

## Jacksonian Reforms

- **Goal 1 Primary and Secondary Education**
  - Free public education (Start to see difference in the way teachers are trained)
  - Universal manhood suffrage (used to be white man with property)
  - Increase # of school houses
  - Longer school terms
  - Better trained teachers
  - Increased expanded curriculum
- **Accomplishments in Primary and Secondary Education**
  - Tax supported free public education (lagged in the south)  
By 1860 only about 100 public secondary schools
  - Noah Webster improved textbooks (Webster's dictionary)
  - McGuffley's grade school reader
- **People in Primary and Secondary Education reform**
  - Thomas Jefferson
  - Horace Mann
  - Noah Wedster
  - William McGuffley
  - (Took a humanist look into education as a shift from Theology (Religion))
- **Goal 2 Higher Education**
  - Advanced Curriculum
  - Increase in learning
  - Place for women
  - Adults thirst for knowledge
- **Accomplishments in terms of Higher Education**
  - 2nd Great Awakening led to plangent of small denominational liberal arts colleges in South and West
  - 1<sup>st</sup> state schools supported in Sought in lat 18<sup>th</sup> century
  - Establishment of women's colleges beginning in 1820s (focused mostly on teaching)
  - Private subscription libraries: house to house peddlers
  - Traveling lyceum lecture associations
- **People in Higher Education reform**
  - Thomas Jefferson
  - Emma Willard
- **Goal 3 Women's Rights (Long process)**
  - Freedom
  - Self determination
  - Suffrage
  - Temperance

- Abolition (a lot of women tried to get involved in abolition movement but were rejected by males, so they went off for their own rights)
- **Accomplishment of Women's Rights**
  - Rape punishable by death
  - Seneca Falls New York Women's Rights Convention = declaration of Sentiments
- **People**
  - Catherine Beecher
  - Lucretia Mott
  - Elizabeth Cady Stanton
  - Susan B Anthony
  - Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell
- **Goal 4 Temperance**
  - Get men to stop drinking
  - To publicize the evils of drinking, economic, social, family, spiritual, physical safety
  - To get drinkers to sign the temperance pledge (Started the Cold Water Army, Children's Army to make drinkers feel guilty)
- **Accomplishments: Temperance**
  - American temperance Society (1826)
  - Organized Children's club (Cold water Army)
  - Maine Law (1851) prohibition, 12 states follow by 1857
  - By 1860 drinking goes down especially by women
  - (Bolstead...spelling >\_>) Act passed (repealed in 1833)
- **People**
  - Neel S. Dow
- **Goal 5 Extension of Democracy**
  - Universal Manhood suffrage
  - Common folk in govt. Office jobs
  - Control of judicial branch (state level)
  - Control of executive branch (state level)
  - Control of political party nominations
  - Give state power over sanctity of business contracts as ruled by Marshall Court
- **Accomplishments Extension of Democracy**
  - White men without property could vote
  - Spoils system
  - Minor offices open in govt. open to election
  - IN some states, popularly elected judges
  - People directly elect governors (instead of by legislatures)
  - Nominating conventions vs. caucuses

- 1837: Charles River Bridge Case: whenever there is a question as to precise privileges of a contract, benefit goes to the state (community) over the private business
- **People Extension of Democracy**
  - Andrew Jackson
- **Goal 6 Prisons**
  - Get rid of debtor prisons
  - Lighten criminal codes
  - Punish and reform (still debating over rehab, but general shift towards it in this era)
- **Accomplishments**
  - By 1830s-40s states abolish debtors prisons
  - Reformatories, house of correction, penitentiaries
- **Goal 7 Wards of the State**
  - More humane conditions and treatment
  - Accomplishments
  - Dorothea Dix did extensive research and created damning reports on insane asylums petition to Massachusetts legislature in 1843 gained improved conditions
- **People**
  - Dorothea Dix
- **Goal 8 Abolition of Slavery**
  - Back to Africa Movement (back to Liberia-Garvey really takes this far in the 20s)
  - To spread message of cruelty and immortality of slavery
  - Blacks speak out
  - Attempts to incite slave rebellions (Nat Turner)
- **Accomplishments**
  - American Colonization of Society
  - 1822 Republic of Liberia
  - Traveling abolitionists preaching the message of immorality/cruelty of slavery
    - Pamphlet "American Slavery As It Is" (1839, Weld)
    - Uncle Tom's Cabin
    - The Liberator
    - The North Star
  - John Brown's raid
- **People**
  - Theodore Dwight Weld, Harriet Beecher Stow, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Sojourner Truth, Martin Delaney David Walker, Frederick Douglass

