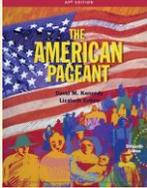


Chapter 22
The Ordeal of Reconstruction, 1865-1877



Reconstruction (1865-1876)

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Key Questions

1. How do we bring the South back into the Union?
2. How do we rebuild the South after its destruction during the war?
3. How do we integrate and protect newly-emancipated black freedmen?
4. What branch of government should control the process of Reconstruction?

Appomattox Court House

April 12, 1865



An Account of a Confederate Surrender

General Canby met me with much urbanity. We retired to a room, and in a few moments agreed upon a truce... Then, rejoicing the bringing of officers, introductions and many pleasant civilities passed... A bountiful luncheon was spread, of which we partook, with joyous poppings of champagne-corks... the first agreeable explosive sounds I had heard for years. The air of "Hail Columbia," which the band in attendance struck up, was instantly changed by Canby's order to that of "Dixie;" but I insisted on the first, and expressed my hope that Columbia would be again a happy land, a sentiment by many libations.



Gen. Richard Taylor, CSA
 (Son of President Zachary Taylor)

Jeff Davis Under Arrest



Funny Story



Jefferson Davis' Cell

Fort Monroe, VA



Further Reading

Reflections of an Ex-Vice President

"General [H.R.] Jackson was released from this place to-day - the order came this morning and he left this evening. I am truly glad for his good fortune. But why should he be discharged and other officers kept, I do not understand; nor do I understand why he should be discharged and I held. He bent his energies to bring about secession; I strove with all my power to prevent it."

— Alexander H. Stephens
 July 8, 1865
 Fort Warren Prison, MA



Alexander H. Stephens

I. The Problems of Peace

- Jefferson Davis:
 - Temporarily clapped into irons during early days of two-year imprisonment
 - He and fellow “conspirators” finally released
 - All rebel leaders pardoned by President Andrew Johnson in 1868
 - Congress removed all remaining civil disabilities some thirty years later

I. The Problem of Peace (cont.)

- Congress posthumously restored Davis’s citizenship more than a century later.
- Conditions of South:
 - Old South collapsed economically and socially
 - Handsome cities, Charleston and Richmond, now rubble-strewn and weed-choked
 - Economic life creaked to a halt
 - Banks and businesses locked doors, ruined by runaway inflation
 - Factories smokeless, silent, dismantled

I. Problems of Peace (cont.)

- Transportation broken down completely
- Agriculture—economic lifeblood of South—almost completely crippled
- Slave labor system collapsed
- Not until 1870 would cotton production be at pre-war levels
- Princely planter aristocrats humbled by losses
- Investment of more than \$2 billion in slaves evaporated with emancipation

I. Problems of Peace (cont.)

- Beaten but unbent, many white Southerners remained dangerously defiant:
 - Continued to believe their view of secession correct and “lost cause” a just war
 - Such attitudes boded ill for prospects of painlessly binding up Republic’s wounds



13th Amendment

- ★ Ratified in December, 1865.
- ★ *Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.*
- ★ *Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

Exactly What Was Emancipation to the African American of the North and of the South?

Questions To Consider

1. How did African Americans create a personal and group identity after emancipation?
2. How did the challenge differ for those who were not previously enslaved and those who were not?
3. How is Christianity central to African Americans' search for identity in this period?
4. How does a culturally disenfranchised group create a “usable past” that guards truth yet nourishes the future?



II. Freedmen Define Freedom

- What was precise meaning of “freedom” for blacks:
 - Responses to emancipation--
 - Many masters resisted freeing their slaves
 - Some slaves pent-up bitterness burst forth violently
 - Eventually all masters forced to recognize their slaves' permanent freedom
 - Some blacks initially responded with suspicion

II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Many took new names and demanded former masters address them as “Mr.” or “Mrs.”
- Whites forced to recognize realities of emancipation
- Thousands took to roads, some to test their freedom
- Other searched for long-lost spouses, parents, and children
- Emancipation strengthened black family
- Many newly freed men and women formalized “slave marriages” for personal and pragmatic reasons including desire to make their children legal heirs

