

FDR and the New Deal



JOE ALFRED

MARY WASHINGTON ELDERSTUDY

THURSDAY, 29 OCTOBER 2020

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Emile Lester

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PhD, University of Virginia
Author, *Liberalism and Leadership*, 2019

Areas of specialization:

- Political Philosophy
- Research Methods
- Religion and Politics
- Presidency
- American History

Was this topic ever presented to Mary Washington ElderStudy before?

18 March 2015 FDR and the New Deal

15 October 2014 FDR and the New Deal

~~11 September 2013 The Two New Deals of FDR~~

CANCELLED



Emile Lester

The New Deal is one of the most celebrated political achievements in 20th century American history, but it is also among the most commonly misunderstood achievements. Franklin Roosevelt is often portrayed by historians as succeeding by aggressively planning out and imposing major elements in the New Deal through his willpower, political cunning and rhetorical skills. This talk will highlight that this is only part of the story. **The success of the New Deal was also a result of Roosevelt's patience and his willingness to compromise with political forces with very different views than his own.**

Professor, University of Mary Washington
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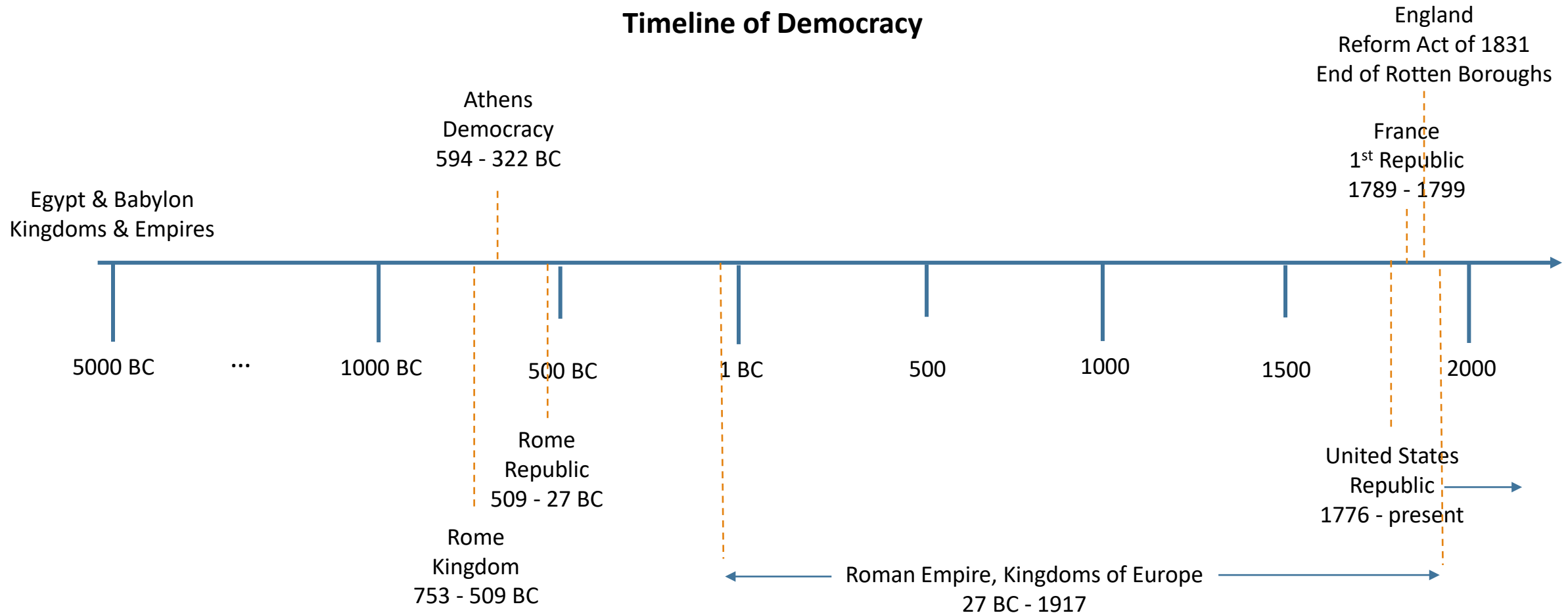
"The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance **of those who have much**; it is whether we provide enough **for those who have too little.**"

Franklin Delano Roosevelt



FDR Inaugural Address, 20 January 1937

Timeline of Democracy



Out of 7,020 years, we have had 7,020 years where some form of empire, kingdom or dictatorship has existed
and 811 years or 12% of the time where some form of democracy or republic has existed

Presidents and their Parties 1861 - 1897
36 Years

7 Republicans, 1 Democrat

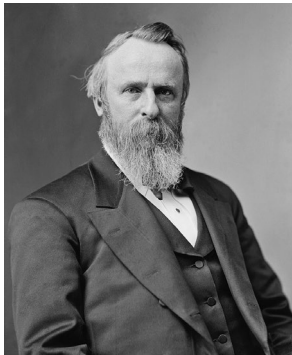
Party	President	Term
Republican	Abraham Lincoln	4 March 1861 – 15 April 1865
	Andrew Johnson	15 April 1865 – 4 March 1869
	Ulysses S. Grant	4 March 1869 – 4 March 1877
	Rutherford B. Hayes	4 March 1877 – 4 March 1881
	James A. Garfield	4 March 1881 – 19 September 1881
	Chester A. Arthur	19 September 1881 – 4 March 1885
Democrat	Grover Cleveland	4 March 1885 – 4 March 1889
Republican	Benjamin Harrison	4 March 1889 – 4 March 1893
Democrat	Grover Cleveland	4 March 1893 – 4 March 1897

Presidents and their Parties 1897 - 1933

36 Years

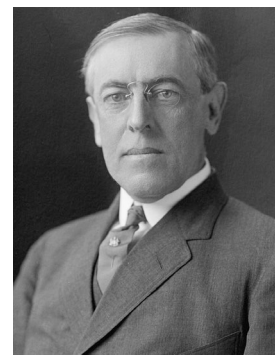
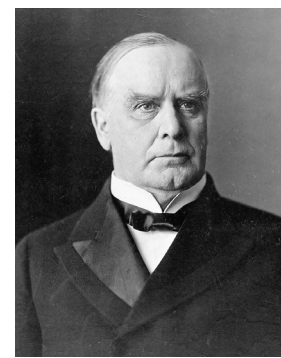
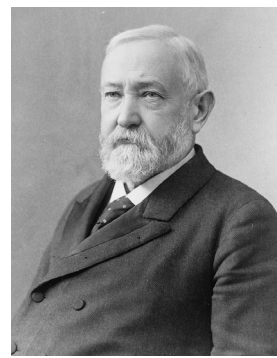
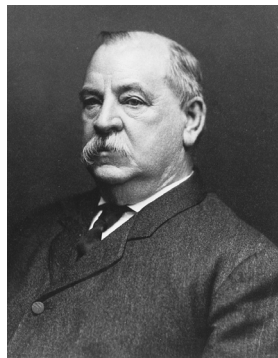
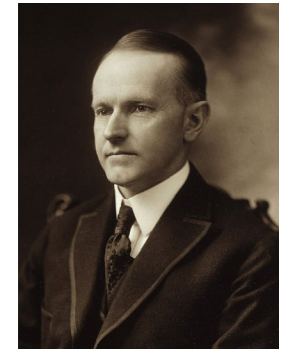
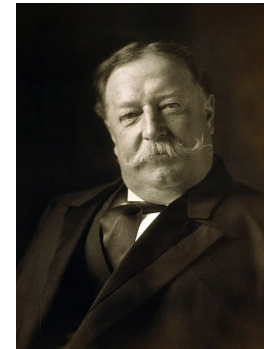
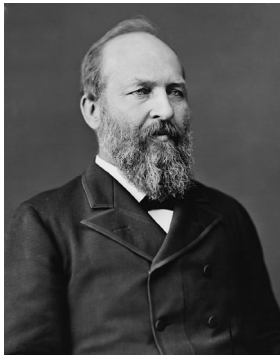
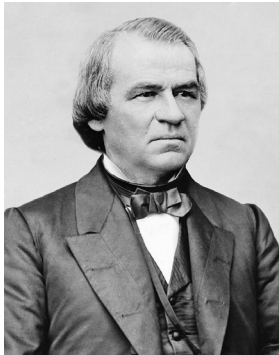
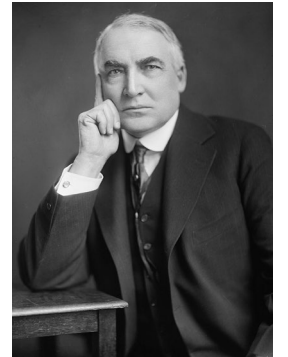
6 Republicans, 1 Democrat

Party	President	Term
Republican	William McKinley	4 March 1897 – 14 September 1901
	Theodore Roosevelt	14 September 1901 – 4 March 1909
	William Howard Taft	4 March 1909 – 4 March 1913
Democrat	Woodrow Wilson	4 March 1913 – 4 March 1920
Republican	Warren G. Harding	4 March 1920 – 2 August 1923
	Calvin Coolidge	2 August 1923 – 4 March 1929
	Herbert Hoover	4 March 1929 – 4 March 1933
Democrat	Franklin Delano Roosevelt	4 March 1933 – 12 April 1945



Presidents and their Parties 1861 - 1933
72 Years

13 Republicans, 2 Democrats



Franklin D. Roosevelt Timeline

	Roosevelt is elected to the New York state senate.		The Great Depression begins while Roosevelt is governor of New York.		Roosevelt launches the New Deal.		Roosevelt meets with British and Soviet leaders at Yalta to plan the end of the war.	
1882	1910	1921	1929	1932	1933	1941	February 1945	April 1945
Roosevelt is born in Hyde Park, N.Y.		Roosevelt is stricken with polio.		Roosevelt is elected to the first of his four presidential terms.		The United States enters World War II.		Roosevelt dies in office.

FDR – Early Years



Young Franklin with Sara Roosevelt

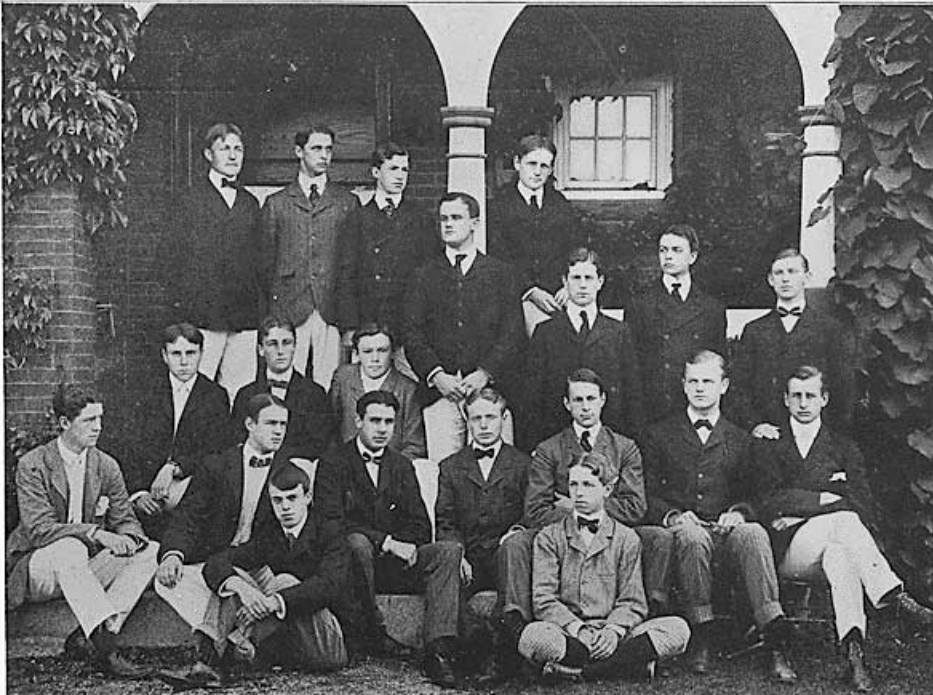
Born 30 January 1882, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the only child of James and Sara Delano Roosevelt.

The family lived in unostentatious and genteel luxury, dividing its time between the family estate in the Hudson River Valley and European resorts.



Franklin with James & Sara Roosevelt

FDR – Early Years



Franklin left his parents for the first time at the age of 14 to enroll in Groton, Massachusetts. Groton was an exclusive preparatory school for the children of the wealthy. **For Franklin it was major shift, from a home where he was king, to a life that was completely regulated.**

- 6:45 am - morning wake-up bell, rush and take a cold shower
- 7:30 am - second bell for breakfast
- the rest of the day was regimented with chapel, classes, dinner, sports, supper, evening study, evening prayers and a ritual goodnight to the headmaster, Endicott Peabody.

Endicott Peabody preached a **philosophy of public service**. Groton also instilled in its students a responsibility for helping those less fortunate. During the summers Franklin was a counselor at the Groton camp for poor children.

FDR – Early Years



Anna wore frumpy clothes. Her teeth needed straightening, they would say. People would continue to attack her looks and her self-esteem to the point that she was very insecure, she believed what everyone said about her, admitting she was an "ugly duckling."

When she first met him, she could not believe that a man was interested in her. She wanted him to see her world, so instead of going to a fancy, social event, **she instead took him to the slums of the Lower East Side**, where she did volunteer work, helping young immigrants.

Jon S. Randal, San Jose State 11 Oct 2015

FDR – Early Years



The young man, who had held a rich, sheltered life, saw things he would never forget -- **sweat shops** where women labored long hours for low wages and **squalid tenements** where children worked for hours until they dropped with exhaustion.

This walking tour profoundly changed the young man, moving him to say, that he "**could not believe human beings lived that way.**"

The young man's name was Franklin D. Roosevelt and the young woman, who changed his life forever, who would change the world forever, her name was Anna Eleanor Roosevelt.

They would eventually marry.

Jon S. Randal, San Jose State 11 Oct 2015

FDR – Early Years

Eleanor Roosevelt was a member of the prominent Roosevelt and Livingston families.

She had an unhappy childhood, having suffered the deaths of both parents and one of her brothers at a young age. At 15, **she attended Allenwood Academy in London** and was deeply influenced by its headmistress Marie Souvestre.

Souvestre took a special interest in Roosevelt, who learned to speak French fluently and gained self-confidence. Roosevelt wished to continue at Allenswood, but in 1902 was summoned home by her grandmother to make her social debut.

Roosevelt and Souvestre maintained a correspondence until March 1905, when Souvestre died. After this Eleanor placed Souvestre's portrait on her desk and brought her letters with her.



Marie Souvestre

FDR – Early Years



In 1900 Roosevelt entered Harvard University, where he spent most of his time on extracurricular activities and a strenuous social life; his academic record was undistinguished. It was during his Harvard years that he fell under the spell of his fifth cousin, **President Theodore Roosevelt**, the progressive champion who **advocated a vastly increased role for the government in the nation's economy.**

It was also during his Harvard years that **he fell in love with Theodore Roosevelt's favorite niece, Eleanor Roosevelt**, who was then active in charitable work for the poor in New York City. The distant cousins became engaged during Roosevelt's final year at Harvard. They were married on 17 March 1905.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020



Franklin and Eleanor with their five children

- Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Halsted
- James Roosevelt Roosevelt
- Elliott Bulloch Roosevelt
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr.
- John Aspinwall Roosevelt

FDR – Early Years

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Halsted, an American writer who worked as a newspaper editor and in public relations. assisted FDR in social and administrative duties at the White House. She wrote two children's books published in the 1930s.



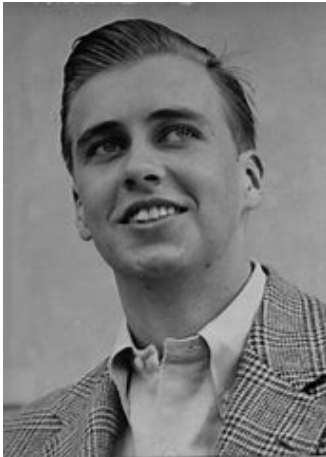
James Roosevelt II was an American businessman, Marine, activist and Democratic Party politician. The oldest son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt, he received the Navy Cross for extraordinary heroism while serving as a Marine Corps officer during World War II. He served as an official Secretary to the President.