## II. Reconstruction

- **Goals and Accomplishments**
  - Emancipate Slaves and abolish slavery in nation
    - Emancipation Proclamation 1863 (Abe Lincoln)
    - 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1865 (Congress)
- **Reconstruct society**
  - Reconstruction Act 1867 (Radical Republican Congress)
- **Make freedmen citizens of nation and state**
  - 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1868
  - Civil Rights Bill 1866 (Radical Republican Congress)
- **Recognize black equality and due process rights**
  - 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1869
  - Civil Rights Bill 1866 (Radical Republicans Congress)
- **Establish and recognize right to vote and enforce this right**
  - 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1869
  - Force Acts 1870=-1871 federal troops used to squash intimidation (KKK Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner)
- **Organize blacks to take initiative to organize politically**
  - Urban League assisted by northern blacks to educate on civic duties/rights then run for office
- **Educate and provide basic necessities**
  - Educated 200000 to read/write (Freedman's Bureau)
  - Settled very few on land, instead promoted labor contracts (tenant farmers)

## III Populists

- **Issues Plutocrats in east, Rail Roads/trusts, and high prices, debt (free silver inflation), overproduction**
- **Grangers (1867-86) Minnesota Oliver Kelly**
  - Originally forms as a social outlet
  - Evolved into political activism
    - Established cooperatives, stores, grain elevators, operated by farmers to get around trusts
    - State legislation (granger laws) to regulate railways and grain elevator foes
    - Judicial reverse (1886 Wabash decision; limited the rights of states to control interstate commerce, it led to the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission)
- **Greenback Labor Party (1870s) in 1878 elected 14 members to Congress**
- **Farmers Alliances (late 1870s)**
  - Originally formed to break grip of railroads and manufacturers
  - Internal division: region, tenant v regular farmers, racial => hard to organize

- Their platform; nationalize railroads → Abolish national bank, graduated income tax, federal sub-treasury (saved grain surplus till prices dropped)
- **Populist Party**
  - 1892 election: democrats (Cleveland), republicans (Harrison), populists (James weaver)
  - Platform: free and unlimited silver @ 16:1, graduated income tax, govt. ownership of public utilities and railroad, direct election of senators, one term limit of president
  - Initiative, referendum, recall
  - Labor support = call for shorter workday and immigration restrictions
- **Results = 22 electoral votes (1 million votes)**
- **Election of 1896: Democrats steal their platform (Bryan and the Cross of Gold)**

#### IV. Progressives

- **Middle class reformers addressed social problems (aim to return power back to common people)**
  - Muckrakers exposed factory conditions
  - Questioned dominant role of corporations
  - Struggle to make gov't responsive
  - Felt squeezed from above and below
- **Aim: return control of gov't to the people**
- **Differed from Populists (farmers) this was middle class**
  - Tended to be writers, teachers, scholars
- **4 Goals**
  - Protecting Social Welfare (temperance, etc.)
  - Promoting Moral Reform
  - Creating Economic Reform
  - Fostering Efficiency
- **Protecting Social Welfare**
  - Soften effects of industrialization
  - YMCA opened libraries
  - Salvation Army
  - Conservationism
  - Settlement Houses
    - Hull House
- **Promoting Moral Reform**
  - Programs to uplift immigrants, poor by improving personal behavior such as prohibition
    - WTCU