II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Others left to work in towns where existing black communities provided protection and mutual assistance
 - 25,000 “Exodusters” went to Kansas
- Church became focus of black communities
- Formed their own churches pastored by their own ministers

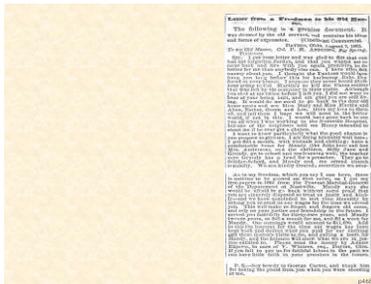
II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Black churches grew robustly
- Formed bedrock of black community life
- Gave rise to other benevolent, fraternal, and mutual aid societies
- All these organizations helped blacks protect their newly won freedom
- Emancipation meant education for many blacks:
 - Freedmen raised funds to purchase land, build schoolhouses, and hire teachers—all proof of their independence



II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Southern blacks soon found:
 - Demand outstripped supply of qualified black teachers
 - Accepted aid of Northern white women sent by American Missionary Association to volunteer as teachers
 - Also turned to federal government for help
 - Freed blacks were going to need all the friends—and power—they could muster in Washington



III. The Freedmen's Bureau

- **Freedmen's Bureau** created March 3, 1865:
 - A primitive welfare agency
 - Provided food, clothing, medical care, and education both to freedmen and white refugees
 - Headed by Union General Oliver Howard, who later founded Howard University in Washington, D.C.
 - Bureau achieved its greatest successes in education:
 - Taught 200,000 blacks to read
 - In other areas, bureau's achievements were meager

III. The Freedmen's Bureau (cont.)

- Suppose to settle former slaves on forty-acre tracts confiscated from Confederates:
 - Little land made it to former slaves
 - Administrators collaborated with planters in expelling blacks from towns and cajoling them into signing labor contracts to work for former masters
- White Southerners resented bureau as federal interloper that threatened to upset white racial dominance
- President Johnson repeatedly tried to kill bureau

Freedmen's Bureau (1865)



- ★ Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.
- ★ Many former northern abolitionists risked their lives to help southern freedmen.
- ★ Called "**carpetbaggers**" by white southern Democrats.

Freedmen's Bureau Seen Through Southern Eyes

Plenty to eat and nothing to do.



Freedmen's Bureau School



Establishment of Historically Black Colleges in the South



IV. Johnson: The Tailor President

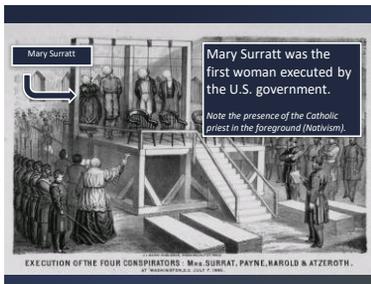
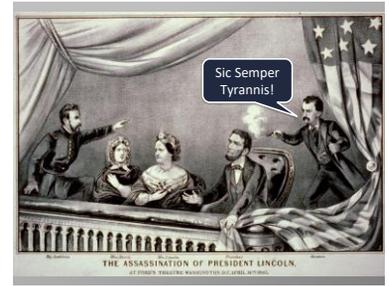
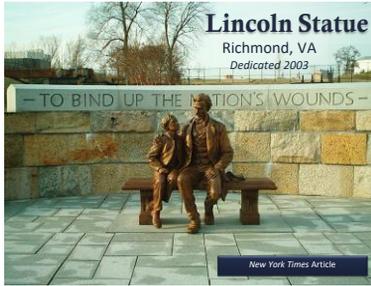
- What manner of man was Andrew Johnson?
 - Reached White House from very humble beginnings
 - Born to impoverished parents, orphaned early, never attended school but apprenticed to a tailor at ten
 - Taught himself to read; later his wife taught him to write and do simple arithmetic
 - Became active in Tennessee politics
 - Impassioned champion of poor whites against planter aristocrats

