. eastern Tennessee

Answer: to improve the lot of farmers, set cooperative codes of fair competition, and improve the economy

Extending the Content

The National Industrial Recovery Act  The NIRA was influenced by the work of the War Industries Board that functioned during World War I. Labor and business leaders also offered suggestions. The primary writers of the legislation were General Hugh S. Johnson, who had served on the War Industries Board, and New York senator Robert F. Wagner, later to be known for the act that bears his name. The NIRA also established the Public Works Administration, funding it with $3.3 billion.
Relief Programs

**MAIN Idea** Programs such as the CCC, the PWA, and the WPA provided jobs for some unemployed workers.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know who built your school, post office, or playground? Read about the projects completed by the New Deal workers.

While many of President Roosevelt’s advisors emphasized tinkering with prices and providing debt relief to solve the Depression, others maintained that its **fundamental** cause was low consumption. They thought getting money into the hands of needy individuals would be the fastest remedy. Because neither Roosevelt nor his advisors wanted simply to give money to the unemployed, they supported work programs for the unemployed.

**The CCC**

The most highly praised New Deal work relief program was the **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC). The CCC offered unemployed young men 18 to 25 years old the opportunity to work under the direction of the forestry service planting trees, fighting forest fires, and building reservoirs. To prevent a repeat of the Dust Bowl, the workers planted a line of more than 200 million trees, known as a Shelter Belt, from north Texas to North Dakota. The young men lived in camps near their work areas and earned $30 a month, $25 of which was sent directly to their families. The average CCC worker returned home after six to twelve months, better nourished and with greater self-respect. CCC programs also taught more than 40,000 of its recruits to read and write. By the time the CCC closed down in 1942, it had put 3 million young men to work outdoors—including 80,000 Native Americans, who helped to reclaim land they had once owned. After a second Bonus Army March on Washington in 1933, Roosevelt added some 250,000 veterans to the CCC as well.

**FERA and the PWA**

A few weeks after authorizing the CCC, Congress established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Roosevelt chose...
Harry Hopkins, a former social worker, to run the agency. FERA did not initially create projects for the unemployed. Instead, it channeled money to state and local agencies to fund their relief projects.

Half an hour after meeting with Roosevelt to discuss his new job, Hopkins set up a desk in the hallway outside of his office. In the next two hours, he spent $5 million on relief projects. When critics charged that some of the projects did not make sense in the long run, Hopkins replied, “People don’t eat in the long run—they eat every day.”

In June 1933 Congress authorized another relief agency, the Public Works Administration (PWA). One-third of the nation’s unemployed were in the construction industry. To put them back to work, the PWA began building highways, dams, sewer systems, schools, and other government facilities. In most cases, the PWA did not hire workers directly but instead awarded contracts to construction companies. By insisting that contractors not discriminate against African Americans, the agency broke down some of the long-standing racial barriers in the construction trades.

The CWA

By the fall of 1933 neither FERA nor the PWA had reduced unemployment significantly. Hopkins realized that unless the federal government acted quickly, a huge number of unemployed citizens would be in severe distress once winter began. After Hopkins explained the situation, President Roosevelt authorized him to set up the Civil Works Administration (CWA).

Unlike the PWA, the CWA hired workers directly. That winter the CWA employed 4 million people, including 300,000 women. Under Hopkins’s direction, the agency built or improved 1,000 airports, 500,000 miles of roads, 40,000 school buildings, and 3,500 playgrounds and parks. The cost of the CWA was huge—the program spent nearly $1 billion in just five months.

Although the CWA helped many people get through the winter, President Roosevelt was alarmed by how quickly the agency was spending money. He did not want Americans to get used to the federal government providing them with jobs. Warning that the CWA would “become a habit with the country,” Roosevelt insisted that it be shut down the following spring.

Success of the First New Deal

During his first year in office, Roosevelt convinced Congress to pass an astonishing array of legislation. The programs enacted during the first New Deal did not restore prosperity, but they reflected Roosevelt’s zeal for action and his willingness to experiment. Banks were reopened, many more people retained their homes and farms, and more people were employed. Perhaps the most important result of the first New Deal was a noticeable change in the spirit of the American people. Roosevelt’s actions had inspired hope and restored Americans’ faith in their nation.

**Critical Thinking**

6. Big Ideas In what ways did FDR’s early experiences shape his political ideology?
7. Analyzing Charts Look at the time line on pages 654–655. How did the various agencies listed change the role of government?

**Writing About History**

8. Expository Writing Interview a member of your community who lived during the Great Depression. How did the New Deal programs affect your community? Create a one-page report using a word processor to summarize your findings.

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**Answers**

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. FDR began to fix the banks and stock market, help farmers and the unemployed, and assist industry, as well as provide debt relief.
4. It increased farm prices by providing an incentive to plant and raise less.
5. Answers may include the following: Major organizations: HOLC (Home Owners’ Loan Corporation); FCA (Farm Credit Administration); AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration); NRA (National Recovery Administration); CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps); FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration); PWA (Public Works Administration); CWA (Civil Works Administration); TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority).
6. FDR’s privileged upbringing, love of outdoors, good marriage, polio, and various political offices shaped his political ideology.
7. Answers should match text information.
8. Students’ journal entries will vary but should reflect a working day for a member of one of the relief agencies.
Chapter 19  Roosevelt and the New Deal

1. **The First New Deal**

When FDR took office in 1933, the economy had been getting worse for more than three years. During the first one hundred days of his presidency, he oversaw 15 major pieces of legislation that attempted to revive the nation’s economy and provide relief to the unemployed. Never before had the federal government intervened so directly in the economy. Key to stopping the economic downslide was FDR’s ability to inspire confidence that the nation’s economic problems could be solved.

Study these primary sources and answer the questions that follow.

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**Inaugural Address, 1933**

“I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our nation impels. This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. . . .

“So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days. . . .

“This Nation asks for action, and action now.

“Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.”