Elliott Roosevelt was an American aviation official and wartime officer in the United States Army Air Forces, reaching the rank of brigadier general. He was the author of *A Rendezvous with Destiny*, a book about his father and his mother and their generation.



FDR – Early Years

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. was an American lawyer, politician and businessman. He served as a United States Congressman from New York from 1949 to 1955 and as the first chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from 1965 to 1966. Roosevelt also ran for Governor of New York twice. He was a son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and served as an officer in the United States Navy during World War II.



John Aspinwall Roosevelt was an American businessman and the sixth and last child of US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt. He was the only Roosevelt son who never sought political office.

FDR – Early Years

One drowsy summer afternoon in 1908, in the fifth-floor offices of the law firm of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn at 54 Wall Street in Manhattan, the junior clerks were idly talking about their dreams for the future. Most hoped just to become partners one day.

But **one clerk had far bigger dreams**. He didn't plan to practice law for long, he said. Instead he intended to go into politics and **eventually become president of the United States**.



Ken Burns, *The Roosevelts – An Intimate History*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2014

FDR – Early Years



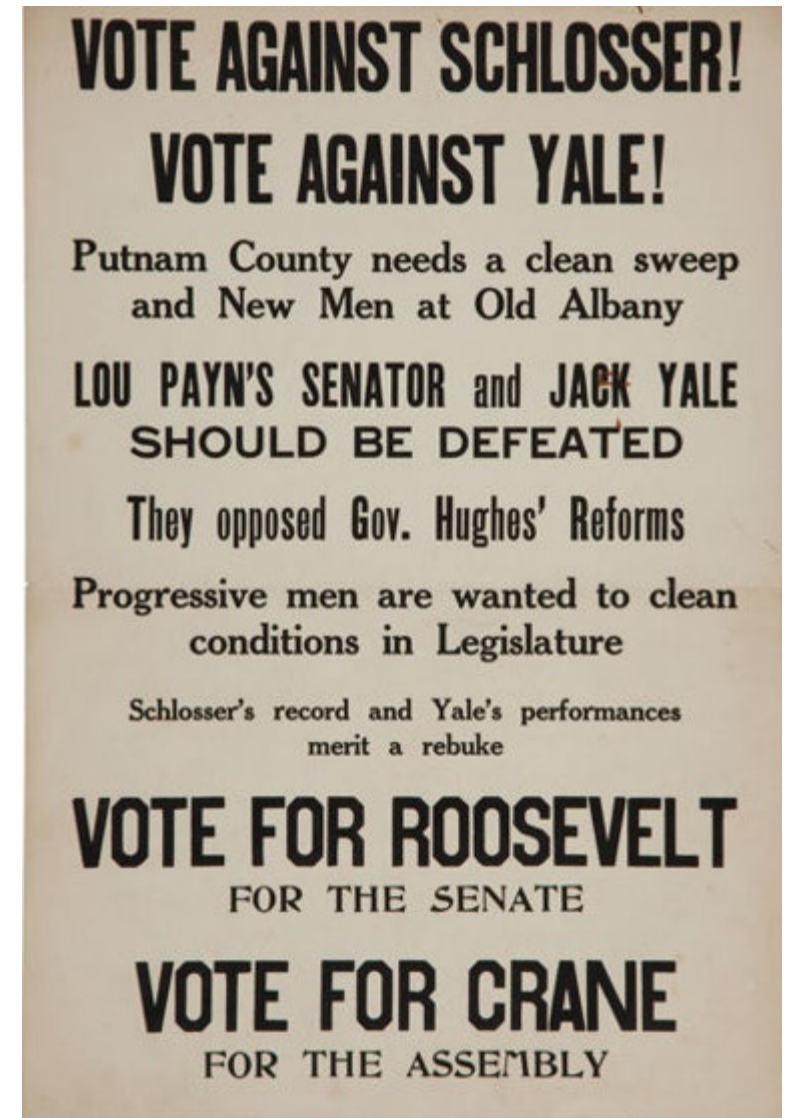
The speaker was just twenty-five years old. He was then considered a charming lightweight, an enthusiastic dancer and a golfer; he had been an undistinguished student and was now an indifferent lawyer. **But no one laughed: his name after all, Franklin Roosevelt.**

His fifth cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, was already president, the youngest and perhaps the most popular president in American history. And his rise to that office had once appeared just as unlikely as their fellow clerk's chances now seemed.

Ken Burns, *The Roosevelts – An Intimate History*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2014

FDR – Early Years

FDR's first attempt to gain political office occurred in 1910 when he ran for the New York State Senate for the district that encompassed Hyde Park. A Democrat had not been elected from that district since 1884, but the Roosevelt name carried a lot of weight with the voters and FDR was an attractive candidate on a number of levels. **Despite being a Democrat, he opposed the entrenched Tammany machine and supported the reforms of Republican Governor Charles Evans Hughes**, specifically the proposal that United States Senators be popularly elected, rather than selected by the state legislature. His opponent in the election was John F. Schlosser.



Heritage Auctions, 2020

Lucy Page Mercer Rutherford



In 1913, on the advice of Anna Roosevelt Cowles, a family elder known as Aunty Bye, **Eleanor Roosevelt hired Lucy Mercer**, seven years younger, **to be her social secretary**.

Franklin was the newly installed assistant secretary of the Navy.

Eleanor was in the early stage of pregnancy with FDR, Jr. and overwhelmed with the demands of Washington society.

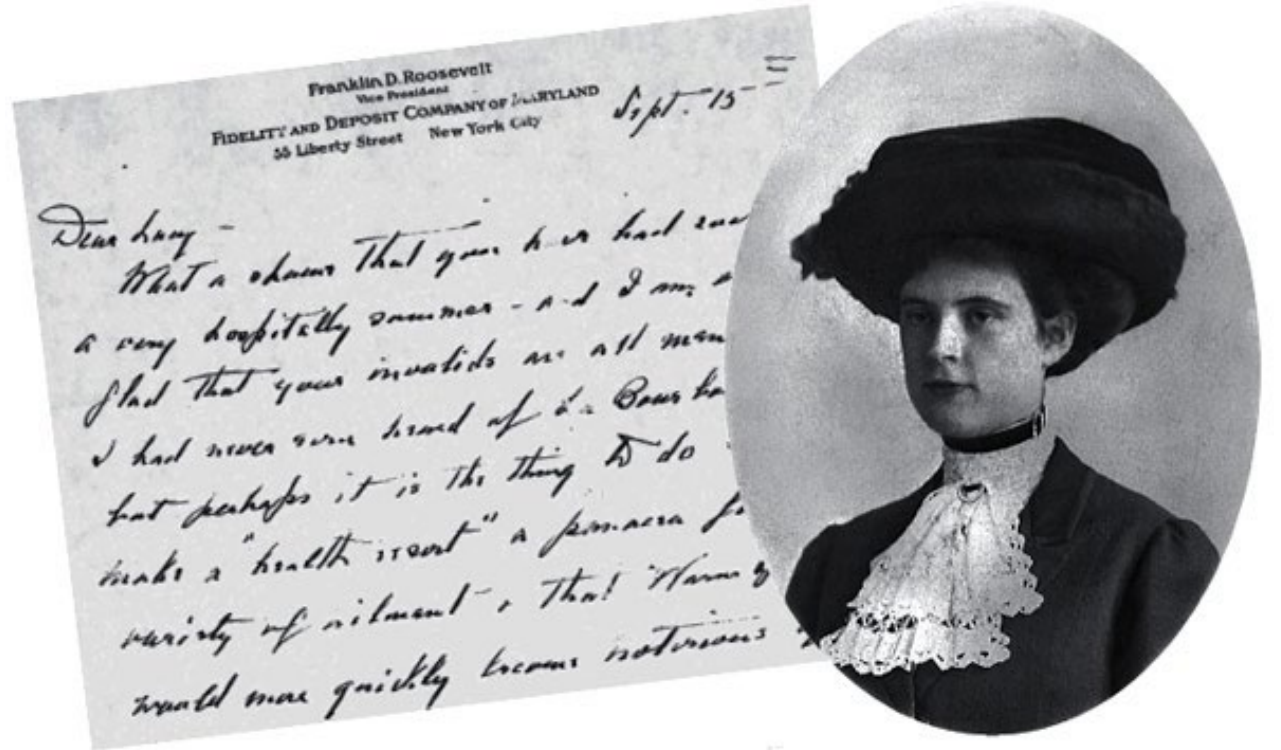
Attractive and personable, Lucy quickly proved herself so useful and efficient that she became an ancillary member of the family.

Joseph E. Persico, *Franklin and Lucy*, Random House, New York, 2008

Lucy Page Mercer Rutherford

Lucy and Franklin probably became intimate in 1916, and **the affair was discovered in September 1918**, when Eleanor, unpacking for her husband, who had just returned from England with the flu, discovered a bundle of incriminating letters.

Eleanor offered Franklin a divorce, but Sara Delano, his formidable mother, stepped in and said that if he left his wife, she would cut him off without a cent. Louis Howe, Franklin's trusted adviser, said that a **divorce would mean the end of his political career**. So Franklin agreed to stay in the marriage under two conditions set down by Eleanor: **he had to break off with Lucy Mercer immediately** and for good and **he could never again share his wife's bed**.



Joseph E. Persico, *Franklin and Lucy*, Random House, New York, 2008

FDR – Early Years

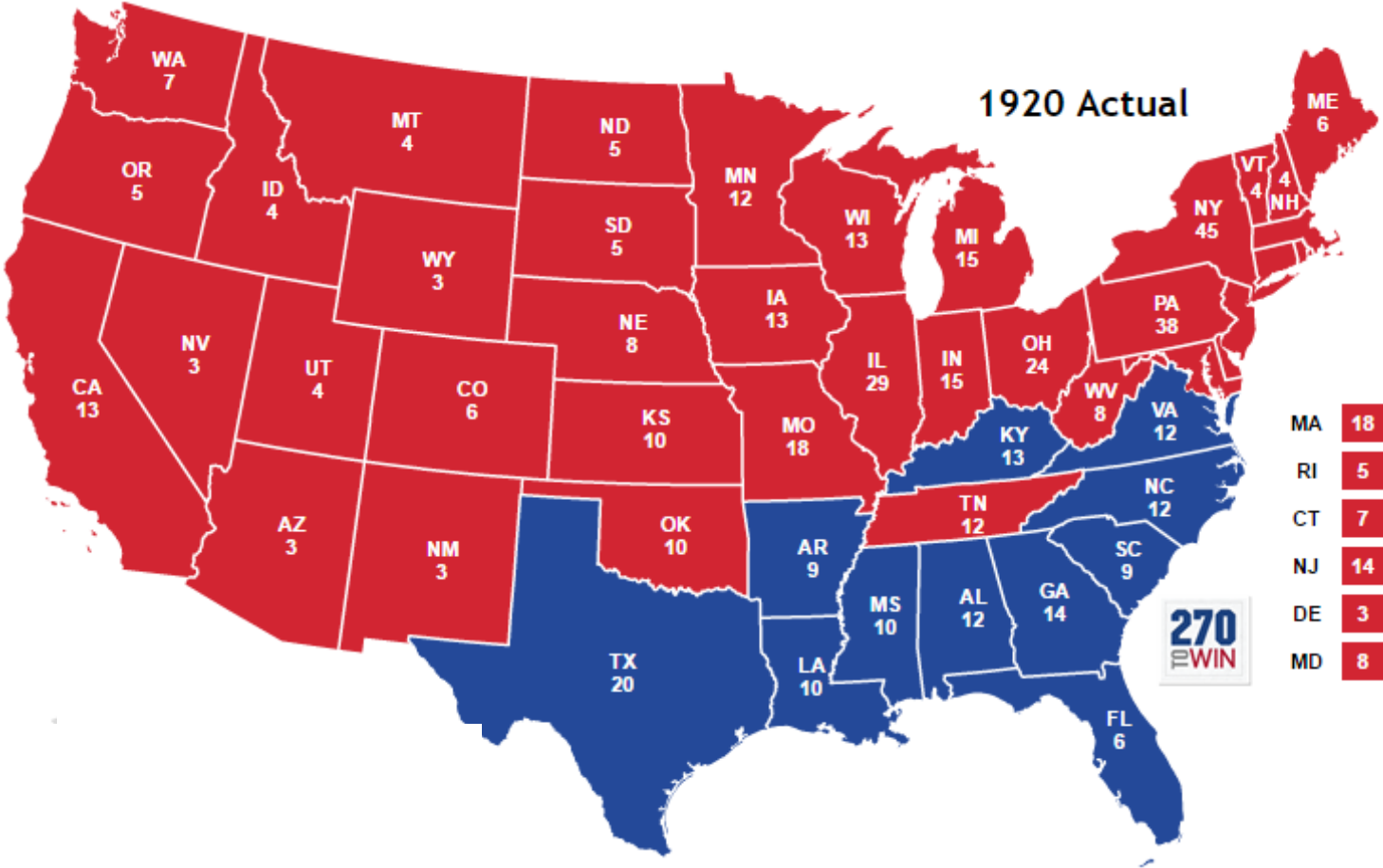


Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his family returned to their New York City home at 49 East 65th Street in January 1921 after living in Washington DC for the previous seven years while FDR was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Woodrow Wilson. He had resigned that post **in the summer of 1920 when he agreed to be the vice presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket to run with James Cox**, the presidential nominee.

Heritage Auctions, 2020

1920 Election

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Popular %
Warren G. Harding	Republican	404	16,152,200	61.6%
James M. Cox	Democrat	127	9,147,353	34.8%
Eugene Debs	Socialist	0	919,799	3.5%



The New York Times

16 September 1921

F.D. ROOSEVELT ILL OF POLIOMYELITIS

Brought on Special Car From Campobello, Bay of Fundy, to Hospital Here. RECOVERING, DOCTOR SAYS Patient Stricken by infantile Paralysis a Month Ago and Use of Legs Affected.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Democratic candidate for Vice-President in the last election, was brought to this city from Campobello Island. Bay of Fundy, yesterday, suffering from poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis, which for more than a month has **caused the loss of the use of both legs below the knees**

FDR's Braces



TELEPHONE PLAZA 7206 Box 23

To ROBERT LINDER, Inc., Dr.
MANUFACTURERS OF
Orthopedic Appliances

No. 148 East 53rd Street Near Lexington Avenue

M. Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt
49 East 65 St.,
New York, N. Y.

TERMS CASH. New York, July 5th, 1926

<i>ROBERT LINDER, INC.</i> <i>PER [Signature]</i>	Left Aluminum Drop Ring brace with Spring Snap at Knee-Stop at right angle-coil Spring to hold toe up	\$ 100 00	
	Right Ankle Brace with right angle stop- spring to pull toe up	35 00	
	\$ 135 00		

Braces don't fit - Will have to alter them when I get back in Sept
F.D.R.

Charles Evans Hughes and the Disarmament Conference



Prince Tokugawa (Japan), Arthur James Balfour (Great Britain), Charles Evans Hughes (USA), Aristide Briand (France) and government leaders from Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal

While FDR was coming to grips with his new life, President Harding's **Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes summoned the great powers to Washington on 12 November 1921** to propose a 10-year freeze on the size of each country's fleet.

