

he intended to depart wholly from the policy of kindly firmness followed by Mr. Lincoln. Before many months, however, he changed his attitude completely, and undertook to defeat the will of his party in Congress in respect to the reorganization of the rebel States. He had been bitterly opposed to the dominant element of the South all his life—coming of ignorant, poor white stock, and representing in his early career the antagonism of the non-slaveholding element in Tennessee against the slaveholders; but all at once, when trusted with the reins of government, he manifested a stubborn purpose to carry out the wishes of the leading Southern men and to give them control of their local affairs.

The problem of restoring the Southern States to their relations to the Union was a difficult one, and the Republicans were not at first wholly agreed as to its proper solution. After nearly two years of consideration of the question, the party, however, came with substantial unanimity to the ground that the rebel States had forfeited their rights as States of the Union by the act of rebellion, and had become unorganized communities, held under the Constitution by conquest, and to be dealt with as Congress might see fit. Their re-entry into the Union must, it was maintained, be under such conditions as Congress should prescribe. In the mean time they were kept under military government, and were divided, for the purpose, into military districts. The Democrats held that so soon as hostilities ceased each rebel State had a right to reorganize its own State Government, and to enter into all of the privileges of a member of the national Union, without any interference or dictation on the part of Congress. This was the theory advocated by Andrew Johnson. Its purpose was to reinstate the white men of the South in full control of their local governments, leaving them to deal with the emancipated negro populations as they saw fit, under the solitary restraint of the Thirteenth Amendment.

After having emancipated the slaves, the Democrats held that Congress had nothing more to do with them. The temporary governments organized by the whites in several of the Southern States proceeded to pass codes of black laws, which reduced the negroes to a condition of serfdom, differing practically but very little from the old condition of slavery. President Johnson did not avowedly go over to the Democratic party: he kept Mr. Seward and several other Republicans in his Cabinet, but his policy toward the South was essentially a Democratic policy, and was sustained by very few people in Congress or the country except the Democrats. A small body of office-holders stood by him in order to retain their places, and became popularly known as "the bread and butter brigade." In 1867, the Republicans passed a series of acts, known as the Reconstruction laws, providing for the establishment of new State governments in the South. These laws allowed every man to vote, black or white, except such as had previously taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and had participated in the Rebellion. This limitation disfranchised a very large portion of the active and influential white men. President Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction acts, and they were passed over his veto, the Republicans having at that time and throughout his administration a two-thirds majority in both Houses.

The conduct of Johnson created a good deal of irritation and bad feeling. He was regarded as a traitor to the Republican party and the stubbornness with which he clung to his idea of the rights of the Southern States under the Constitution was generally believed among the Republicans to arise from a settled purpose on his part to betray his party and to destroy the substantial results of its victory over the Rebellion. The intense dislike and strong suspicion of Johnson which animated the greater portion of the Republican party resulted in the passage of articles of impeachment against him, on the 22d of February, 1868. The specifications were based on the President's illegal

removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of the Secretary of War, his expressions in party speeches of contempt of Congress, and his hindrance of the execution of some of its acts. The trial began in the Senate on March 23d, and lasted nearly two months, attracting the closest attention of the whole country. Johnson was acquitted for lack of a two-thirds majority against him, the vote on the several articles of impeachment standing, guilty 35, not guilty 19. A few Republicans, led by Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, not believing him guilty of an offence warranting his removal from office, voted with the Democrats for his acquittal. The general effect of his obstinate resistance to Congress was to strengthen the Republican party, and the men that deserted its ranks to follow him were so few in number that they were sensibly missed. At one time Johnson appeared to contemplate the formation of a new party, of which he was to be the leader; but he ended, after his term of office closed, in joining the Democratic party, which sent him to the Senate from Tennessee.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in June, 1866, by Republican votes exclusively, in both Houses of Congress. This amendment made the freed negroes citizens of the United States and of the States in which they lived, and prohibited any State from abridging or limiting the privileges or immunities of citizens. It left each State to regulate the right of voting, but if a State excluded any of its citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, it lost its representative and electoral strength proportionately. The amendment also provided that no person should hold office in the United States or any State who, not having taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and had joined in the Rebellion; but Congress might remove this disability by a vote of two-thirds of each branch. It provided, further, that neither the United States nor any State should assume or pay any debt accrued in the aid of the Rebellion, or from any of the

losses from the emancipation of the slaves. The Democratic party vehemently opposed this amendment, and it was not fully ratified by the requisite number of States until July, 1868. Long after its ratification the Democrats were in the habit of condemning it as revolutionary, unconstitutional, null and void. Subsequent experience did not justify all of its provisions. The section creating a class of persons under disabilities in the South was after a time deemed unwise by a large majority of the Republicans, and was greatly modified by successive amnesty measures.

In 1866, the Civil Rights act was passed, providing severe penalties against any person who under color of any law or ordinance should attempt to deprive the freedmen of equal rights or subject them to any penalty or prohibition different from those to which the whites were subjected. This act as well as Amendment XIV was vetoed by President Johnson, opposed by the Democrats, and passed by the Republicans over that veto and in spite of that opposition.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1868.

THE Presidential campaign of 1868 was fought upon the issues growing out of the Reconstruction acts of Congress, the Amendments to the Constitution, and the suffrage and citizenship they conferred upon the colored race. The Republican National Convention met in Chicago, May 20th, and nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for President by acclamation. A sharp contest took place over the Vice-Presidency. The first ballot resulted as follows : Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, 115 ; Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, 147 ; Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, 126 ; Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, 119 ; Andrew G. Curtin, of



Pennsylvania, 51 ; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, 28 ; James M. Speed, of Kentucky, 22 ; James Harlan, of Iowa, 16 ; J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, 14 ; W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, 4 ; S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, 6. On the fifth ballot Schuyler Colfax was nominated, receiving 541 votes. The chief features of the platform were the indorsements of the constitutional amendments securing the political and civil equality of the blacks and of the Reconstruction acts of Congress.

The Democratic National Convention met in New York, July 4th, and nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, for Vice-President. An attempt was made to liberalize the party and induce it to cease its opposition to the results of the war, by the nomination of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, who stood a little aloof from the Republican party and held rather a neutral attitude. It was unsuccessful. Moderate ideas prevailed, however, in the platform, which was cautiously worded so as not to offend a considerable number of Democrats who were in favor of what was called "accepting the situation." Among the candidates for the Presidency before the convention was General W. S. Hancock, who received a large vote from men who desired to make use of his military reputation as an offset to that of General Grant. The majority of the convention were not willing, however, to nominate any man whose record of hostility to all of the Republican measures during the last ten years was in any way doubtful. The Democratic campaign was so bad a failure that before it closed the leading Democratic newspaper organ demanded a change in the ticket as the only way of securing the possibility of success. General Grant was elected by a popular vote of 3,012,833 against 2,703,219. He carried all the States except Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon. Three States—Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas—had not gone through with the process of reconstruction and therefore had no vote. Of the electoral votes

Grant received 214, and Seymour 80. After this overwhelming defeat a growing sentiment in favor of accepting the results of the war and ceasing the hopeless contest against the inevitable took possession of the Democratic Party. The election was exceedingly important in its influence upon the history of the country. Had the Republicans been defeated the whole policy of equal suffrage and citizenship would probably have been overturned. That policy was completed and firmly secured a year later by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provided that neither the United States nor any State should abridge the right of any citizen to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The ratification of this amendment by the requisite number of States was proclaimed March 20th, 1870.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### CONDITION OF THE SOUTH—CARPET-BAG-GOVERNMENT—THE KU-KLUX KLAN CONSPIRACY.

