

# Redefining Liberalism: The New Deal

## 1933–1939

### Teaching Resources

#### Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. How and why did the federal government influence American economic and political issues during the 1930s?
2. How did President Roosevelt respond to economic depression, and why did he respond in this manner? What were the primary differences between the first and second New Deal?
3. How did labor unions respond to the New Deal?
4. How did the New Deal affect American society both during the 1930s and thereafter?

#### Chapter Annotated Outline

- I. The New Deal Takes Over, 1933–1935
  - A. Roosevelt's Leadership
    1. Franklin D. Roosevelt's proposed New Deal eventually came to stand for his administration's complex set of responses to the nation's economic collapse.
    2. The New Deal was meant to relieve suffering yet conserve the nation's political and economic institutions through unprecedented activity on the part of the national government.
    3. The Great Depression destroyed Herbert Hoover's reputation and helped to establish Roosevelt's.
    4. Roosevelt's ideology was not vastly different from Hoover's, but he was willing to experiment with new programs to address the current crisis. His programs put

people to work and instilled hope in the future.

5. Roosevelt crafted his administration's programs in response to shifting political and economic conditions rather than according to a set ideology or plan.
  6. Roosevelt established a close rapport with the American people; his use of radio-broadcast "fireside chats" fostered a sense of intimacy.
  7. Roosevelt's personal charisma allowed him to dramatically expand the role of the executive branch in initiating policy, thereby helping to create the modern presidency.
  8. For policy formulation he turned to his cabinet, but Roosevelt was just as likely to turn to advisors and administrators scattered throughout the New Deal bureaucracy—eager young people who had flocked to Washington to join the New Deal.
- B. The Hundred Days
    1. The first problem Roosevelt confronted was the banking crisis; the president declared a national "bank holiday" and called Congress into special session. The result was the Emergency Banking Act, which permitted banks to reopen but only if a Treasury Department inspection showed they had sufficient cash reserves.
    2. In his first fireside chat, the president reassured citizens that the banks were safe; when the banks reopened, there were more deposits than withdrawals.
    3. The Banking Act was the first of fifteen pieces of major legislation enacted by Congress in the opening months of the Roosevelt administration, in what became known as the "Hundred Days."

4. Congress created the Homeowners Loan Corporation to refinance home mortgages and the Glass-Steagall Act to curb speculation and create the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which insured deposits up to \$2,500.
  5. The Civilian Conservation Corps was created, which sent 250,000 young men to do reforestation and conservation work, and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) received approval for its plan of government-sponsored regional development and public energy.
  6. In a move that lifted public spirits, beer was legalized. Full repeal of Prohibition came in December of 1933.
  7. The Roosevelt administration targeted three pressing problems: agricultural overproduction, business failures, and unemployment relief.
  8. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) established a system for seven major commodities (wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and dairy products) that provided cash subsidies to farmers who cut production in the hopes that prices would rise.
  9. The AAA's benefits were distributed unevenly; it fostered the migration of marginal farmers in the South and Midwest to northern cities and to California, while they consolidated the economic and political clout of larger landholders.
  10. The National Industrial Recovery Act launched the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which established a system of industrial self-government to handle the problems of overproduction, cutthroat competition, and price instability.
  11. The NRA's codes established prices and production quotas, as well as minimum wages and maximum hours, outlawed child labor, and gave workers union rights.
  12. Trade associations, controlled by large companies, tended to dominate the NRA's code-drafting process, thus solidifying the power of large businesses at the expense of smaller ones.
  13. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), set up in May 1933 under the direction of Harry Hopkins, offered federal money to the states for relief programs and was designed to keep people from starving until other recovery measures took hold. Over the program's two-year existence, FERA spent \$1 billion.
  14. Whenever possible, New Deal administrators promoted work relief over cash subsidies, and they consistently favored jobs that would not compete directly with the private sector.
  15. The Public Works Administration (PWA), under Harold L. Ickes, received a \$3.3 billion appropriation in 1933, but Ickes's cautiousness in initiating public works projects limited the agency's effectiveness.
  16. Established in November 1933, the Civil Works Administration (CWA) put 2.6 million men and women to work; at its peak, it employed 4 million in public works jobs. The CWA lapsed the next spring after spending all of its funds.
  17. Many of these early emergency measures were deliberately inflationary and meant to trigger price increases thought necessary to stimulate recovery.
  18. Roosevelt's executive order of April 18, 1933, to abandon the international gold standard, allowed the Federal Reserve System to manipulate the value of the dollar in response to fluctuating economic conditions.
  19. In 1934 the Securities and Exchange Commission was established in order to regulate the stock market and prevent abuses.
  20. The Banking Act of 1935 placed the control of money-market policies at the federal level rather than with regional banks and encouraged centralization of the nation's banking system.
- C. The New Deal under Attack
1. Business leaders and conservative Democrats formed the Liberty League in 1934 to lobby against the New Deal and its "reckless spending" and "socialist" reforms.
  2. In *Schechter v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that the National Industrial Recovery Act represented an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the executive branch.
  3. Citizens like Francis Townsend thought that the New Deal had not gone far enough; Townsend proposed the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan.
  4. In 1935, Father Charles Coughlin organized the National Union for Social Justice to attack Roosevelt's New Deal and demand nationalization of the banking system and expansion of the money supply.
  5. Because he was Canadian-born and a priest, Coughlin was not likely to run for

president; the most direct threat to Roosevelt came from Senator Huey Long of Louisiana.