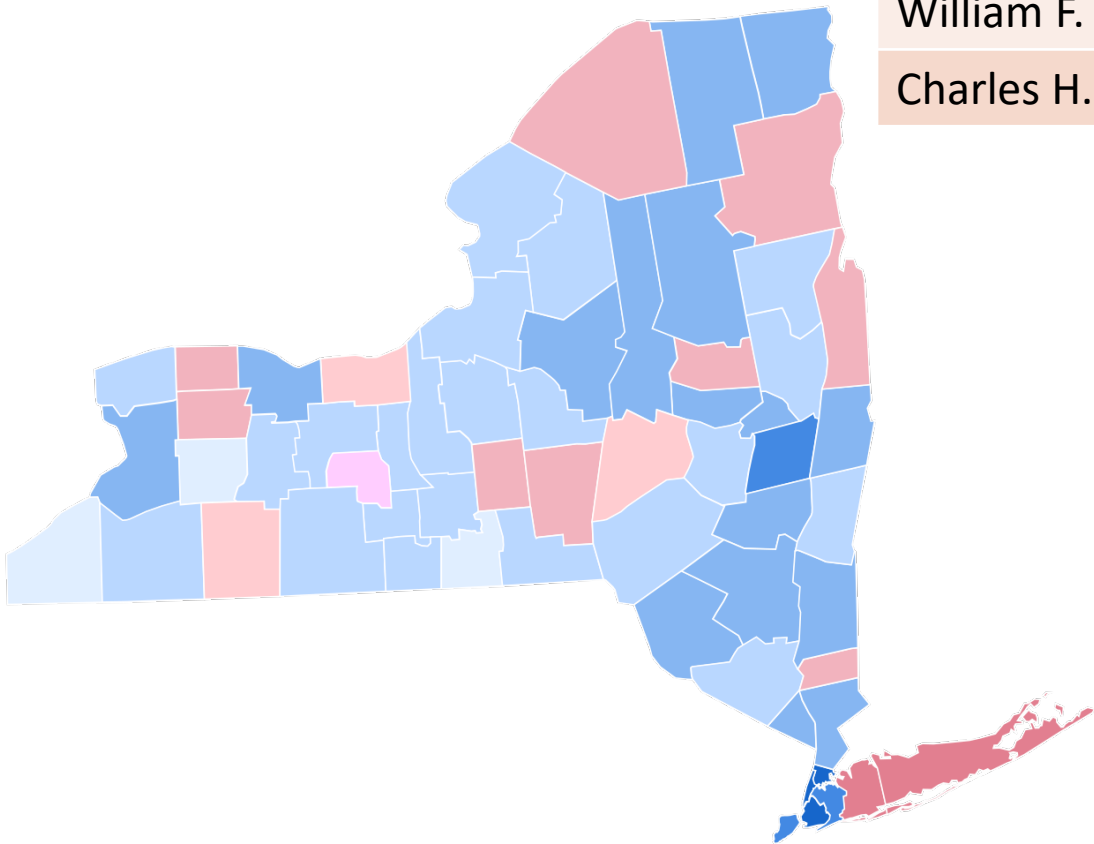
Hughes stunned those attending by naming specific ships to be scrapped, beginning with those of his own country, before turning to Britain and Japan. **In less than 15 minutes, said historian Thomas Bailey, Hughes had sunk more ships "than all the admirals of the world have sunk in a cycle of centuries."**

The result was the **Washington Naval Treaty**, signed on 6 February 1922, which scrapped warships under construction and halted the production of larger warships for a decade.

Governor of New York

Election - 6 November 1928

Candidate	Party	Popular Vote	Popular %
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat	2,130,193	49.0%
Albert Ottinger	Republican	2,104,129	48.4%
Louis Waldman	Socialist	101,859	2.3%
William F. Dunne	Workers	10,741	0.2%
Charles H. Corregan	Socialist Labor	4,213	0.1%



Franklin D. Roosevelt



Albert Ottinger

Governor of New York

First Term 1 January 1929 – 31 December 1930

Roosevelt came to office in 1929 as a reform Democrat

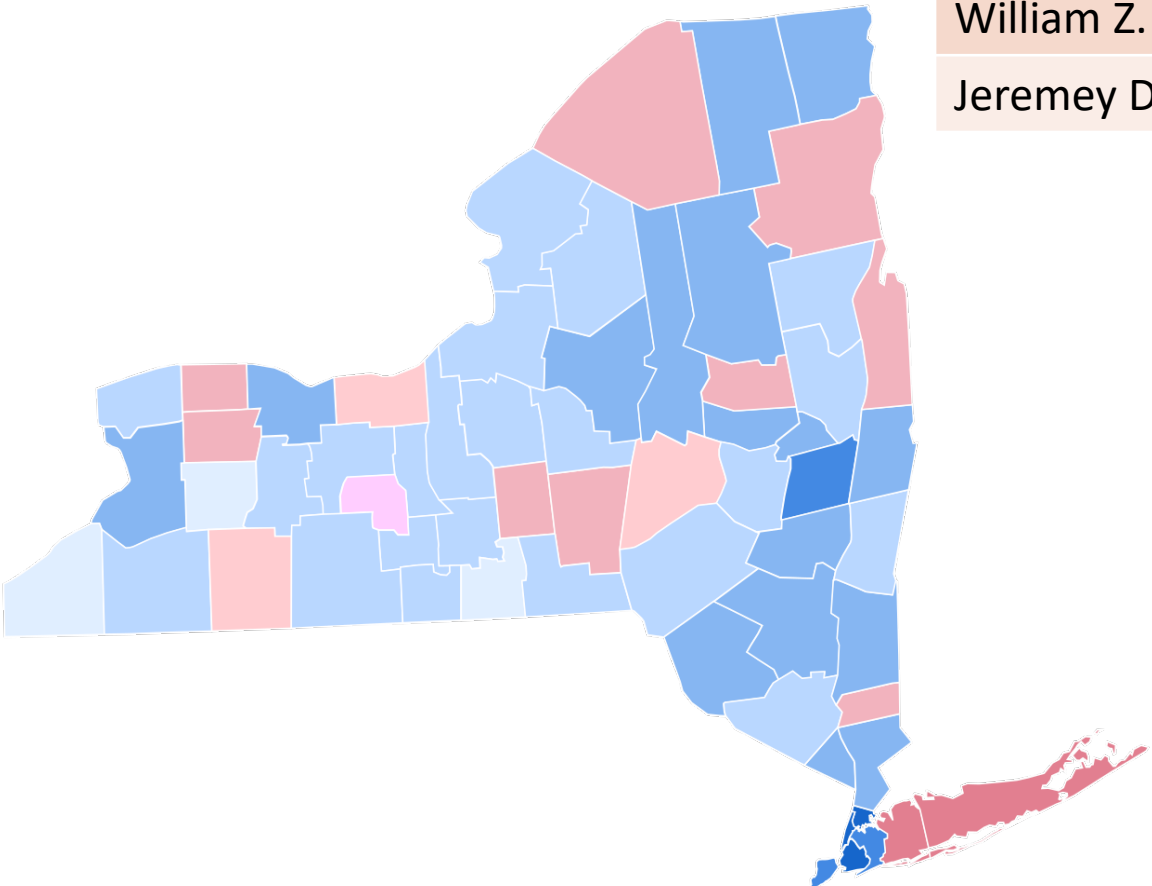
- He tackled official corruption by dismissing Smith's cronies.
- He addressed New York's growing need for power through the development of hydroelectricity on the St. Lawrence River.
- He reformed the state's prison administration.
- He built a new state prison at Attica.
- When the Wall Street Crash came in October 1929 and ushered in the Great Depression, Roosevelt started a relief system that later became the model for the New Deal's Federal Emergency Relief Administration
- He asked the state legislature for \$20 million in relief funds, which he spent mainly on public works in the hope of stimulating demand and providing employment.
- Aid to the unemployed, he said, "must be extended by Government, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of social duty."



Governor Roosevelt & Al Smith

Governor of New York

Election - 4 November 1930



Candidate	Party	Popular Vote	Popular %
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat	1,770,342	56.5%
Charles H. Tuttle	Republican	1,045,341	33.4%
Robert P. Carroll	Prohibition	190,666	6.1%
Louis Waldman	Socialist	100,444	3.2%
William Z. Foster	Communist	18,034	0.6%
Jeremey D. Crowley	Socialist Labor	9,096	0.3%



Franklin D. Roosevelt



Charles H. Tuttle

Governor of New York

Second Term 1 January 1931 – 31 December 1932



Roosevelt came to office in 1931 to reform the Democrats

- FDR needed the support of Mayor Jimmy Walker and Tammany Boss John F. Curry for re-election in 1930
- In 1931, FDR appointed the Seabury Commission to investigate corruption in the judiciary, police force, city government and organized crime
- The result was a massive shake-up of the lower court system, the resignation of Jimmy Walker, the removal of New York County Sheriff Thomas M. Farley, the indictment of Deputy City Clerk James J. McCormick and the arrest of State Senator John A. Hastings.
- FDR's second term in Albany was focused on measures to counter the effects of the Depression, including the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration to provide public works employment, as well as legislation on unemployment compensation, banking reform and reforestation of marginal farmland.

The Great Depression



The Great Depression

Lasting almost 10 years from late 1929 until about 1939 and affecting nearly every country in the world, it was marked by:

- Steep declines in industrial production
- Steep declines in prices (deflation)
- Mass unemployment
- Banking panics
- Sharp increases in rates of poverty and homelessness



Encyclopedia Britannica

The Great Depression Comparison

By 1933, unemployment levels reached staggering levels:

- Toledo, Ohio reached 80%
- Lowell, Massachusetts reached 90%



	Great Depression	Great Recession	COVID-19 Pandemic
Time Period	1929 to 1939	2007 to 2009	April to September 2020
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) decline	47%	4.3%	38.2% → 31.4%
Unemployment	30%	10%	15% → 7.9%
Dow Jones Average	362 → 46	17,328 → 8,652	27,600 → 23,422
Dow Jones % Decline	87%	51%	16%

Encyclopedia Britannica, NPR, CBS, Dow Jones



It was called the “penny auction”, and the first one unfolded 77 years ago this week on the farm of Wallace Kramp near Bowling Green in Wood County. Owing some \$800.00 on his mortgage to the bank and unable to pay, Kramp was **foreclosed upon and a sheriff’s sale was set up to auction** off his equipment, livestock and land.

But some crafty local farmers had a plan to save Kramp’s farm. About **700 local farmers showed up for the auction** that day on January 26, 1933 and when the bidding started, **they bid only a few pennies on each item and would not allow anyone else to offer more serious bids.** The sheer size and mood of the crowd kept many would-be bidders from offering more realistic bids, so when the finally tally came on that day at Wallace Kramp’s farm, the farmers had bid a total of only \$14.00. Not nearly the hundreds, or thousands of dollars the bank had hoped to reap that day. The farmers then told Kramp...**he could have all the items back for a 99 year lease for a penny.**

Lou Herbert, The Toledo Gazette, 26 January 2010

The Great Depression

There is no consensus among economists and historians regarding the exact causes of the Great Depression. However, many scholars agree that at least **the following four factors played a role**:

- **The stock market crash of 1929**

Millions of overextended shareholders fell into a panic and rushed to liquidate their holdings, exacerbating the decline and engendering further panic. **By November, stock prices fell 33 percent.**

- **Banking panics and monetary contraction**

Between 1930 and 1932 the United States experienced four extended banking panics, during which large numbers of bank customers, fearful of their bank's solvency, simultaneously attempted to withdraw their deposits in cash. **By 1933 one-fifth of the banks in existence in 1930 had failed.**



The Great Depression

There is no consensus among economists and historians regarding the exact causes of the Great Depression. However, many scholars agree that at least **the following four factors played a role**:



- **The gold standard**

Americans bought fewer imported goods, while American exports were relatively cheap. Such imbalances gave rise to significant foreign gold outflows to the United States, that threatened to devalue the currencies of the countries whose gold reserves had been depleted. Accordingly, foreign central banks attempted to counteract the trade imbalance by raising their interest rates, which had the effect of **reducing output and prices and increasing unemployment** in their countries.

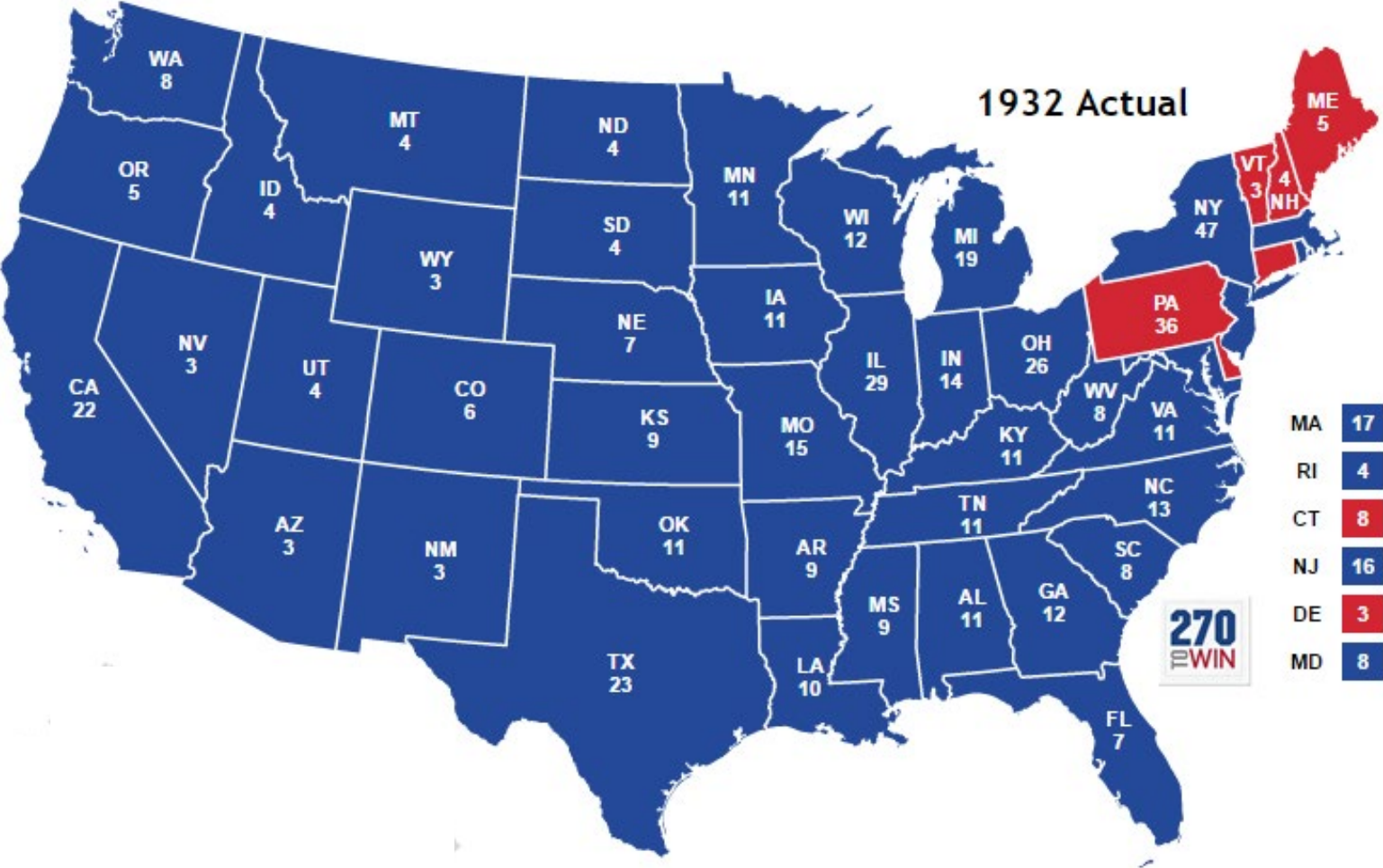
- **Decreased international lending and tariffs**

In the late 1920s, lending by U.S. banks to foreign countries fell. The drop-off contributed to a downturn in Germany, Argentina and Brazil, whose economies entered a downturn before the Great Depression in the United States. American agricultural interests lobbied Congress the **Smoot-Hawley Tariff (1930)**, that imposed steep tariffs (averaging 20 percent) on a wide range of agricultural and industrial products.

Encyclopedia Britannica

1932 Election

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Popular %
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat	472	22,821,857	59.1%
Herbert Hoover	Republican	59	15,761,841	40.8%



Party	Senate	House of Representatives
Democrat	58	313
Republican	37	117

President of the United States



Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt
Inauguration Day, 4 March 1933

Executive Order 6073 – in part

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Section 5 (b) of the Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. L., 411), as amended by the Act of March 9, 1933 and by virtue of all other authority vested in me, **I hereby issue the following executive order.**

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and empowered under such regulations as he may prescribe to permit any member bank of the Federal Reserve System and any other banking institution organized under the laws of the United States, **to perform any or all of their usual banking functions**, except as otherwise prohibited...

All banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System, desiring to reopen for the performance of all usual and normal banking functions, except as otherwise prohibited, **shall apply for a license therefor to the Secretary of the Treasury.** Such application shall be filed immediately through the Federal Reserve Banks. The Federal Reserve Bank shall then transmit such applications to the Secretary of the Treasury. Licenses will be issued by the Federal Reserve Bank upon approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Federal Reserve Banks are hereby designated as agents of the Secretary of the Treasury for the receiving of application and the issuance of licenses in his behalf and upon his instructions.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "F. D. Roosevelt", written in a cursive style.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House
March 10, 1933

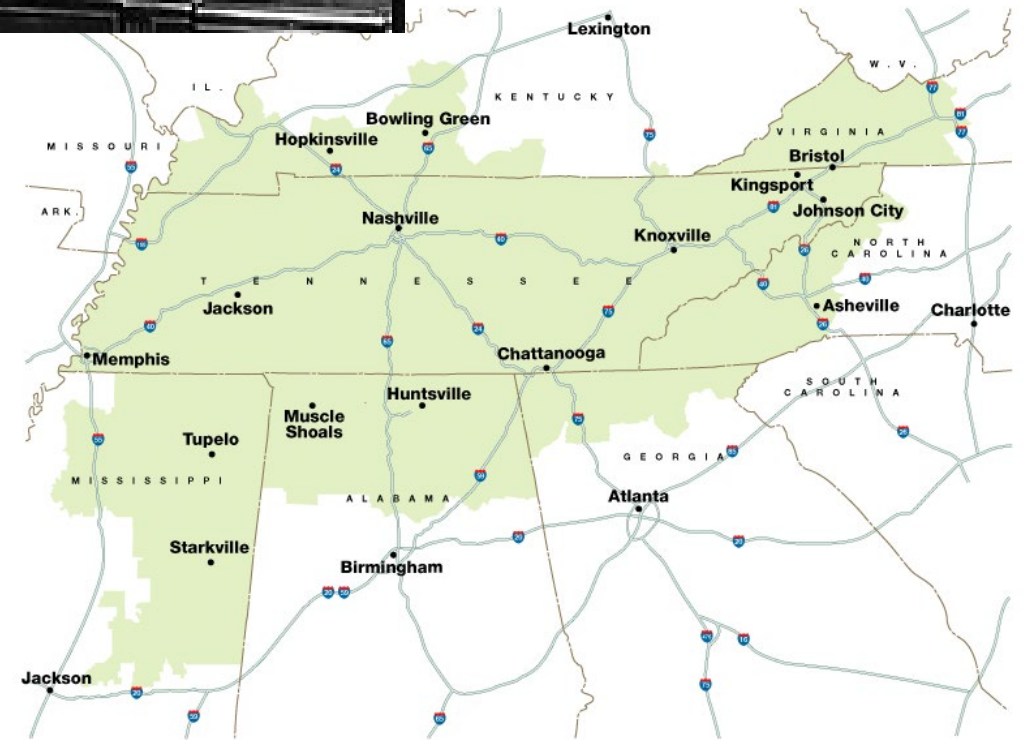
President of the United States

The First New Deal 1933 – 1934

- Fiscal policy
- Banking reform
- Monetary reform
- Securities and Exchange Commission
- Repeal of Prohibition
- Relief
- Public Works
- Farm and rural programs
- National Recovery Administration
- Housing sector
- Reform
- Trade liberalization
- Puerto Rico



FDR signs
Tennessee Valley Authority
into law



President of the United States

The core of the first Roosevelt brain trust consisted of Columbia law professors: Moley, Tugwell and Berle

The core of the second Roosevelt brain trust consisted of Harvard law professors: Cohen, Corcoran and Frankfurter

FDR's First Brain Trust

- Adolf Berle
- Hugh S. Johnson
- Raymond Moley
- Basil O'Connor
- Rexford Tugwell
- Frances Perkins
- Harry Hopkins
- Harold L. Ickes
- Louis Brandeis
- James Warburg

FDR's Second Brain Trust

- Benjamin V. Cohen
- Thomas Gardiner Corcoran
- Felix Frankfurter

FDR's Other Advisors

- Louis Howe
- James A. Farley
- Paul M O'Leary
- George Peak
- Charles William Taussig
- Robert F. Wagner
- F. Palmer Weber

President of the United States

The Second New Deal 1935 – 1945

- Social Security
- Labor Relations
- Works Progress Administration
- Tax policy
- Housing Act of 1937
- Coal Mines Inspection and Investigation Act of 1941
- Servicemen's Dependence Allowance Act of 1942
- Emergency Maternity and Infant Care Act of 1943
- Disabled Veterans Rehabilitation Act
- Fair Employment Practices



Wagner Act 1935

Great Depression Statistics

	1929	1931	1933	1937	1938	1940
Real Gross National Product (GNP) (1)	101.4	84.3	68.3	103.9	96.7	113.0
Consumer Price Index (2)	122.5	108.7	92.4	102.7	99.4	100.2
Index of Industrial Production (2)	109	75	69	112	89	126
Money Supply M2 (\$ billions)	46.6	42.7	32.2	45.7	49.3	55.2
Exports (\$ billions)	5.24	2.42	1.67	3.35	3.18	4.02
Unemployment	3.1	16.1	25.2	13.8	16.5	13.9

(1) In 1929 dollars

(2) 1935-1939 = 100

Gene Smiley, *Recent Unemployment Rate Estimates for the 1920s and 1930s*,
Journal of Economic History, June 1983

Great Depression Statistics

Families on Relief 1936 – 1941 (monthly average in thousands)

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941
Workers Employed						
WPA	1,995	2,227	1,932	2,911	1,971	1,638
CCC & NYA	712	801	643	793	877	919
Other federal work projects	554	663	452	488	468	681
Public Assistance						
Social Security	602	1,306	1,852	2,132	2,308	2,517
General relief	2,946	1,484	1,611	1,647	1,570	1,206
Total families helped	5,886	5,660	5,474	6,751	5,860	5,167
Unemployed workers	9,030	7,700	10,390	9,480	8,120	5,560
Coverage (cases/unemployed)	65%	74%	53%	71%	72%	93%

Gene Smiley, *Recent Unemployment Rate Estimates for the 1920s and 1930s*,
Journal of Economic History, June 1983

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)

In May 1933, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was created **in order to raise crop prices** in response to the rural economic crisis. The administration helped to control the falling prices by **setting quotas to reduce farm production**. Beyond price adjustment, the act helped farmers to modernize and implement innovative farming methods. In extreme cases, the agency helped farmers with their mortgages and provided direct payment for farmers who would agree to sign acreage reduction contracts.

Farmer Opinion and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1933

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA),

Restore agricultural prosperity during the Great Depression by

- curtailing farm production
- reducing export surpluses
- raising prices.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act (May 1933) was an omnibus farm-relief bill embodying the schemes of the major national farm organizations. It established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration under **Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace** to effect a “domestic allotment” plan that would subsidize producers of basic commodities for cutting their output. Its goal was the restoration of prices paid to farmers for their goods to a level equal in purchasing power to that of 1909–14.



Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

On 9 March 1933, Roosevelt ordered some of his senior staff to put unemployed men to work on conservation projects by summertime.

On 21 March, he submitted a proposal to Congress **calling for the employment of 250,000 men by June**. It was soon passed into law on 31 March, giving the President authority to establish the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) program.

The ECW was the program's official name until 1937, when the popular name of CCC became official.

The CCC allowed unemployed men to work for six months on conservation projects such as planting trees, preventing soil erosion and combating forest fires. Workers lived in militarized camps across the country and made \$30 per month. **By the end of the program in 1942, the CCC had employed 2.5 million men.**



Joseph Speakman, *Into the Woods: The First Year of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, Prologue Magazine, 2006

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



The Civilian Conservation Corps

- planted more than three billion trees
- constructed trails and shelters in more than 800 parks nationwide
- helped to shape the modern national and state park systems we enjoy today

Over the nine-year run of the CCC, a total of 2 million CCC workers labored to create new national and state parks, and make existing ones more accessible by paving roads, cutting trails and building cabins and campsites. In total, there were **194 CCC work camps in 94 national parks and 697 camps in 881 state and local parks across the US.**

Two well-known national parks were built almost entirely by CCC labor: The **Great Smoky Mountains National Park** straddling the border of North Carolina and Tennessee, and the 600-acre **Big Bend National Park** in Texas. In addition, **the CCC helped to create a total of 711 new state parks** across the country.

National Park Service, August 2020

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days

The Civilian Conservation Corps

Although the **CCC was probably the most popular New Deal program**, it never was authorized as permanent agency. The program was reduced in scale as the Depression waned and employment opportunities improved. After conscription began in 1940, fewer eligible young men were available. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Roosevelt administration directed all federal programs to emphasize the war effort. Most CCC work, except for wildland firefighting, was shifted onto U.S. military bases to help with construction.

The CCC disbanded one year earlier than planned, as the **77th US Congress ceased funding it**. Operations were formally concluded at the end of the federal fiscal year on June 30, 1942. The end of the CCC program and closing of the camps involved arrangements to leave the incomplete work projects in the best possible state, the separation of about 1,800 appointed employees, the transfer of CCC property to the War and Navy Departments and other agencies.



Conrad L. Wirth, *Civilian Conservation Corps Program of the US Dept. of the Interior, March 1933 to June 30, 1942*, a report to Harold L. Ickes, January 1944

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



In 1942, Congress discontinued funding for the CCC, diverting desperately needed resources to the effort to win World War II. The extensive development and expansion of park facilities and services by the CCC made possible the modern state and national park systems Americans enjoy today.

The CCC became a model for future conservation programs. More than 100 present-day corps programs operate at local, state and national levels engaging young adults in community service and conservation activities.

National Park Service, August 2020

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days

National Parks in Virginia	
Appalachian National Scenic Trail	George Washington Birthplace National Monument
Appomattox Court House National Historical Park	George Washington Memorial Parkway (MD, DC)
Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial	Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (WV, VA, MD)
Assateague Island National Seashore (MD, VA)	Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site
Blue Ridge Parkway (NC, VA)	Manassas National Battlefield Park
Booker T. Washington National Monument	Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (NC, SC, TN, VA)
Cape Henry Memorial	Petersburg National Battlefield Park
Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park	Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail (DC, MD, VA, PA)
Colonial National Historical Park	Prince William Forest Park
Cumberland Gap National Historical Park (KY, TN, VA)	Shenandoah National Park
Fort Monroe National Monument	Richmond National Battlefield Park
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park	Wolf Trap National Park for the Performing Arts

National Park Service, August 2020

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)

While Roosevelt's main goal was to increase employment, he also recognized the need for a support system for the poor. FERA started in 1933 with \$500 million to address the urgent needs of the poor.

- soup kitchens, blankets, employment schemes and nursery schools
- construction, projects for professionals: writers, artists, actors and musicians
- educating workers and providing nearly 500,000 jobs for women
- production of consumer goods

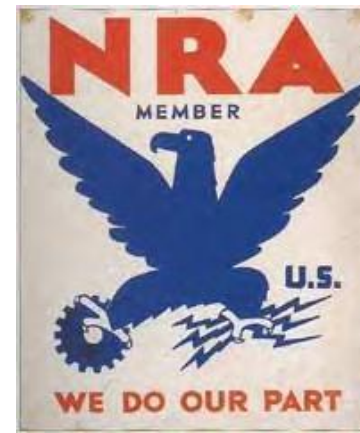
The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was shut down in 1935, and its work taken over by the Works Progress Administration and the Social Security Administration.

Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2014

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days

National Industry Recovery Act (NIRA)

The National Industry Recovery Act came into place on 16 June 1933, just five days after the end of 100 days. The act was an attempt to rebuild the economy from the severe deflation caused by the Great Depression. The act consists of two sections; the first promoted industrial recovery, and the second established the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the National Recovery Administration (NRA).



The PWA used government money to **build infrastructure, such as roads and bridges**

- **This demand for construction created new jobs**, which achieved Roosevelt's main priority
- The National Recovery Act also **improved working conditions and outlawed child labor**
- **Wages increased, making it possible for workers to earn and spend more**

Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2014

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established to build dams on the Tennessee River. These dams were designed to stimulate farming in the area while **creating hydroelectricity, as well as prevent flooding and deforestation**. The hydroelectric power was used effectively to provide electricity for nearby houses. The TVA marked the first time the federal government competed against private companies in the business of selling electricity.

Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2014

A New Deal for the American People – The First Hundred Days



- AAA - Agricultural Adjustment Administration
- CCC - Civilian Conservation Corps
- FSA - Farm Security Administration
- NRA - National Recovery Act
- NYA - National Youth Administration
- PWA - Public Works Administration
- REA - Rural Electrification Administration
- SSA - Social Security Administration
- WPA - Works Projects Administration

Political Cartoon from 1934 – FDR and the alphabet soup agencies

Bill Ganzel, Ganzel Group, 2003

Hoover Dam



The **Hoover Dam** is a **concrete arch-gravity dam** in the **Black Canyon of the Colorado River**, on the border between the US states of Nevada and Arizona. It was constructed between 1931 and 1936 during the Great Depression and was **dedicated on 30 September 1935, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt** at a cost of \$49 million (\$818 million in 2020). Its construction was the result of a massive effort involving thousands of workers and cost over one hundred lives. Originally known as Boulder Dam, it was **officially renamed Hoover Dam for President Herbert Hoover in 1947**.

Kelly Milner Halls, *The Story of the Hoover Dam*, Cherry Lake Publishing, 2014

Golden Gate Bridge



Construction on the Golden Gate Bridge began on 5 January 1933. The project cost more than \$35 million (\$514 million in 2018 dollars) and was completed ahead of schedule and \$1.3 million under budget (equivalent to \$24.2 million today).

The Golden Gate Bridge construction project was carried out by the McClintic-Marshall Construction Co., a subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

American Society of Civil Engineers, 19 July 2010

Social Security benefits play a vital role in reducing poverty in every state, and they lift more Americans above the poverty line than any other program.

- **Without Social Security, 21.7 million more Americans would be poor,** according to analysis using the March 2019 Current Population Survey
- Social Security keeps out of poverty: the elderly plus 6.9 million are under age 65, including 1.2 million children
- Social Security is **particularly important for elderly women and people of color**, who have fewer retirement resources outside of Social Security
- Depending on their design, **reductions in Social Security benefits could significantly increase poverty**, particularly among the elderly.

Social Security is waging a War on Poverty



Seniors have come to rely on to help make ends meet during retirement:

- 62% of retired workers rely on their monthly check to account for at least half of their income
- 34% lean on their payout to account for virtually all of their income (90% plus)
- Social Security plays in building a financial foundation for its more than 62 million recipients
- 22.1 million people kept out of poverty solely because Social Security provides a guaranteed monthly check
- This includes:
 - 15.33 million elderly Americans aged 65 and up
 - 5.63 million adults between the ages of 18 and 64
 - 1.11 million children under the age of 18

Social Security Problems

Every year, the Social Security Board of Trustees releases a report examining the short-term (10 year) and long-term (75 year) outlook for America's most important social program

- Since 1985, it has been warning that **long-term revenue would not be sufficient** to sustain the existing payout schedule, which includes assumptions for annual cost-of-living adjustments
- **Ongoing demographic changes** that include the retirement of baby boomers, increased longevity, lower fertility rates and growing income inequality, are adversely impacting Social Security
- Based on the estimates of the Trustees, **Social Security's \$2.9 trillion in asset reserves will be completely gone by 2034**
- Should lawmakers not find a way to raise additional revenue or cut expenditures by then, **an across-the-board cut of up to 21% in benefits** may await.
- That is particularly worrisome, given that **62% of retired workers rely on their benefit check** to account for at **least half of their income**.