IV. Johnson: The Tailor President (cont.)

- Excelled as a stump speaker
- Elected to Congress, he attracted favorable attention in North (but not South) when he refused to secede with Tennessee
- After Tennessee partially "redeemed" by Union armies, appointed war governor and served courageously in a dangerous job
- Politics next thrust Johnson into vice presidency
- Lincoln's Union party in 1864 needed a person who could attract War Democrats

IV. Johnson: The Tailor President (cont.)

- "Old Andy" a man of unpolished parts:
 - Intelligent, able, forceful, honest
 - Steadfastly devoted to duty and to the people
 - Dogmatic champion of states' rights and the Constitution
 - Yet he was also a misfit
 - A Southerner who did not understand North
 - A Tennessean, distrusted by South
 - A Democrat never accepted by Republicans
 - Hot-headed, contentious, stubborn
 - Wrong man in wrong place at wrong time
 - A Reconstruction policy devised by angels might well have failed in his tactless hands



O Captain! My Captain!
 By: Walt Whitman

O CAPTAIN! my Captain!
 our fearful trip is done;
 The ship has weather'd every rack,
 the prize we sought is won;
 The port is near, the bells I hear,
 the people all exulting,
 While follow eyes the steady keel,
 the vessel grim and daring:
 But O heart! heart! heart!
 O the bleeding drops of red,
 Where on the deck my Captain lies,
 Fallen cold and dead.

Andrew Johnson
 (D-TN)
 Seventeenth President of the U.S.
 1865-1869

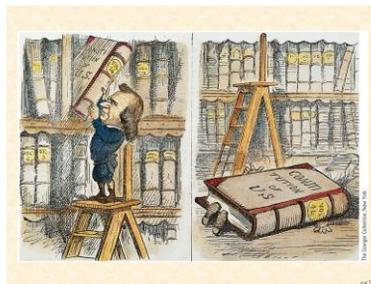
- Tennessee Unionist
- VP on "Union Party" Ticket
- Opposition President
 - Jacksonian Democrat vs. Republican Congress
- Sought to continue Presidential Reconstruction
- 1st PRESIDENT TO BE IMPEACHED

[Click for Bio](#)

President Andrew Johnson

- ★ Jacksonian Democrat.
- ★ Anti-Aristocrat.
- ★ White Supremacist.
- ★ Agreed with Lincoln that states had never legally left the Union.

Damn the negroes! I am fighting these traitorous aristocrats, their masters!



Stages of Reconstruction

1. Presidential Reconstruction (1863-1866)
2. Congressional (or Radical) Reconstruction (1867-1877)
3. Redemption (1877-1900) (creation of the "New South")

Presidential Reconstruction

A Tale of Two Reconstructions



Presidential



Congressional
(aka, Radical)

With Malice Toward None...

“With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

— Abraham Lincoln
Second Inaugural Address
March 4, 1865



MAGNANIMOUS

President Lincoln's Plan

★ 10% Plan

- Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (December 8, 1863)
- Replace majority rule with "loyal rule" in the South.
- He didn't consult Congress regarding Reconstruction.
- Pardon to all but the highest ranking military and civilian Confederate officers.
- When 10% of the voting population in the 1860 election had taken an oath of loyalty and established a government, it would be recognized.



President Lincoln's Plan

★ 1864 → "Lincoln Governments" formed in LA, TN, AR

- "loyal assemblies"
- They were weak and dependent on the Northern army for their survival.



10% PLAN

10% of 1860 Voters

1. Oath to the U.S.
2. Accept Emancipation

YOU'RE IN!!!

Louisiana and Arkansas Re-admitted



PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- Lincoln's 10% Plan: TN, LA, AR
- Radical Republicans
 - Thaddeus Stevens (Rep.- PA)
 - Charles Sumner (Sen.- Mass)
- Wade-Davis Bill (1864)
- 13th Amendment (1865)
- Freedmen's Bureau
- 14th Amendment (1868)





Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

- ★ Required 50% of the number of 1860 voters to take an "Iron clad" oath of allegiance (swearing they had never voluntarily aided the rebellion).
- ★ Required a state constitutional convention before the election of state officials.
- ★ Enacted specific safeguards of freedmen's liberties.