ENCOURAGED by President Johnson's opposition to the Reconstruction acts to believe that they would in the end be set aside, the white people of the States which had joined the Rebellion very generally refrained from taking part in the elections under these acts, and thus the newly enfranchised negroes became suddenly possessed of almost unlimited political power. With them acted a few respectable white natives who had conscientiously opposed the war, a few enterprising Northern emigrants who went South to invest their means and better their fortunes, and a few adventurers attracted by the prospect of office. This was a poor foundation on which to rear a stable structure of local government. The mass of the white population looked upon the negroes as they would upon so many cattle or horses which they had been robbed of by the National Govern-

ment, and regarded them in their quality of voters and citizens with undisguised hatred and contempt. The State Governments established under the new order of things were the subject of constant insult in the Southern papers, and were despised and detested by the great mass of the native tax-paying people. The poor whites were fully as hostile as the better classes. To some extent the new governments merited the condemnation they received. Most of them were ignorant and rapacious, borrowing and wasting large sums of money, raising heavy taxes, and creating numberless scandals. It made no difference, however, what was the character of the men connected with these governments—they were all denounced as thieves. Northern white men who had settled in the South, whether they held office or not, were stigmatized as “carpet-baggers,” and every native white man who joined the Republican Party was denounced as a “scallawag,” and cut off from all social relations with his neighbors. The carpet-bag governments, as they were called, could not have existed for a moment without the support of the national authority. Troops were stationed in every capital and principal city through the South, for the purpose of awing the disaffected people and compelling obedience to the local authorities. Even these means were not wholly effective, however. A secret organization sprang up as if by magic in all parts of the South, whose members were exclusively white men, hostile to the new order of things, and sworn to accomplish the destruction of negro rule. This organization was called the Ku-Klux Klan. Its ostensible purpose at first was to keep the blacks in order and prevent them from committing small depredations upon the property of the whites, but its real motives were essentially political. The members met in secret conclaves, and rode about the country at night wearing long gowns of black or scarlet cloth, with hideous masks or hoods enveloping their heads. They murdered many of the negro leaders, and in pursuance of their scheme for overawing the

colored population took the poor blacks out of their cabins at night and brutally flogged them. In some neighborhoods scarcely a colored man escaped a visitation from these terrible midnight riders. The negroes were invariably required to promise not to vote the Republican ticket, and threatened with death if they broke their promises. In some places the Ku-Klux Klan assailed Republican officials in their houses or offices or upon the public roads; in others they attacked the meetings of negroes and dispersed them. Their action took almost every form of lawlessness, and was adopted with the single purpose of breaking down the authority of the Republican State and local governments, and preparing the way for a Democratic victory at the elections. The Ku-Klux Klan order and its variations extended throughout the entire South. In some localities it was called by other names, such as the "White League," or the "Knights of the White Camellia," and sometimes its members appeared without disguise and made their murderous attacks upon their political opponents in broad daylight. In such cases it was given out by the Southern newspapers that a riot had occurred, in which the blacks were the aggressors. Wherever the facts were obtained by the investigations of committees of Congress, it was found that this explanation was a false one, and that whites were always the attacking party.

The Ku-Klux Klan were particularly active in the Northern counties of South Carolina, and these counties were selected by President Grant for the enforcement of an act of Congress, passed by the Republicans, with the view of suppressing these treasonable and murderous organizations. The habeas corpus was suspended by Executive order in the five counties referred to, a considerable body of troops was stationed there, and large numbers of arrests were made by the soldiers. Nearly three hundred Ku-Klux were imprisoned at one time at Yorkville, South Carolina, under military guard. Their disguises and other articles were captured, and several of them made full confession of the



atrocities in which they had been engaged. A few were selected for trial and were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment in the Albany Penitentiary. The rest were released on their pledges of good behavior. The result of these severe measures was to break up the Ku-Klux organizations throughout the South. Hostility to negro suffrage and Republican government subsequently took other forms of violence, but the whipping and killing of defenceless people by masked midnight riders was abandoned.

The Republicans of the North earnestly sustained the measures of the Government for the punishment of conspiracy and of crime, and for the defense of the rights of their brethren in the South. The inefficiency and corruption which characterized most of the Southern State governments produced, however, considerable effect upon the Northern mind, and in course of time a large portion of the Northern Republicans grew weary of the effort to sustain those governments by armed force. Thus there came to be a division in the party, one element believing it to be the duty of the administration to continue its policy of interference in Southern affairs, and the other contending that the difficult problem of good government and equal rights in that section could be best worked out by the Southern people themselves, without any outside pressure. The stories of Southern outrages grew monotonous and wearisome. Many people doubted their authenticity, because from their own experience in the law-abiding communities of the North they could not conceive of a state of things so wholly foreign to anything they had observed at home. It did not seem reasonable that men should be guilty of such barbarous acts as were done in the South for the purpose of gaining political power. All reference to those acts and arguments drawn from them were characterized, in the political parlance of the time, as "waving the bloody shirt," and lost their effect upon the public mind. Nevertheless only a small part of the truth concerning the state

of affairs in the South between 1867 and 1876 was ever made known. It is not extravagant to assert that more men lost their lives during that period for the sole crime of being Republicans than fell on any one battle-field of the war.