- Frances Willard made WTCU into largest Women's Group in the nation's history
  - Opened kindergartens for immigrants (German idea), visiting inmates in prisons and working for suffrage
- **Creating Economic Reform**
  - Panic of 1893 cause many to question Capitalism
  - Some embraced socialism: American Socialist Party founded by Eugene Debs in 1900
  - Elkins Act
  - Trusting business: Sherman Anti-Trust
  - Muckrakers: Journalists wrote about dark side of business
    - Ida Tarbell: History of Standard Oil
    - Lincoln Steffens: Shame of the Cities
    - Upton Sinclair: The Jungle
    - Jacob Riis: How the other Half Lives
    - Lewis Hines: Photographer
  - Presidents needed to Know
    - Roosevelt
    - Taft
    - Wilson
- **Fostering Efficiency**
  - Frederick Winslow Taylor: concept of scientific management (applying science to industry)
  - Assembly Line (Ford realizes that increase in injuries using the assembly line, so they shortens work day and gives raise)
- **Reforming Local Government**
  - Hazen Pingree (Detroit) economic issues
    - Fairer tax structure, lower fares for public transit, lowered gas rates, appointed competent people
  - Tom Johnson (Cleveland) socialist mayor
    - Dismissed corrupt owners of utility companies and converted them to publicly owned companies
- **Reforms at the State Level**
  - Wisconsin led the way in reforms w/ Fighting Bob
    - Served 3 terms as governor before becoming a senator in 1906
    - Railroads were his main targets, regulated rates
    - Other reform governors: Charles Aycock (North Carolina) Albert Cummins (Iowa), James Hogg (Texas)
- **Protecting Workers**
- **Triangle Shirtwaist Factory speeds things up**
  - Outrage at child labor
    - By 1910 there were 2 million laborers under 15
  - Children develop health problems

- Underweight, stunted growth, curved spine, respiratory diseases
  - 1904: National Child Labor Committee: sent in investigators w/ photographers; joined by labor unions
  - Passed Keating-Owen Act in 1916; prohibited transportation of goods w/ child labor across state lines
    - Unconstitutional 3 years later (reason: interrupting interstate commerce)
- **Efforts to limit working hours**
  - 1908 Muller v Oregon - a state can limit the working hours of women (actually a set back for women by limiting them from terrible conditions...oh the irony)
  - 1917: Bunting v Oregon - 10 hour workday for men
  - Workers Compensation
- **Reforming Elections**
  - Initiative: bill originates with the people instead of politicians
  - Voters could accept it by referendum
  - Recall, enable voters to remove politicians
  - By 1920, 20 states adopted these reforms; Wisconsin was the 1<sup>st</sup> to adopt a direct primary in 1903
- **Direct Election of Senators**
  - 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment: make senators more responsive (get rid of senators who were corrupted by big business)

## V. New Deals

- FDR's New Deal programs were aimed at 3 Rs; recovery, relief, reform
- Short range goals were relief and immediate recovery (especially in first 2 years)
- Long range goals were permanent recovery and reform of current abuses
- 3 Rs often overlap and got in each other's way
- 1<sup>st</sup> New Deal (Focused on Recovery and were less radical)
- Historians distinguish the 1<sup>st</sup> New Deal of 1933 that had something for almost every group and the 2<sup>nd</sup> New Deal (1934-37) introduced an element of class conflict
  - Nearly every organized group (except Socialist/Communists) gained much of what they demanded
  - Experimental, pragmatic
- New Deal had 3 components: direct relief, economic recovery and financial reform
- Relief was the immediate effort to help the 1/3 the population that was hardest hit by the depression
  - FERA

- CC
  - PWA
  - WPA
  - Social Security
  - FSA (Farm Security Administration)
- Recovery: Goal of restoring the economy to pre-depression levels, That did not necessarily mean 1929, which many economists considered an artificially inflated bubble
- Involved Pump Priming (deficit spending) dropping the gold standard, efforts to Re-inflate farm prices that were too low, and efforts to increase foreign trade
- Reform was based on the assumption that depression was caused by the inherent instability of the market and that gov't intervention was necessary to rationalize and stabilize the economy and to balance the interests of farmers, business and labor (FDR tried to balance Labor and Business, so he struck down on anti labor laws)
  - Included NRA (1933), SEC (1933), AAA (1933 and on), FDIC(1933), Wagner Act, TVA (1933)
  - Despite urgings by some New Dealers, there was no major anti-trust program
- DR hurled blame at businessmen and bankers with religious rhetoric
  - "practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization."
- Bank holiday until March 9<sup>th</sup> when he could send the Emergency Banking Act of Congress (drafted in large part of Hoover's administration) (Congress is Rubber Stamp Congress)
  - Provided for system of reopening sound banks under Treasury supervision with federal loans available if needed (Brain Trust is FDR's Cabinet)
- Economy Act
  - Passed March 20, 1933
  - Proposed to balance the none-emergency federal budget by cutting salaries of gov't employees and cutting pensions to veterans by 40%
  - Saved \$500 million a year
  - Showed him to be fiscally conservative
  - Reflected classical Democratic Party position, dating back to Andre Jackson, FDR was initially in favor of balancing the budget but would soon find him self using deficit spending in order to fund the programs he created.
- Farm Programs
  - FDR was keenly interested in farm issues and said that true prosperity wouldn't return until farming was prosperous