Senator Benjamin Wade (R-OH)

Congressman Henry W. Davis (R-MD)

Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

RADICAL (Anti-Lincoln) REPUBLICANS

- IRONCLAD OATH
 - Never supported CSA
 - 50 Percent Swear
- CSA DEBT REPUDIATION
- CONFEDERATE LEADERS DISENFRANCHISED

TRANSCRIPT Further Reading



Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

- ★ "State Suicide" Theory [MA Senator Charles Sumner]
- ★ "Conquered Provinces" Position [PA Congressman Thaddeus Stevens]

A diagram with three blue circles. The left circle contains 'President Lincoln', the right circle contains 'Wade-Davis Bill', and a central starburst contains 'Pocket Veto'. Arrows point from Lincoln to the veto and from the veto to the bill.

POCKET VETO

"... If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law."

— U.S. Constitution

POCKET VETO

A composite image featuring a portrait of Abraham Lincoln at a desk on the left and the US Capitol building on the right. In the center, a grid of numbers is displayed: 3, 5, 8 in the top row; 7, 6, 2, 10 in the middle row; 4, 9, 1 in the bottom row.

POCKET VETO

NOT LAW

Because Congress Adjourned

The Score in 1864

BALL	STRIKE	OUT	
INNING	R	H	E
PRESIDENTIAL	1		
CONGRESSIONAL	0		

Johnson's Reconstruction

Amnesty Proclamation

- Former Confederates above a certain rank disenfranchised, but could apply for pardon.
- NO TREASON TRIALS

President Johnson's Plan (10%+)

- ★ Offered amnesty upon simple oath to all except Confederate civil and military officers and those with property over \$20,000 (they could apply directly to Johnson)
- ★ In new constitutions, they must accept minimum conditions repudiating slavery, secession and state debts.
- ★ Named provisional governors in Confederate states and called them to oversee elections for constitutional conventions.

EFFECTS?

1. Disenfranchised certain leading Confederates.
2. Pardoned planter aristocrats brought them back to political power to control state organizations.
3. Republicans were outraged that planter elite were back in power in the South!

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- Issues:
 - Southern state constitutions
 - Pardons (over 13,500).
 - Former Confederates elected to state positions and Congress (Stephens)
 - 14th Amendment
 - Black Codes
 - Race riots - Memphis (May 1866), New Orleans (August 1866)
- Public Reaction in North?

V. Presidential Reconstruction

- War over Reconstruction:
 - Lincoln believed Southern states never legally withdrew from Union
 - His **"10 percent" Reconstruction plan (1863)**:
 - State could be reintegrated into Union when 10% of its voters in presidential election of 1860 swore allegiance
 - And pledged to abide by emancipation
 - Next step would be formal erection of state government
 - Lincoln would then recognize purified regime

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Lincoln's plan provoked sharp reaction in Congress where Republicans feared:
 - Restoration of planter aristocracy
 - Possible re-enslavement of blacks
- Republican rammed through Congress 1864:
 - **Wade-Davis Bill:**
 - Required 50% of state's voters take oath of allegiance
 - Demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than Lincoln's as price of readmission to Union
 - Lincoln "pocket-vetoes" bill

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Controversy over Wade-Davis revealed:
 - Deep differences between president and Congress
 - Congress insisted seceders left Union and "committed suicide" as republican states
 - Thus forfeited their rights
 - Could be readmitted only as "conquered provinces" on such conditions as Congress should decree
- Majority moderate group:
 - Agreed with Lincoln—seceded states should be restored as simply and swiftly as reasonable—though on Congress's terms, not president's

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Minority radical group:
 - Believed South should atone more for its sins
 - Wanted social structure uprooted, planters punished, newly emancipated blacks protected by federal powers
- Andrew Johnson:
 - Agreed with Lincoln—seceded states never left Union
 - Quickly recognized several of Lincoln's 10% governments

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- May 29, 1865 issued his Reconstruction proclamation (see Table 22.1):
 - Disfranchised certain leading Confederates:
 - including those with taxable property worth more than \$20,000
 - though they might petition him for personal pardons
 - Called for special state conventions to:
 - Repeal ordinances of secession
 - Repudiate all Confederate debts
 - Ratify slave-freeing Thirteenth Amendment
 - States that complied would be swiftly readmitted to Union