In the course of eight years of President Grant's administration the white Democrats of the South succeeded in getting possession of all of their States except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana--overcoming the Republican majorities by a system of intimidation, violence, and fraud. The three remaining States passed into their hands immediately after the accession of President Hayes. President Grant's policy toward the South was not uniform and consistent. At times he was exceedingly firm in his defense of the so-called carpet-bag governments, but at other times he was yielding or indifferent, and allowed the processes for the destruction of those governments to go on without interference. Toward the close of his official career he came to the conclusion that it was unwise to longer attempt to support by Federal bayonets authority which was obnoxious to the influential and intelligent tax-paying classes of the South. In this conclusion a large portion of the Republicans sympathized, but their opinion did not in the least modify their feelings of condemnation of the methods by which the Southern Democrats had overturned the Republican State governments in that section.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### DEFENDING THE NATIONAL HONOR AND THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

It is now time to refer to a portion of the career of the Republican Party which reflected great honor upon it, and entitled it anew to the respect and gratitude of the country. At the end of the war the United States owed an enormous bonded debt. In addition it had outstanding a large volume of paper

currency, issued with the understanding that it should be redeemed in coin as soon as the Government was able to do so. In 1867, after the floating obligations remaining from the war had been gathered in and funded, the question of how to deal with the debt and the currency was taken up in earnest by the Republicans in Congress. Their plans met with vehement opposition from a large portion of the Democratic Party. A new and preposterous theory was advanced, to the effect that the notes of the Government, called greenbacks, were actual money instead of promises to pay money, and that the bonded debt of the United States could be lawfully and honorably discharged with these notes. This theory started in the West and was called at first "Pendletonism," from the fact that Pendleton, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1864, was among its early and prominent advocates. It was claimed by the supporters of this theory that as greenbacks were real money the country ought to have a large supply of them. They favored an immediate issue of hundreds and even thousands of millions of dollars. All of the bonds that were not specifically made payable in coin they proposed to pay off at once in greenbacks, and thus stop the interest upon them. The paper money idea soon developed into a great popular mania in the West. Many Republicans were carried away by it, but the majority of the party firmly resisted it. Not much headway was made by this dangerous and dishonest heresy east of the Alleghany Mountains, but beyond that line, clear through to the far West, the excitement raged for several years. It must be said, in credit of the Democrats of the East, that they gave no assistance to the greenback idea. As a party, however, the Democrats may truthfully be said to have advocated it, since the great bulk of the Democratic representation in Congress came from the West and the South, where the mania was widely prevalent. However much praise the few Democrats who opposed the scheme are entitled to, it is certain that it could not have been

defeated had not the Republican Party as a national organization set its face firmly against it.

Many of the advocates of inflation having cut loose from the principles of common honesty soon became repudiationists, and formed a party by themselves, called the Greenback party. They proposed to pay off the whole of the debt in greenbacks, and never redeem the greenbacks, but let them wear out and perish. They even went so far as to pass resolutions in their conventions declaring that all taxation should cease and that the Government should support itself by issuing paper money. A constant struggle against inflation schemes was kept up by the Republicans in Congress for more than a decade, and was only ended by the successful resumption of specie payments on the first of January, 1879. In all of this time the Republican Party was vigilant and firm in defending the national honor, and preventing its credit from suffering by the repeated assaults upon it which came from the Democratic and Greenback Parties. The party which saved the Union and abolished slavery was called upon to save the credit and honor of the country, and prevent its currency from becoming worthless, and it nobly responded to the call.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE LIBERAL DEFECTION AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

CONSIDERABLE dissatisfaction was felt in the Republican Party at the course of President Grant's administration. A small element of conscientious men, many of whom had aided in forming the party, believed that his policy toward the South was unwise, and that it was time to inaugurate an era of peace, reconciliation, and good feeling. They also wanted to see a policy of civil service reform established, by which merit should



be the test for public office, and Government officials should stick to their legitimate business, and not devote their time to managing caucuses and conventions in the interest of party leaders who had secured them their appointments.

Grant's project for annexing San Domingo created a good deal of opposition, and many of his appointments to office were of a character not to commend themselves to the public judgment. An open breach occurred between him and several Republican leaders in Congress, chief among whom were Senators Sumner, Schurz, and Trumbull. Long and acrimonious debates over the San Domingo matter and a sale of arms to the French Government served to widen the breach. The opponents of General Grant believed that his control over all of the Federal office-holders was so great and their control over the machinery of the conventions was so perfect that his renomination would be brought about in spite of any amount of antagonistic feeling that might exist in the party, so they determined to make a demonstration which would show to the country that they would not in any event support Grant for a second term. They took the name of "Liberal Republicans," and held a National Convention in Cincinnati, in May, 1872. Once assembled they were surprised at their own apparent strength and at the number of old-time Republicans who came to co-operate with them. The plan of the leaders of the movement was to nominate Charles Francis Adams for President. Some of them believed that so excellent and fit a nomination would so commend itself to the whole Republican Party that General Grant would be dropped. Adams failed of a majority on the first ballot, and the convention was stampeded by a movement in behalf of Horace Greeley, who received the nomination on the sixth ballot, having 482 votes to 187 for David Davis, of Illinois. Governor B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was named for Vice-President on the second ballot. The regular Republicans paid no attention to these nominations. They stigmatized the move-

ment as one of soreheads and bolters, and in their own convention, held in Philadelphia in June, nominated President Grant for re-election by acclamation. A brisk contest over the Vice-Presidency occurred between Schuyler Colfax, the incumbent of the office, and Henry Wilson, a Senator from Massachusetts, in which Wilson was successful, receiving 364½ votes to 321½ for Colfax. The platform of the Liberal Republicans demanded that sectional issues should be buried, that good-will should be cultivated between sections, that the constitutional amendments in all the settlements of the war should be regarded as finalities, that civil service reform should be undertaken, and that specie payments should be immediately restored. The platform of the regular Republicans rehearsed the glorious history of the Republican Party and reaffirmed its well-known distinctive principles of equal political and civil rights and a firm maintenance of the national credit and honor.

The Democrats found themselves in a painful dilemma. If they nominated a ticket of their own there was not the slightest chance of electing it. If they indorsed the Liberal Republican ticket they would have to abandon all of the ideas for which they had been contending since 1860. Their convention met at Baltimore in July and chose the latter horn of the dilemma. In spite of the bald inconsistency of the proceeding, the party which had defended slavery and opposed the suppression of the Rebellion nominated as its candidate for President a most conspicuous antagonist of slavery, a life-long opponent of the South, and a zealous advocate of all measures which had been adopted for crushing the Rebellion and giving freedom and citizenship to the blacks. This apparent conversion of a great party and this acknowledgment of the error of its ways would have been sublime if it had been sincere, but the object of most of the Democratic leaders was only to obtain office and political patronage. Horace Greeley made no pledges to them, and he avowed not the slightest alteration in his opin-

ions on the issues of the time. They hoped, however, that if they succeeded in electing him a sense of gratitude would induce him to give them place and power. The campaign was a very animated one at first, but after the Republicans carried North Carolina in August and Pennsylvania in October it became evident that the Greeley coalition could not win, and thenceforward the Democratic and Liberal canvass lost all vitality. A large number of the Republicans left their party to follow their old anti-slavery leader, Horace Greeley, but their votes were more than counterbalanced by those of Democrats who refused to support him. This class had a candidate of their own in Charles O'Connor, who was nominated by a convention held at Louisville. He received but a small vote, however. Most anti-Greeley Democrats contented themselves with staying at home on election day. Some of them voted for Grant, to show in a marked manner their hostility to the course of their party. Grant carried all the States except Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. His popular vote was 3,597,070. The vote for Greeley was 2,834,079. O'Connor received 29,408 votes, and Black 5608. Horace Greeley died before the electoral colleges met. The electoral vote as cast by the colleges was as follows: Grant, 286; Hendricks, 42; Brown, 18; C. J. Jenkins, 2; David Davis, 1; uncounted because cast for Horace Greeley, 17.