The Supreme Court and the New Deal

Home Building & Loan Association v. Blaisdell, 290 U.S. 398 (1934)

Minnesota passed a moratorium statute allowing two more years to make good on mortgage payments. Supreme Court approved 5 – 4.

Nebbia v. New York, 291 U.S. 502 (1934)

New York passed a law that it could regulate the price of milk for the public good. Supreme Court approved 5 – 4.

Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan, 293 U.S. 388 (1935)

Supreme Court 8 – 1 ruled that the Roosevelt Administration's prohibition of interstate and foreign trade in petroleum goods produced in excess of state quotas, the "hot oil" orders adopted under the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act, was unconstitutional.

James F. Simon, *FDR and Chief Justice Hughes*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2012

1935 - The End of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)

The NRA with a five member board oversaw the prosecution of hundreds of businesses that flouted the NRA's codes and practices. One suit named the Schechter Brothers of New York as defendants, charging the brothers with violations of the NRA's wage and hours standards as well as the trade-practice of illegally selling thousands of pounds of diseased chickens at 4 to 8 cents below market price.



Solomon Schechter

James F. Simon, *FDR and Chief Justice Hughes*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2012

1935 - The End of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)

A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States, 295 U.S. 495 (1935)

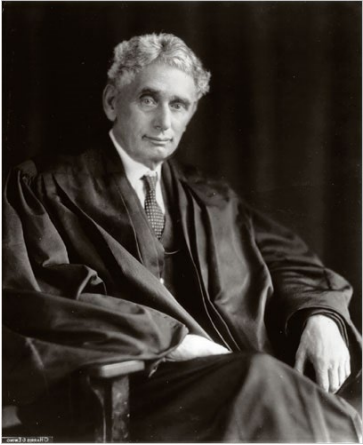
The Supreme Court decided 9 – 0 on 27 May 1935 that Section 3 of the National Industrial Recovery Act was an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the Executive and was not a valid exercise of congressional Commerce Clause power.

Majority	Concurrence
Charles E. Hughes, Chief Justice	Benjamin N. Cardozo
Louis Brandeis	Harlan F. Stone
Pierce Butler	
James C. McReynolds	
Owen Roberts	
George Sutherland	
Willis Van Devanter	



James F. Simon, *FDR and Chief Justice Hughes*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2012

1935 - The End of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)



Speaking to aides of Roosevelt, Justice Louis Brandeis remarked that, "This is the end of this business of centralization, and I want you to go back and tell the president that we're not going to let this government centralize everything."

In Hyde Park a few days after the decision, Roosevelt denounced the decision as an antiquated interpretation of the Commerce Clause.



After the decision was announced, newspapers reported that 500 cases of NIRA code violations were going to be dropped.

Amity Shlaes, *The Forgotten Man*, New York, HarperCollins, 2007

Although it struck down the AAA, the Court dealt positively with taxation and the expenditure of funds to advance the general welfare as specified in Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution.

The Court stated that the issue “presents the great and the controlling question in the case.” After comparing expansive vs. restrictive interpretations of the Spending Clause, the Court adopted the philosophy that:

The clause confers a power separate and distinct from those later enumerated and is not restricted in meaning by the grant of them, and **Congress consequently has a substantive power to tax and to appropriate**, limited only by the requirement that it shall be exercised to **provide for the general welfare** of the United States. ...

It results that the power of Congress to authorize expenditure of public moneys for public purposes is not limited by the direct grants of legislative power found in the Constitution



Erwin Chemerinsky, *Constitutional Law: Principles and Policies*, New York, 2015

1936 - The End of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration

United States v. Butler, 297 US 1 (1936)

The Supreme Court decided 6 – 3 on 6 January 1936 that the AAA was unconstitutional.

The Court also held that the power of Congress has a broad authority to tax and spend for the "general welfare" of the United States.

Majority	Dissent
Owen Roberts	Harlan F. Stone
Charles E. Hughes, Chief Justice	Louis Brandeis
Willis Van Devanter	Benjamin N. Cardozo
James C. McReynolds	
George Sutherland	
Pierce Butler	



Erwin Chemerinsky, *Constitutional Law: Principles and Policies*, New York, 2015

Louis McHenry Howe 14 January 1871 – 18 April 1936



Howe and FDR in 1932

Louis Howe was an American reporter for the New York Herald best known for acting as an early political advisor to FDR - first as governor then as president.

Born to a wealthy family in Indianapolis, Indiana, Howe was a small, sickly and asthmatic child. The family moved to Saratoga, New York after serious financial losses. Howe married Grace Hartley and became a journalist with a small paper that his father purchased. He spent the next decade freelancing for the New York Herald and working various jobs.

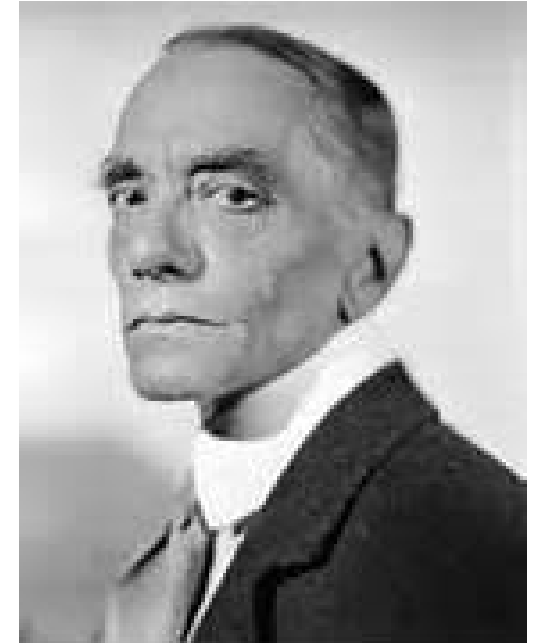
Howe was then assigned to cover the New York State Legislature in 1906, and soon became a political operative for Thomas Mott Osborne, a Democratic opponent of the Tammany Hall political machine. This was FDR's political philosophy.

Louis McHenry Howe 14 January 1871 – 18 April 1936

After Osborne fired Howe in 1909, Howe attached himself to rising Democratic star Franklin D. Roosevelt, with whom he would work for the rest of his life.

- Howe oversaw FDR's campaign for the New York State Senate
- Howe worked with FDR in the Navy Department
- Howe acted as an advisor and campaign manager for FDR's 1920 vice presidential run

After Roosevelt contracted polio in 1921, resulting in partial paralysis, Howe became Roosevelt's public representative, keeping his political career alive during his recovery. He arranged Roosevelt's 1924 "Happy Warrior" convention speech that returned him to the public eye and helped to run Roosevelt's narrowly successful 1928 campaign to become Governor of New York.



Howe then spent the next four years laying the groundwork for Roosevelt's landslide 1932 presidential victory.

Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, 27 January 2013

Louis McHenry Howe 14 January 1871 – 18 April 1936

Named Roosevelt's secretary, Howe helped the president to shape the early programs of the New Deal, particularly the Civilian Conservation Corps. Franklin Roosevelt biographer, Jean Edward Smith, called Howe "a backroom man without equal in Democratic politics", and Roosevelt publicly credited Howe and James Farley for his first election to the presidency in 1932.

Howe also acted as a political advisor to Franklin's wife, Eleanor, and he encouraged her to take an active role in politics, introducing her to women's groups and coaching her in public speaking. Eleanor later called Howe one of the most influential people in her life.



Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, 27 January 2013

Louis McHenry Howe 14 January 1871 – 18 April 1936

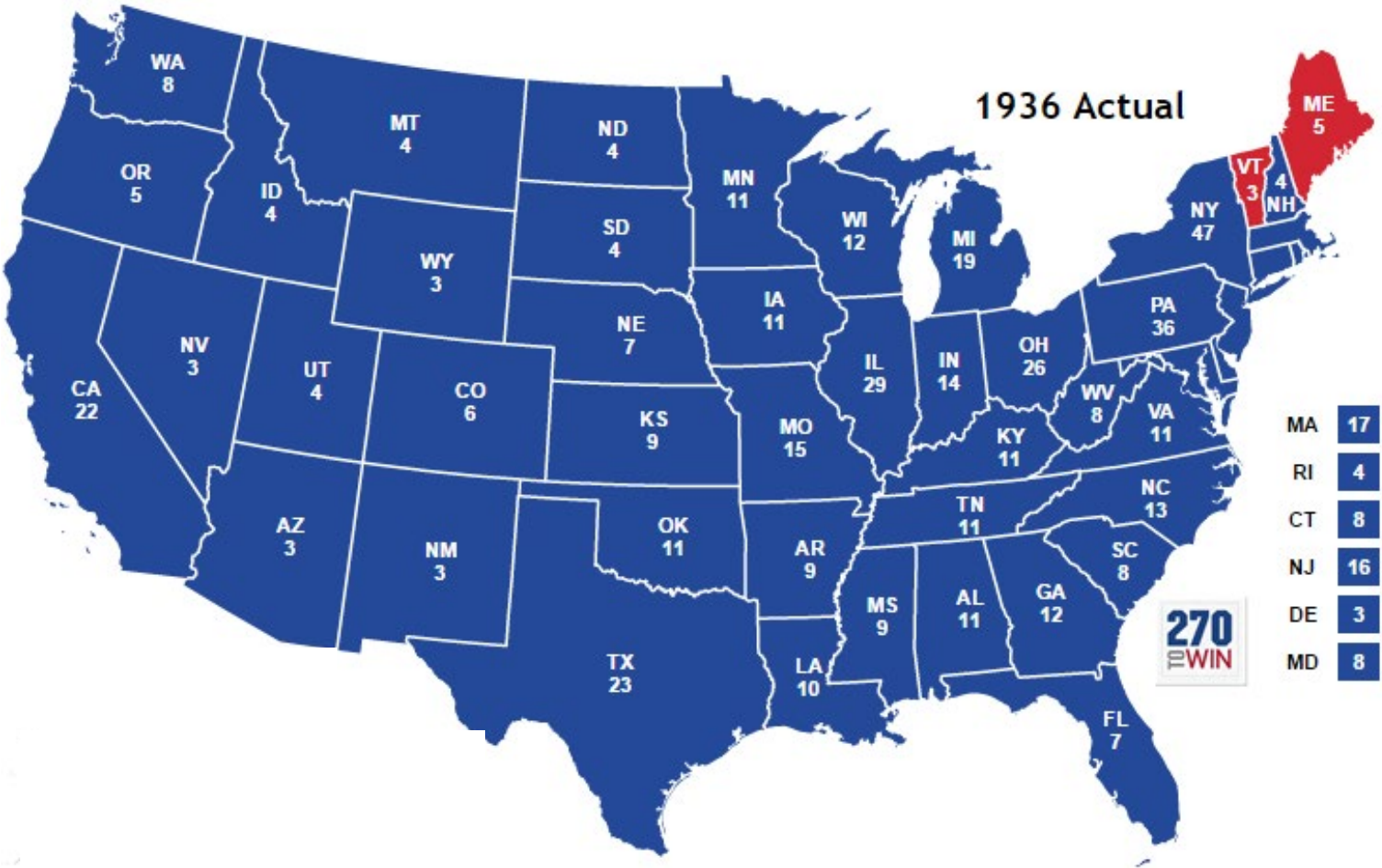
Howe grew ill shortly after Roosevelt's election and died before the end of his first term.



Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, 27 January 2013

1936 Election

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Popular %
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat	523	27,751,597	62.4%
Alfred M. Landon	Republican	8	16,679,583	37.5%



Party	Senate	House of Representatives
Democrat	75	334
Republican	16	88
Farmer-Labor	2	5
Progressive	1	8

Aftermath

Westbrook Pegler describes Louisville and environs as food, waters recede and rehabilitation begins. Page 9.

The Washington Post

The Weather

Today and Tomorrow — Fair, slightly warmer, followed by rain tonight or tomorrow.
Yesterday—High, 35; low, 28.
Details on Page 24.

NO. 22,150 Entered as Second-Class Matter, Postoffice, Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON: SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1937 X

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THREE CENTS

Roosevelt Asks 6 New High Court Judges

G. M. Accord With 'Stay-In' Strikers Near, Murphy Says

Governor and Roosevelt Talk by Phone; Parley Resumes Today.

Writ for Arrest Of Martin Issued

Flint Sheriff Asks for National Guard Aid in Eviction.

By the Associated Press.

Detroit, Feb. 5.—Gov. Frank Murphy reported tonight that a conference of opposing leaders in the General Motors strike was "making definite progress."

The Governor spoke to newspapermen after adjournment of the seventh session in three days. "Tonight we will work in sub-

'Mother India' Author Lashes Child Marriage



MISS KATHERINE MAYO.

Urges Public Opinion to Stamp Out 'Debasing Offense' in U. S.

Six Believed Dead in Blast At Louisville

12 Hurt as Explosions, Fire Raze 2 Buildings in Business Area.

Flood Seen as Cause of Disaster, Third in 24 Hours.

By the Associated Press.

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 5.—Two gas explosions and a fire, due to the recent disastrous flood, destroyed two three-story brick buildings in the business section here today, and it was believed at least six lives were lost. Twelve persons were known to have been injured.

The explosions and fire followed two similar ones in the last 24 hours.

The gas, believed to have accumulated from a main damaged by flood waters, exploded with a roar that damaged the buildings and sent some 15 families and flood refugees fleeing from apartments above the stores in the structures. Another explosion of terrific force shattered

Shakeup Plan Provides Additions As Federal Jurists Pass Age of 70

Surprise Move Splits Congress; Majority Noncommittal.

Hoover Vehement In Condemnation

House Judiciary Body Is Cool; Democrats Plan Swift Action.

By Robert C. Albright.

Received with mixed feelings of anguish and acclamation, the President's plan to remodel the Federal judiciary burst like a bombshell in Congress yesterday, dividing unprepared members into cliques of the faithful, the doubtful and the outspokenly opposed.

Caught completely off guard, the vast majority of members studied details of the President's plan with

Elders of Congress to Pass On Fate of Elders of Court

Opinion Divided With Glass Declaring 'Some Over 70 Are Fit, Some Younger Aren't Fit for Anything.'

(Pictures on Page 7)

America's elder statesmen, who will help pass on the fate of the "old men" involved in President Roosevelt's proposal for a Supreme Court of possibly 15 members instead of 9, last night rendered a split verdict on the question of whether a man of 70 is still in full possession of his faculties.

In asking authority to appoint additional justices, up to six, to supplement justices past 70, President Roosevelt said that modern complexities call for a "constant infusion of new blood in the courts, just as it is needed in executive functions of the Government and in private business."

Nine members of Congress, most of them Senators, took vio-

"Some men over 70 are fit to serve and some men under 70 aren't fit to serve at anything." Senator William Gibbs McAdoo, California's veteran Democrat, aged 74, said:

"Physiologically it is perhaps true that the inroads of time do count. There is no question about it, a man's physical endurance is not the same at 70 as it was at 60 or, say, 50. The point is, there is no opportunity to recall an appointed judge when he becomes too old. You can recall a Senator—as, we all very well know."

Representative Edward T. Taylor, 70, from Colorado, four months younger than Glass, who holds all records with his 42 successive years of public service,

Message From President Accompanied by Letter From Attorney General Deploring Delays in Justice.

PROCTOR URGED TO ADVISE CHIEF JUSTICE ON DOCKETS

Executive Would Name New District Judges Despite Present Vacancies; One Existing More Than a Year.

You Will Want to Read—

Franklyn Wattman's column, which reveals Federal court vacancies while the President pleads for more judges to clear crowded dockets—Page 2.

History of the long-drawn-out fight over court powers beginning with John Marshall's decision that the court could void acts of Congress—Page 3.

Mr. Roosevelt's proposed bill, intended to put into effect the court reforms he asked for in his special message—Page 7.

Court Packing – The Reaction



But the reaction in the country at large, numerous surveys showed, was generally hostile.