- 1<sup>st</sup> hundred days produced a federal program to protect commercial farmers from the uncertainties of the depression thru subsidies and production controls
- AAA: passed in May 1933
- Provision for crop reductions known as domestic "allotment" system
- **AAA**
  - Under this system producers of corn, cotton, dairy products, hogs, rice, tobacco, and wheat would decide on production limits for their crops
  - AAA would then pay land owners subsidies for leaving some of their land idle with funds provided by a new tax on food processing
  - Some crops were ordered destroyed and livestock slaughtered to maintain prices
  - Did not provide for any sharecroppers, tenants or farm laborers who might become unemployed, but there were other New Deal programs especially for them.
- **Other major programs geared towards farmers, especially marginalized ones:**
  - RA: Resettlement Administration
  - FSA: Farm Security Administration
  - REA: Rural Electrification Administration
  - TVA: Tennessee Valley Authority
  - Rural welfare projects sponsored by WPA < CCC
  - 1936: AAA deemed unconstitutional but was replaced by a similar program
- **Other Initiatives:**
  - SEC: Security Exchange Commission
  - FDIC: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
  - CCC: Civilian Conservation Corps
  - CWA: Civil Works Administration
  - FERA: Federal Emergency Relief Administration
  - NYA: National Youth Administration
  - WPA: Works Progress Administration
- **Reform NIRA**
  - New Deal started quickly on an agenda of long term reform so another depression wouldn't happen
  - FDR's administration insisted that business would have to ensure that the incomes of workers would rise along with their prices. The product of these impulses and pressures was the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA, the most important undertaking of the First hundred Days that was passed by Congress in June 1933

- Guaranteed to works this right of collective bargaining and helped spur some union organizing activity, but much faster growth of union membership came after the 35 Wagner Act
  - Establish the National Recovery Administration (NRA which attempted to stabilize prices and wages thru cooperation between gov't, business and labor. Contained regulations imposing pricing and production standards for all kinds of goods/services
    - Some ridiculed it as "national Run Around"
- To cut unemployment, the NIRA created the Public Works Administration (PWA. From 1933-39; PWA spent 6 billion with private companies to build 34.500 projects
- NRA minimum wage (.20-.40/hour) abolition of child labor
- Blue Eagle campaign
- May 1935: NRA found to be unconstitutional no substitute agency
- **Legislative Success and Failures**
  - Spring of 35 responding to setbacks in the Court, a new skepticism in Congress and the popular clamor for more dramatic action, the administration proposed or endorsed several important new initiatives
    - Historians refer to them as the 2<sup>nd</sup> New Deal and not that was more radical, more pro labor and anti-businesses than the 1<sup>st</sup> new Deal
- **Wagner Act** strengthened the protections of collective bargaining contained in the original (and now unconstitutional) NIRA
  - Result: tremendous growth of union membership, So labor became a major component of the New Deal political coalition
- **Nationalized unemployment relief thru the WPA**
  - Created hundred of thousands of low skilled blue collar jobs for unemployed men
  - NYA (WPA for youth) headed in Texas by LBJ, later used the NYA as a model for some of this Great Society programs.
- **Social Security**
  - The most important act of 1935 perhaps of the New Deal itself
  - Set up the framework for the modern American welfare system
- **2 old words took on new meaning:**
  - Liberal no longer referred to classical liberalism but now mean a supporter of the New Deal
  - Conservative now meant an opponent
  - Whether the New Deal was successful in achieving the 3 Rs is usually approached not as a historical problem but as current debate over whether the program should be a model for gov't action today
  - Liberals continue to battle conservatives.