6. In 1934, Senator Long broke with the New Deal and established his own national movement, the Share Our Wealth Society.
  7. Coughlin and Long offered feeble solutions to the depression and quick-fix plans that addressed only part of problem. Both men showed little respect for the principles of representative government.
- II. The Second New Deal, 1935–1938
- A. Legislative Accomplishments
1. As the depression continued and attacks on the New Deal mounted, Roosevelt—with his eye on the 1936 election—began to construct a new coalition and broaden the scope of his response to the depression.
  2. The first beneficiary of Roosevelt’s change in direction was the labor movement.
  3. After the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional in 1935, labor representatives demanded legislation that would protect the right to organize and bargain collectively.
  4. The Wagner Act of 1935 upheld the right of industrial workers to join a union and established the nonpartisan National Labor Relations Board to further protect workers’ rights.
  5. The Social Security Act of 1935 provided pensions for most workers in the private sector to be financed by a federal tax that both employers and employees would pay and established a joint federal-state system of unemployment compensation.
  6. The Social Security Act was a milestone in the creation of the modern **welfare state** in that with it the United States joined countries such as Great Britain and Germany in providing old-age pensions and unemployment compensation to citizens.
  7. The act also mandated categorical assistance programs for those who clearly could not support themselves, such as the blind, deaf, disabled, and dependent children.
  8. Under Harry Hopkins the Works Progress Administration (WPA) became the main federal relief agency for the rest of the depression and put relief workers directly onto the federal payroll; between 1935 and 1943 the WPA employed 8.5 million Americans, spending \$10.5 billion.
  9. The Revenue Act of 1935 increased estate and corporate taxes and instituted higher
- personal income tax rates in the top brackets, further alienating wealthy conservatives but giving Roosevelt political mileage against potential opponents such as Huey Long.
10. The broad range of New Deal programs brought new voters into the Democratic coalition as the 1936 election approached.
  11. Roosevelt beat the Republicans’ Alfred M. Landon in a landslide; there was no third-party threat, as Huey Long had been assassinated in September of 1935 and the Union party garnered less than 2 percent of the votes.
- B. The 1936 Election
1. As the 1936 election approached, new voters joined the Democratic party. Roosevelt could count on a potent coalition of organized labor, Midwestern farmers, white ethnic groups, northern blacks, and middle-class families concerned about unemployment and old-age dependence.
  2. He also commanded the support of Jews, intellectuals, and progressive Republicans. The Democrats also held on to their traditional constituency of white southerners.
  3. The Republicans realized that the New Deal was too popular to oppose directly. So they chose as their candidate the progressive governor of Kansas, Alfred M. Landon.
  4. Landon accepted the legitimacy of most New Deal programs but criticized their inefficiency and expense. The Republican candidate also pointed to authoritarian regimes in Italy and Germany, directed by Benito Mussolini and Adolph Hitler, respectively, and hinted that Roosevelt harbored similar dictatorial ambitions.
  5. Despite these charges, Roosevelt’s victory in 1936 was one of the biggest landslides in American history. The assassination of Huey Long in September 1935 had deflated the threat of a serious third-party challenge; the candidate of the combined Long-Townsend-Coughlin camp, Congressman William Lemke of North Dakota, garnered fewer than 900,000 votes (1.9 percent) for the Union party ticket.
  6. Roosevelt received 60.8 percent of the popular vote and carried every state except Maine and Vermont. The New Deal was at high tide.
- C. Stalemate
1. Because he felt the future of New Deal reforms might be in doubt, Roosevelt asked

for fundamental changes in the structure of the Supreme Court only two weeks after his inauguration.

2. Roosevelt proposed the addition of one new justice for each sitting justice over the age of seventy—a scheme that would have increased the number of justices from nine to fifteen; opponents protested that he was trying to “pack” the court with justices who favored the New Deal.
3. The issue became a moot point when the Supreme Court upheld several key pieces of New Deal legislation and a series of resignations created vacancies on the court.
4. Roosevelt managed to reshape the Supreme Court to suit his liberal philosophy through seven new appointments, but the court-packing episode galvanized congressional conservatives by demonstrating that Roosevelt was no longer politically invincible.
5. A conservative coalition tried to impede social legislation, but two reform acts did pass: the National Housing Act of 1937, which mandated the construction of low-cost public housing, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which made permanent the minimum wage, maximum hours, and anti-child labor provisions in the NRA codes.
6. The “Roosevelt recession” of 1937 to 1938 dealt the most devastating blow to the president’s political effectiveness in his second term. A steady improvement in the economy had caused Roosevelt to slash the budget, causing a tightening in credit, a market downturn, and rising unemployment.
7. Roosevelt spent his way out of the downturn; he and his economic advisors were groping toward John Maynard Keynes’s theory of using **deficit spending** in order to stimulate the economy. Over time, **Keynesian economics** gradually won wider acceptance as defense spending during World War II ended the Great Depression.
8. Roosevelt’s attempt to “purge” the Democratic party of some of his most conservative opponents only widened the liberal-conservative rift.
9. In the 1938 election, Republicans picked up eight seats in the Senate and eighty-one in the House and gained thirteen governorships.

10. Even without these political reversals, the reform impetus of the New Deal probably would not have continued, as Roosevelt’s instincts were basically conservative; he wanted only to save the capitalist economic system by reforming it.

### III. The New Deal’s Impact on Society

#### A. The Rise of Labor

1. The New Deal accelerated the expansion of the federal bureaucracy, and power was increasingly centered in the nation’s capital, not in the states.
2. During the 1930s the federal government operated as a broker state, mediating between contending pressure groups seeking power and benefits.
3. Labor’s dramatic growth in the 1930s represented one of the most important social and economic changes of the decade. Organized labor won the battle for recognition, higher wages, seniority systems, and grievance procedures.
4. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) served as the cutting edge of the union movement by promoting “industrial unionism”—organizing all of the workers in one industry, both skilled and unskilled, into one union.
5. While few workers in the CIO’s unions actually joined the Communist party, it had a great influence in labor organizing in the 1930s.
6. The CIO recognized that in order to succeed, unions had to become more inclusive, and they worked deliberately to attract new groups to the labor movement. Mexican and African Americans were attracted to the CIO’s commitment to racial justice, and women workers found a limited welcome in the CIO, though few held leadership positions.
7. The CIO scored its first two major victories through sit-down strikes with the United Automobile Workers at General Motors and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee at the U.S. Steel Corporation.
8. Hoping to use its influence to elect candidates that were sympathetic to labor and social justice, the CIO quickly allied itself with the Democratic party.
9. The labor movement still had not developed into a dominant force in American life, and many workers remained indifferent or even hostile to unionization.