- A Gallup poll showed that one-third of those who had voted for Roosevelt opposed the plan, while only one Landon voter in ten supported it
- The legal profession in particular reacted strongly, a majority of American Bar Association members polled opposing the plan in every state and by a six to one vote overall

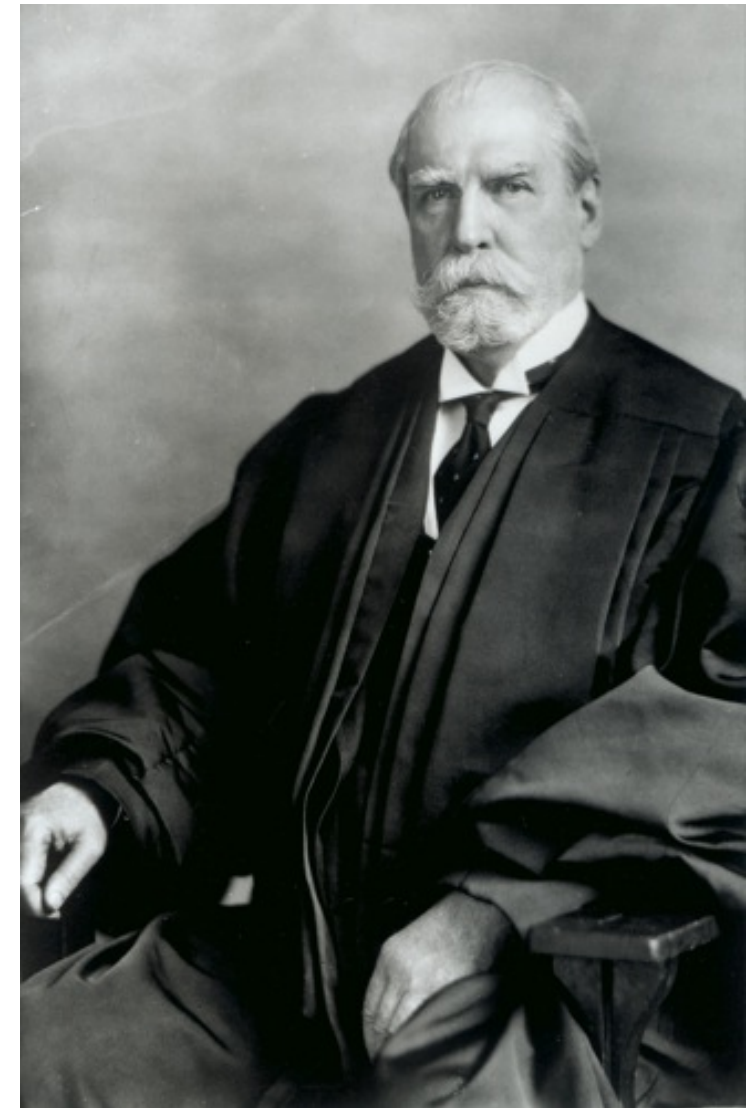
Soon congressional opponents drew on this reservoir of hostility, and before February was over Democratic defections led them to believe that they had “some chance” of stopping the bill. **Roosevelt seemed to have the numbers to win a vote**, but his opponents seemed to have enough, at least in the Senate, to put off that vote for many weeks.

New York Times, 6 February 1937

Court Packing – Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes

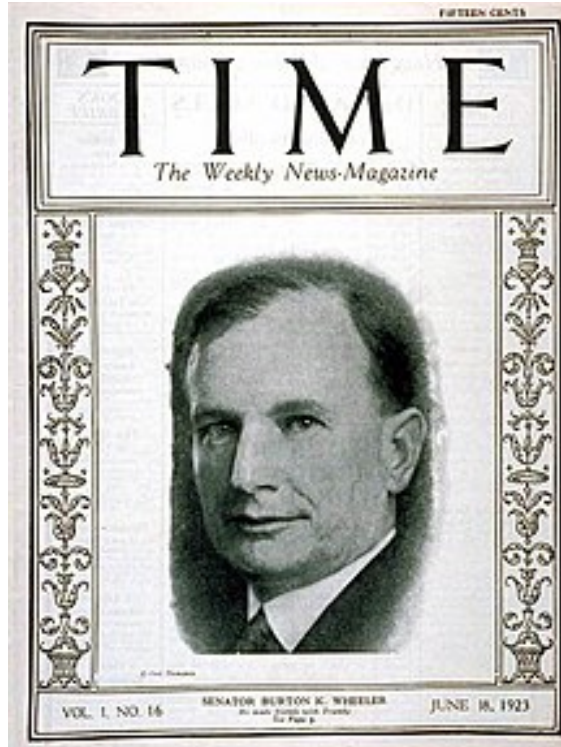
Chief Justice Hughes responded with his favorite weapon, the facts. When the Court rose for the current recess, he pointed out,

- it had heard cases for which **certiorari was granted only four weeks before**
- for several Terms the Court had been **able to adjourn after disposing of all cases** ready to be heard
- the Court itself through **exercise of the certiorari power** determined **just how heavy its docket would be,**
- but Hughes thought his Brethren believed “that if any error is being made in dealing with these applications **it is on the side of liberality.**”



William F. Swindler, *The Court and Constitution in the Twentieth Century*,
Bobbs-Merrill Company 1974

Court Packing – Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes

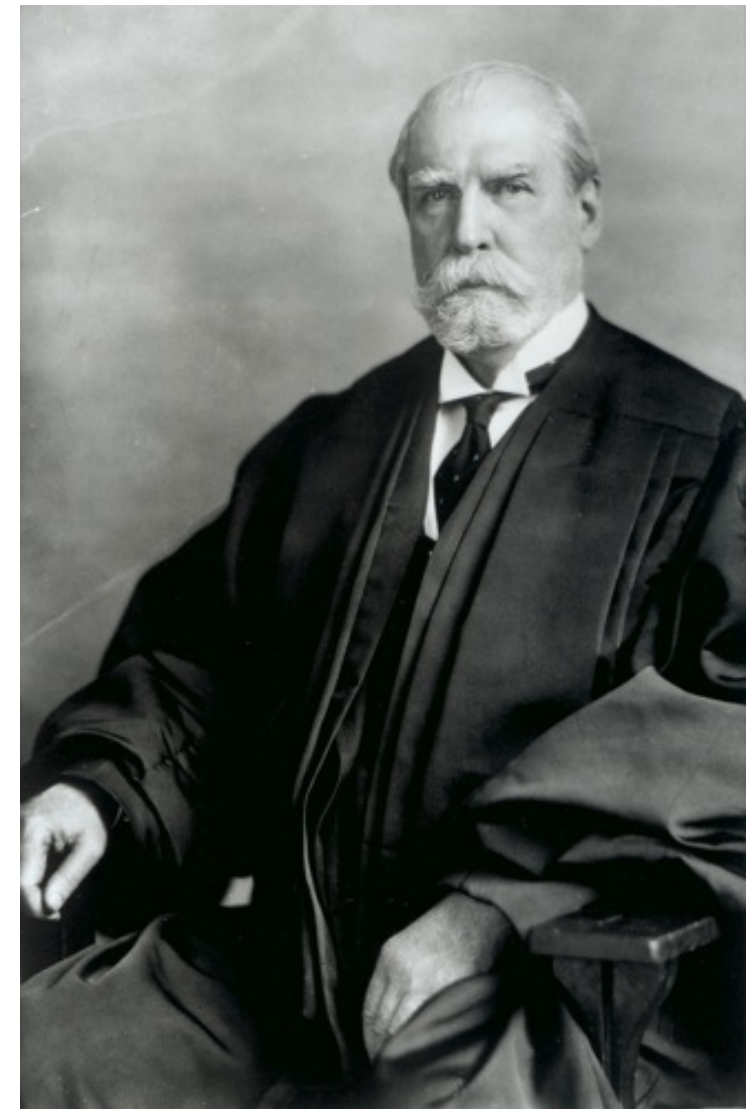


Senator Burton K. Wheeler,
a liberal Democrat from Montana
who led the opposition to the Court-packing bill

Now, in the letter to Wheeler, Hughes
merely confirmed this earlier view:

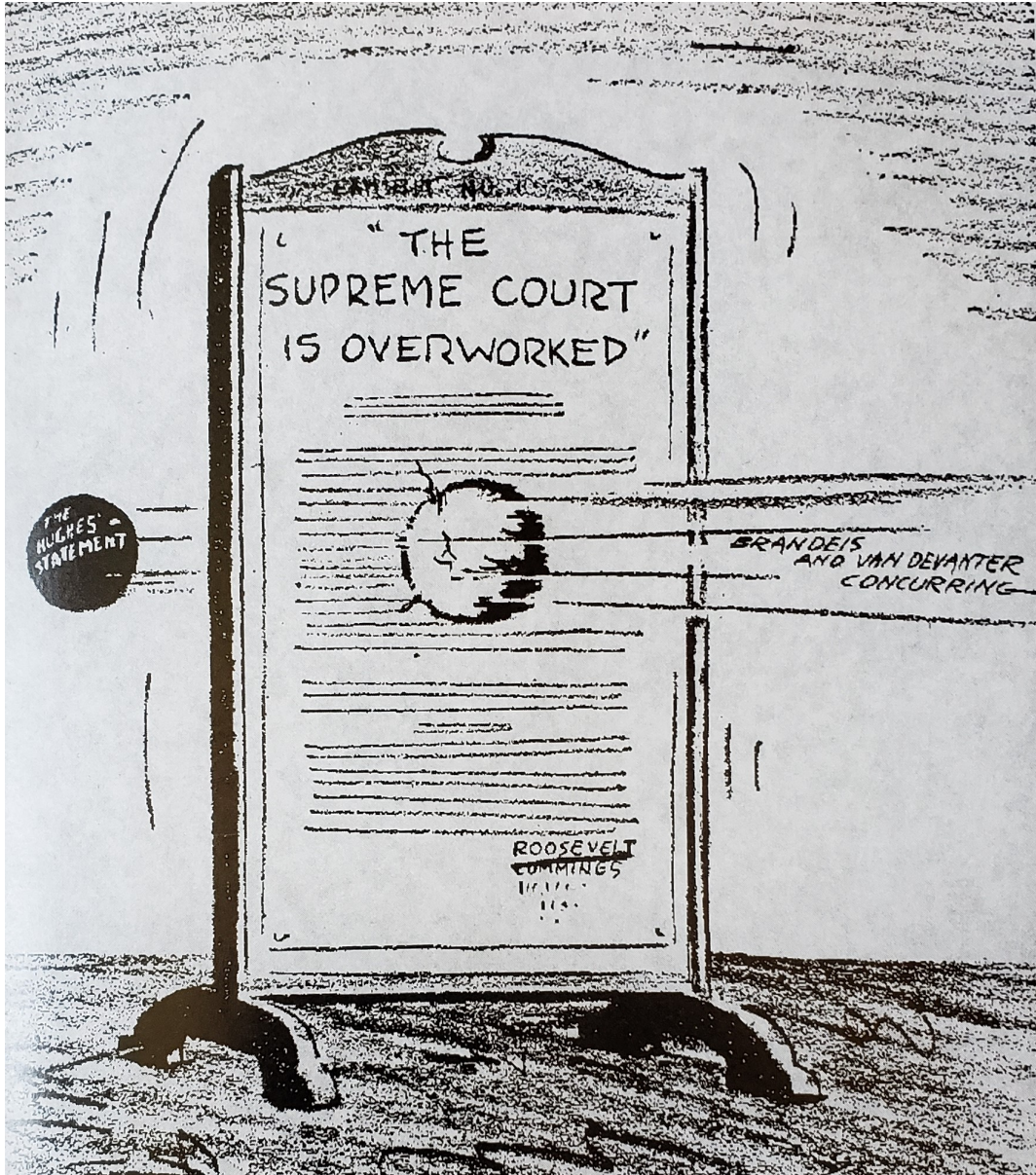
There would be:

- more judges to hear
- more judges to confer
- more judges to discuss
- more judges to be convinced and
- more judges to decide



Charles Evans Hughes Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 6, *Memoranda of telephone conversations with King and Wheeler*, 19 March 1937

Bull's Eye



A political cartoon, entitled, "Bull's Eye", showing the **devastating effect of Chief Justice Hughes' seven-page letter** to the Senate Judiciary Committee demonstrating that, contrary to Roosevelt's claim, the justices were fully abreast of their judicial work. Roosevelt later said, in grudging admiration, that Hughes was the best politician in the nation.

James F. Simon , *FDR and Chief Justice Hughes*,
Simon & Schuster, New York, 2012

Supreme Court Justices appointed by FDR

Justice	State	Nomination Date	Vote	Ended Service
Hugo Black	Alabama	12 August 1937	63 – 12	17 September 1971
Stanley Foreman Reed	Kentucky	15 January 1938	Voice vote	25 February 1957
Felix Frankfurter	New York	5 January 1939	Voice vote	28 August 1962
William O. Douglas	Washington	20 March 1939	62 - 4	12 November 1975
Frank Murphy	Michigan	4 January 1940	Voice vote	19 July 1949
James F. Byrnes	South Carolina	12 June 1941	Voice vote	3 October 1942
Harlan F. Stone, Chief Justice	New York	12 June 1941	Voice vote	22 April 1946
Robert H. Jackson	New York	12 June 1941	Voice vote	9 October 1954
Wiley Blount Rutledge	Missouri	11 January 1943	Voice vote	10 September 1949



On 31 October 1940, just days before President Franklin Delano Roosevelt would be elected to an unprecedented third term as President of the United States, he traveled to Bethesda to dedicate the National Cancer Institute and the new campus of the **National Institute of Health (NIH)** in Bethesda, Maryland.

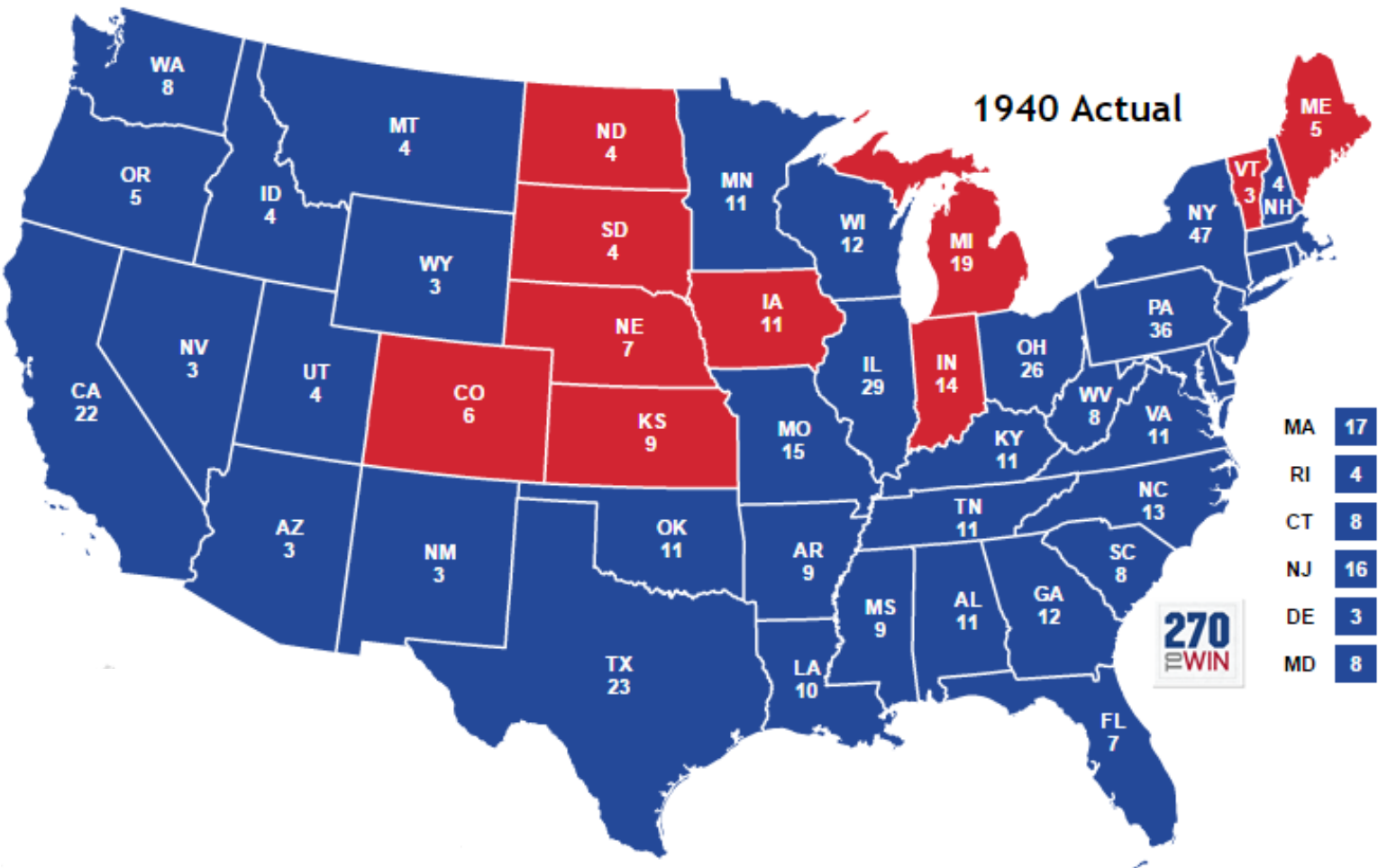
That late October afternoon, Roosevelt stood on the steps of the new main NIH building, ready to address a crowd of 3,000 people. Still relevant today, in a variety of contexts, are the subjects he discussed the need for:

- preparedness in light of war
- research into deadly diseases
- improvements in public health and health care, and
- hope that the research conducted at NIH would lead to new cures for and even the prevention of disease

Rebecca C. Warlow, US National Library of Medicine, 10 September 2014

1940 Election

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Popular %
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat	449	27,244,160	54.9%
Wendell L. Wilkie	Republican	82	22,305,198	45.0%



Party	Senate	House of Representatives
Democrat	66	267
Republican	28	162
Farmer-Labor	2	1
Progressive	1	3
American Labor		1

Eleanor Was Everywhere



Arthurdale, West Virginia 1933



NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR THE
HUMANITIES

Eleanor Roosevelt was a key figure in several of the most important social reform movements of the twentieth century:

- the Progressive movement
- the New Deal
- the Women's Movement
- the struggle for racial justice
- the United Nations

Eleanor Was Everywhere



In December 2018, the US Senate passed a federal anti-lynching bill for the first time. The significant milestone is preceded by at least 240 failed attempts since 1901 to pass any bill or resolution mentioning lynching in Congress.