The Liberal defection seriously weakened the Republican Party in the State campaigns of the three following years, but in 1876 the breach was fully healed, and with the exception of a few leaders who joined the Democrats the whole body of Liberals returned to their old party allegiance in the Presidential campaign of that year.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION—CAMPAIGN  
OF 1876.

REPUBLICAN divisions continued to a considerable extent during the second administration of President Grant. The dissatisfied members of the party did not, however, form any political organization, but contented themselves with holding themselves aloof from the State campaigns. Several painful scandals affecting the appointees and personal friends of President Grant added to the unpopularity of the administration. In 1874, the feeling of distrust and dislike culminated and resulted in an astonishing series of Democratic victories at the State and Congressional elections. A large number of Northern States that had been steadfastly Republican were carried by the Democrats. Even Massachusetts, which had given heavy Republican majorities ever since the party was formed, elected a Democratic Governor. In short, there was a reaction against the Republicans throughout the country of such magnitude and importance that many would-be prophets predicted the speedy death of the party, asserting that its mission was fulfilled, its work done, and its career closed. The Democrats elected a majority of the members of the National House of Representatives, and thus in the following year came into possession of one branch of Congress for the first time since 1860.

It was not long before the Republicans who had deserted their party and thus helped its enemy to a substantial victory began to realize that they had made a grave mistake. They saw that to trust the party of slavery and rebellion with the power in the National Government was to run the risk of seriously compromising the results of the war. The State elections of 1875 showed the result of this conviction, for most of the old Republican States which had been lost in 1874 were regained.



An exceedingly thorough and brilliant canvass was made in Ohio upon the financial question. The Democrats of that State fully indorsed what was known as the soft-money idea. They opposed the act for the resumption of specie payments, passed by Congress in January of that year, demanded the issue of more irredeemable greenbacks, and asserted that the interest on the public debt should be paid in paper money, and some of their orators and newspapers went so far as to demand the payment of the principal of the debt in the same kind of currency. The Democratic nominee for Governor was William Allen, popularly known as "old Bill Allen," who already held the place by virtue of the election of 1873. This venerable politician personified for a time the soft-money delusion, which got the name of "the Ohio idea," and was commonly ridiculed by its opponents as "the rag baby." The Republican candidate was Rutherford B. Hayes, who had been Governor for two terms, from 1868 to 1872. Taking ground in favor of honest money redeemable in coin and an honest payment of the national debt, the Republicans carried the State by a small majority and turned the tide of inflation. The campaign attracted national attention to Mr. Hayes, and made him the candidate of his State for the Presidential nomination in 1876.

The Republicans held their National Convention at Cincinnati on June 14th, 1876. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was the leading candidate, and his nomination was regarded as almost a certainty when the balloting began. The other prominent candidates were Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; Roscoe Conkling, of New York; Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, and John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania. Bristow's power came, as a rule, from the element most dissatisfied with President Grant's administration. Bristow had been Secretary of the Treasury, and had differed with the President about the prosecution of certain persons in the West concerned in the frauds on the revenue. A personal quarrel arose, and Bristow resigned his

place in the Cabinet. The supporters of Morton, Conkling, and Hartranft were, in the main, warm friends of the administration. Those of Mr. Blaine were drawn from both elements by his great personal popularity and his reputation as a Congressional leader. A combination between the forces of Morton, Conkling, Hartranft, and Hayes, and a portion of those of Bristow defeated Blaine and nominated Hayes on the seventh ballot, the vote standing, Hayes, 384 ; Blaine, 351 ; Bristow, 31. William A. Wheeler, an old and influential representative in Congress from the State of New York, was nominated for Vice-President with little opposition. Mr. Hayes' nomination proved to be a popular and fortunate one. He had an excellent military and civil record and no personal enemies, and he united all of the jarring elements of the Republican organization.

The Democratic Convention met in St. Louis on the 27th of June, and on the second ballot nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York for President. His principal competitors were, Hendricks, of Indiana ; Allen, of Ohio, and General Hancock, of the army. Tilden had just served a term as Governor of New York, and had won considerable reputation as a reformer by his hostility to the canal ring, and to the corrupt Tammany organization in the City of New York. The Democrats ran their canvass almost exclusively on what they called the reform line. They claimed that the Republican Party had grown corrupt with long lease of power. They vigorously attacked the administration of President Grant, made the most of all the scandals, true or false, which had grown out of it, and presented their candidate as a man who would sweep the public service clean of all abuses as with a new broom.

The Republican canvass consisted mainly of an attack on the bad record of the Democratic Party and a cry of alarm at the solidity of the section of the country late in rebellion. A good deal was made out of the enormous Southern claims presented in Congress for war damages, and an effective attack was

kept up against Mr. Tilden on account of his failure to pay a large amount of money due from him to the Government as income tax, and also on account of his sharp financial operations in connection with certain Western railroads. Three insignificant minor organizations placed candidates in the field for the campaign of 1876. The Greenback Party, an organization of fantastic theorists and small demagogues, took up the so-called Ohio idea, which the Democrats had refused to indorse in their St. Louis platform, and endeavored to build upon it a great political organization. They nominated for President the venerable New York philanthropist, Peter Cooper, and for Vice-President Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, a popular orator who had belonged to nearly every political organization which had existed in his life-time. The Prohibitionists held a convention in Cleveland and nominated for President Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and for Vice-President, Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio, on a platform demanding a constitutional amendment prohibiting the liquor traffic. A mass meeting was held in Pittsburg, which attempted to start a new organization called the American National Party. James B. Walker, of Illinois, was nominated for President, and Donald Kirkpatrick, of New York, for Vice-President. The platform favored the recognition of God and the Sabbath in the Constitution, demanded prohibitory liquor laws, and denounced all secret societies. The movement proved abortive, and nothing was heard of it during the canvass.

The campaign of 1876 was exceedingly animated, and was closely contested in all parts of the Union except the Southern States, where the Democrats had already gained control. The popular vote was follows : Tilden, 4,284,757 ; Hayes, 4,033,950 ; Cooper, 81,740 ; Smith, 9,522. The electoral vote, as finally decided by a commission created to settle the dispute about the returns, was, Hayes, 185 ; Tilden, 184.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE ELECTORAL COUNT.