## B. Women and Blacks in the New Deal

1. Under the experimental climate of the New Deal, Roosevelt appointed the first female cabinet member, the first female director of the mint, and a female judge to the court of appeals.
2. Eleanor Roosevelt had worked to increase women's power in political parties, labor unions, and education; as first lady, she pushed the president and the New Deal to do more and served as the conscience of the New Deal.
3. New Deal programs were marred by grave flaws; some NRA codes set a lower minimum wage for women than men, and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) did not hire women at all. When they did hire women, New Deal programs tended to reinforce the broader society's gender and racial attitudes.
4. Although some New Deal programs reflected prevailing racist attitudes, blacks received significant benefits from programs that were for the poor, regardless of race. Yet no significant civil rights legislation was passed during the decade.
5. Racism in the South, symbolized by the Scottsboro case of 1931 and the dispossession of sharecroppers by the Agricultural Adjustment Act, prompted a renewal of the "Great Migration" of African Americans to cities of the North and Midwest, such as Harlem in New York City.
6. Mary McLeod Bethune headed the "black cabinet," an informal network that worked for fairer treatment of blacks by New Deal agencies.
7. Blacks had voted Republican since the Civil War, but in 1936, blacks outside the South gave Roosevelt 71 percent of their votes and have remained overwhelmingly Democratic ever since.
8. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and other changes in federal policies under the "Indian New Deal" were well intentioned but did little to improve the lives of Native Americans.
9. Influenced by academic anthropologists, who celebrated the unique character of native cultures, government officials no longer attempted to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream society. Instead, they embraced a policy of **cultural pluralism** and pledged to preserve Indian languages, arts, and traditions.

## C. Migrants and Minorities in the West

1. During the 1920s and 1930s, agriculture in California became a big business—large scale, intensive, and diversified. Corporate-owned farms produced specialty crops—lettuce, tomatoes, peaches, grapes, and cotton—whose staggered harvests required a lot of transient labor during picking seasons.
2. Thousands of workers, initially migrants from Mexico and Asia and later from the Midwestern states, trooped from farm to farm, harvesting those crops for shipment to eastern markets. Some of these migrants also settled in the rapidly growing cities along the West Coast, especially the sprawling metropolis of Los Angeles.
3. The economic downturn brought dramatic changes to the lives of thousands of Mexican Americans. A formal deportation policy for illegal immigrants instituted by the Hoover administration was partly responsible for the decline in numbers, but even more Mexicans left voluntarily in the first years of the depression. Working as migrant laborers, they knew that local officials would ship them back to Mexico rather than support them on relief during the winter.
4. Under the New Deal, the situation of Mexican Americans improved. New Deal initiatives supporting labor unions indirectly encouraged the acculturation of Mexican immigrants; joining the CIO was an important stage in becoming an American for many Mexicans.
5. Other immigrants heeded the call of the Democratic party to join the New Deal coalition. Los Angeles activist Beatrice Griffith noted, "Franklin D. Roosevelt's name was the spark that started thousands of Spanish-speaking persons to the polls."
6. The farm union organizer César Chávez grew up in such a family. In 1934, when Chávez was ten, his father lost his farm near Yuma, Arizona, and the family became part of the migrant work force in California. They experienced continual discrimination, even in restaurants, where signs proclaimed "White Trade Only." Chávez's father joined several bitter strikes in the Imperial Valley, part of a wave of job actions across the state. All of the strikes failed, including one in the San Joaquin Valley that mobilized 18,000

- cotton pickers. But they set the course for the young Chávez, who founded the United Farm Workers, a successful union of Mexican American workers, in 1962.
7. Men and women of Asian descent—mostly from China, Japan, and the Philippines—formed a tiny minority of the American population but were a significant presence in some western cities and towns.
  8. Migrants from Japan and China had long faced discrimination. As farm prices declined during the depressions and racial discrimination undermined the prospects of rising generation for non-farm jobs, about 20 percent of the immigrants returned to Japan.
  9. Chinese Americans were even less prosperous than their Japanese counterparts. In the hard times of the depression, they turned for assistance both to traditional Chinese social organizations such as *huiguan* (district associations) and to local authorities. Few benefited from the New Deal.
  10. Until the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, Chinese immigrants were classified as “aliens ineligible for citizenship” and therefore excluded from most federal programs.
  11. Because Filipino immigrants came from a U.S. territory, they were not affected by the ban on Asian immigration passed in 1924.
  12. As the depression cut wages, Filipino immigration slowed to a trickle and was virtually cut off by the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. The act granted independence to the Philippines (which since 1898 had been an American dependency), classified all Filipinos in the United States as aliens, and restricted immigration to fifty persons per year.
  13. Even as California lost its dazzle for Mexicans and Asians, it became the destination of tens of thousands of displaced farmers from the “Dust Bowl” of the Great Plains.
  14. Between 1930 and 1941, a severe drought afflicted farmers in the semiarid states of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, and Kansas.
  15. But the Dust Bowl was primarily a human creation. Farmers had pushed the agricultural frontier beyond its natural limits, stripping the land of its native vegetation and destroying the delicate ecology of the plains. When the rains dried up and the winds came, nothing remained to hold the soil. Huge clouds of thick dust rolled over the land, turning the day into night.
  16. This ecological disaster prompted a mass exodus. Their crops ruined and their debts unpaid, at least 350,000 “Okies” (so-called whether or not they were from Oklahoma) loaded their meager belongings into beat-up Fords and headed to California. Many were drawn by handbills distributed by commercial farmers that promised good jobs and high wages; instead, they found low wages and terrible living conditions.
  17. Before the depression, white native-born workers made up 20 percent of the migratory farm labor force of 175,000; by the late 1930s, Okies accounted for 85 percent of the workers.
  18. John Steinbeck’s novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) immortalized them and their journey, and New Deal photographer Dorothea Lange’s haunting images of migrant camps in California gave a personal face to some of the worst suffering of the depression.
- D. A New Deal for the Environment
1. The expansion of federal responsibilities in the 1930s created a climate conducive to conservation efforts, as did public concern heightened by the devastation in the Dust Bowl.
  2. Although the long-term success of New Deal resources policy was mixed, it innovatively stressed scientific management of the land, conservation instead of commercial development, and the aggressive use of public authority to preserve and improve the natural environment.
  3. The most extensive New Deal environmental undertaking was the Tennessee Valley Authority. It integrated flood control, reforestation, and agricultural and industrial development, and a hydroelectric grid provided cheap power for the valley’s residents.
  4. The Dust Bowl helped to focus attention on land management and ecological balance. Agents from the Soil Conservation Service in the Department of Agriculture taught farmers the proper technique for tilling hillsides.
  5. Government agronomists tried to prevent soil erosion through better agricultural