These attempts to outlaw lynching peaked during Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency. **First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was a strong supporter of anti-lynching legislation, but FDR never supported it for fear of alienating white Democratic voters in the south.**

Becky Little, Beckman Archive

Eleanor Was Everywhere

Eleanor disagreed with internment camps and spoke publicly against it. She was a powerful, tireless advocate and played a smart inside game to push forward an **uncompromising vision of human rights, civil rights and gender equality**.

For her time, and even compared to the legendary feminists of the 1960s and 1970s, Eleanor was radical.

The **FBI began tracking her** because of her work with liberal groups. Her file eventually grew to around 3,000 pages.



Katie Kirchner, Teen Vogue, 11 October 2019

Eleanor Was Everywhere



Eleanor Roosevelt transitioned from her wealthy background into **one of the most principled, radical and committed advocates for social justice** operating during her time. Her progressive vision far surpassed that of her husband, his advisers and many other political leaders.

Eleanor did a lot of work beyond the public eye and was able to exert her influence privately and publicly. **She helped install Frances Perkins as FDR's secretary of labor**, making her the first woman to ever hold a cabinet position.



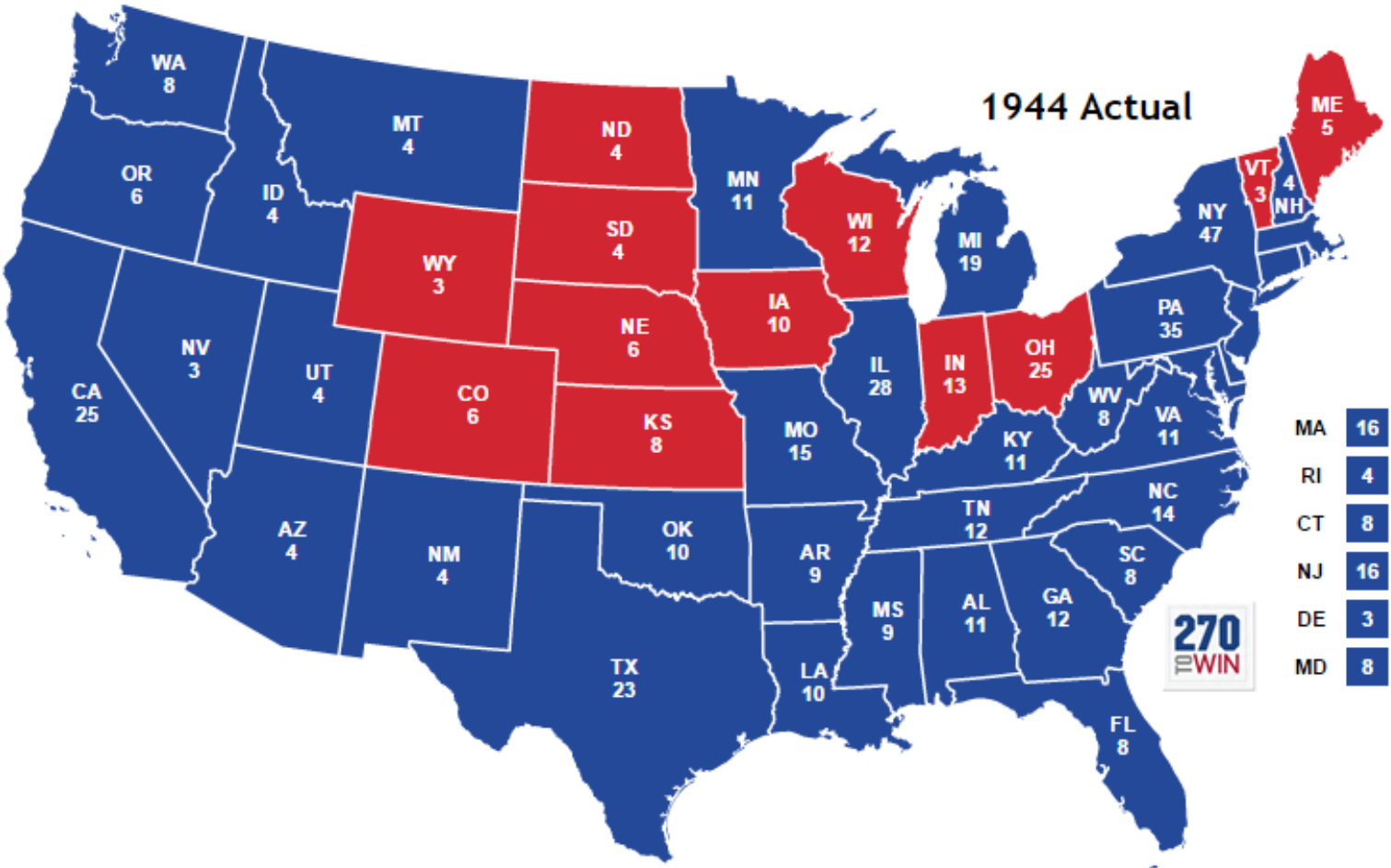
Presidential advisers regarded her as a dangerous idealist and thought it was their duty, as one put it, to "**get the pants off Eleanor and onto Franklin.**"



Katie Kirchner, Teen Vogue, 11 October 2019

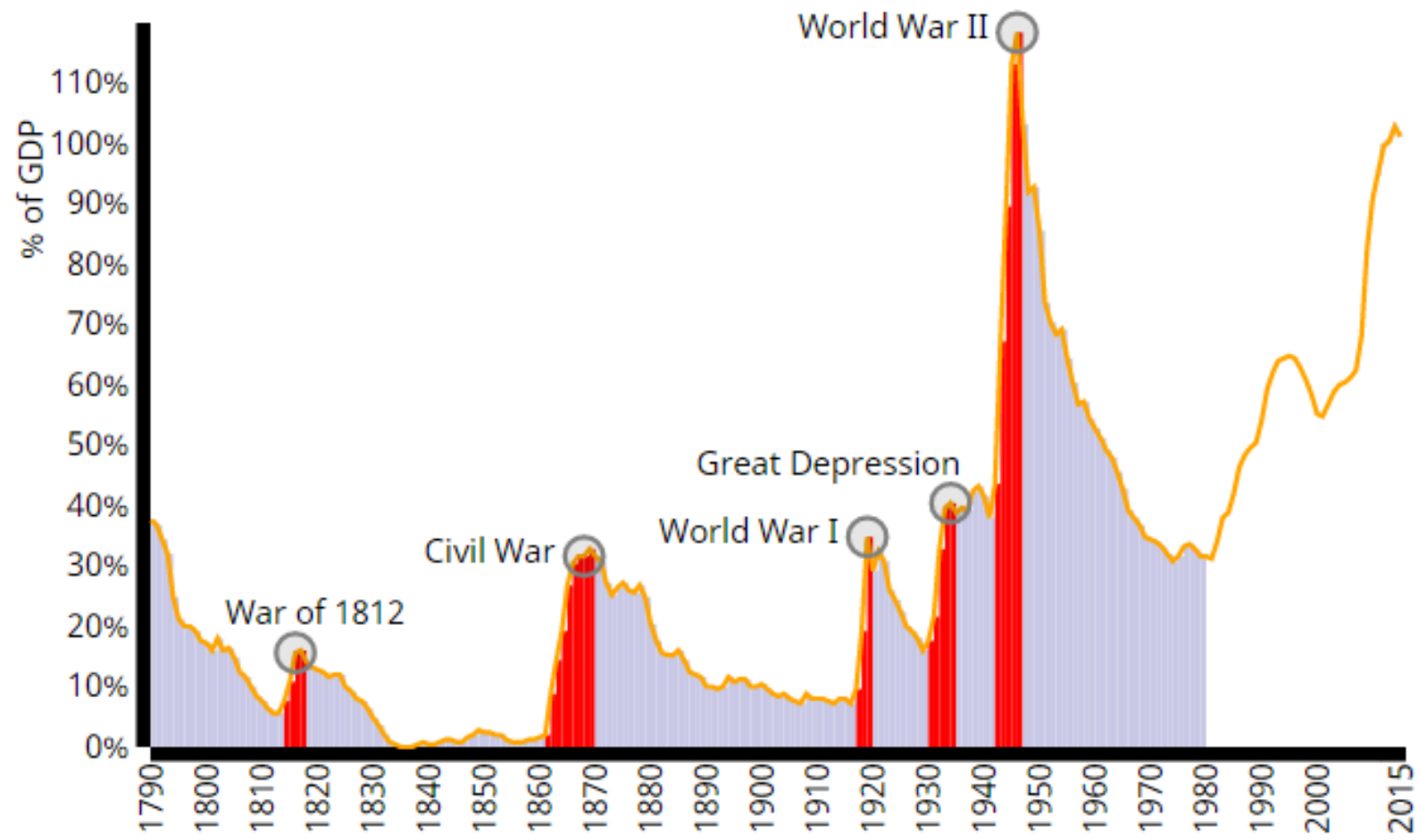
1944 Election

Candidate	Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Popular %
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat	432	25,602,504	53.7%
Thomas E.Dewey	Republican	99	22,006,285	46.2%



Party	Senate	House of Representatives
Democrat	58	242
Republican	37	191
Progressive	1	2
American Labor		1

U.S. Government Debt, 1790-2015



Office of Management and Budget, April 2020

A New Deal for the American People



Federal Outlays by Function - \$ billions

Function	1940	1960	1980	2000	2020 estimate
National Defense	1.7	48.1	134.0	294.4	724.5
Human Resources	4.1	26.2	313.4	1,115.5	3,377.3
Physical Resources	2.3	8.0	66.0	84.9	180.0
Net Interest	0.8	6.9	52.5	222.9	376.2
Other Functions	0.8	7.8	45.0	113.8	241.1
Total Federal Outlays	9.5	92.1	591.0	1,789.0	4,789.7

Office of Management and Budget, April 2020

A New Deal for the American People



Federal Outlays by Function – as percentages of outlays					
Function	1940	1960	1980	2000	2020 estimate
National Defense	17.5%	52.2%	22.7%	16.1%	16.5%
Human Resources	43.7%	28.4%	53.0%	62.2%	62.4%
Physical Resources	24.4%	8.7%	11.2%	4.8%	4.7%
Net Interest	9.5%	7.5%	8.9%	13.5%	12.5%
Other Functions	8.2%	8.4%	7.6%	5.8%	6.4%
Total Federal Outlays	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Office of Management and Budget, April 2020

A New Deal for the American People



Federal Outlays by Function - \$ billions

Function	1940	1960	1980	2000	2020 estimate
National Defense	1.7	48.1	134.0	294.4	724.5
growth		28.3	2.8	2.2	2.5
Human Resources	4.1	26.2	313.4	1,115.5	3,377.3
growth		6.4	12.0	3.6	3.0
Physical Resources	2.3	8.0	66.0	84.9	180.0
growth		3.5	8.3	1.3	2.1
Population (millions)	142	189	237	291	334
growth		1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1

Office of Management and Budget, April 2020

A New Deal for the American People



Federal Outlays by Function – as percentages of GDP					
Function	1940	1960	1980	2000	2020 estimate
National Defense	1.7%	9.0%	4.8%	2.9%	2.9%
Human Resources	4.2%	4.9%	11.2%	11.2%	11.0%
Physical Resources	2.4%	1.5%	2.4%	0.9%	0.8%
Net Interest	0.9%	1.3%	1.9%	2.4%	2.2%
Other Functions	0.8%	1.5%	1.6%	1.0%	1.1%
Total Federal Outlays	9.6%	17.3%	21.2%	18.0%	17.7%

Office of Management and Budget, April 2020

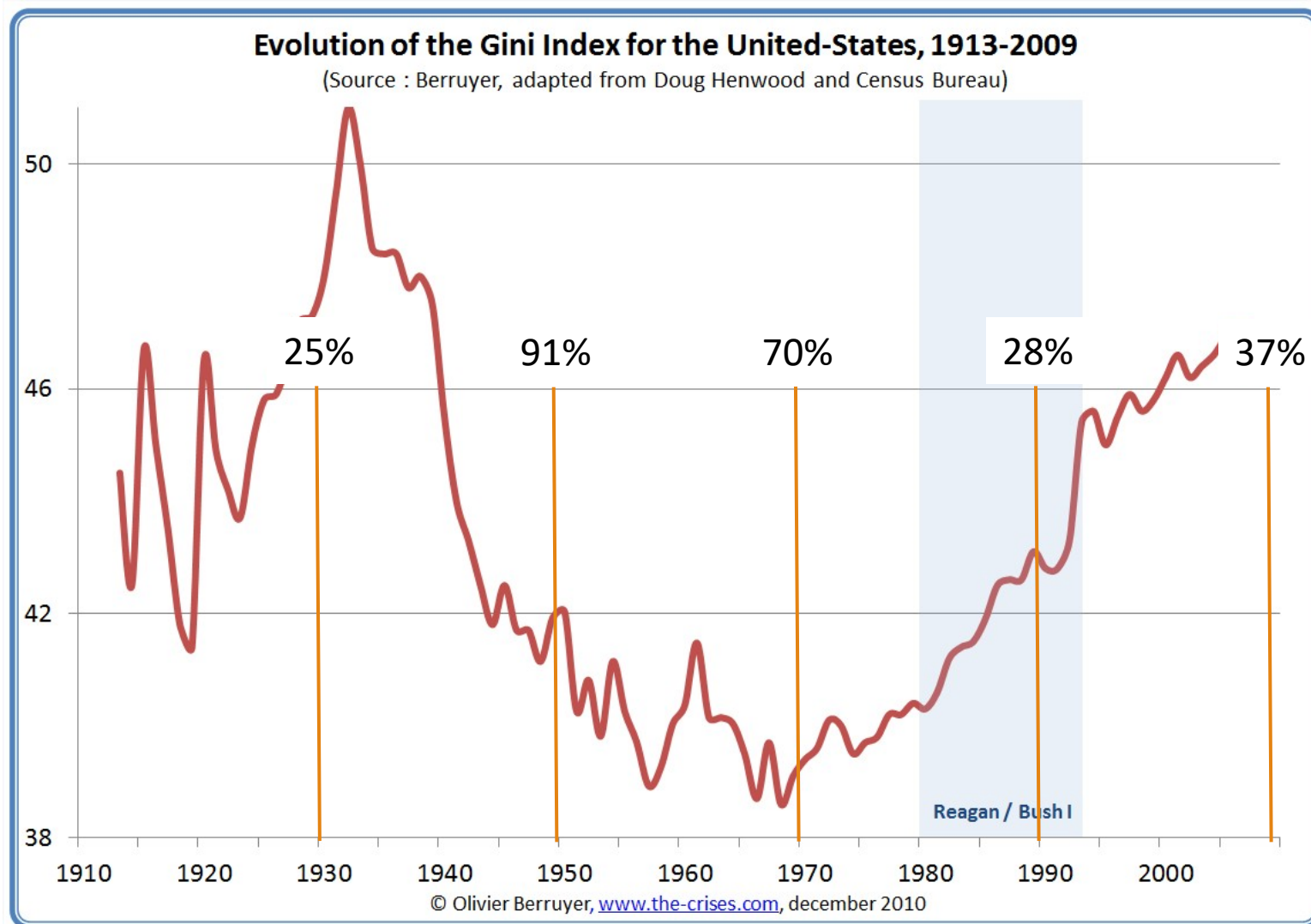
A New Deal for the American People



Federal Outlays by Function - \$ billions					
Function	1940	1960	1980	2000	2020 estimate
Human Resources	4.1	26.2	313.4	1,115.5	3,377.3
Education, Training, Employment and Social Services	2.0	1.0	31,835	53.8	195.5
Health	0.055	1.0	23.2	154.5	640.9
Medicare	32.1	197.1	699.3
Income Security	1.5	7.4	86.5	253.7	529.3
Social Security	0.028	11.6	118.5	409.4	1,097.2
Veterans Benefits and Services	0.6	5.4	21.2	47.0	215.1