BOTH parties claimed to have carried the Presidential election of 1876, and before the question was decided the country was brought uncomfortably near to the verge of civil war. The result turned upon the votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which were certified by the State authorities to have been cast for Hayes and Wheeler. In each of those States Democratic electors claimed to have been elected, and sent contesting returns to Washington. Great excitement prevailed throughout the country. Politicians of both parties hurried to the disputed States to witness the counts of the popular vote and supervise the action of the rival electoral colleges. In South Carolina, which the Republicans had previously carried by majorities averaging 30,000, the Democrats organized rifle clubs during the campaign to systematically intimidate colored voters. These rifle clubs moved about the country fully armed, and uniformed in red shirts, broke up Republican meetings, and spread terror among the black population. The whole State seemed like an armed camp. The effect produced by this military organization on the minds of the timid colored people was greatly increased by the Ellenton and Hamburg massacres, in which a large number of negroes were killed. An account of these occurrences would be foreign to the purpose of this work. It is enough to say that the white Democrats were the aggressors and the colored Republicans the victims, and that the Republicans were convinced that both of the affairs grew out of the purpose of the Democrats to so terrify the blacks that a large proportion of them would be afraid to vote. As first returned there appeared to be a small majority for Tilden in South Carolina. The board of canvassers threw out the votes of two counties, acting in this matter by the plain authority of the



laws of the State, and gave certificates to the Hayes electors. In Florida there was a little violence and a good deal of fraud, with the same result as in the case of South Carolina. In Louisiana the Republicans, judging from elections of previous years, had a large and certain majority. The Democrats selected five of the heaviest of the Republican parishes for a species of campaigning known as bulldozing. It was practically the South Carolina rifle club system, which, it may be mentioned, originated in Mississippi, in the State canvass of 1875, and was currently known in the South as the "Mississippi plan." In Louisiana, however, it was somewhat modified and combined with features borrowed from the old Ku-Klux Klan. The scheme of the Democrats was well conceived, for if they could by their acts of violence overcome the Republican majorities in those five counties they could carry the State. The only alternative for the Republicans who controlled the State Government would, they thought, be to throw out the returns of the five counties entirely, and in that event the Democrats would also win the election. The returning board, composed of Republicans, was authorized by law to count and tabulate the votes and reject those from the precincts where the election had been vitiated by fraud or violence, and by this authority the board threw out the five bulldozed parishes, which left the Democrats a majority; but it also threw out a number of precincts in other parishes, so that the Republicans had a majority on the final count. The action of the board was purely legal, but it was violently assailed as wicked and corrupt by the Democrats. In a moral point of view the defeat of the Democratic scheme for carrying the State by terrorizing the Republican voters in five of the strongest Republican parishes was certainly justifiable.

When the Democrats saw that they had lost South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and that Hayes would have a majority of one in the electoral count, they attempted to set up a bogus

electoral college in Oregon. Five thousand dollars were sent out from New York to pay expenses, and more money was promised if the plot succeeded. Governor Grover, a Democrat, making himself the judge of the qualifications of the Oregon electors, decided that one of them was not competent, and commissioned the defeated Democratic candidate, named Cronin, in his place. Cronin held an electoral college by himself, appointed two other Democrats to fill vacancies, and sent on a pretended return to Washington.

The Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives and the Republicans in the Senate, and there was a deadlock for a time over the question of the powers of the two Houses concerning the electoral count. The Democrats held that if one House should reject a return it could not be counted, while the Republicans took the ground that a concurrence of both Houses was necessary for the disfranchisement of a State, or the rejection of any part of its vote. It was also maintained by many Republicans, though not by all, that the President of the Senate was empowered by the Constitution to count the returns, and that the two Houses were only present in joint convention as official witnesses. This opinion had the support of the authority of many of the framers of the Constitution, and it was beyond dispute that the returns of all the early Presidential elections were counted in this way. Fortunately, a compromise was reached and a bill was passed, providing that all returns objected to by either House should be referred to a commission composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court, and that the decisions of the commission should stand unless overturned by the concurrent vote of both Houses. With few exceptions the leading men of both parties united in this compromise. It was considered a patriotic thing to allay public excitement and avoid the growing danger of civil war by submitting the whole controversy to a judicial settlement. In the organization of the

tribunal the representatives from the two Houses of Congress were evenly divided between the two parties. Two of the Supreme Court Justices selected had Republican antecedents and two Democratic, and the choice of the fifth justice was left to these four. The Democrats supposed that their choice would fall upon Justice Davis of Illinois, but Davis was elected to the Senate by the Legislature of the State, and having thus stepped down from the bench into party politics, was not available. Justice Bradley, of New Jersey, was therefore selected. The questions before the tribunal were argued for weeks by some of the ablest lawyers in the country. On divisions the vote invariably stood eight to seven, the eight Republicans voting together, and the seven Democrats showing equal solidity. The Republicans took the ground that Congress had no right to go back of the regular formal returns of any State, to take up questions concerning frauds in elections or counts. The Democrats abandoned for a time, in their extreme party necessity, their old State rights doctrine, and contended that Congress could set aside the regular returns and investigate the facts on which they were based. The adoption of this theory would have resulted in making Presidential elections useless, because no disputed election could ever be settled in the interval between the meetings of the electoral colleges in December and the time for the inauguration of the new President on the 4th of March. Either party could prolong an investigation till after March 4th, and thus enable the Senate to place its presiding officer in the Presidential chair.

The decisions of the commission made Rutherford B. Hayes President of the United States, giving him a majority of one electoral vote over Samuel J. Tilden. There was much menacing talk among the Democrats for a time about inaugurating Tilden and supporting him with the militia of the States having Democratic Governors. The House of Representatives passed resolutions declaring Tilden to be the lawfully elected Presi-

dent. An attempt was made by the Democrats of that body to filibuster so as to consume the time till noon on the 4th of March, and thus prevent the completion of the count. This scheme would have been carried out had it not been for the opposition of many of the Southern Democrats, who showed much more moderation and patriotism at this juncture than did their brethren at the North. The count was completed just in time, and Hayes was duly inaugurated without opposition. For years afterward, however, indeed up to the present time, it has been the fashion of the Democrats to denounce the Electoral Commission for which their own party leaders were as much responsible as those of the Republican Party, and to stigmatize Mr. Hayes as a fraudulent President. Mr. Hayes's title, legally and morally, is just as clear as that of any President who ever occupied the White House. He had a majority of the electoral votes legally returned and legally counted, and if a fair election had been permitted in the South by the rifle clubs and bulldozing organizations he would have had a large majority of the popular vote.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### PRESIDENT HAYES' ADMINISTRATION—THE SOUTHERNS QUESTION— CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

PRESIDENT GRANT went out of office with a great many opponents in his own party, and a great many devoted friends. His administration failed to keep the Republican Party united, but perhaps it was too strong and its majorities too large for harmony to prevail. It seems to be a law of parties that when one greatly overtops the other for a series of years it begins to crumble. If it has the binding force of principle, however, the disintegration only throws off some of the surface material, and ceases when it is brought down to about the size of the oppos-



ing party. The mistakes President Grant made in regard to persons and policy will hardly be remembered in history, and need not be dwelt on here. Future generations will think of only two things in connection with his eight years in the White House, and both will be regarded as bright and enduring honors worthily added to his great military fame—that he held the country firmly up to the results of the war, and that he stood like a rock to stem the current of the paper-money inflation mania. To the title of victor over the Rebellion which he won at Appomattox may truthfully be added that of defender of the public credit and protector of the principle of equal rights for all citizens.