- practices and windbreaks like the Shelterbelts.
6. New Deal projects affecting the environment can be seen throughout the country—CCC and WPA workers built the Blue Ridge Parkway; government workers built the San Francisco Zoo, Berkeley’s Tilden Park, and the canals of San Antonio; the CCC helped to complete the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail through the Sierra Nevada.
  7. Cabins, shelters, picnic areas, and lodges in American state parks, built in a “government rustic” style, are witness to the New Deal ethos of recreation coexisting with conservation.
- E. The New Deal and the Arts
1. A WPA project known as “Federal One” put unemployed artists, actors, and writers to work; “art for the millions” became a popular New Deal slogan.
  2. The Federal Art Project commissioned murals for public buildings and post offices across the country.
  3. Under the Federal Music Project, government-sponsored orchestras toured the country and presented free concerts that emphasized American themes and employed musicologist Charles Seeger and his wife, Ruth Crawford Seeger, to catalog hundreds of American folk songs.
  4. The Federal Writer’s Project, at its height, employed about 5,000 writers, some of whom later achieved great fame.
  5. The only time that America had a federally supported national theater was during the Federal Theatre Project. Its tendency to take a hard and critical look at social problems made the program vulnerable to red-baiting, and Congress terminated it in 1939 after a series of investigations as to alleged Communist influence.
  6. The documentary, probably the decade’s most distinctive genre, influenced practically every aspect of American culture: literature, photography, art, music, film, dance, theater, and radio.
  7. The *March of Time* newsreels, which were shown to audiences before feature films, presented the news of the world for the pre-television age.
  8. The Resettlement Administration’s historical section documented and photographed American life for the government; their photos depicted life in the United States during the depression years.
- F. The Legacies of the New Deal
1. The New Deal did much more than simply reinforce and extend the “regulatory” liberalism of the Progressive era. By creating a powerful national bureaucracy and laying the foundation of a social welfare state, it redefined the meaning of American liberalism.
  2. For the first time, Americans experienced the federal government as a part of their everyday lives through Social Security payments, farm loans, relief work, and mortgage guarantees.
  3. The government made a commitment to intervene when the private sector could not guarantee economic stability, and federal regulation brought order and regularity to economic life.
  4. The federal government accepted primary responsibility for the individual and collective welfare of the people with the development of the welfare state.
  5. Defects of the emerging welfare system were that it did not include national health care and failed to reach a significant minority of American workers, including domestics and farm workers, for many years.
  6. Another shortcoming stemmed from the ideal of “family wage,” which assumed that men were workers and women were homemakers. Social Security Act provisions favored men and discriminated against women.
  7. The New Deal recognized that poverty was an economic problem and not a matter of personal failure, but assumed that poverty would wither away with a rebound in the economy. Later administrations grafted welfare programs onto the jerry-built New Deal structure, rather than re-imagine the system.
  8. The New Deal completed the transformation of the Democratic party that had begun in the 1920s toward a coalition of ethnic groups, city dwellers, organized labor, blacks, and a broad cross section of the middle class that would form the backbone of the Democratic coalition for decades to come.
  9. The New Deal Democratic coalition contained potentially fatal contradictions mainly involving the issue of race, and the resulting fissures would eventually weaken the coalition.
  10. As Europe moved toward war and Japan seized more territory in the Far East,

Roosevelt put domestic reform on the back burner and focused on international relations.

## Key Terms

**“social welfare” liberalism** The liberal ideology implemented in the United States during the New Deal of the 1930s and the Great Society of the 1960s. It uses the financial and bureaucratic resources of the state and federal governments to provide economic and social security to individual citizens, interest groups, and corporate enterprises. Social welfare programs include old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, subsidies to farmers, mortgage guarantees, and tax breaks for corporations. (738)

**classical liberalism** The political ideology, dominant in England and the United States during the nineteenth century, that celebrated individual liberty, private property, a competitive market economy, free trade, and limited government. In the late-twentieth-century United States, many economic conservatives embrace the principles of classical liberalism (and oppose the principles of social welfare liberalism). (738)

**deficit spending** High government spending in excess of tax revenues based on the ideas of British economist John Maynard Keynes, who proposed in the 1930s that governments should be prepared to go into debt to stimulate a stagnant economy. (748)

**Keynesian economics** The theory, developed by British economist John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s, that purposeful government intervention into the economy (through lowering or raising taxes, interest rates, and government spending) can affect the level of overall economic activity and thereby prevent severe depressions and runaway inflation. (748)

**cultural pluralism** A term coined in 1924 positing that diversity, especially religious and ethnic diversity, can be a source of strength in a democratic nation and that cultural differences should be respected and valued. (755)

## Lecture Strategies

1. Write a lecture tracing the impact of the “Hundred Days” legislation created during Roosevelt’s first year in office. Areas where it broke from tradition should be indicated. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided states with funds for direct relief—the dole. Students should understand

the controversy over the dole, an argument that continues today. The ambiguous impact of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) needs to be noted—landlords received support, but many sharecroppers and tenants were driven off the land. The Civilian Conservation Corps was popular because it got troublesome youths off the streets and into the countryside. Note that much of the Hundred Days legislation was designed to last only until the expected economic recovery. The psychological and economic impact of those rapidly passed laws helped to create an atmosphere of hope among many Americans.