Year	Proposal or Plan
1864-1865	Lincoln's 10 percent proposal
1865-1866	Johnson's version of Lincoln's proposal
1866-1867	Congressional plan; 10 percent plan with Fourteenth Amendment
1867-1877	Congressional plan of military Reconstruction; Fourteenth Amendment plus black suffrage, later established nationwide by Fifteenth Amendment

Table 22.1 p471

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Johnson granted pardons in abundance
- Bolstered by political resurrection of planter elite, recently rebellious states moved rapidly to organize governments in 1865
- As pattern of new governments became clear, Republicans of all stripes grew furious

Growing Northern Alarm!

- ★ Many Southern state constitutions fell short of minimum requirements.
- ★ Johnson granted 13,500 special pardons.
- ★ Revival of southern defiance.

BLACK CODES

Slavery is Dead?



Mississippi Black Codes 1865

The Civil Rights of Freedmen in Mississippi

- Section 1. Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Mississippi, That all freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implied and be impleaded in all the courts of law and equity of this state, and may acquire personal property and choses in action, by descent or purchase, any may dispose of the same, in the same manner, and to the same extent that white persons may: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free Negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated town or cities in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.
- Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That all freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes may intermarry with each other, in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons: Provided, that the clerk of probate shall keep separate records of the same.
- Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That all freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes, who do now and have heretofore lived and cohabited together as husband and wife shall be taken and held in law as legally married, and the issue shall be taken and held as legitimate for all purposes. That it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free Negro, or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free Negro, or mulatto; any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony and, on conviction thereof, shall be confined in the state penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes who are of pure Negro blood, and those descended from a Negro to the third generation inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That in addition to cases in which freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes are now by law competent witnesses, freedmen, free Negroes, or mulattoes shall be competent in civil cases when a party or parties to the suit, either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, also in cases where freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes is or are either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, and a white person or white persons is or are the opposing party or parties, plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants. They shall also be competent witnesses in all criminal prosecutions where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by a white person upon or against the person or property of a freedman, free Negro, or mulatto. Provided that in all cases said witnesses shall be examined in open court on the stand, except, however, they may be examined before the grand jury, and shall in all cases be subject to the rules and tests of the common law as to competency and credibility.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That every freedman, free Negro, and mulatto shall on the second Monday of January next thereafter give

Black Codes

- ★ Purpose:
 - Guarantee stable labor supply now that blacks were emancipated.
 - Restore pre-emancipation system of race relations.
- ★ Forced many blacks to become **sharecroppers** [tenant farmers].



VI. The Baleful Black Codes

- **Black Codes:**
 - Regulated activities of emancipated blacks:
 - Mississippi, first to pass such laws in November, 1865
 - Varied in severity from state to state:
 - Mississippi's the harshest; Georgia's the most lenient
 - Their aims:
 - Ensure stable and subservient labor force
 - Whites wanted to retain tight control they exercised in days of slavery

VI. The Baleful Black Codes (cont.)

- Dire penalties on blacks who "jumped" labor contracts:
 - Committed them to work for same employer for 1 year
 - Generally at pittance wages
 - Violators could be made to forfeit back wages or could be dragged back to work by a "Negro-catcher"
 - In Mississippi captured freedmen could be fined
 - Then hired out to pay fines
 - Arrangement closely resembled slavery

VI. The Baneful Black Codes (cont.)

- Tried to restore pre-emancipation system of race relations:
 - All codes forbade a black to serve on a jury
 - Some even barred blacks from renting or leasing land
 - Blacks could be punished for "idleness" by working on a chain gang
 - Nowhere were blacks allowed to vote
- Oppressive laws mocked ideal of freedom
- Imposed burdens on former slaves struggling against mistreatment and poverty

VI. The Baneful Black Codes (cont.)

- Worst features of Black Codes eventually repealed
- Revocation not lift liberated blacks into economic independence:
 - Lacking capital, many former slaves slipped into status of sharecropper, as did many landless whites
 - Sharecroppers fell into morass of virtual peonage
 - Many became slaves to soil and creditors
 - De throne d planter aristocracy resented even this pitiful concession to freedom
- Black Codes made ugly impression on North



Congress Ends Presidential Reconstruction

Why do the Radicals in Congress take control? How?