- FDR's problem wasn't with capitalism itself, but with capitalists → purged American capitalism of some of its worst abuses
- Provided bold reform w/out a bloody revolution
- Chose the middle road
- Jeffersonian in his concern for the "forgotten man"
- Strongest legacy of the New Deal was to make the fed gov't a protector of interest groups and a supervisor of competition among them
- As a result of the ND, political and economic life became politically more competitive than ever with workers, farmers, consumers, able to press their demands upon gov't.
- Although the ND did not end the depression it helped to prevent the economy from decaying rather by increasing the regulatory functions of the fed gov't in ways that helped stabilize gov.
- FDR's 12 years in office saw a dramatic increase in the power of the federal gov't as a whole
  - He established the presidency as the preeminent center of authority w/in the fed gov't
  - Would led to other programs like the great society

### Great Society

- Sets of domestic programs initiated by LBJ
- 2 main goals: elimination of poverty and racial injustice
- Also focused on education healthy urban problems transportation, consumer protection, environment
- Loosely based on New Deal agenda and drew from JFK's stalled New Frontier program
- Unlike the New Deal, which was a response to a severe economic crisis, the Great Society emerged in a period of unprecedented prosperity
- JFK proposed a tax cut, which was enacted in Feb '64 3 months after his death, GNP rose 10% in the first year of the tax cut and economic growth averaged a rate of 4.5% from "61-68"
- Despite the positive econ condition, other crises faced the nation.

### Ann Arbor Speech

- LBJ summarized his goals in a speech at University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (First time to say Great Society)

### 1965 Legislative Program: Presidential Task Forces

- JFK had employed task forces made up of scholars and experts to craft New Frontier legislation and to deal w/foreign affairs
- This approach appealed to LBJ because they could work in secret and outside of existing gov't. bureaucracy and directly for the white house staff.
- After the Ann Arbor speech, 15 separate task forces began studying under Bill Moyers and Richard Goodwin

- Topics: Foreign economic policy, agriculture, anti-recession policy, civil rights, education efficiency and economy, health, income maintenance, policy, intergovernmental fiscal cooperation.
- **Civil Rights Act of 1964**
  - Banned racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public
  - Also included gender discrimination
  - Strengthen gov't power to enforce segregation especially in schools
  - Created Federal Equal Opportunity Commission to eliminate discrimination in hiring
- **Affirmative Action**
  - All federal contracts were to take "affirmative action" against discrimination in hiring practices=1<sup>st</sup> step towards broader program
- **Voting Rights Act of 1965**
  - Powerful in aiding black w/ a voice, measurable equality
  - Outlawed literacy tests to vote
  - Seat federal voter register into the south to register black voters
- **Education**
  - Economic Opportunity Act (1965)
    - Allowed monies to go to parochial school kids (not school)
- **National Endowment for Arts and Humanities**
  - Designed to life level of American Cultural life
- **Elderly**
  - Medicare 1965 Medical assistance to folks on Social Security (now extend to all of us)
- **Poverty**
  - Head start: urban poor kids
  - Medicare/Medicaid; elderly and poor regardless of age
  - Job Corps: jobs for inner city youth
  - VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America): domestic version of the Peace Corp. volunteers go in to inner cities and depressed rural communities to help
- **Immigration Reform**
  - Immigration and Nationality Act (1965)
    - Abolished the national origin quotas (1921)
    - Doubled number of immigrants allowed to annually enter and set limits on immigrants from Western Hemisphere
    - Allowed close relative of US citizens to enter (outside the limits) = Family Unification

### Legacy of the Great Society

- Most Great Society initiatives especially those that benefited the middle class, continue to exist in some form today

- Civil rights law remain on the books in amended versions
- Some programs like Medicare and Medicaid have been criticized as inefficient and unwieldy, but enjoy wide support and have grown a considerably since the 1960s\
- Federal funding of public and higher education has expanded since the Great Society era and have maintained bipartisan support
- Federal funding for culture initiatives in the humanities, arts, and public broadcasting have repeatedly been target for elimination but have survived.
- **Interpretations of the War on Poverty remain controversial**
  - Several observers have noted that funding for many GS programs became difficult beginning in 1968 due to the Vietnam War and LBJ's desire to maintain a balanced budget
  - Office of economic Opportunity was dismantled by the Nixon and Ford administrations largely by transferring poverty programs to other gov't departments
- Alan Brinkly (Historian) has suggested that the gap between the expansive intentions of the war on poverty and its relatively modest achievements fuel later conservative arguments that gov't is not an appropriate vehicle for solving social problems.