2. Compose a lecture examining the challenges Roosevelt faced from the political left. The rise of the Townsend movement shows how an interest group can quickly form and wield power. In dealing with the more complex challenges by Coughlin and Long, the use of recordings and documentary films is helpful. At this point, there should be a discussion of the difference between a popular leader and a demagogue. Did these movements provide a serious challenge to Roosevelt’s presidency, or were they merely annoyances? In what ways was the Second New Deal designed to counteract the influence of Townsend, Coughlin, and Long? What other factors might have pushed FDR to the left?
3. Write a lecture analyzing the work relief programs established by the New Deal. Why were they so unpopular (except for the CCC) with Americans who did not participate in them? Recap the argument between those who believed that private industry, and not government, should provide jobs and those who saw the government as the employer of last resort. Many current examples of the same debate can be cited. The extensive public works projects of the WPA should be described so that students can see the benefit they provided for the nation. The even more controversial writers’ and artists’ projects should be evaluated. Discuss the continuing debate over federal funding for the arts in order to help students understand this issue.
4. Create a lecture focusing on the impact of the Wagner (National Labor Relations) Act of 1935. What was the significance of the federal government’s first overture to support workers’ right to organize? To illustrate this issue, discuss the Flint, Michigan, sit-down strike against General Motors. This dramatic confrontation can be explored effectively through documentary films. The emergence of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and its successes in organizing industrial workers in the decade’s waning years were important de-

velopments in securing labor's support for the Democratic Party.

5. Given the public's disapproval of communism, the role of left-wing political and intellectual movements in the 1930s should be explored. The activities of American Communists in organizing unemployment councils might be noted. More controversial is the "popular front" period during which the noncommunist left and Communists coalesced around the issue of anti-fascism.
6. Write a lecture evaluating the impact of the First and Second New Deal programs. How does one evaluate the New Deal overall? Liberals and radicals have been critical of its failure to restructure the American economic system in a more egalitarian way. Conservatives have criticized it for the intrusion of the federal government into the lives of the American people. To what extent did it lay the foundations for a welfare state? Much of the expansion of the federal government often attributed to the New Deal actually took place during World War II. Was Roosevelt too timid or too conservative to pursue a more radical solution to the depression? Was the depression bound to run its course no matter what the government tried? Hoover never understood why Roosevelt remained so popular, even though he was unable to end the depression. Can students offer Hoover an answer? What did the New Deal accomplish that leads most historians to view the 1930s as a watershed period in American history?

### Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

#### *The New Deal Takes Over, 1933–1935* (pp. 738–746)

1. What were the major differences between the approaches of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt to the crisis of the depression?
  - Although their ideologies remained similar, the tactics of achieving economic stability differed between the two presidents.
  - Hoover relied on private charity through churches and private institutions. In contrast, FDR expanded the size of government to create public works projects to put Americans directly back to work, and created a welfare state as a safety net for those who could not work during hard times.
2. What were the main programs of the New Deal's "Hundred Days?" Why did FDR and the Democrats believe that these programs would work?
  - FDR also created a personal relationship with the nation's citizenry which instilled hope in a brighter future, whereas Hoover exuded a dispassionate professional approach that left people cold.
  - The "Hundred Days" emphasized fifteen major pieces of legislation, including the Emergency Banking Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the National Recovery Act, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Public Works Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Bank failures, agricultural overproduction, business slump, and soaring unemployment represented major problems.
  - The Democrats thought the measures would work based on the idea that immediate and active reform measures led by Congress would put the economy back in order and put people back to work, ending the string of bank failures, home foreclosures, and business bankruptcies sweeping the nation.
3. Define the criticism of the New Deal from the political right and left. Who were the New Deal's major critics, and what were their alternative programs?
  - *Leftist Critics:* Francis Townsend thought the New Deal did not go far enough in directly helping the down and out in America. He proposed the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan to provide money to people over 60. Father Charles Coughlin, a priest in the Midwest, created the National Union for Social Justice, a populist-style slate of reforms that among other things demanded nationalization of the U.S. banking system. Senator Huey Long of Louisiana created a "Share Our Wealth" society in which he argued that lower taxes on corporations, building highways and schools, and increasing consumption would improve the lives of American people trapped within a society that failed to equally distribute wealth.
  - *Right-wing Critics:* Conservative Democrats joined Republicans in creating the "Liberty League" which lambasted FDR for "socialist" reforms and "reckless spending." Former President Hoover called the NRA "state-controlled" eco-

conomic development and directly opposed the expansion of government to meet the national emergency. The Supreme Court also struck down many New Deal measures, such as the NIRA.

### *The Second New Deal, 1935–1938* (pp. 746–749)

1. How did the Second New Deal differ from the first? What were FDR's reasons for changing course?
  - The Second New Deal saw FDR shift to the left as conservative and leftist critics assailed the New Deal programs. FDR now openly criticized big business for its inability to support New Deal programs. In 1935 Congress helped pass the administration's Revenue Act, which increased taxes on corporate profits, higher income, and estate taxes.
  - FDR also attempted to neutralize his critics (Coughlin, Townsend, and Long) by appropriating parts of their social welfare programs.
  - Overall, the Second New Deal emphasized social justice, the use of national legislation to enhance the power of working people, and the security and welfare of the old, the disabled and the unemployed. Other legislation included the Wagner and Social Security Acts and the creation of the Works Progress Administration.
2. Why did the New Deal reach a stalemate?
  - The New Deal reached a stalemate in part because staunch opposition to New Deal initiatives in Congress and the South, FDR's attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court with his own supporters, and a sharp recession in 1937 undermined confidence in Roosevelt's leadership. FDR could not swing the New Deal more toward the left in this critical climate.
3. Describe Keynesian economics. How important was it to the New Deal?
  - Keynesian economics was based on the idea that during difficult economic times, nations should stimulate the economy by obtaining funds through borrowing rather than taxation. Deficit spending would put more people back to work and increase domestic production.
  - Keynesian economics formed the basis of the New Deal's attempt to reform American capitalism by obtaining funds not through heavy taxation, but through borrowing and deficit spending.