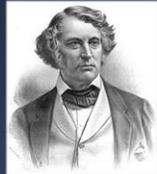
- Dec. 1865 - Congress bars Southern Senators and Congressmen elected under Johnson's plan
- Joint Committee on Reconstruction created.
- March 1866 – Congress passes the Freedmen's Bureau renewal bill and the 1866 Civil Rights Act over Johnson's vetoes (1st veto overrides in U. S. history)
- Nov. 1866 – After Johnson made a disastrous tour around the north pushing his plan, voters give Republicans 3-1 majorities in both houses and control of every northern state.

Radical (Congressional) Reconstruction

"Radical" Republicans



Thaddeus Stevens (PA)
HOUSE



Charles Sumner (MA)
SENATE

Conservatism vs. Radicalism

CONSERVATIVE	MODERATE	RADICAL
PRESERVE INSTITUTIONS	B A L A N C E	ADVANCE AGENDA
<i>Gradual Change (Reluctant)</i>		<i>Immediate Change (Enthusiastic)</i>
REFORM To improve and strengthen institutions		REFORM To maintain, modify, destroy, or replace institutions in order to advance agenda

Reconstruction Acts

1867-1868

1

Military Occupation of the South

2

IMMEDIATE Suffrage for African Americans

3

Forced Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment

Photo Credits: Photo: (dark hooded) / iStockphoto / iStock.com

14th Amendment

- ★ Ratified in July, 1868.
- ★ Provide a constitutional guarantee of the rights and security of freed people.
- ★ Insure against neo-Confederate political power.
- ★ Enshrine the national debt while repudiating that of the Confederacy.
- ★ Southern states would be punished for denying the right to vote to black citizens!

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States... are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS: 13 14 15

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 2. ...when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States... is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion ...



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS: 13 14 15

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 3. No one shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

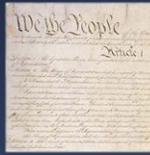


RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS: 13 14 15

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS: 13 14 15

VII. Congressional Reconstruction

- Congress met in December, 1865:
 - New Southern delegations presented themselves:
 - Many were former Confederate leaders
 - Four former Confederate generals, five colonels, and various members of Richmond cabinet and Congress
 - Worst of all, Alexander Stephens, ex-vice president, still under indictment for treason, there
 - "Whitewashed rebels" infuriated Republicans in Congress

VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

- Also during war, Republicans able to pass legislation favorable to North:
 - Morrill Tariff, Pacific Railroad Act, Homestead Act
- On first day of congressional session, Dec. 4, 1865, they shut door on newly elected Southerners
- Realized restored South would be stronger than ever in national politics
- With full counting of blacks because of end of 3/5 clause for representation, rebel states entitled to 12 more votes in Congress
- 12 more electoral votes in presidential elections

VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

- Republicans had good reason to fear:
 - Southerners might join with Northern Democrats and gain control of Congress and maybe White House
 - Could then perpetuate Black Codes
 - Dismantle economic programs of Republican Party by:
 - Lowering tariffs
 - Rerouting transcontinental railroad
 - Repealing free-farm Homestead Act
 - Even repudiating national debt

VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

- Johnson deeply disturbed congressional Republicans when he announced on December 6, 1865 that:
 - Rebellious states had satisfied his conditions
 - In his view, Union restored

Congress Breaks with the President

- ★ Congress bars Southern Congressional delegates.
- ★ Joint Committee on Reconstruction created.
- ★ February, 1866 → President vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau bill.
- ★ March, 1866 → Johnson vetoed the 1866 Civil Rights Act.
- ★ Congress passed both bills over Johnson's vetoes → *1st in U.S. history!!*



Johnson the Martyr / Samson



If my blood is to be shed because I vindicate the Union and the preservation of this government in its original purity and character, let it be shed; let an altar to the Union be erected, and then, if it is necessary, take me and lay me upon it, and the blood that now warms and animates my existence shall be poured out as a fit libation to the Union.
(February 1866)

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress

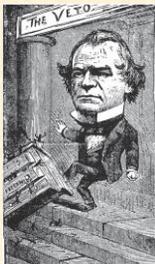
- Clash exploded in February 1866:
 - President vetoed bill extending life of Freedmen's Bureau (later repassed)
 - Republicans passed **Civil Rights Bill**:
 - Conferred on blacks privilege of American citizenship
 - Struck at Black Codes
 - Vetoed by Johnson
 - In April, congressmen steamrollered over his veto—something repeatedly done

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress (cont.)