When Mr. Hayes entered upon the duties of the Presidential office, rival State governments existed in South Carolina and Louisiana. The Florida imbroglio had been settled by the action of the State Supreme Court. In South Carolina the Republicans claimed to have elected Governor Chamberlain by the same vote which chose the Presidential electors. The Democrats claimed that Wade Hampton was lawfully elected. Each party had inaugurated its Governor, and each had a Legislature in session—the Republicans in the State House, protected by a force of United States troops, the Democrats in a building hired for the purpose. After a delay of over a month, which was unfortunate because irritating to the public mind both North and South, the President ordered the troops to withdraw from the State House, and the Chamberlain government instantly ceased to exist. The Hampton government took possession of the State House without opposition, admitted a portion of the members of the Republican Legislature, and, professing an intention to forget the past and to treat all citizens fairly, assumed complete control of the State.

In Louisiana the condition of things was more complicated than in South Carolina. The Republicans, under Governor Packard, had a complete State government installed in the State

House in New Orleans, but it could not make its authority respected in the State, and was actually a close prisoner in the Capitol building. The Democrats, under Governor Nicholls, ran a government in Odd Fellows Hall, and having a large force of well-disciplined white militia at their command were able to enforce their authority. With their troops and with the police of New Orleans they so overawed the Republican officials, legislators, and guards that they did not venture to cross an imaginary line drawn through the middle of the streets surrounding the State House. In a building adjoining the State House a regiment of United States troops was quartered, and a passage was opened between the two structures so that the soldiers could go to the assistance of Governor Packard in case of an attack. Throughout the State the Democrats had displaced the Republican local officials chosen at the fall election, and thus controlled the judiciary and the county offices in all the parishes except those in the sugar-planting region, where the blacks were in an overwhelming majority. A few unprincipled colored men went back and forth between the two Legislatures, making a quorum in whatever body they appeared. President Hayes sent a commission to New Orleans to effect a compromise if possible. Its members were Judge Lawrence, of Illinois, General Hawley, of Connecticut, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Judge Harlan, of Kentucky, and ex-Governor Brown, of Tennessee. It was finally arranged that the Nicholls government should be allowed to go on, that a Legislature should be made up of the two conflicting organizations, that the troops should be withdrawn from protecting Packard, and that no prosecutions for political reasons should be commenced against Republicans. Governor Packard did not assent to these terms. Seeing that he could not sustain himself, he abandoned the State House, and the Nicholls government moved in. The Democrats soon broke faith by beginning criminal suits against members of the Returning Board for

the purpose, as was generally reported, of forcing the administration to give them control of the New Orleans Custom House patronage. The State Supreme Court finally put a stop to these proceedings. The Senate at Washington admitted Kellogg, the Senator chosen by the Packard Legislature, thus virtually recognizing the legality of the Packard government, but in the case of South Carolina it seated Butler, whom the Democratic Legislature had chosen, while still in a fragmentary and illegal condition. This was done as a compromise, but two years later the Democrats sought to unseat Kellogg, and were only prevented by three or four Southern Senators breaking away from the party caucus, and sustaining Kellogg on the ground that his case was *res adjudicata*.

President Hayes' action in the South Carolina and Louisiana affairs gave rise to severe criticism and active opposition in the Republican Party. A portion of the Republicans calling themselves "stalwarts" insisted that the titles of Chamberlain and Packard were just as good as that of Mr. Hayes, and should have been defended with the whole power of the Government, if necessary. Another element believed that the experiment of sustaining Southern governments with Federal bayonets had failed to produce order, prosperity, and security of the civil rights of the negroes, and that the only course left was to let the Southern States alone to manage their own affairs.

Whatever might be the legal and moral title of Packard and Chamberlain, this latter class argued, it was impolitic to sustain with armed force authority which could not make itself respected. This class hoped that the policy of non-interference would soon lead to the division of the Southern whites, to the blotting out of the color line in Southern politics, and to the growth of a new Republican organization, composed of both whites and blacks. They were encouraged in this belief by the statements of many prominent Southern men, who said, "Give us home rule, and the feeling of intolerance toward the

Republican Party will cease." Thus far the hope of a division in the "solid South" has not been verified. Opposition to the Democratic Party in that section is still regarded as in some sort treason to the interests of the South, as though the South were not a component part of the United States, but a political entity separate and apart. In most of the Southern States no opposition is made to the negroes voting as they please, but the counting and return of the votes are in the hands of the Democratic officials, and public opinion, so far as it is shaped by the respectable white classes, justifies any fraud that is necessary to wipe out Republican majorities. In Louisiana, in 1878, unprovoked and brutal massacres of negroes took place in three parishes, with the evident purpose of preventing the Republicans from carrying the election.

Besides the Southern question, there came up another issue upon which Republicans disagreed. An agitation began during President Grant's administration for a reform in the civil service. Grant yielded to it so far as to create a commission which prescribed rules for the examination of candidates for office. The movement went beyond this and demanded that appointments should not be made as a reward for party service; that the public offices should not be dispensed by Senators and Congressmen to their followers and favorites, and that public officials should not employ their time in managing caucuses and conventions, and in working for the success of candidates. The Cincinnati platform promised this sort of reform, and President Hayes believed in it. He attempted to carry it out by disregarding, when he saw fit, the recommendations of Senators and Representatives concerning appointments and removals in their States or districts, and by issuing an order commanding office-holders to refrain from taking part in caucuses, conventions, and other forms of party work. On the one side it was held that this policy weakened the party organization and deprived the officials of their rights as citizens to take an active



part in politics ; on the other it was maintained that the policy was a good one, tending to elevate politics and to release the party from the rule of cliques of office-holders, who organized "machines" to override the will of a large majority of the voters.

These dissensions so weakened the party that in 1877 it lost several of the States it had carried in 1876. Time and good sense have healed them in a large measure, however. The order to office-holders is not enforced ; and the administration, while preserving a proper degree of independence for the appointing power, gives due weight to the recommendations of the people's representatives in Congress. The Republican Party recovered its compactness in 1878, in the defense of the Specie Payment Act against the assaults of the Democrats. It was powerfully aided, too, by an exposure made by the *New York Tribune* of a secret correspondence in cipher, carried on during the winter of 1876-7 between Mr. Tilden's nephew Pelton and other confidential friends in New York and certain agents sent out to capture the electoral votes of the States of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. The employment of corrupt means to bribe electors or returning authorities in those States was plainly shown by these dispatches. The disposition of some Republicans to think Mr. Tilden might possibly have been fairly elected and unjustly kept out of the Presidency vanished when the means adopted by his close friends to secure him the office were thus exposed.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—THE ELECTION LAWS—  
DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPT TO COERCE THE EXECUTIVE.