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, first inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1933

Excerpted from The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt

**Oral History Interview**

“During the whole ‘33 one-hundred days’ Congress, people didn’t know what was going on, the public. Couldn’t understand these things that were being passed so fast. They knew something was happening, something good for them. They began investing and working and hoping again. . . .

“A Depression is much like a run on a bank. It’s a crisis of confidence. People panic and grab their money.”

—Raymond Moley, original member of FDR’s “brains trust”


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**Political Science**

Unlike most Western European nations, the United States did not have any national system of unemployment insurance or retirement benefits before the 1930s. Today, most Americans do not question the need to have at least a basic system of social insurance (for retirees, unemployed workers, persons with disabilities, impoverished children). Using library or Internet sources, have students compare the system of social insurance created by the New Deal with similar programs that existed in the 1930s in another country (suggest Canada, Britain, or Germany). Then, ask them to compare the social policies and programs in their chosen country today with those that exist in the United States today.
Chapter 19
Roosevelt and the New Deal

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. Evaluating What themes did Roosevelt emphasize in his inaugural address? How would you have responded to this speech if you had been an unemployed worker?
2. Explaining Study Sources 2 and 3. How did FDR inspire confidence and optimism? What effect did this have on the economy?
3. Describing In Source 4, the poster highlights four opportunities offered by the CCC. Describe some specific ways the CCC provided such opportunities.
4. Paraphrasing In Source 5, how does the author define Roosevelt’s attitude toward unemployment and Hoover’s approach to unemployment?
5. Evaluating In Source 6, why does Herbert Hoover object to the New Deal? What programs do you think he found most objectionable?
6. Speculating Study the picture in Source 7. How does the artist feel about the New Deal? What symbols are used to convey that message?

Oral History Interview

“What Roosevelt and the New Deal did was to turn about and face the realities. . . . A hundred years from now, when historians look back on it, they will say a big corner was turned. People agreed that old things didn’t work. What ran through the whole New Deal was finding a way to make things work.

“Before that, Hoover would loan money to farmers to keep their mules alive, but wouldn’t loan money to keep their children alive. This was perfectly right within the framework of classical thinking. If an individual couldn’t get enough to eat, it was because he wasn’t on the ball. It was his responsibility. The New Deal said: Anybody who is unemployed isn’t necessarily unemployed because he’s shiftless.”

—Economist Gardiner C. Means, economic adviser in the Roosevelt administration


Differentiated Instruction

English Learners Ask students to study Source 5 and then write a paragraph that paraphrases its main points. Help students with words or idioms (such as “on the ball”) with which they may be unfamiliar.

Writing Support

Persuasive Writing Ask students to write an essay in which they agree or disagree with the ideas of President Hoover as expressed in Source 6. In their essays, they should critique at least one New Deal program as an example to bolster their argument.

Assess/Close

Ask students to name some programs, agencies, or policies that were introduced during the First New Deal. Then, as a class, discuss whether they were a success, a failure, or moderately effective. Which ones are still around today?

Answers

1. Themes include truth and honesty, confidence, taking action, using the government to get people back to work. Answers will vary, but should note that most unemployed workers would respond positively to his message of hope.
2. Exerting a positive attitude (compare grinning FDR to dour Hoover) and getting legislation enacted inspired confidence. When people felt more confidence about the economy they were willing to invest and place money in banks again.
3. Answers will vary. Students may draw on examples from the previous section of the chapter.
4. Hoover’s approach assumed direct aid, “the dole,” to the poor would be bad for their personal character. Roosevelt’s New Deal approach recognized farmers and unemployed workers were living in hardship due to forces beyond their control.
5. New Deal gives too much power to government, takes away personal freedom, and is less efficient than letting the free market solve economic problems. NRA and AAA are two good examples of programs that were attacked by conservatives.
6. The artist thinks the New Deal is failing to end the Depression and that the New Deal is too expensive. Despite the buckets of water (representing taxes) taken from the people, the New Deal pump leaks water in every direction (wasting taxpayer money).
**Section 2**

**The Second New Deal**

In response to criticisms of the New Deal, President Roosevelt introduced several major pieces of legislation in 1935. These laws created the Works Progress Administration, the National Labor Relations Board, and the Social Security Administration.

**Launching the Second New Deal**

By 1935, the New Deal faced political and legal challenges, as well as growing concern that it was not ending the Depression.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know anyone who can easily convince others to follow his or her ideas? Read about several people who used this power against Roosevelt and his New Deal policies.

Harry Hopkins, head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, worked long hours in his Washington office, a bare, dingy room with exposed water pipes. Hopkins also took to the road to explain the New Deal. Once in Iowa, where he was discussing spending programs, someone called out, “Who’s going to pay for it?” Hopkins peeled off his jacket, loosened his tie, and rolled up his sleeves, before roaring his response: “You are!”

President Roosevelt appreciated Harry Hopkins’s feistiness. He needed effective speakers who were willing to contend with his adversaries. Although Roosevelt had been tremendously popular during his first two years in office, opposition to his policies had begun to grow.

The economy had shown only a slight improvement, even though the New Deal had been in effect for two years. Although the program had created more than 2 million new jobs, more than 10 million workers remained unemployed, and the nation’s total income was about half of what it had been in 1929.

**Criticism From Left and Right**

Hostility toward Roosevelt came from both the political right and the left. People on the right generally believed the New Deal was about half of what it had been in 1929. The New Deal had placed a heavy burden on the federal government’s power at the expense of states’ rights.

The right wing, which had opposed the New Deal from the beginning, increased that opposition by late 1934. To pay for his programs, Roosevelt had started **deficit spending**, abandoning a balanced budget and borrowing money. Many business leaders became greatly alarmed at the government’s growing deficit.
In August 1934 business leaders and anti–New Deal politicians from both parties joined together to create the **American Liberty League**. Its purpose was to organize opposition to the New Deal and “teach the necessity of respect for the rights of person and property.” While criticisms from the right threatened to split the Democratic Party and reduce business support for Roosevelt, another serious challenge to the New Deal came from the political left. People on the left believed Roosevelt had not gone far enough. They wanted even more dramatic government economic intervention to shift wealth from the rich to middle-income and poor Americans.