- Lawmakers riveted principles of Civil Rights Bill into **Fourteenth Amendment**:
 - Approved by Congress and sent to states-1866
 - Ratified-1868
 - Sweeping amendment; major pillar of constitutional law:
 - Conferred civil rights, including citizenship but excluding franchise, on freedmen
 - Reduced proportionately representation of a state in Congress and Electoral College if it denied blacks the ballot

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress (cont.)

- Disqualified from federal and state office, former Confederates who as federal officeholders had once sworn "to support the Constitution of the United States"
- Guaranteed federal debt, while repudiating Confederate debt (see text of Fourteenth Amendment in Appendix)
- Radical faction disappointed Fourteenth Amendment not grant right to vote.
- All Republicans agreed no state should be readmitted into Union without first ratifying Fourteenth Amendment.
- Johnson advised Southern states to reject it.
- All did but Tennessee.



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The 1866 Bi-Election

- ★ A referendum on Radical Reconstruction.
- ★ Johnson made an ill-conceived propaganda tour around the country to push his plan.
- ★ Republicans won a 3-1 majority in both houses and gained control of every northern state.



Johnson's "Swing around the Circle"

IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson

- Battle between Johnson and Congress:
 - "10 percent" governments passed Black Codes
 - In response, Congress extended Freedmen's Bureau and passed Civil Right Bill
 - Johnson vetoed both measures
 - Would South accept principles enshrined in Fourteenth Amendment?
 - Republicans would settle for nothing less

IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson (cont.)

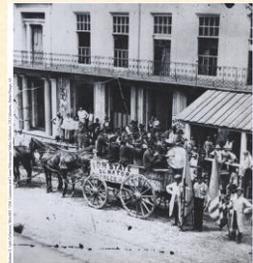
- Crucial congressional elections of 1866—
 - Johnson's famous "swing 'round the circle" (1866) = a comedy of errors
 - Delivered series of "give 'em hell" speeches
 - As vote getter, he was highly successful—for opposition
 - His inept speechmaking heightened cry "Stand by Congress" against "Tailor of the Potomac"
 - When votes counted, Republicans had more than a two-third majority in both houses of Congress

X. Republican Principles and Programs

- Republicans had veto-proof Congress and unlimited control of Reconstruction policy
- Radicals:
 - In Senate, led by courtly and principled idealist Charles Sumner:
 - Labored tirelessly for black freedom and racial equality
 - In House, most powerful was Thaddeus Stevens
 - Had defended runaway slaves in court without fees
 - Insisted on being buried in a black cemetery
 - Devoted to blacks; hated rebellious white Southerners
 - Leading figure on Joint Committee on Reconstruction

X. Republican Principles and Programs (cont.)

- Radicals opposed rapid restoration of Southern states:
 - Wanted to keep them out as long as possible
 - Apply federal power to bring about drastic social and economic transformation in South
- Moderate Republicans:
 - Invoked principles of states' rights and self-government
 - Recoiled from full implications of radical program
 - Preferred policies that restrained states from abridging citizens' rights
 - Rather than policies that directly involved federal government in individual lives



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X. Republican Principles and Programs (cont.)

- Policies adopted by Congress showed influence of both groups
- By 1867 both agreed on necessity to enfranchise black votes, even if it took federal troops to do so
- By 1866, bloody race riots in several Southern cities

Radical Plan for Readmission

- ★ Civil authorities in the territories were subject to military supervision.
- ★ Required new state constitutions, including black suffrage and ratification of the 13th and 14th Amendments.
- ★ In March, 1867, Congress passed an act that authorized the military to enroll eligible black voters and begin the process of constitution making.