Office of Management and Budget, April 2020

The Debate – Reduce Income Inequality

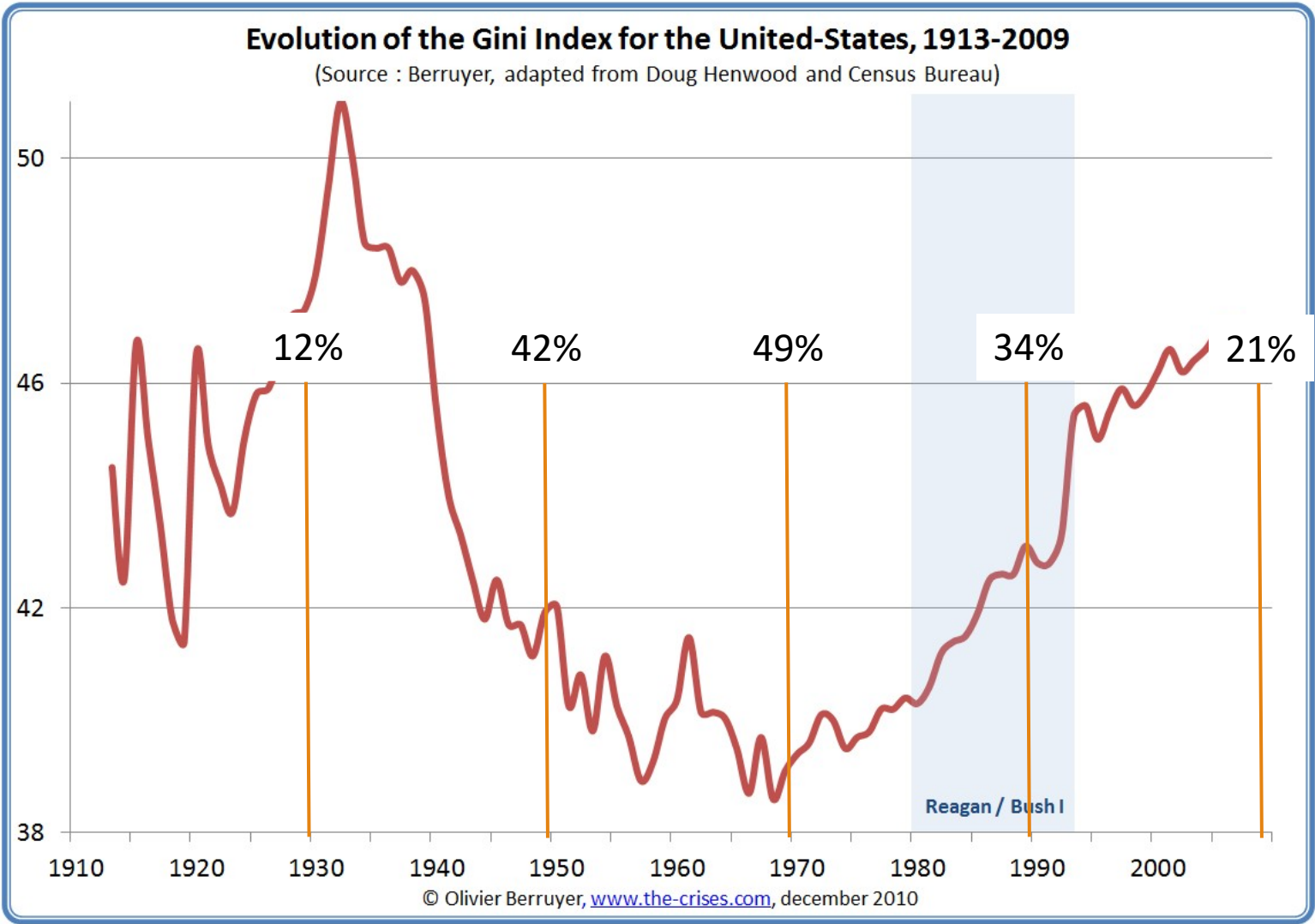


Top Individual Married Filing Jointly Tax Rate

1910 See note 1
1930 25% over \$100,000
1950 91% over \$200,000
1970 70% over \$200,000
1990 28% over \$32,345
2010 35% over \$373,650
2020 37% over \$622,051

Note 1) Income taxes were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1895. This decision stood until the ratification of the 16th Amendment in 1913.

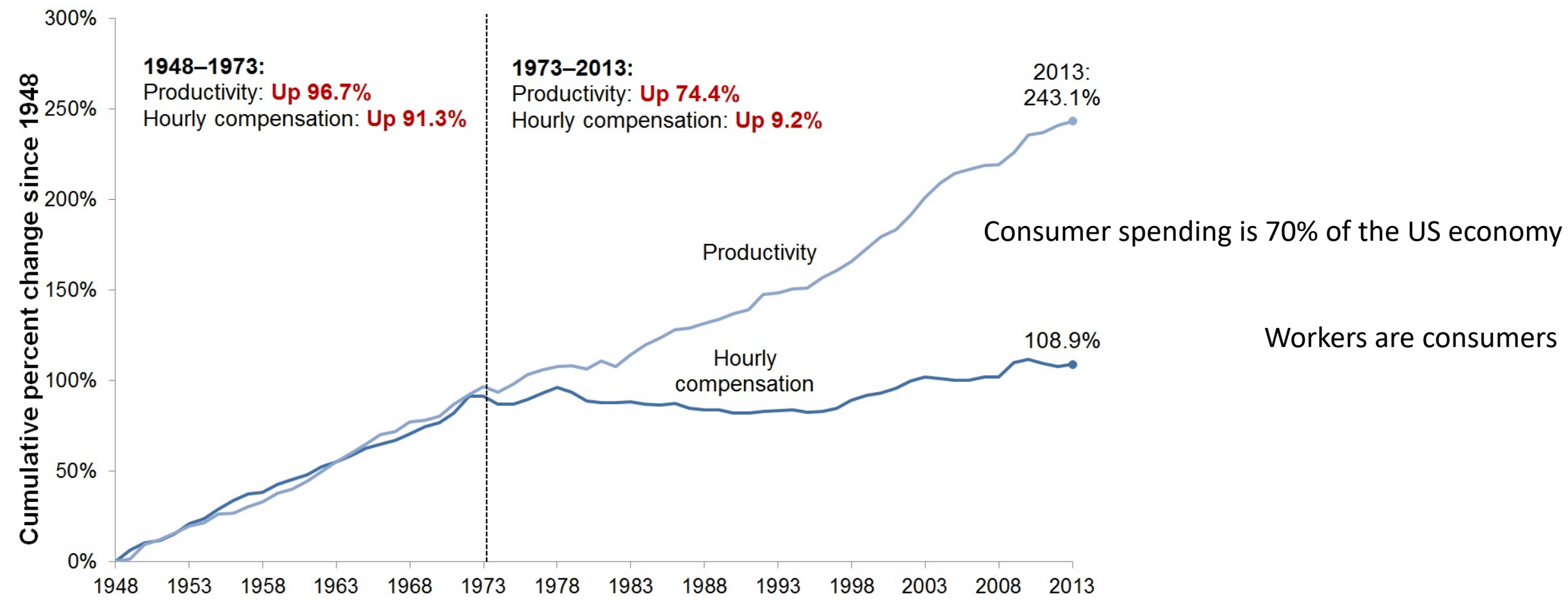
The Debate – Reduce Income Inequality



Top Corporate Tax Rate

1910	1.0% over	\$5,000
1930	12.0% over	\$3,000
1950	42.0% over	\$25,000
1970	49.2% over	\$25,000
1990	34.0% over	\$335,000
2010	35.0% over	\$18,333,333
2020	21.0% on all income	

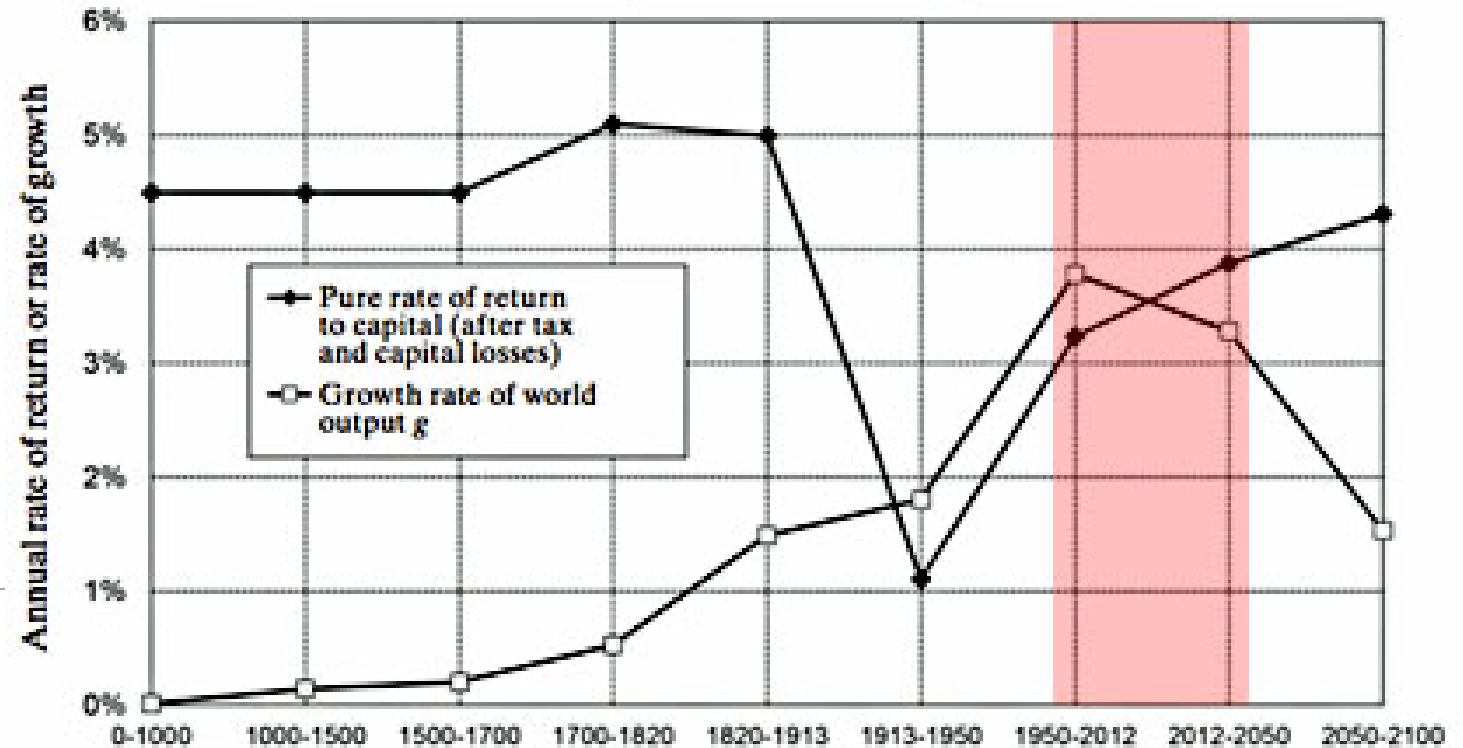
Disconnect between productivity and typical worker's compensation



Bureau of Labor Statistics and Bureau of Economic Analysis, 6 January 2015

The Debate – Reduce Income Inequality

AFTER-TAX RATE OF RETURN VS. GROWTH RATE AT THE WORLD LEVEL, FROM ANTIQUITY UNTIL 2100



Thomas Piketty
Capital in the 21st Century

The rate of return to capital (after tax and capital losses) fell below the growth rate during the twentieth century, and may again surpass it in the twenty-first century.

July 11, 1980

Republican Right Molds Platform in Reagan's Image

By Robert G. Kaiser

The Republican platform committee last night approved a 1980 platform that proposes huge immediate increases in defense spending, total decontrol of all energy prices and **a three-year program of tax reductions for all Americans.**

The **platform holds firmly to a conservative line on big issues and small**, from recommending an elaborate variety of new weapons programs to favoring use of the death penalty, and repeal of the 55 mph speed limit.

The **platform was tailored to suit Ronald Reagan**, the man Republicans will nominate as their 1980 candidate here next Wednesday night.



There was a time in history when U.S.
workers created 10 cookies. **The rich kept
9 cookies and our economy failed in 1929.**



There was a time in history when U.S. workers created 10 cookies. **The rich kept 9 cookies and our economy failed in 1929.**

Then as a Nation we decided that the rich should keep 3 cookies. And workers shared 7 cookies and we became **the greatest country in the world.**



Top Individual Married Filing Jointly Tax Rate

1910	\$0
1930	25% over \$100,000
1950	91% over \$200,000
1970	70% over \$200,000
1990	28% over \$32,345
2010	35% over \$373,650
2020	37% over \$622,051

There was a time in history when U.S. workers created 10 cookies. **The rich kept 9 cookies and our economy failed in 1929.**

Then as a Nation we decided that the rich should keep 3 cookies. And workers shared 7 cookies and we became **the greatest country in the world.**

Since 1971 that formula started changing. Nowadays, for every 10 cookies, **the rich keep 9 1/2 cookies and U.S. workers fight over a half a cookie.**



Top Individual Married Filing Jointly Tax Rate

1910	\$0
1930	25% over \$100,000
1950	91% over \$200,000
1970	70% over \$200,000
1990	28% over \$32,345
2010	35% over \$373,650
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Top Corporate Tax Rate

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For Further Reading

- ***The Roosevelts*** by Geoffrey C. Ward & Ken Burns, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2014
- ***FDR and Chief Justice Hughes*** by James F. Simon, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2012
- ***New Deal Thought***, edited by Howard Zinn, Hackett Publishing Company, Cambridge, 2003
- ***Eleanor Roosevelt*** by Blanche Wiesen Cook, Penguin Books, New York, 1992
- ***A Rendezvous with Destiny*** by Elliott Roosevelt & James Brough, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1975