THE act of 1875 providing for a return to specie payments on the first of January, 1876, was a Republican measure, and for

four years was defended by the Republicans against the attacks of the Democrats. A few Western Republicans joined in these attacks, and a few Eastern Democrats helped repulse them; but the great mass of one party favored the redemption of the greenback notes in coin, and the great mass of the other wanted the law repealed. Many Democrats embraced the notion of "fiat money," asserting that the government by its fiat can make absolute money out of paper or any other valueless material. Gold and silver money was a relic of barbarism, they declared, to use valuable metals for currency when paper, which cost next to nothing, would answer the purpose much better, being wasteful and foolish. These deluded people wanted all the greenbacks and the national bank notes retired and replaced by a new kind of Government notes, bearing no promise to pay on their faces, but simply declaring themselves to be money of different denominations. These notes were to be issued in quantities sufficient "to meet the wants of trade," and were never to be redeemed.

As the time fixed for resumption drew near, the clamor against the law increased. Every business failure was ascribed by the Democratic press in the West and South to the effect of the act, and the speedy ruin of the business of the country was predicted. John Sherman, who as Secretary of the Treasury made careful preparation for resumption, and opposed any postponement of the date, was a special target for criticism and abuse. Specie payments were resumed on the day appointed by law, without the slightest shock or disturbance to business interests. Industrial and commercial prosperity began to return to the country shortly afterward, and now the wisdom of the Resumption Act is acknowledged by every one. Even the fanatical paper-money doctrinaires, who formed a party by themselves, because the Democrats did not go far enough in the direction of repudiation and inflation to satisfy them, have ceased to demand in their platforms the repeal of the law. Like the

former inflationists in the Democratic Party, they have come down to a demand for the retirement of bank-notes and the substitution of greenbacks for them.

In the Congress which closed March 4th, 1879, the Democrats controlled the House and the Republicans the Senate. The Democrats sought to accomplish the repeal of the Federal election laws in spite of the opposition of both the Senate and the President. These laws were passed in 1870, after an investigation of the gigantic frauds perpetrated in the City of New York at the election of 1868. They were always objectionable to the Democrats, theoretically because they conflicted with their traditional views about State rights, and practically because they prevented the repetition of the frauds of 1868 for the benefit of the Democratic Party. The Republicans defended the laws because of their demonstrated utility in securing fair elections, and because they were based on the sound constitutional principle of the right of Congress to regulate elections that are national in their character. The Democrats tacked a section repealing the election laws upon a general appropriation bill. They also placed on the Army Appropriation Bill a section prohibiting the use of troops at elections to keep the peace or suppress riots. Rather than abandon these "riders" they let the bills fail, and forced an extra session of Congress.

In the new Congress the Democrats controlled both Houses, and had only the President to grapple with. Mr. Hayes resolved to defend the election laws with his veto power. As for the matter of troops at the polls, he exposed the issue as a fictitious one, showing that there were already ample provisions of law forbidding the use of troops for political purposes. He refused to abandon for the Executive the right to enforce obedience to law, with the military arm if necessary, at places where elections were held, as well as elsewhere. So the issue was joined. The Democrats threatened to break down the Government by leaving it without means to exist if the President did

not yield. Mr. Hayes stood firm, and answered them by a series of vetoes directed against their measures, which maintained, by arguments of remarkable force and clearness, the supremacy of the nation in all matters of national concern, and the independence of the Executive from Congressional dictation. Baffled at every point in the long struggle, the Democrats finally yielded and passed all the appropriations except the one providing for the payment of the United States marshals. They declared, however, that they would renew the contest at the next session, but the fall elections went against them, and they did not resume hostilities in the session which began December, 1879. Only a remnant of the controversy was preserved in a proviso, which they put upon an appropriation bill at the close of the session, prohibiting the payment of deputy marshals for services at elections.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1880—NOMINATION OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.

THE idea of electing General Grant in 1880 for a third term was in the minds of many prominent Republicans from the day he left the White House. Most of these men had favored his nomination in 1876, but considerable feeling arose in the country against a third term, and to assure the people that the party did not meditate conferring upon Grant greater honors than Washington had received, several Republican State Conventions passed resolutions in 1875 declaring that they were opposed to the election of any President for more than two terms. General Grant went abroad in 1877 and spent two years in foreign travel, making the circuit of the globe and visiting nearly all the great nations of the earth. He was received, wherever he went, with honors such as are only accorded to reigning monarchs. Regarded as the representative of the great



American Republic and the most distinguished of living military chieftains, his journey was a succession of brilliant official and popular demonstrations. These remarkable honors were almost as flattering to his countrymen as to him, and served to keep his name and fame fresh in their minds. Before he returned to the United States, in the fall of 1870, it was plain that a strong movement would be made to secure his nomination. With characteristic reticence he neither assented nor objected to this movement, but remained perfectly passive. Most of the politicians who had held positions under his administration naturally desired his return to power, and there was besides a considerable body of Republicans who had not been office-holders and did not expect to be, who believed he would be the most popular candidate the party could nominate, and urged his candidacy on the ground of expediency. His most prominent supporters were the three influential Senators from New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois—Conkling, Cameron, and Logan. The Southern Republicans were almost unanimous in his favor. A considerable majority of the Northern Republicans opposed his nomination, however, because they believed it would be a violation of the tradition of two terms only, and a step toward personal government. Besides, they thought it would furnish the Democrats with a popular issue—opposition to a third term—on which the Republicans would be placed in the position of defending an innovation upon a safe, conservative, long-established custom. The discussion of the question of nominating Grant began in earnest in December, 1870, and lasted without intermission until the National Convention met at Chicago on the 10th of June following. Most of the anti-third-term men supported Senator James G. Blaine, of Maine, the most popular of the Republican leaders. A considerable number favored the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio, making his excellent record as a Republican and his brilliant success in the resumption of specie payments the

ground of their choice. Senator Geo. F. Edmunds, of Vermont, had the backing of his own State and of Massachusetts; Elihu B. Washburne, ex-minister to Paris, had a small Western following, and Senator William Windom, of Minnesota, was supported by that State. Neither candidate had votes enough to nominate him. The first ballot in the convention stood: Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30; Windom, 10. On the second ballot one vote was given to Garfield, and on most of the subsequent ballots, during the first day's voting he had 2. The above figures were pretty closely preserved for thirty-three ballots. The Grant men could have controlled the nomination if they had been willing to drop their candidate and take up a new man, but they stuck to the ex-President with absolute fidelity. Both the Blaine men and the Sherman men were equally devoted to their leaders. The dead-lock was finally brought to an end by the Wisconsin delegation voting for Garfield on the 34th ballot, against his protest. As the leader of the Ohio delegation, Garfield was a supporter of Sherman, and he objected to being put in an apparent attitude of willingness to abandon the Ohio candidate. On the next ballot, however, Indiana followed Ohio, and on the 36th ballot nearly the whole body of anti-third term men swung into line for Garfield, giving him the nomination by the following vote: Garfield, 399; Grant, 306; Blaine, 42; Sherman, 3; Washburne, 5. The result was a fortunate one. General Garfield was acceptable to all the elements in the convention, and the whole party dropped at once all former causes of difference and rushed to his support. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, an earnest Grant man, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, with a view of making the ticket represent both wings of the party lately engaged in a contest over the question of Grant's candidacy. The vote was—Arthur, 468; Washburne, 193; Jewell, 44; Maynard, 30; Bruce, 8. General Arthur's experience as chairman of the New York Republican

State Committee made him peculiarly available, and his prominence as a Grant man made him specially acceptable to the element which had before controlled Republican politics in New York. The ticket was instantly indorsed by the entire Republican press and by men of all shades of Republican opinion.

By a happy inspiration the convention selected, instead of the obscure man of only local fame who usually comes out of such close contests with the nomination, one of the best known, most trusted, and ablest of the national leaders of the Republican Party. At the same time it secured a man with extraordinary elements of personal popularity in his career—a man who rose from the ranks of toil, who gained the means for his education at the carpenter's bench and on the tow-path of a canal, who served with distinguished bravery in the war, and who has won his way, by pure merit and honest effort, to the highest walks of statesmanship and scholarly culture.

The Democratic National Convention met at Cincinnati on the 22d of June. The party had been suffering from the standing candidacy of Samuel J. Tilden, who had a claim upon the nomination based on the assertion by the Democratic leaders and newspapers that he was elected in 1876 and defrauded of the office. He personified the "fraud issue," and it was manifestly impossible for the party to make that issue prominent without making him its candidate. Mr. Tilden wrote a letter just before the convention assembled, declining in terms the nomination. The letter presented, however, in a masterly manner, the arguments in favor of his candidacy, and was generally regarded as intended to strengthen his chances for the nomination. On the first ballot the delegates scattered their votes as follows: Hancock, 171; Bayard, 153½; Field, 65; Morrison, 62; Hendricks, 49½; Thurman, 68½; Payne, 81; Tilden, 38; Ewing, 10; Seymour, 8; scattering, 28.

After this ballot the convention adjourned until the next day, and during the night the opponents of Tilden managed to

combine upon General Hancock, who was nominated next morning. The second ballot stood : Hancock, 219 ; Randall, 129½ ; Bayard, 113 ; Field, 65½ ; Thurman, 30 ; Hendricks, 31 ; English, 19 ; Tilden, 6 ; scattering, 3. Changes were made before the vote was announced which nominated Hancock, he having 705 votes to Hendricks, 30 ; Bayard 2, and Tilden 1.

Hancock had been the standing candidate, since 1868, of those Democrats who wanted to repeat the McClellan experiment with a better soldier than McClellan. A National Greenback Convention met in Chicago, June 11th, and nominated J. B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and E. J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### A FEW WORDS IN CONCLUSION.

IN the foregoing chapters the main current of Republican action has been clearly traced, beginning with the hostility of the party to the extension of slavery, and continuing through its successive defence of the integrity of the American Union, its emancipation of the slaves, its reorganization of the rebellious States, its establishment of equal suffrage and equal citizenship for all, its defence of the public credit, and its resumption of specie payments. Outside of this main channel of patriotic activity it has accomplished many things which should not be overlooked, even in so brief a sketch as is given in these pages. It has steadily reduced the debt resulting from the war, and has paid off and cancelled the enormous amount of \$837,000,000 in the period between 1865 and 1880. At the same time it has been so successful in funding the principal of the remaining debt in low-interest bonds that it has effected a



saving, in the matter of interest alone, of \$71,000,000 a year, thus further lessening the burden of the debt. It steadily reduced taxation and public expenditures as long as it remained in power in Congress. It has greatly improved and simplified the protective tariff system, originated by the Whig Party, and has by its legislation of the past twenty years so encouraged and shielded American manufactures that they have increased more than fourfold and are now able to command our own markets and to compete in many lines with the manufactures of older countries in the markets of the world. While opposing all monopolies, the Republican Party has had for its central idea in its tariff legislation the fact that the perpetuity of free institutions in this country requires an intelligent laboring class, and that such a class cannot exist upon the pauper wages paid to the laborers of the Old World. The party has also carried out the policy of internal improvements, originated by the Whig Party, and by a system of judicious legislation has opened the great rivers of the country to navigation, improved its harbors, and connected the Atlantic with the Pacific coast by great railway lines. It has established a national banking system which saves the people millions of dollars annually by protecting them against the losses incident to the old State banking systems which preceded it. It has greatly improved the postal system, giving to the country fast mails and letter-carrier deliveries. It has established the principle of international arbitration as a means of averting war. A catalogue of the wise measures it has adopted would be far too long to be given here. Nearly all of these measures were resisted at the time of their adoption by the opposition party, but with scarcely an exception they have come to be approved by that party as wise and patriotic. No one can see into the future of American politics, but it is evident that the party which has been able to meet all of the issues of the most important epoch in the nation's history

with such signal intelligence and such remarkable success is not near the end of its career. The day is probably far distant when a complete and final history of the Republican Party can be written. The author presents these pages only as a brief outline sketch of the first quarter of a century of its existence.

# REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

## FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17TH, 1856.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory ; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows :

*Resolved*, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved.

*Resolved*, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction ; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory,

ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, or of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

*Resolved*, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

*Resolved*, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches



and seizures has been violated ; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law ; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged ; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect ; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished ;—that all of these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

*Resolved,* That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

*Resolved,* That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

*Resolved,* That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction ; and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

*Resolved,* That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce,

are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

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SECOND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 17TH, 1860.

*Resolved*, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican Party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may;

and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates ; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends ; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas ; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons ; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, and of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest ; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government ; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasure by favored partisans ; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis

show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all of the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory in the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.



12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country ; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty ; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, of any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country ; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction ; and that as preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

## THIRD REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 7TH, 1864.

*Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

*Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

*Resolved*, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever

prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

*Resolved,* That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have perilled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

*Resolved,* That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

*Resolved,* That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

*Resolved,* That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full pro-

tection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

*Resolved,* That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

*Resolved,* That we are in favor of the speedy construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

*Resolved,* That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and a just system of taxation; and it is the duty of every loyal State, to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

*Resolved,* That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States never regarded with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

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#### FOURTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 21ST, 1868.

THE National Republican Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Chicago, on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:



1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all ; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained ; while the question of suffrage in all of the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime ; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption ; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy ; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support ; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions ; who has refused to execute the laws ; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws ; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty and life of the citizen ; who has abused the pardoning power ; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional ; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion ; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption ; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly denounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all of their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born ; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country, and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country ; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be