**Huey Long** Perhaps the most serious threat came from Huey Long of Louisiana. As governor of Louisiana, Long had championed the poor and downtrodden. He had improved schools, colleges, and hospitals, and built roads and bridges. These **benefits** made Long popular, enabling him to build a powerful—but corrupt—political machine. In 1930 Long was elected to the U.S. Senate.

Long’s attacks on the rich were popular in the midst of the Great Depression. He captivated audiences with folksy humor and fiery oratory. By 1934, he had established a national organization, the **Share Our Wealth Society**, to promote his plan for massive redistribution of wealth. Long announced he would run for president in 1936.

**Father Coughlin** Roosevelt also faced a challenge from Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest in Detroit. About 30 to 45 million listeners heard his weekly radio show. Originally an ardent New Deal supporter, Coughlin had become impatient with its moderate reforms. He called instead for inflating the currency and nationalizing the banking system. In 1935 Coughlin organized the National Union for Social Justice, which some Democrats feared would become a new political party.

By 1935 some Americans had grown impatient with the New Deal economic recovery. They believed that the reforms did not go far enough and called for wider-ranging change.

**Reading Strategy**

**Academic Vocabulary** Point out the term **benefits** near the end of the first column. Tell students that the Latin root *bene* means “well.” Ask students to brainstorm other words that incorporate this root. (*beneficiary, benevolent, benediction*)

**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Comparing and Contrasting** What strikes you as the same and different about these three men?
2. **Assessing** Which man do you think would have the largest audience, and why?

**Hands-On Chapter Project**

**Step 2**

**Writing a Newspaper**

**Step 2: Write and Plan Newspaper Copy** Students begin to write articles and editorials and to draw cartoons based on the content of Section 1.

**Directions** Remind students to include the basic facts in news stories and to support opinions in editorials and letters to the editor. Have them plan the length of their newspaper and begin to write to fit that length. Encourage students to find templates online or in word processing software that can help them place copy in newspaper format.

**Putting It Together** Invite a teacher familiar with word processing programs to class to offer a tutorial for students unfamiliar with the software and how to use it. (*Chapter Project continued on page 669*)
Differentiated Instruction

Logical/Mathematical  Invite students to depict the information on the WPA’s achievements in graph form. Suggest they use a bar or circle graph.  

W  Writing Support

Expository Writing  Have students use library or Internet resources to find out more about the women and men supported through Federal Number One. Ask students to use their findings to write a short essay describing the artists or their works.

Answer:
The economy did not improve quickly after two years. Right wing critics of the New Deal felt that it regulated business too tightly. Southern Democrats feared the expansion of the federal government. Business leaders opposed Roosevelt’s deficit spending. Critics on the left felt the New Deal had not gone far enough.

Federal Writers’ Project  The Federal Writers’ Project was one of four segments of Federal One, which also included components in music, theater, and art. To avoid the controversy that might come from allowing writers to produce works of the imagination, the Federal Writers’ Project asked authors to focus on nonfiction. A series of popular guidebooks, the American Guide series, was produced for each state, as well as major counties and cities, interstate highway routes, and areas of the nation. Interviews and oral histories of formerly enslaved persons, farm and mill owners, and others published in These Are Our Lives gave new dimensions to American history.

At its peak in 1936, the Federal Writers’ Project employed 6,700 writers. Some 10,000 writers gained employment through the program, producing more than 1,000 publications.

The Townsend Plan  A third challenge came from Francis Townsend, a California physician. Townsend proposed that the federal government pay citizens over age 60 a pension of $200 a month. Recipients would have to retire and spend their entire pension check each month. He believed the plan would increase spending and remove people from the workforce, freeing up jobs for the unemployed.

Townsend’s proposal attracted millions of supporters, especially among older Americans, who mobilized as a political force for the first time. Townsend’s program was particularly popular in the West. When combined with Long’s support in the Midwest and South, and Coughlin’s support among urban Catholics in the Northeast, Roosevelt faced the possibility of a coalition that would draw enough votes to prevent his reelection.

The WPA  Roosevelt was also disturbed by the failure of the New Deal to generate a rapid economic recovery. In 1935 he launched a series of programs now known as the Second New Deal.

Among these new programs was the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Headed by Harry Hopkins, the WPA was the largest public works program of the New Deal. Between 1935 and 1941, the WPA spent $11 billion. Its 8.5 million workers constructed about 650,000 miles of highways, roads, and streets, 125,000 public buildings, and more than 8,000 parks. It built or improved more than 124,000 bridges and 853 airports.

The WPA’s most controversial program was Federal Number One, a program for artists, musicians, theater people, and writers. The artists created thousands of murals and sculptures for public buildings. Musicians established 30 symphony orchestras, as well as hundreds of smaller musical groups. The Federal Theater Project financed playwrights, actors, and directors. It also funded writers who recorded the stories of former slaves and others whose voices were not often heard.

The Supreme Court’s Role  In May 1935, in Schechter Poultry Company v. United States, the Supreme Court unanimously struck down the authority of the National Recovery Administration. The Schechter broth-
Reforms for Workers and Senior Citizens

MAIN Idea Roosevelt asked Congress to pass the Wagner Act and Social Security to build support among workers and older Americans.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you have an older relative who has retired from his or her job? Read about benefits created by the Social Security Act.

When the Supreme Court struck down the NRA, it also invalidated the section of the NIRA that gave workers the right to organize. President Roosevelt and the Democrats in Congress knew that the working-class vote was very important in winning reelection in 1936. They also believed that unions could help end the Depression. They thought that high union wages would give workers more money to spend, thereby boosting the economy. Opponents disagreed, arguing that high wages forced companies to charge higher prices and hire fewer people. Despite these concerns, Congress pushed ahead with new labor legislation.