Reconstruction Acts of 1867

- ★ **Military Reconstruction Act**
 - Restart Reconstruction in the 10 Southern states that refused to ratify the 14th Amendment.
 - Divide the 10 "unreconstructed states" into 5 military districts.





Reconstruction Acts of 1867

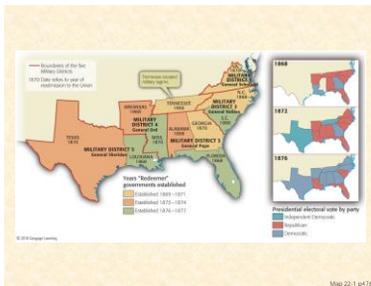
- ★ **Command of the Army Act**
 - ★ The President must issue all Reconstruction orders through the commander of the military.
- ★ **Tenure of Office Act**
 - ★ The President could not remove any officials [esp. Cabinet members] without the Senate's consent, if the position originally required Senate approval.
 - ★ Designed to protect radical members of Lincoln's government.
 - ★ A question of the constitutionality of this law.



Edwin Stanton

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword

- ★ **Reconstruction Act** passed by Congress on March 2, 1867 (see Map 22.1)
 - Divided South into five military districts:
 - Each commanded by a Union general
 - Policed by about 20,000 blue-clad soldiers
 - Temporarily disfranchised ten of thousands of former Confederates
 - Congress laid stringent condition for readmission:
 - Required to ratify 14th Amendment giving former slaves rights as citizens



XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- Bitterest pill—stipulation that they guarantee in state constitutions full suffrage to former adult male slaves
- Stopped short of giving freedmen land or education at federal expense
- Overriding purpose of moderates:
 - Create electorate in South that would vote their states back into Union on acceptable terms
 - Thus freeing government from direct responsibility for protection of black rights
 - Approach proved woefully inadequate to cause of justice for blacks

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- Radical Republicans:
 - Only true safeguard was to incorporate black suffrage into federal Constitution
 - Congress sought to provide constitutional protection for suffrage provisions of Reconstruction Act
 - **Fifteenth Amendment**, passed by Congress 1869; ratified by required number of states in 1870 (see Appendix)
- Military Reconstruction of South:
 - Usurped some presidential functions as commander in chief
 - Set up a martial regime of dubious legality

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- **Ex parte Milligan** (1866) ruled:
 - Military tribunals could not try civilians, even during wartime in areas where civil courts were open
- Peacetime military rule seemed contrary to spirit of Constitution, but circumstances were extraordinary
- Southern states:
 - Started task of constitution making
 - By 1870, all of them had reorganized governments
 - And were accorded full rights (see Table 22.2)

TABLE 22.2 Southern Reconstruction by State

State	Reinstated to Representation in Congress	When Full (Re)election as "Redeemer" (Regional) Reestablished	Comments
Tennessee	July 24, 1866	1870	Ratified Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 and hence avoided military Reconstruction
Arkansas	June 22, 1868	1874	
North Carolina	June 25, 1868	1870	
Alabama	June 25, 1868	1874	
Florida	June 25, 1868	1877	Federal troops maintained in 1877 as result of James Tyler's elected ouster
Louisiana	June 25, 1868	1877	Same as Florida
South Carolina	June 25, 1868	1877	Same as Florida
Virginia	January 26, 1870	1869	
Mississippi	February 23, 1870	1876	
Texas	March 30, 1870	1874	
Georgia	June 25, 1868; July 15, 1870	1872	Reinstated June 25, 1868, but returned to military control after expulsion of Davis from legislature

The many ovens Tennessee was the only state of the secession to observe Lincoln's birthday as a legal holiday. Many states in the South still observe the birthday of Jefferson Davis and Robert L. Lee. (Proceedings of the General Assembly.)

Table 22-2 p477

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- When federal troops left a state, its government swiftly passed back into hands of white **Redeemers** or "Home Rule" regimes—inevitably Democratic
- In 1877, last federal muskets removed from state politics and "solid" Democratic South congealed

XII. No Women Voters

- