

# Was the New Deal a Fair Deal in the South?



Smiling Southern Tenant Farmers' Union members at an outdoor meeting (1937)

## Supporting Questions

1. Who was served by New Deal's employment benefits and who was left out?
2. How were Southern agricultural workers impacted by the New Deal?
3. What were the impacts of the New Deal's housing policies?
4. What did Southerners think about the New Deal?

## 9-12th Was the New Deal a Fair Deal in the South?

Compelling question?	
<b>Virginia Social Studies Standards</b>	VUS10 d) evaluating and explaining how Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal measures addressed the Great Depression and expanded the government's role in the economy.
<b>Staging the Compelling Question</b>	Brainstorm a list of ways the New Deal helped everyday Americans during the Great Depression.

Supporting Question	Supporting Question	Supporting Question	Supporting Question
Who was served by New Deal employment benefits and who was left out?	How were Southern agricultural workers impacted by the New Deal?	What were the impacts of the New Deal's housing policies?	What did Southerners think about the New Deal?
Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task
Complete a T-chart labeled "benefitted" and "left out".	Identify the various impacts and share the impacts using a "Chalk Talk" thinking routine.	Identify 5-7 impacts and use the thinking routine "The Complexity Scale" to organize the impacts.	Complete the thinking routine "I used to think, Now I think" for 3-5 shifts in thinking.
Featured Sources	Featured Sources	Featured Sources	Featured Sources
<b>Source A:</b> Stamped from the Beginning <b>Source B:</b> Social Security Act of 1935 <b>Source C:</b> FDR: Domestic Affairs	<b>Source A:</b> Fireside Chat <b>Source B:</b> FDR: The American Franchise <b>Source C:</b> Tenant Farming in Arkansas <b>Source D:</b> Meeting-Parkin, Arkansas	<b>Source A:</b> Table of Homeownership Rates <b>Source B:</b> FDR's Notes on the HOLC <b>Source C:</b> Redlining Richmond <b>Source D:</b> Redlining Richmond Interactive Map	<b>Source A:</b> Interview with Ossie Davis <b>Source B:</b> Table of Election Results <b>Source C:</b> FDR: The American Franchise <b>Source D:</b> Huey Long's radio address

<b>Summative Performance Task</b>	<b>ARGUMENT.</b> Construct an argument with evidence that addresses the question of "Was the New Deal a Fair Deal in the South?"
	<b>EXTENSION.</b> Brainstorm ways the Southern experience with the New Deal may still be impacting the South today.
<b>Taking Informed Action</b>	<b>UNDERSTAND.</b> Identify a federal policy that has unequally impacted specific groups in America? <b>ASSESS.</b> Brainstorm 2-4 ways that policy could be made more fair and identify groups and organizations working on that (or a related) issue. <b>ACT.</b> Create a campaign to raise awareness and amplify the messages of the organizations working to improve the policy.

*\*Featured sources are suggested and links are provided. It may be that these links are broken and we apologize in advance for the inconvenience. This inquiry was developed by ..*

## Overview

### Inquiry Description

This inquiry focuses on the uneven impacts of the New Deal policies with a focus on the experiences of everyday Americans living in the South. It is intended to expand students' existing understanding of the New Deal by engaging in analysis around issues of equity and perspective.

The questions, tasks, and sources in this inquiry asks students to consider the impact of three areas of federal policy during the New Deal (agricultural, employment benefits, and housing) and to consider how those policies may have been interpreted by Southerners at the time.

This inquiry highlights the following Virginia social studies standards.

- VA 10d: evaluating and explaining how Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal measures addressed the Great Depression and expanded the government's role in the economy.

This inquiry is expected to take four 50-minute class periods. The inquiry time frame could expand if teachers think their students need additional instructional experiences (e.g., supporting questions, formative performance tasks, featured sources, writing). Teachers are encouraged to adapt the inquiry to meet the needs and interests of their particular students. This inquiry lends itself to differentiation and modeling of historical thinking skills while assisting students in reading the variety of sources.

### Structure of the Inquiry

In addressing the compelling question, students will analyze or interact with a variety of sources including interviews, data tables, maps, and speeches to address four supporting questions, each with a formative performance task. The formative performance tasks are designed to encourage complex thinking about the supporting questions to develop a nuanced response to the compelling question. Ideally, students will share their thinking with their peers as part of the formative tasks. Ultimately, students make an argument in response to the compelling question about whether the New Deal was a fair deal for the South.

## Staging the Compelling Question

In staging the compelling question, students will brainstorm a list of ways the New Deal helped Americans. It is not designed to delve too far into the specific content of the compelling question. Instead, it's intended to provide a frame of reference and context for the inquiry. Specifically, the staging task is designed to encapsulate the students' previous learning and prior knowledge of the New Deal and set the tone of analyzing the New Deal through the lens of everyday Americans.

This task may be completed in a very brief period of time and may be completed as a class.

## Supporting Question 1

The first supporting question asks, "Who was served by New Deal job benefits and who was left out?". While the New Deal greatly expanded employment benefits (such as Social Security, unemployment insurance, unionization rights, and wage minimums), the federal government created categories of types of employment that were excluded from these policies and programs. Across the country, the excluded categories disproportionately impacted people of color and women. In the South, with its large population of tenant farmers, the magnitude of the impact was exacerbated by the inclusion of agricultural workers in the type of employment that would not gain access to the employment benefits of the New Deal.

The featured sources include an excerpt from the book "Stamped from the Beginning", the text of the Social Security Act of 1935 and an excerpt from an essay on the legacy of FDR's domestic policies.

The formative performance task is to create a T-chart of who benefited and who was left out with the goal of recognizing that the reforms to employment benefits had different impacts on various categories of employment.

The following procedures may be used to support students as they complete this task.

- Define and give examples of employment benefits so that all students understand the concept.
- Students or teachers can create the T-chart.
- As the students analyze the sources, they can add examples of groups to the two columns on their chart.
- If desired, teachers may ask students to summarize their findings in one sentence to synthesize their learning.

Work on the formative performance task provides students an opportunity to gather information they will need in responding to the compelling question.

## Supporting Question 1

## Featured Source

Source A: Excerpt from “Stamped from the Beginning”

This source is Excerpt from Stamped from the Beginning by Ibram X. Kendi (pp.337-339) and is not available online.

After taking office, President Franklin D. Roosevelt powered through what he called the “New Deal,” the flurry of government relief programs, job programs, labor rights bills, and capitalism-saving bills passed from 1933 to 1938. To secure the congressional votes of southern Democrats, Roosevelt and northern Democrats crafted these bills such that, to southern Blacks, they seemed more like the Old Deal. Just like in the old days before Roosevelt, segregationists were given the power to locally administer and racially discriminate the relief coming from these federal programs. And segregationists made sure that farmers and domestics—Blacks’ primary vocations—were excluded from the laws’ new job benefits, like minimum wage, social security, unemployment insurance, and unionizing rights. Not to be denied, Black southerners secretly joined sharecropper and industrial unions organized inside and outside of the CPUSA to fight for their own New Deal in the 1930s. Alabama Blacks during the Depression blended their homegrown antiracist socialism and Christian theology in a popular saying: “And the day shall come when the bottom rail shall be on top and the top rail on the bottom. The Ethiopians will stretch forth their arms and find their place under the sun.”

## Supporting Question 1

## Featured Source

Source B: Social Security Act of 1935

This source is the text of the Social Security Act of 1935 and is available online at

<https://link.gale.com/apps/portal/YKBIYM579678884/SMPS?u=justicehs&sid=SMPS&xid=0b2229ff>

SEC. 210. When used in this title— (a) The term wages means all remuneration for employment, including the cash value of all remuneration paid in any medium other than cash; except that such term shall not include that part of the remuneration which, after remuneration equal to \$3,000 has been paid to an individual by an employer with respect to employment during any calendar year, is paid to such employer with respect to employment during such calendar year.

(b) The term employment means any service, of whatever nature, performed within the United States by an employee for his employer, **except—**

1. Agricultural labor;
2. Domestic service in a private home;
3. Casual labor not in the course of the employers trade or business;
4. Service performed as an officer or member of the crew of a vessel documented under the laws of the United States or of any foreign country;
5. Service performed in the employ of the United States Government or of an instrumentality of the United States;
6. Service performed in the employ of a State, a political subdivision thereof, or an instrumentality of one or more States or political subdivisions;
7. Service performed in the employ of a corporation, community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

Social Security Act of 1935. N.p, 14 Aug. 1935. Smithsonian Primary Sources in U.S. History,

<https://link.gale.com/apps/portal/YKBIYM579678884/SMPS?u=justicehs&sid=SMPS&xid=0b2229ff>. Accessed 31 July 2020.

## Supporting Question 1

## Featured Source

Source C: Excerpt from "FDR: Domestic Affairs"

This source is excerpts from an essay by William E. Leuchtenburg titled "Franklin D. Roosevelt: Domestic Affairs" and is available online at ...<https://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/domestic-affairs>

FDR also belatedly threw his support behind the Wagner-Connery National Labor Relations Act, which had been languishing in Congress. This legislation guaranteed labor unions the right to organize and bargain collectively—and established the National Labor Relations Board to enforce these rights. It also curbed employer use of "unfair labor practices," like blacklisting union organizers or unionized workers. Because of the legitimacy conferred on unions by the Wagner Act, the legislation came to be known as the "Magna Carta" for American labor unions. With this new political power, union membership swelled to more than 13 million Americans during World War II.

Finally, in August, FDR signed the Social Security Act of 1935. Long a goal of liberals, this bill, like the Wagner Act, had been stalled in Congress until FDR declared it vital legislation. With its passage came programs like Old Age Assistance (Title I), Old Age Insurance (Title II), Unemployment Insurance (Title III), Aid to Dependent Children (Title IV) and Aid to the Blind (Title V). Taken together, these programs represented a significant commitment to developing a welfare state in the United States.

...

The reforms wrought by FDR's "Second New Deal" also had several weaknesses. The WPA, for all its efforts, failed to lift the country out of its economic doldrums. The Social Security Act financed its programs through deductions from workers' paychecks, which actually stunted economic growth by muting consumer purchasing power. Moreover, the programs and benefits of the Social Security Act were not distributed evenly among all Americans. Agricultural workers (who were likely to be African Americans or Mexican Americans of both sexes) and domestic servants (often African American women) were not eligible for old-age insurance (what is now commonly referred to as "social security"); farm laborers also were ineligible for unemployment insurance. Likewise, since many of these social security programs were administered by state governments, the size of benefits varied widely, especially between the North and the South.

## Supporting Question 2

The second supporting question asks, "How were Southern agricultural workers impacted by the New Deal?" to support



a more richer understanding of the ways farm relief and reform policies were instituted in the South. While the New Deal offered aid and incentives to farmers, tenant farmers were often left out (though this did change as the New Deal continued). Facing eviction and poverty, some tenant farmers joined together forming one of the earliest interracial unions: the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. The question is designed to support an understanding of how land ownership and racism impacted the effectiveness of the federal agricultural policies.

The featured sources include an excerpt from FDR's fourth Fireside Chat", a short selection from an essay on FDR's legacy, a summary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and a collection of images from a STFU meeting.

The formative performance task is to use a "Chalk Talk" thinking routine to identify the various impacts on the agricultural field. Since the impacts vary, using the "Chalk Talk" routines allows students to build on each others' ideas and understandings.

The following procedure may be used to support students as they complete this task.

- Teachers should provide a workspace that allows students to share their thinking collectively.
- After an initial round of sharing their ideas on the workspace, students should return for a second round with the goal of expanding and connecting the response of their peers.

Work on the formative performance task provides students an opportunity to gather information they will need in responding to the compelling question.

## Supporting Question 2

## Featured Source

Source A: Excerpt from “Fireside Chat”

This source is an excerpt from the fourth Fireside Chat given by FDR in 1933 as found in his collection of public papers and is available online at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/ppotpus/4925381.1933.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

New machinery had to be set up for farm credit and for home credit in every one of the thirty-one hundred counties of the United States and every day that passes is saving homes and farms to hundreds of families. I have publicly asked that foreclosures on farms... be delayed until every mortgagor in the country shall have had full opportunity to take advantage of Federal credit. I make the further request which many of you know has already been made through the great Federal credit organizations that if there is any family in the United States about to lose its home...that family should telegraph at once either to the Farm Credit Administration or the Home Owners Loan Corporation in Washington requesting their help.

Another pillar in the making is the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. I have been amazed by the extraordinary degree of cooperation given to the Government by the cotton farmers in the South, the wheat farmers of the West, the tobacco farmers of the Southeast, and I am confident that the corn-hog farmers of the Middle West will come through in the same magnificent fashion. The problem we seek to solve had been steadily getting worse for twenty years, but during the last six months we have made more rapid progress than any Nation has ever made in a like period of time...it seems to be well established that during the course of the year 1933 the farmers of the United States will receive 33 percent more dollars for what they have produced than they received in the year 1932. Put in another way, they will receive \$400 in 1933, where they received \$300 the year before. That, remember, is for the average of the country, for I have reports that some sections are not any better off than they were a year ago...We are going after those problems as fast as we can. I do not hesitate to say in the simplest, clearest language of which I am capable, that although the prices of many products of the farm have gone up and although many farm families are better off than they were last year, I am not satisfied either with the amount or the extent of the rise, and that it is definitely a part of our policy to increase the rise and to extend it to those products which have as yet felt no benefit. If we cannot do this one way we will do it another. Do it, we will.

The public papers and addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Volume two, The year of crisis, 1933: with a special introduction and explanatory notes by President Roosevelt. [Book 1] Roosevelt, Franklin D. (Franklin Delano), 1882-1945., Rosenman, Samuel Irving, 1896-1973., United States. President (1933-1945 : Roosevelt)

## Supporting Question 2

## Featured Source

Source B: Excerpt from “FDR: The American Franchise”

This source is an excerpt from an essay by William E. Leuchtenburg titled “Franklin D. Roosevelt: The American

Franchise”and is available online at <https://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/the-american-franchise>.

The aid provided by the New Deal to America's poor—black and white—was insufficient. Racism reared its head in the New Deal, often because federal programs were administered through local authorities or community leaders who brought their own racial biases to the table. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) offered white landowners cash for leaving their fields fallow, which they happily accepted; they, however, did not pass on their government checks to the black sharecroppers and tenant farmers who actually worked the land. Even in the North, blacks found that New Deal programs did not always treat them as well as whites.

There can be little doubt, however, that the New Deal in many instances was a boon to African Americans. In one sense, this was a question of degree. Aid to African Americans prior to 1933, especially in the South, had been nearly non-existent; the federal help that did come with the New Deal, therefore, was significant. In addition, New Deal agencies like the WPA, the Public Works Administration (PWA), and the Farm Security Administration (FSA) grew more sensitive throughout the 1930s to the needs of African Americans, largely because of the leadership of Roosevelt appointees at those agencies. Indeed, African Americans found significant allies in the administration, from Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to the First Lady herself, Eleanor Roosevelt. Enough blacks, like Mary McLeod Bethune, found themselves in leadership positions that there was even talk of a "black Cabinet" of FDR advisers.

## Supporting Question 2

### Featured Source

**Source C:** Excerpt from “Tenant Farming in Arkansas”

This source is an excerpt from the entry “Tenant Farming in Arkansas” from the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union Museum and is available online at <https://stfm.astate.edu/tenant-farming-history/>.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) of 1933 was passed to help support cotton prices by reducing production. Government support checks were paid to farmers to offset the loss of income, due to plowed up cotton. Checks were made payable only to landowners, who were supposed to share income with tenants. Many did not, however, and abuse was widespread. With less land in cotton production, the need for tenant farmers was reduced. Some tenant farmers had the option of eviction or becoming day laborers, who were not eligible for support payments. Tenant farmers searching for ways to improve their miserable living conditions turned for help to two Tyronza businessmen, H. L. Mitchell and Clay East.

With leadership from H. L. Mitchell and Clay East, 11 white men and seven black men met in a small schoolhouse near Tyronza in July 1934 and formed a union. Much of the union's historic importance came from the fact that it included both black and white tenant farmers as members and leaders. Women were also welcomed into leadership ranks. This integration was rare at that time and place. The union used such means as strikes, demonstrations, and rallies to call attention to their plight. Often, their efforts were met with intimidation and violence. Efforts to destroy the STFU included eviction of tenants and firing farm laborers who joined. Union leaders received many pleas for help from evicted tenants and interceded on their behalf.

## Supporting Question 2

### Featured Source

**Source D:** Meeting- Parkin, Arkansas

This source is a digital collection of photos taken at Southern Tenant Farmers' Union meeting titled "Meeting - Parkin, Arkansas - 1937" from The Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives and is available online at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kheelcenter/albums/72157625644046572/with/5279300621/>



### Supporting Question 3

The third supporting question asks, "What were the impacts of the New Deal's housing policies?" and is designed to allow space for the students to explore the concept of redlining and think about the last impacts of this policy. The Great Depression greatly impacted American homeownership and the New Deal sought to remedy this by offering significant assistance to homeowners. However, the agency tasked with the assistance also created a program in which neighborhoods with assigned ratings of value and racism was an open and embedded part of the calculation of these ratings. These ratings contributed to the structural economic inequality which continues to this day.

The featured sources include a table of rates of homeownership in the South, notes and reflections from FDR on the impact of the HOLC, and an excerpt and interactive map presenting redlining as it occurred in the city of Richmond, Virginia.

The formative performance task is to rank the complexity of ideas and serves to have students reflect on the learning they've gained through the exploration of the sources to deepen their understanding.

The following procedure may be used to support students as they complete this task.

- Students record 5-7 impacts they found through their interaction with the sources in the form of statements.
- They then place those statements on a scale illustrating the statements from “simple” to “complex”.
- For each statement, students explain why they placed it on position on the scale.
- The thinking routine concludes with a student reflection of “What new insights and questions do you have about the topic?”

Work on the formative performance task provides students an opportunity to gather information they will need in responding to the compelling question.

## Supporting Question 3

### Featured Source

**Source A:** Table of Homeownership Rates

This source is a table of the percent of homeowners in the southern states and is the data is available online at <https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/owner.html>.

	1990	1980	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
<b>United States</b>	64.2%	64.4%	62.9%	61.9%	55.0%	43.6%	47.8%	45.6%	45.9%	46.5%
<b>Alabama</b>	70.5%	70.1%	66.7%	59.7%	49.4%	33.6%	34.2%	35.0%	35.1%	34.4%
<b>Arkansas</b>	69.6%	70.5%	66.7%	61.4%	54.5%	39.7%	40.1%	45.1%	46.6%	47.7%
<b>Delaware</b>	70.2%	69.1%	68.0%	66.9%	58.9%	47.1%	52.1%	44.7%	40.7%	36.3%
<b>Florida</b>	67.2%	68.3%	68.6%	67.5%	57.6%	43.6%	42.0%	42.5%	44.2%	46.8%
<b>Georgia</b>	64.9%	65.0%	61.1%	56.2%	46.5%	30.8%	30.6%	30.9%	30.5%	30.6%
<b>Kentucky</b>	69.6%	70.0%	66.9%	64.3%	58.7%	48.0%	51.3%	51.6%	51.6%	51.5%
<b>Louisiana</b>	65.9%	65.5%	63.1%	59.0%	50.3%	36.9%	35.0%	33.7%	32.2%	31.4%
<b>Maryland</b>	65.0%	62.0%	58.8%	64.5%	56.3%	47.4%	55.2%	49.9%	44.0%	40.0%
<b>Mississippi</b>	71.5%	71.0%	66.3%	57.7%	47.8%	33.3%	32.5%	34.0%	34.0%	34.5%
<b>North Carolina</b>	68.0%	68.4%	65.4%	60.1%	53.3%	42.4%	44.5%	47.4%	47.3%	46.6%
<b>Oklahoma</b>	68.1%	70.7%	69.2%	67.0%	60.0%	42.8%	41.3%	45.5%	45.4%	54.2%
<b>South Carolina</b>	69.8%	70.2%	66.1%	57.3%	45.1%	30.6%	30.9%	32.2%	30.8%	30.6%
<b>Tennessee</b>	68.0%	68.6%	66.7%	63.7%	56.5%	44.1%	46.2%	47.7%	47.0%	46.3%
<b>Texas</b>	60.9%	64.3%	64.7%	64.8%	56.7%	42.8%	41.7%	42.8%	45.1%	46.5%
<b>Virginia</b>	66.3%	65.6%	62.0%	61.3%	55.1%	48.9%	52.4%	51.1%	51.5%	48.8%
<b>West Virginia</b>	74.1%	73.6%	68.9%	64.3%	55.0%	43.7%	45.9%	46.8%	49.5%	54.6%

## Supporting Question 3

## Featured Source

Source B: Excerpt from “FDR’s Notes on the HOLC”

This source is FDR’s notes on the passage of The Home Owners Loan Act in his published collection of papers (1938) and is available online at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/ppotpus/4925381.1933.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

Pursuant to my message of on June 13, 1933, the Congress passed the Home Owners Loan Corporation. Its object was to extend credit to three types of distressed homeowners.

HOLC assumed one-sixth of the estimated present urban home mortgage debt in the United States. This means that one of every eleven owned homes in the average American city has been refinanced by HOLC. Over a million homes which would have been lost without the intervention of HOLC were saved for their owners, and after reducing the total indebtedness of its borrowers by \$200,000,000, the Corporation further eased their burdens by the granting of a three-year moratorium on principal payments. HOLC's three years of lending will influence every future home mortgage loan made in the United States. Never before in our history were loans made upon such liberal terms, which yet guaranteed a return to the Corporation, and may make it possible for the Corporation to complete its work of liquidation without any net loss or any cost to the taxpayer.

During the course of its lending, which under the law expired June 12, 1936, HOLC made a total of 1,021,587 loans to the total amount of \$3,093,288,213. Through September 30, 1937, 23,503 of these loans amounting to \$52,849,610 had been repaid in full. Of the total interest and principal installments due up to September 30, 85.5 percent had been paid and \$117,654,000 or 14.5 percent had not been paid. The Corporation had acquired 58,189 properties, of which 3,818 had been sold and 40,295 were rented.

## Supporting Question 3

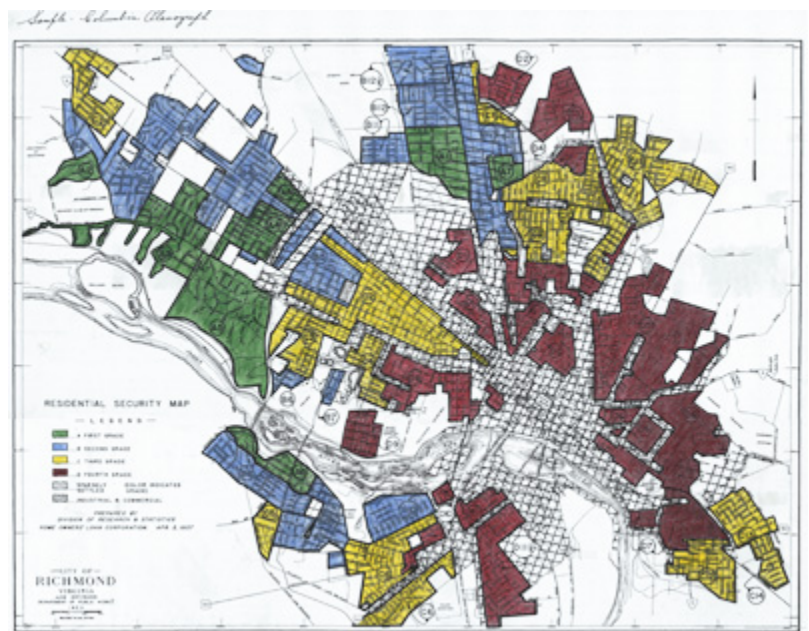


## Featured Source

## Source C: Excerpt from "Redlining Richmond"

This source is a selection from the interactive website on the redlining in Richmond, Virginia and is available online at <https://dsl.richmond.edu/holc/pages/home>.

With the HOLC holding hundreds of thousands of long-term mortgages...the parent organization of the HOLC, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, launched a City Survey Program to gauge trends in housing values in American cities, charging the HOLC to execute the program. Working with local realtors and lenders, the HOLC amassed data about different neighborhoods and areas in American cities. They would record information about the terrain, about the type and age of buildings, about sales and rental demand, about the "threat of infiltration of foreign-born, negro, or lower grade population," among other factors. Using this data, each area was assigned one of four grades. "A" areas were "'hot spots' ... where good mortgage lenders ... are willing to make their maximum loans." "B" areas were not as desirable but "still good." "C" areas had reached "the transition period" where they were in decline due to factors such as "age, obsolescence, and change of style" and "infiltration of a lower grade population." Finally, "D" areas had fully declined and were "characterized by detrimental influence in a pronounced degree." Residential security maps were then produced to map these grades across the urban landscape, "graphically reflect[ing] the trend of desirability in neighborhoods from a residential view-point," with A, B, C, and D neighborhoods colored green, blue, yellow, and red, respectively, on maps for each city.



...while HOLC grades were assigned by weighing a variety of factors, including the age of houses and the fashionability of particular architectural styles, it is clear that race trumped all others, certainly in Richmond and, by all indications, in other American cities as well. Each and every African American area in Richmond was assigned a grade of D marking it as a fully declined area. Of the dozen D areas in Richmond, only two were not African American neighborhoods, and one of those almost entirely "inaccessible," unsettled, and undeveloped.

## Supporting Question 3

## Featured Source

**Source D:** Redlining Richmond Interactive Map

This source is an online map of the HOLC survey of the neighborhoods of Richmond, Virginia and is only available online at <https://dsl.richmond.edu/holc/neighborhoods/map>

## Supporting Question 4

The fourth supporting question asks, "What did Southerners think about the New Deal?" and is designed to give voice to the people of the time period. While students may analyze the previous three supporting questions of the inquiry through the modern lens, their analysis becomes more nuanced when they interact with the views of Southerners during the Great Depression. While the New Deal programs were far from perfect, Southern support for FDR was high. Black voters broke with the Republican party and supported the Democratic candidate leading to surging victories in many of the Southern states. There were those who questioned the ways in which the New Deal as it was implemented, notably Huey Long who was a prominent politician from Louisiana who became more critical of FDR as the New Deal went on. The legacy of the New Deal is complicated and this question should allow students to develop a multifaceted analysis of the New Deal.

The featured sources include an interview of with a Southerner reflecting on some of the programs that existed during the New Deal, a table illustrating FDR's sweeping victories across the South, an excerpt from an essay on the legacy of FDR, and a short selection from a radio address from a Southern politician.

The formative performance task is to engage in the thinking routine "I used to think...Now I think" so that students can document any shifts in thinking that occurred as they investigated the opinions of Southerners during the time period.

The following procedure may be used to support students as they complete this task.

- Students should complete the sentence frame "I used to think...Now I think" and repeat the frame to capture 3-5 shifts in their thinking.
- Teachers may desire to ask students to share some of their completed sentence frames with their peers.

Work on the formative performance task provides students an opportunity to gather information they will need in responding to the compelling question.

## Supporting Question 4

<b>Featured Source</b>	<b>Source A:</b> Excerpt from “Interview with Ossie Davis”
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This source is an excerpt from an interview with Ossie Davis recalling New Deal programs in the African American community and is available online at <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-new-deal/sources/567>.

INTERVIEWER: Now about the Depression itself, what was it, when Franklin Roosevelt came to power, when he became president, and it was a New Deal, was that something that black folks in your community felt, I mean was it, was there something different about, how was it different than what had gone on before with Roosevelt? Did it, was there a sense that this was a different time now, something had changed and was it something that felt hopeful or, did it, did Roosevelt have any impact on your family's life or your community's life?

OSSIE DAVIS: Yeah, Roosevelt did have a tremendous impact, and the New Deal, on the life of my family and the community, but not at the very beginning. Politics was something that took place up North. The Depression, even the crash of the stock market, that was Wall Street, and Wall Street was where evil people lived who made money at the expense of other people. The White South and the Black South both looked upon the crash almost as a kind of punishment to the people up there. It was only later when the New Deal began to articulate programs, number one, food was sent into the communities, welfare was sent into the communities, but then they began to institute other kinds of programs. I remember going to classes conducted by people who taught in stores, or in churches, in various other places, sometimes at night, as a part of the New Deal. I remember script. My family didn't particularly, I don't think Mama ever was on welfare in the sense that we had to go and get the script and stuff like that. We relied, as we always had, on the extended family for food. And since we were sort of in an agricultural situation, you know, always there were members of the family who would plant and there would be collard greens, and mustards, and okra, and tomatoes, and beans, and you could go into the woods and catch something, or kill a chicken or whatever.... But, the government programs, you know, were there, and not only did they provide a service that was needed, but they put into positions of authority and power, black folks. There were black farm agents who went out and worked with the farmers, and black teachers, people who got these little jobs and who did service the community, oh yes.

Excerpt from “Interview with Ossie Davis,” Digital Public Library of America, <http://dp.la/item/572ca3233ae4b0eba3ac5a003d5bfa16>.

Supporting Question 4	
<b>Featured Source</b>	<b>Source B:</b> Table of Election Results

This source is a table adapted from election records of the Southern states and the source data is available online at <http://uselectionatlas.org>

Percentage of Popular Vote Cast for Democratic Candidate in Presidential Elections			
	1928	1932	1936
<b>National</b>	40.79%	57.41%	60.80%
<b>Alabama</b>	51.33%	84.74%	86.38%
<b>Arkansas</b>	60.29%	85.96%	81.80%
<b>Delaware</b>	34.60%	48.11%	54.62%
<b>Florida</b>	40.12%	74.68%	76.08%
<b>Georgia</b>	56.56%	91.60%	87.10%
<b>Kentucky</b>	40.48%	59.06%	58.51%
<b>Louisiana</b>	76.29%	92.79%	88.82%
<b>Maryland</b>	42.33%	61.50%	62.35%
<b>Mississippi</b>	82.10%	95.98%	97.03%
<b>North Carolina</b>	45.06%	69.93%	73.40%
<b>South Carolina</b>	91.39%	98.03%	98.57%
<b>Tennessee</b>	46.04%	66.49%	68.78%
<b>Texas</b>	48.10%	88.06%	87.08%

<b>Virginia</b>	45.90%	68.46%	70.23%
<b>West Virginia</b>	41.04%	54.47%	60.56%

Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. <http://uselectionatlas.org> (July 25, 2020).

## Supporting Question 4

### Featured Source

**Source C:** Excerpt "FDR: The American Franchise"

This source is an essay by Dr. William E. Leuchtenburg titled Franklin D. Roosevelt: The American Franchise and is available online at <https://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/the-american-franchise>.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's smashing victory in the 1936 presidential election revealed that the American political landscape had shifted. With FDR at its head, the Democratic Party put together a formidable coalition whose main components were lower-income groups in the great cities—African Americans, union members, and ethnic and religious minorities, many from recent immigrant groups—and the traditional source of Democratic strength, "the Solid South." Roosevelt carried every former Confederate state all four times he ran, but no Democrat has done so since 1944, FDR's final race. This "New Deal coalition," as it came to be known, powered the Democratic Party for the next thirty years. Its strong hold on these voters was due largely to the social, political, economic, and cultural changes wrought by the Depression, the New Deal, and World War II.

...Roosevelt's approach towards civil rights legislation was janus-faced. FDR spoke out against lynching, found the poll tax reprehensible, and, at the prodding of his wife, met in the White House with African American civil rights leaders. FDR, though, refused to make an anti-lynching bill a priority, though, in truth, opposition to the legislation was so strong that it never had a chance. In his defense, FDR claimed—and he was probably correct—that endorsing legislation which threatened the South's racial order would cost him the votes of Southerners in Congress—support he desperately needed.

...Roosevelt's performance, then was deeply flawed, but blacks rendered their own verdict when in 1936 they abandoned their historic allegiance to the Republicans, the party of Abe Lincoln, and moved in large numbers over to the Democrats, the party of FDR, where they have been ever since...

## Supporting Question 4

## Featured Source

**Source D:** Excerpt from “Huey Long’s radio address, January 19, 1935”

This source is an excerpt from a radio address entered into the Congressional Record on January 25, 1935 and can be found online at <https://www.ssa.gov/history/longsen.html>.

His plan contemplates that the Federal Government will contribute \$125 million for old-age pensions throughout the United States. That is not a drop in the bucket. It will take \$3 billion to pay an old-age pension to all people who are 60 years of age; and unless the United States Government puts up all of the \$3 billion, you will not have any old age pension system that is worth anything.

Now, the only way you can get \$3 billion is by taxing the billionaires and multimillionaires, and nobody else, because if you tax the poor wage earner, who is barely making a living now, you will do more harm than good... He admits that most of the people of America are impoverished because the rich people have all the money. He says they ought not allow them to have it all, but in the next breath he gives out a statement that the big rich must not be taxed very much, and that is as far as we ever get with him.

He rode into the President's office on the platform of redistributing wealth. He has done no such thing and has made no effort to do any such thing since he has been there. There is only one relief that can come to the American people that is of any value whatever, and that is to redistribute wealth by limiting the size of the big men's fortunes and guaranteeing that, beginning at the bottom, every family will have a living and the comforts of life. We can pass laws today providing for education, for old-age pensions, for unemployment insurance, for doles, public buildings, and anything else that we could think of, and still none of them would be worth anything unless we provided the money for them. And the money cannot be provided for them without these things doing twice as much harm as they do good unless that money is scraped off the big piles at the top and spread among the people at the bottom, who have nothing.

## Summative Performance Task

At this point in the inquiry students have examined the New Deal reforms dealing with agricultural policies, employment benefits, and housing programs and have considered how the New Deal was viewed by Southerners. Students should be able to demonstrate the breadth of their understanding and their ability to use evidence from multiple sources to support their claims. In this summative performance task, students are asked to construct an evidence-based argument responding to the compelling question “Was the New Deal a fair deal for the South?” It is important to note that students’ arguments could take a variety of forms, including a detailed outline, poster, or essay.

Students’ arguments likely will vary, but could include any of the following.

- The New Deal was fair to some but all Southerners...
- The New Deal was inherently unfair...
- The New Deal attempted fair reforms but fell short...
- The fairness of the New Deal in the South depended upon...

To extend this inquiry, students should brainstorm ways the New Deal policies and programs could have been made more fair.

To take informed action students complete the following steps.

- Students demonstrate that they understand by identifying and analyzing a modern federal policy which may impact different groups (region, class, race, religion, gender, etc) in different ways.
- Students assess by brainstorming 2-4 ways that policy could be made more fair and identify groups and organizations working on that (or a related) issue.
- Students act by creating a campaign (of their choice) with the goals of raising awareness and amplifying the work of existing organizations seeking to improve the issue.