The Wagner Act

In July 1935 Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act (also called the Wagner Act after its author, Senator Robert Wagner of New York). The act guaranteed workers the right to organize unions and to bargain collectively. It also set up the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which organized factory elections by secret ballot to determine whether workers wanted a union.

YES

Alfred E. Smith
Former Democratic Candidate

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Now what would I have my party do? I would have them re-declare the principles that they put forth in that 1932 platform [reduce the size of government, balance the federal budget] . . . just get the platform of the Democratic party and get the platform of the Socialist party and . . . make your mind up to pick up the platform that more nearly squares with the record, and you will have your hand on the Socialist platform. . . . It is all right with me, if they want to disguise themselves as Karl Marx or Lenin or any of the rest of that bunch, but I won’t stand for their allowing them to march under the banner of Jackson or Cleveland."

—speech delivered January 25, 1936

NO

Norman Thomas
Socialist Party Candidate

PRIMARY SOURCE

"All of these leaders or would-be leaders out of our wilderness, however they may abuse one another, however loosely they may fling around the charge of socialism or communism—still accept the basic institutions and loyalties of the present system. A true Socialist is resolved to replace that system. . . .

The New Deal did not say, as socialism would have said, "Here are so many millions of American people who need to be well fed and well clothed. How much food and cotton do we require?" We should require more, not less. What Mr. Roosevelt said was, "How much food and cotton can be produced for which the exploited masses must pay a higher price?"

—speech delivered February 2, 1936

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. Distinguishing Fact From Opinion Compare Smith’s attack on the New Deal with what you have read about it elsewhere. Does he make any valid points?
2. Contrasting According to Thomas, how are the principles of the New Deal and those of the Socialist Party different?
3. Evaluating Which speaker do you find more persuasive? Why?
4. Hypothesizing Do you think either speaker would be able to persuade someone who did not agree with him to reconsider his or her attitudes?

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Language Arts The question of whether the New Deal was socialistic in nature began in light of disillusionment with Roosevelt’s policies. The conservatives charged that Roosevelt was considering a fascist dictatorship and later changed their rhetoric to suggest the administration was proposing “absolute communism.” The debate grew louder as the 1934 elections approached and has continued among historians to this day. Ask: How does word choice influence the nature of a debate? (Students may note that name calling and labeling inflame opinions but do not clarify issues.) If the United States had not vigorously opposed communism and socialism, would labeling something socialistic provoke such intense feelings? (Students may suggest that these terms gained power to generate intense feelings primarily based on the Red Scare of 1919. Had the United States not given much attention to the movement, words such as socialism would not be likely to create such intense feelings.)

Critical Thinking Identifying Central Issues

Have students create word webs to record the provisions of the Wagner Act. Remind them to use these graphic organizers as study aids.

Answers:
1. Students may say that Smith’s call for a balanced budget, which was part of the 1932 platform, seems valid.
2. The New Deal accepts the basic institutions and loyalties of the present system, while the Socialist Party wants to replace the system.
3. Students’ answers will vary.
4. Students’ answers will vary.

Additional Support
The Wagner Act set up a process called **binding arbitration** whereby dissatisfied union members could take their complaints to a neutral party who would listen to both sides and decide on the issues. The NLRB could investigate employers’ actions and stop unfair practices, such as spying on workers.

The CIO Is Formed

The Wagner Act led to a burst of labor activity. John L. Lewis led the United Mine Workers union. He worked with several other unions to organize industrial workers. They formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) in 1935.

The CIO set out to organize unions that included all workers, skilled and unskilled, in a particular industry. It focused first on the automobile and steel industries—two of the largest industries in which workers were not yet unionized.

Sit-Down Strikes

Union organizers used new tactics, such as the **sit-down strike**, in which employees stopped work inside the factory and refused to leave. (This technique prevented management from sending in replacement workers.) First used effectively to organize rubber workers, the sit-down strike became a common CIO tactic for several years.

Sit-down strikers at the GM Fisher Body plant in Flint, Michigan, take over the plant on December 30, 1936. Their action led to a national strike that lasted until February 11, 1937.

The United Auto Workers (UAW), a CIO union, initiated a series of sit-down strikes against General Motors. On December 31, 1936, the workers at General Motor’s plant in Flint, Michigan, began a sit-down strike. The UAW strikers held the factory for weeks, while spouses, friends, and other supporters passed them food and other provisions through windows. A journalist who was allowed to enter the plant reported on conditions in the factory:

> “Beds were made up on the floor of each car, the seats being removed if necessary. . . . I could not see—and I looked for it carefully—the slightest damage done anywhere to the General Motors Corporation. The nearly completed car bodies, for example, were as clean as they would be in the salesroom, their glass and metal shining.”

—quoted in *The Great Depression*

Violence broke out in Flint when police launched a tear gas assault on one of the plants. The police wounded 13 strikers, but the strike held. On February 11, 1937, the company gave in and recognized the UAW as its employees’ sole bargaining agent. The UAW became one of the most powerful unions in the United States.

**Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection**

**Civics** Explain to students that sit-down strikes were a form of nonviolent protest that would be used extensively during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Invite students to use library or Internet resources to find other instances of the technique as well as the 1930s Supreme Court rulings on the legality of the strikes. Ask students to write a brief summary or create a time line to show their findings. Invite volunteers to share their finished work with the class.
U.S. Steel, the nation’s largest steel producer and a long-standing opponent of unionizing, decided it did not want to repeat the General Motors experience. In March 1937 the company recognized the CIO’s steelworkers union. Smaller steel producers did not follow suit and suffered bitter strikes. By 1941, however, the steelworkers union had won contracts throughout the industry.

In the late 1930s, workers in other industries worked hard to gain union recognition from their employers. Union membership tripled from roughly 3 million in 1933 to about 9 million in 1939. In 1938 the CIO changed its name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations and became a federation of industrial unions.

Social Security

After passing the Wagner Act, Congress began work on one of America’s most important pieces of legislation. This was the Social Security Act. Its major goal was to provide some security for older Americans and unemployed workers.

Roosevelt and his advisers spent months preparing the bill, which they viewed primarily as an insurance measure. Workers earned the right to receive benefits because they paid premiums, just as they did in buying a life insurance policy. The premiums were a tax paid to the federal government. The legislation also provided modest welfare payments to other needy people, including those with disabilities and poor mothers with dependent children.

The core of Social Security was the monthly retirement benefit, which people could collect when they stopped working at age 65. Another important benefit, unemployment insurance, supplied a temporary income to unemployed workers looking for new jobs. Some critics did not like the fact that the money came from payroll taxes imposed on workers and employers, but to Roosevelt these taxes were crucial: “We put those payroll contributions there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and their unemployment benefits.”

Since the people receiving benefits had already paid for them, he explained, “no . . . politician can ever scrap my social security program.” What Roosevelt did not anticipate was that, in the future, Congress would borrow money from the Social Security fund to pay for other programs while failing to raise payroll deductions enough to pay for the benefits.

Although Social Security helped many people, initially it left out many of the neediest—farm and domestic workers. Some 65 percent of all African American workers in the 1930s fell into these two categories. Nevertheless, Social Security established the principle that the federal government should be responsible for those who, through no fault of their own, were unable to work.

Examining How did the Social Security Act protect workers?
President Roosevelt won a landslide reelection victory in 1936. Early in his second term, however, his court-packing plan and a new recession hurt him politically. The Fair Labor Standards Act, the last significant piece of New Deal legislation, provided new protections for workers.

Roosevelt’s Second Term

Since the Civil War, African Americans had been reliable Republican voters. The Republican Party was the party of both Abraham Lincoln and emancipation. In the 1930s, however, this allegiance unraveled. The Great Depression had hit African Americans hard, and the Republican Party had done little to help. To many African Americans, it seemed their votes were taken for granted. That was certainly the sentiment of Robert L. Vann, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, Pennsylvania’s leading African American newspaper. Vann decided it was time for a change and started a campaign to persuade African Americans to join the Democratic Party. “My friends, go turn Lincoln’s picture to the wall,” he told audiences. “That debt has been paid in full.”

The dramatic shift in party allegiance by African Americans was part of a historic political realignment the New Deal triggered. As the election of 1936 approached, millions of voters owed their jobs, mortgages, and bank accounts to the New Deal, and they knew it.

The white South, which had been the core of the Democratic Party, now became just one part of a new coalition that included farmers, industrial workers, African Americans, new immigrants, ethnic minorities, women, progressives, and intellectuals. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt helped bring about the change in the African American and women’s vote. She had demonstrated strong sympathies toward African Americans in her many tours of the country. She recounted her experiences to her husband and persuaded him to address at least some of their problems in his New Deal programs.

African Americans made some modest gains during the New Deal. The president appointed several African Americans to positions in his administration, where they informally became known as the Black Cabinet. FDR also tried to see that public works projects included African Americans.
A similar policy guided FDR’s approach to women. He appointed the first woman to a cabinet post, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, and appointed many other women to lower-level posts. He also appointed two female diplomats and a female federal judge. Despite these gains, New Deal programs paid women lower wages than men.

The Election of 1936
To challenge President Roosevelt’s reelection bid, the Republicans nominated Alfred Landon, the governor of Kansas. Although Landon favored some New Deal policies, he declared it was time “to unshackle initiative and free the spirit of American enterprise.” Landon was unable to convince the majority of American voters it was time for a change. Roosevelt and the New Deal that he represented remained very popular, and on Election Day, Roosevelt swept to victory in one of the largest landslides in American history. He won more than 60 percent of the popular vote and carried every state except Maine and Vermont.
Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions

Ask: What have you already learned about Roosevelt that prepares you to read that he was “furious” that the Supreme Court declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional? (He was intensely competitive; he had held executive office before on the state level and was used to command and power.) Ask students what other steps might Roosevelt have taken instead of his court-packing plan. (He might have gone to the members individually and talked with them.) OL

Reading Strategy

Activating Prior Knowledge

Ask students how a house of Congress can “kill” a bill. (Bills can die in committee or never be brought to the floor for a vote.) OL

Answer: court-packing plan and recession

The Court-Packing Plan

Although many people supported the New Deal, the Supreme Court saw things differently. In January 1936, in United States v. Butler, the Court had declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional. With cases pending on Social Security and the Wagner Act, it was possible that the Court would strike down most of the major New Deal programs.

Roosevelt was furious that a handful of jurists, “nine old men” as he called them, were blocking the wishes of a majority of the people. After winning reelection, he decided to try to change the political balance on the Court. In March 1937 he sent Congress a bill to increase the number of justices. It proposed that if any justice had served for 10 years and did not retire within six months after reaching the age of 70, the president could appoint an additional justice to the Court. Since four justices were in their 70s and two more were in their late 60s, the bill, if passed, would allow Roosevelt to quickly appoint as many as six new justices.

The court-packing plan, as the press called it, was Roosevelt’s first serious political mistake. Although Congress had the power to change the Court’s size, the scheme created the impression that the president was trying to undermine the Court’s independence.

The issue split the Democratic Party. Many Southern Democrats feared Roosevelt’s plan would put justices on the Court who would overturn segregation. At the same time, African American leaders worried that once Roosevelt set the precedent of changing the Court’s makeup, a future president might pack the Court with justices opposed to civil rights. Many Americans believed the plan would give the president too much power.

Despite the uproar, Roosevelt’s actions appeared to force the Supreme Court to back down. In April 1937, the Court upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act by a vote of 5-4 in the case National Labor Relations Board v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation. In May the Court narrowly upheld the Social Security Act in Steward Machine Company v. Davis. Shortly afterward, a conservative justice resigned, enabling Roosevelt to appoint a New Deal supporter to the Court.