### *The New Deal's Impact on Society* (pp. 749–764)

1. What impact did the New Deal have on organized labor, women, and racial and ethnic minorities?
  - The New Deal directly improved the lives of historically "forgotten" Americans. Although the New Deal did not directly challenge gender and racial inequities, its programs enhanced the welfare of women and ethnic minorities.
  - *Organized Labor*: Labor received increased vitality as unemployed workers witnessed government partnerships with unions across the nation. New Deal legislation and the alienation of workers combined to increase the power of labor unions as never seen before in U.S. society. In particular, the National Labor Relations board and the National Recover Act helped to cement unions to the Democratic party for several decades.
  - *Women*: The New Deal made possible the entrance of women into government high-level jobs as never before, in part due to the actions of Eleanor Roosevelt, an active campaigner for women and ethnic minorities during the 1930s. Women also joined political parties, universities, and labor unions in larger numbers. Yet many laws at the state and federal levels paid women less for the same work as men, and required women to leave jobs if they were married to employed men.
  - *Racial and Ethnic Minorities*: FDR never successfully altered the racial status quo of the South (and failed to pass an anti-lynching bill). Many New Deal programs reflected the prevailing racial status quo, including segregation in CCC camps. But overall, blacks received much support from federal relief programs, bought land under the Resettlement Administration, and voted over 70 percent for Roosevelt based on assistance from a government that had not helped blacks in any way since 1870.
2. Under the New Deal, the government's involvement in the environment and in the arts was unprecedented. What were the major components of this new departure?
  - Concern for the land and the shaping of the public landscape were part of FDR's "gospel of conservation" that was based on scientific management of national resources to preserve and improve the natural environment.
  - The New Deal funded many art projects, an unprecedented application of federal funds to an

area of U.S. social life that had not received federal funding in the past. The Federal Writer's Project, the Federal Theatre Project, and the Federal Art Project became milestones in national contributions to public artistic expression.

3. What were the most significant long-term results of the New Deal? What were its limitations?

- Long-term results included reinforcing and extending the “regulatory liberalism” of the Progressive era, created a welfare state, regulating the stock market, reforming the Federal Reserve system, regulating corporations, and increased the scope of the national bureaucracy. For the first time, the federal government became an ongoing part of everyday life. The government now stood ready to intervene in the economy should private capital fail to keep it afloat.
- Limitations of the New Deal included either going too far in increasing the scope of government, or not going far enough, depending on the political viewpoint of the critic. Classic liberals argued that the New Deal extended too far into the financial and personal lives of the citizenry through increased taxation and government bureaucracy. “Social welfare” liberals, on the other hand, argued that the New Deal's safety net had many holes, benefits were too low, and too many Americans slipped through the cracks in comparison to the more extensive welfare systems of Europe.

### Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 24 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. Some historians have seen the New Deal as an evolution of Progressivism, but others have argued that it represented a revolution in social values and government institutions. What do you think?
  - The New Deal represented a revolution in social values and government institutions in creating a welfare state, enlarging the scope of the federal government, and increasing government regulation of the nation's economy that went beyond the use of government oversight during the Progressive era.
2. In what ways did Roosevelt's personality, values, and political style affect the policies and programs of the New Deal?
  - Roosevelt immediately established a close rapport with the American people and utilized the media, particularly the radio, to bolster his relationship with the nation. FDR was committed to maintaining the nation's basic social and political institutions, which meant that New Deal programs did not challenge the status quo of capitalist growth basic to the U.S. economy.
  - He believed in a balanced budget and extolled the values of hard work, cooperation, and sacrifice, evidenced by the public works projects to put Americans back to work and the increase of taxation as a means of paying for national job programs. His charisma enabled him to expand the scope of the presidency through World War II. As a highly educated northeastern Democrat, FDR turned to other highly educated people to run his administration according to Keynesian economic theory.
3. What changes took place during the depression era with respect to the lives of women, workers, and racial and ethnic minorities? What role did the New Deal play?
  - *Women:* The New Deal made possible the entrance of women into high-level government jobs as never before, in part due to the actions of Eleanor Roosevelt, an active campaigner for women and ethnic minorities during the 1930s. Women also joined political parties, universities, and labor unions in larger numbers. Yet many laws at the state and federal level paid women less for the same work as men, and required women to leave jobs if they were married to employed men. The creation of a welfare state made the plight of married women, traditionally dependent on husbands and male relatives for a family wage, more independent and able to survive as single mothers.
  - *Workers:* Received increased vitality as unemployed workers witnessed government partnerships with unions across the nation. New Deal legislation and the alienation of workers combined to increase the power of labor unions as never seen before in U.S. society. In particular, the National Labor Relations board and the National Recovery Act helped to cement unions to the Democratic Party for several decades.
  - *Racial and Ethnic Minorities:* FDR never successfully altered the racial status quo of the South (and failed to pass an anti-lynching bill). Many New Deal programs reflected the prevailing racial status quo, including segregation in CCC

camps. But overall, blacks received much support from federal relief programs, bought land under the Resettlement Administration, and voted over 70 percent for Roosevelt based on assistance from a government that had not helped blacks in any way since 1870.

### Class Discussion Starters

#### 1. What were some of the major problems faced by Roosevelt as he took office?

*Possible answers*

- The rate of unemployment stood at about 25 percent.
- American industry was stagnant.
- People were literally starving to death.
- Thousands of banks had failed, and others were facing bankruptcy.
- Many Americans had lost faith in the economic system.

#### 2. In what ways did the “Hundred Days” legislation deal with critical areas of the depressed economy?

*Possible answers*

- FERA provided funds that states could offer as direct relief so that people could eat and pay their rent.
- The AAA tried to stabilize and support farm prices by reducing overproduction.
- The CCC provided work relief for young men.
- The Emergency Banking Act helped to stabilize the banking system, and people redeposited their money.
- The PWA provided funds for public works projects that would put the unemployed to work.
- The NRA was established in an effort to get manufacturing under way.

#### 3. What kinds of national programs did prominent political activists seek to organize in order to alleviate some of the hardships of the 1930s?

*Possible answers*

- Dr. Francis Townsend organized retired people in an effort to get the government to provide old-age pensions.
- Father Charles Coughlin sought the nationalization of the banking system.

- Coughlin also wanted an expansion of the money supply.
- Huey Long sought a redistribution of wealth that was to be accomplished by a confiscatory tax on all incomes over \$1 million.
- Long also wanted the establishment of a federally guaranteed minimum family income.