In mid-July the Senate quietly killed the court-packing bill without bringing it to a vote.

The Recession of 1937

In late 1937 Roosevelt’s reputation again suffered when unemployment suddenly surged. Early in the year, the economy had seemed on the verge of full recovery. Industrial output was almost back to pre-Depression levels, and many people believed the worst was over. Roosevelt decided it was time to balance the budget. Concerned about the dangers of too much debt, Roosevelt ordered the WPA and the PWA to be cut significantly. Unfortunately, Roosevelt cut spending just as the first Social Security payroll taxes removed $2 billion from the economy, which plummeted. By the end of 1937, about 2 million people had been thrown out of work.

The recession of 1937 led to a debate inside Roosevelt’s administration. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau favored balancing the budget and cutting spending. This would encourage business leaders to invest in the economy. Harry Hopkins, head of the WPA, and Harold Ickes, head of the PWA, both disagreed. They pushed for more government spending using a new theory called Keynesianism to support their arguments.

Keynesianism was based on the theories of an influential British economist named John Maynard Keynes. In 1936 Keynes published a book arguing that government should spend heavily in a recession, even if it required deficit spending, to jump-start the economy.

According to Keynesian economics, Roosevelt had done the wrong thing when he cut back programs in 1937. At first, Roosevelt was reluctant to begin deficit spending again. Many critics believed the recession proved the public was becoming too dependent on government spending. Finally, in the spring of 1938, with no recovery in sight, Roosevelt asked Congress for $3.75 billion for the PWA, the WPA, and other programs.

Activity: Economics Connection

Keynesian Economics Invite students to use library or Internet resources to find out more about Keynesian theory and how it affected the New Deal. Suggest that students use charts and graphs to show the economic changes between 1932 and 1941, when the war economy effectively ended the Great Depression. Ask students to determine how effective they believe Keynesian theory was during Roosevelt’s time and if it is a valid theory. Have them record their thoughts in a brief essay. AL
Can Government Regulate Business?

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

**NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. (1937)**

**Background to the Cases**

These two cases look at the federal government’s right to regulate interstate commerce. In the Schechter case, the Court overturned the NIRA and the industrial codes that regulated business. In the Jones & Laughlin case, Chief Justice Hughes switched sides from the Schechter case and upheld the Wagner Act’s labor regulations. The case marks the Supreme Court’s shift toward upholding New Deal legislation.

**How the Court Ruled**

Both cases addressed the question of federal power to regulate interstate commerce. In the Schechter case, the Court ruled that the federal government could regulate only business activity that was directly related to interstate commerce. In the NLRB case, the Court extended congressional power to regulate commerce and upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act.

**Primary Source**

**The Court’s Opinion**

“The persons employed in slaughtering and selling in local trade are not employed in interstate commerce. Their hours and wages have no direct relation to interstate commerce. The question of how many hours these employees should work and what they should be paid differs in no essential respect from similar questions in other local businesses which handle commodities brought into a state and there dealt in as a part of its internal commerce. . . . On both the grounds we have discussed, the attempted delegation of legislative power and the attempted regulation of intrastate transactions which affect interstate commerce only indirectly, we hold the code provisions here in question to be invalid.”

—Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes writing for the Court in Schechter v. U.S.

**Dissenting Views**

“The fundamental principle is that the power to regulate commerce is the power to enact ‘all appropriate legislation’ for its ‘protection or advancement’ . . . Although activities may be intrastate in character when separately considered, if they have such a close and substantial relation to interstate commerce that their control is essential or appropriate to protect that commerce from burdens and obstructions, Congress cannot be denied the power to exercise that control. When industries organize themselves on a national scale . . . how can it be maintained that their industrial labor relations constitute a forbidden field into which Congress may not enter when it is necessary to protect interstate commerce from the paralyzing consequences of industrial war?”

—Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes writing for the Court in NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation

**DBQ Document-Based Questions**

1. **Explaining** In Schechter, why does the Court assert that poultry workers are not engaged in interstate commerce?
2. **Analyzing** In the NLRB decision, how has the Court’s reasoning changed?
3. **Drawing Conclusions** How would you explain the shift in the Court’s attitude toward federal labor regulations?

**Identifying Cause-and-Effect: Recession and Depression**

**Objective:** Identify the causes and effects of recessions and depressions.

**Focus:** Read the information on recessions and depressions.

**Teach:** Define recession and depression and list the causes and effects of each.

**Assess:** Make a list of the things that will need to happen to lift the economy out of a recession or depression.

**Close:** Create a poster illustrating an economic cycle from boom to recession.

**Differentiated Instruction Strategies**

**BL** Identify two causes of recession and the resulting effects on businesses.

**AL** Research unemployment rates during the recession periods and write a short report of the results.

**ELL** Underline any words that are unclear. Use a dictionary or develop a definition for each word.
Chapter 19 • Section 3

The New Deal Ends

MAIN Idea The New Deal expanded federal power over the economy and established a social safety net.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think the government should help those in need? Read how people felt about the government as the New Deal came to an end.

In his second Inaugural Address, Roosevelt had pointed out that despite the nation’s progress in climbing out of the Depression, many Americans were still poor:

"I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. . . . The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

—from The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Last New Deal Reforms

One of the president’s goals for his second term was to provide better housing for the nation’s poor. Eleanor Roosevelt, who had toured poverty-stricken Appalachia and the rural South, strongly urged the president to do something. Roosevelt responded with the National Housing Act, establishing the United States Housing Authority. This organization received $500 million to subsidize loans for builders willing to provide low-cost housing.