#### 4. What important elements of the Second New Deal broke new ground in providing for the needs of the American people?

*Possible answers*

- The National Labor Relations Act gave government support for the first time to workers attempting to organize unions.
- The Social Security Act provided for an old-age pension system and unemployment insurance.
- The Social Security Act also provided for aid to the blind, the deaf, the disabled, and dependent children.
- The Works Progress Administration provided millions of Americans with federally funded jobs through the remainder of the depression.

#### 5. What factors signified the decline of the New Deal after Roosevelt’s reelection in 1936?

*Possible answers*

- The New Deal programs had failed to put an end to the depression.
- Roosevelt’s failed attempt to “pack” the Supreme Court increased the confidence of his congressional opposition.
- Conservatives in Congress became more aggressive in opposing social and economic reforms.
- Roosevelt’s reduction of federal spending helped to create the “Roosevelt recession” of 1937 to 1938.
- Roosevelt’s basic conservatism prevented him from suggesting more radical approaches to end the depression; the New Deal ran out of steam.

#### 6. What was the impact of the New Deal on African Americans?

*Possible answers*

- The Resettlement Administration helped many black sharecroppers and tenant farmers to resettle after the AAA caused them to be evicted.

- b. Prominent African Americans were brought into government service and formed an informal “black cabinet.”
  - c. Blacks benefited from relief programs that targeted the poor without regard to race or ethnic background.
  - d. Unemployed blacks were hired on WPA projects at a rate higher than their percentage in the population.
  - e. African Americans shifted their political allegiance from the Republican party (the party of Lincoln) to the Democratic party (the party of Eleanor Roosevelt).
7. In what ways did conservation become a major motif of New Deal programs?

*Possible answers*

- a. The environmental devastation of the Dust Bowl was countered by the planting of millions of trees to serve as windbreaks on the Great Plains.
  - b. Scientific farming methods were adopted in an attempt to halt soil erosion.
  - c. New Deal construction projects improved the national parks system and made the parks more accessible to citizens.
  - d. The Tennessee Valley Authority established a series of flood control dams in the watershed of the Tennessee River, helping to control erosion.
  - e. The AAA established procedures that helped farmers to restore the soil’s productivity.
8. Evaluate the impact of the New Deal on American society and polity.

*Possible answers*

- a. The New Deal provided immediate relief for many of those suffering under the economic conditions that prevailed in 1933.
- b. The New Deal laid the foundation for a modified welfare state with the adoption of Social Security, unemployment insurance, and aid to the dependent.
- c. The New Deal demonstrated that successful governmental action depended to a large extent on the quality of leadership exercised by the president.
- d. The New Deal expanded the political role of the federal government in the everyday lives of the American people.

## Classroom Activities

1. Create an in-class brainstorming assignment that asks students to think about the different interest groups during the New Deal and how the lives of members of these interest groups changed during the 1930s. Ask students how the New Deal programs affected the following constituencies: (1) women, (2) African Americans, (3) organized labor, (4) farmers, and (5) Mexican Americans. Comparing and contrasting the fate of these interest groups on the eve of the depression will also establish the historical context for understanding their conditions under Roosevelt. Did their conditions change? How and to what extent?
2. Show the entirety of the film *Grapes of Wrath*. Develop a set of questions that asks students to use the film as a symbol of the depression’s impact on the American people that they are reading about in the text. Who does the film focus on? What happens to the family during the film? You should also bring in a revealing passage from John Steinbeck’s novel to illuminate further the theme of migration and displacement that lie at the heart of the era.

## Oral History Exercise

- Ask students to interview a friend or relative who experienced the 1930s as a child. Students will need to create a set of questions to ask their subject and also compile a transcript of the interview. If possible, have students tape-record the interviewee. As an in-class assignment, work with students to come up with a standardized list of questions. After students complete their interviews, they will bring their transcripts to class to share as part of a class discussion or part of a lengthy paper assignment. If students run into any difficulties, have them consult one of the many collections or oral interviews from the depression era, such as Studs Terkel’s *Hard Times*.

## Working with Documents

### COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

#### Ordinary People Respond to the New Deal (p. 740)

1. How do you explain the personal, almost intimate, tone of these letters to the Roosevelts?
  - Many Americans warmed to FDR’s “fireside chats” and Eleanor Roosevelt’s personal visits to

American homes, farms, and factories. Americans internalized a familial relationship to the Roosevelt family, particularly during extremely difficult years when many needed desperate help from the federal government. Moreover, Americans in the 1930s were living in a more close-knit and family-orientated society than today.

2. How have specific New Deal programs helped or hurt the authors of these letters?
  - The National Recovery Administration helped factory workers earn a higher wage, the Social Security Act undercut the white-collar middle class through a payroll deduction, short-term relief checks assisted the elderly, and the Civil Works Administration provided limited short-term employment.
3. What are the authors' basic values? Do they differ between those who support and oppose the New Deal?
  - Basic values include a belief in family, hard work for decent wages rather than charity, a safety net provided by society in the case of illness or unemployment, and no assistance for able-bodied people who refuse to work.
  - Supporters and detractors of the New Deal express similar values. But those who oppose the New Deal felt even more strongly that the scope of the federal government should remain small and people should take care of their own problems as much as possible before relying on government for assistance.

## VOICES FROM ABROAD

### Odette Keun: A Foreigner Looks at the Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 758)

1. According to Keun, why has dictatorship come to Germany and Spain? Why might the Tennessee Valley Authority prevent such an outcome in the United States?
  - *Spain and Germany*: Fascism developed owing to the incapacity of parliamentary government and the failure of capitalism to function efficiently by providing a livelihood to every person in the nation.
  - The TVA would prevent such an outcome by providing (1) an educational and democratic basis for economic redevelopment, (2) an increase in the standard of living of rural people, and (3) an increase in the freedom of choice for employ-

ment rather than a dictatorship relying on outside sources of labor and rigid state-planning—the end result of which would benefit outsiders rather than local people.

2. What does the term *liberalism* mean to Keun, and why does she consider the TVA an example of that ideology?
  - Liberalism to Keun means that the fruits of capitalism should be used in the broadest and most democratic fashion to provide a livelihood and an increase in the standard of living for every person in the nation regardless of location and wealth.
  - The TVA serves as an example of that ideology by providing a democratic dispersal of electricity and work based on regional need rather than dictated by state-sponsored planning with little regard to that regional need.

## Reading American Pictures

### Interpreting the Public Art of the New Deal (p. 761)

1. What does this third panel of Ben Shahn's mural tell us about the character and goals of the New Deal?
  - The New Deal would put people back to work, conserve the environment, increase educational opportunities, and utilize government planning and technology to improve American society and capitalism.
2. Note the blueprint of the street plan and the houses depicted on the mural (top center). Then turn to the cartoon in Chapter 27 (p. 837) that depicts Levittown, a famous housing development built by a private corporation in the late 1940s. What does a comparison of those two images suggest?
  - The development of housing in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s emphasized careful planning and partnership between government and private industry to provide very organized housing units, hence the growth of suburbia on a widespread scale after World War II. Yet under private industry during the 1940s, suburbia expanded beyond the original goals of state planners in the 1930s of providing an esthetically pleasing living environment.
3. How does this mural fit with the discussion of the documentary impulse discussed in this chapter?

- The devastation of the nation and its economy through the Great Depression ignited a passion among many American artists for documenting and capturing in detail the various and complex ways in which Americans were suffering and attempting to overcome major problems during the 1930s. Documenting these struggles was intended to instill hope in the American people and assist in the recovery process.

## Electronic Media

### Web Sites

- *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression*  
<http://www.studsterkel.org/index.html>  
A site operated by the Chicago Historical Society containing oral interviews from Studs Terkel's book.
- *Voices from the Dust Bowl*  
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/afctshhtml/tshome.html>  
A Library of Congress site containing interviews from the Dust Bowl.
- *FDR Cartoon Collection*  
<http://www.nisk.k12.ny.us/fdr>  
A site that provides a series of cartoons depicting President Franklin Roosevelt during the depression era.
- *The Scottsboro Boys' Trials 1931–1937*  
<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/FTrials/scottsboro/scottsb.htm>  
This site provides documents on the famous trial of African American youths for the alleged rape of two white women. For audio reminiscences about racial segregation during this and later decades, listen to Remembering Jim Crow at <http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/remembering>, an American Radio Works production in cooperation with the Center for Documentary Studies at Duke University.

### Films

- *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940, Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation, 120 min)  
Directed by John Ford, the film portrays the struggles of a family migrating west during the ravages of the depression.
- *Dorothea Lange: A Visual Life* (1994, 47 min)  
Directed by Meg Partridge, this documentary traces the life of the famed 1930s feminist

and photographer whose work still stands as the best of the depression years.

- *Scottsboro: An American Tragedy* (2000, PBS documentary, 84 min)  
Directed by Daniel Anker, the film portrays the struggles of a group of young African American men accused in the early 1930s of raping two white women.

## Literature

- Russell Baker, *Growing Up* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982)  
One of many memoirs about the depression years.
- John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press, 1939)  
The famous novel about a depression-era family struggling to make ends meet on their migration westward to California.
- Richard Wright, *Native Son* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940)  
One of the best novels about being African American during the 1930s.

## Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 24

### FOR INSTRUCTORS

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 24 are available as full-color acetates:

- New Deal Art
- Map 24.1 Popular Protest in the Great Depression, 1933–1939
- Map 24.2 The Dust Bowl and Federal Building Projects in the West, 1930–1941
- Map 24.3 The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1952
- “The Promise of the New Deal,” Ben Shahn (1938)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 24, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 24.1 Popular Protest in the Great Depression, 1933–1939
- Map 24.2 The Dust Bowl and Federal Building Projects in the West, 1930–1941

- Map 24.3 The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1952
- New Deal Art
- FDR
- Organize
- Drought Refugees
- The Human Face of the Great Depression
- “The Promise of the New Deal,” Ben Shahn (1938)

### Using the Bedford Series with *America’s History*, Sixth Edition

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 24 include

- *Confronting Southern Poverty in the Great Depression: THE REPORT ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE SOUTH with Related Documents*, Edited with an Introduction by David L. Carlton, *Vanderbilt University*, and Peter A. Coclanis, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
- *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933–1945: A Brief History with Documents*, by Richard Polenberg, *Cornell University*

### FOR STUDENTS

#### Documents to Accompany *America’s History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 24 of the companion reader by Kevin J. Fernlund, *University of Missouri–St. Louis*:

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address (1933)
2. Rexford G. Tugwell, Design for Government (1933)
3. *Business Week* Editorial (1933)
4. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Criticism of a U.S. Supreme Court Decision (1935)
5. Huey P. Long, The Long Plan (1933)
6. Harlan F. Stone, Dissenting Opinion, *United States v. Butler* (1936)

7. Republican and Democratic National Platforms (1936)
8. Norman Thomas, What Was the New Deal? (1936)
9. The Federal Antilynching Bills (1938)
10. Eleanor Roosevelt, The State’s Responsibility for Fair Working Conditions (1933)
11. Mary Heaton Vorse, The Sit-Down Strike at General Motors (1937)
12. Lorena Hickock’s Report on Arizona to Harry L. Hopkins (1934)
13. Paul B. Sears, *Deserts on the March* (1937)

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/henretta](http://bedfordstmartins.com/henretta)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 24:

#### Map Activity

- Map 24.3 The Tennessee Valley Authority

#### Visual Activity

- Reading American Pictures: *Interpreting the Public Art of the New Deal*

#### Reading Historical Documents Activities

- Comparing American Voices: *Ordinary People Respond to the New Deal*
- Voices from Abroad: *Odetta Keun: A Foreigner Looks at the Tennessee Valley Authority*

#### Critical Thinking Modules at [bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules](http://bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules)

These online modules invite students to interpret maps and audio, visual, and textual sources centered on events covered in the U.S. History Survey. The relevant module for Chapter 24 include is

- African Americans and the New Deal, 1933–1939