Roosevelt also sought to help the nation’s tenant farmers. Before being shut down, the AAA had paid farmers to take land out of production. In doing so, it had inadvertently hurt tenant farmers. Landowners had expelled tenants from the land to take it out of production. As a result, some 150,000 white and 195,000 African American tenants left farming during the 1930s. To stop this trend, Congress created the Farm Security Administration to give loans to tenants so they could purchase farms.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. Identifying Which organization regulates and oversees the stock market policies?
2. Listing What is the new name for the Federal Housing Authority?

Additional Support

Activity: Collaborative Learning

Analyze Roosevelt’s Inaugural Addresses Divide the class into four groups, assigning each group one of the four inaugural addresses that Roosevelt gave. Have students look for key thoughts in the speech and determine how Roosevelt fostered hope and vision during difficult times. Ask: To what extent did the inaugural address set forth an agenda, or blueprint, to be followed? (Students’ responses will vary depending on the inaugural address they studied.)
To further help workers, Roosevelt pushed through Congress the Fair Labor Standards Act, which abolished child labor, limited the workweek to 44 hours for most workers, and set the first federal minimum wage at 25 cents an hour. The Fair Labor Standards Act was the last major piece of New Deal legislation. The recession of 1937 enabled the Republicans to win seats in Congress in the midterm elections of 1938. Together with conservative Southern Democrats, they began blocking further New Deal legislation. By 1939, the New Deal era had come to an end.

**The New Deal’s Legacy**

The New Deal had only limited success in ending the Depression. Unemployment remained high, and economic recovery was not complete until after World War II. Even so, the New Deal gave many Americans a stronger sense of security and stability. As a whole, the New Deal tended to balance competing economic interests. Business leaders, farmers, workers, homeowners, and others now looked to government to protect their interests. The federal government’s ability to take on this new role was enhanced by two important Supreme Court decisions. In 1937, in *NLRB v. Jones and Laughlin Steel*, the Court ruled that the federal government had the authority to regulate production within a state. Later, in 1942, in *Wickard v. Filburn*, the Court used a similar argument to allow the federal government to regulate consumption in the states. These decisions increased federal power over the economy and allowed it to **mediate** between competing groups.

In taking on this mediating role, the New Deal established what some have called the **broker state**, in which the government works out conflicts among different interests. This broker role has continued under the administrations of both parties ever since. The New Deal also brought about a new public attitude toward government. Roosevelt’s programs had succeeded in creating a **safety net** for Americans—safeguards and relief programs that protected them against economic disaster. By the end of the 1930s, many Americans felt that the government had a duty to maintain this safety net, even though doing so required a larger, more expensive federal government.

Critics continue to argue that the New Deal made the government too powerful. Thus, another legacy of the New Deal is a continuing debate over how much the government should intervene in the economy or support the disadvantaged. Throughout the hard times of the Depression, most Americans maintained a surprising degree of confidence in the American system. Journalist Dorothy Thompson expressed this feeling in 1940:

**Primary Source**

“We have behind us eight terrible years of a crisis. . . . Here we are, and our basic institutions are still intact, our people relatively prosperous and most important of all, our society relatively affectionate. . . . No country is so well off.”

—from the Washington Post, October 9, 1940

**Summarizing** What was the legacy of Roosevelt’s New Deal?

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**Vocabulary**


**Main Ideas**

2. What caused a recession early in Roosevelt’s second term?

3. How did the New Deal expand federal power over the economy?

**Critical Thinking**

4. **Big Ideas** What groups made up the New Deal coalition?

5. **Organizing** Use a chart like the one below to list the achievements and defeats of Roosevelt’s second term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achievements</th>
<th>Defeats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **Analyzing Visuals** Choose one of the photos on page 669 and write a brief account of the day’s activities from the viewpoint of one of the people in the photograph.

**Writing About History**

7. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are a staff member in Roosevelt’s cabinet. Write a short paper criticizing or defending FDR’s court-packing plan.

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**Answers**

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. The recession was created when Social Security began making payments just as WPA and PWA programs were cut.
3. The New Deal introduced federal regulations in agriculture, industry, banking, and the stock market. It also established a minimum wage.
4. African Americans, farmers, labor, minorities, new immigrants, women, intellectuals, and progressives
5. Achievements: court upholds reforms, National Housing Act, Fair Labor Standards Act; Defeats: Great Depression continued, court-packing plan
6. Students’ responses will vary but should be consistent with text material.
7. Students’ papers will vary but should take a position on the court-packing plan and defend it.
Chapter 19 • Visual Summary

The New Deal in Action

Banking and Finances
- Emergency Banking Relief Act regulated banks.
- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation insured bank deposits.
- Farm Credit Administration refinanced farm mortgages.
- Home Owners’ Loan Corporation financed homeowners’ mortgages.

Agriculture and Industry
- Agricultural Adjustment Administration paid farmers to limit surplus production.
- National Industrial Recovery Act limited industrial production and set prices.
- National Labor Relations Act gave workers the right to organize unions and bargain collectively.
- Tennessee Valley Authority financed rural electrification and helped develop the economy of a seven-state region.

Work and Relief
- Civilian Conservation Corps created forestry jobs for young men.
- Federal Emergency Relief Administration funded city and state relief programs.
- Public Works Administration created work programs to build public projects, such as roads, bridges, and schools.

Social “Safety Net”
- Social Security Act provided
  - income for senior citizens, handicapped, and unemployed
  - monthly retirement benefit for people over 65

Hands-On
Chapter Project

Step 4: Wrap Up

Writing a Newspaper

Step 4: Produce and Distribute the Paper
Have students make enough copies of their newspaper for the class. Allow time for students to read and comment on each other’s completed work. Display the completed papers in the classroom.

Putting It Together
Use the newspapers as the basis of a classroom display or bulletin board. Enhance the display with photos and maps.
Chapter 19 Assessment

Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. The purpose of a _______ was to prevent banks from being closed completely because of bank runs.
   A. New Deal
   B. bank holiday
   C. gold standard
   D. fireside chat

2. The period of intense congressional activity after FDR took office was known as the
   A. Square Deal.
   B. Securities and Exchange Commission.
   C. New Deal.
   D. Hundred Days.

3. _______ involves borrowing money to pay for programs.
   A. Deficit spending
   B. The gold standard
   C. States’ rights
   D. Binding arbitration

4. Roosevelt ran into major opposition to his _______ plan.
   A. broker state
   B. gold standard
   C. recovery
   D. court-packing

5. The New Deal created a new public attitude toward government, by imagining the federal government used a _______ to protect citizens from economic disasters.
   A. broker state
   B. deficit nation
   C. safety net
   D. gold standard

6. One of the ways in which Franklin Roosevelt gained political experience before being president was by serving as the
   A. U.S. senator for Maine.
   B. mayor of Boston.
   C. governor of New York.
   D. congressional representative from Connecticut.

7. The _______ was created to protect bank deposits.
   A. Agricultural Adjustment Act
   B. Home Owners’ Loan Corporation
   C. Securities and Exchange Commission
   D. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

8. To _______, the Agricultural Adjustment Act paid farmers not to grow certain crops.
   A. raise farm prices
   B. lower farm prices
   C. feed the homeless
   D. let farmers relax

9. The _______ provided work for unemployed young men, who planted trees and built reservoirs.
   A. Civil Works Administration
   B. Public Works Administration
   C. Civilian Conservation Corps
   D. Federal Emergency Relief Administration

TEST-TAKING TIP

Questions sometimes ask for the exception, rather than the one right answer. Be sure to read through the question carefully, as well as each response, to see which one does not fit.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Go to Page... 652 652 662-663 670 673 650-651 654 656 658

Answers and Analyses Reviewing Vocabulary

1. B Although all the terms given as possible answers to this question do relate to the New Deal, only bank holiday fully answers the question. The New Deal itself was larger than a bank holiday and not designed only to prevent bank closings. The fear that Roosevelt would take the nation off the gold standard actually provoked some bank runs. The fireside chats were intended to calm the nation in general and to give listeners a sense that they had a friend in the White House.

2. D The Square Deal can be easily eliminated, as it refers to Theodore Roosevelt’s agenda. The word commission does not refer to a time period; the Securities and Exchange Commission was created to control the activities of Wall Street. The New Deal was a series of broad programs designed to help the nation’s economic recovery.

3. A The gold standard demanded that an ounce of gold equaled a certain amount of dollars. States’ rights was the insistence on the right of individual states to conduct business without the interference of the federal government. In binding arbitration, two sides in a dispute agree to accept the decision of a neutral party.

4. D By defining each term, students can eliminate distractors.

5. C The network of safeguards and relief programs that the New Deal represented made the federal government highly involved in guiding people’s choices and possibilities.

Reviewing Main Ideas

6. C This question asks students to differentiate from among political offices and locations. They need to remember that Roosevelt was from New York.

7. D Although all the possible answers have to do with programs that the New Deal created, only “the FDIC” completely answers the question. The Agricultural Adjustment Act provided a way to raise farm prices. The Home Owners’ Loan Corporation was designed to help homeowners with their mortgage payments. The SEC regulated stock market activities.

8. A The key term in the name of this act is Adjustment. Students should recall that farm prices were already very low. Also, remind students that generally in tests, when two possible answers directly contradict each other, one of them is the correct answer and the other distractors can be ignored.

9. C This question asks students to select among various New Deal programs to find the correct answer. The term conservation in the correct response should be a clue.
10. D This question requires students to place events in sequence and to recall that 1935 was the year before the 1936 presidential election. Knowing that FDR wanted a second term and that the failure to end the Great Depression stood in his way can help students find the correct response.

11. C The term benefits can be a key to finding the right answer to this question. Students can link the word Security in the correct response with benefit and thus eliminate the other programs mentioned.

12. A Students may recall the cartoon showing the Democratic donkey kicking the fence and thereby remember the uproar created by Roosevelt’s court-packing plan.

13. B The possible answers offer a preliminary choice between two options: was the New Deal a state or federal program? Then students must decide if the federal expansion was over economy or the Constitution.

14. D To answer this question, students can frame it as a then/now issue. By doing so, they can see that the major issue was that of providing a safety net for retired or disabled workers, who had suffered deeply during the Great Depression.

Critical Thinking

15. C By correctly identifying the lighter-colored region on the map as the Northeast, students can answer this question.

16. A Remind students to look carefully at the map to be sure they have not overlooked any state before they answer.
17. Social Security was an important piece of legislation because it
A provided monthly retirement benefits.
B encouraged state governments to improve schools.
C forced the federal government to hire the unemployed.
D mandated that workers be issued safety equipment.

Have students visit the Web site at glencoe.com to review Chapter 19 and take the Self-Check Quiz.

Need Extra Help?

17. A Social Security provided monthly retirement checks.

18. D A careful look at the cartoon shows people for as far as the horizon extends, following FDR. Congress is leading the pack. All other distractors are incorrect.

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in her autobiography of her experiences with people around the country:

“This trip to the mining areas was my first contact with the work being done by the Quakers. I liked the idea of trying to put people to work to help themselves. The men were started on projects and taught to use their abilities to develop new skills. The women were encouraged to revive any household arts they might once have known but which they had neglected in the drab life of the mining village.

This was only the first of many trips into the mining districts but it was the one that started the homestead idea [placing people in communities with homes, farms, and jobs] . . . . It was all experimental work, but it was designed to get people off relief, to put them to work building their own homes and to give them enough land to start growing food.”

—from The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt

19. Why did Eleanor Roosevelt like the Quaker project?

20. Based on this excerpt, how do you think Eleanor Roosevelt felt about New Deal programs? Explain your answer.

Document-Based Questions

19. It emphasized individual initiative in improving the lives of the miners.

20. She supported the New Deal programs; this is clear because she advised FDR on peoples’ needs and visited projects.

Extended Response

21. Answers will vary. Students’ answers should involve one specific New Deal program and one current situation to which it might be adapted.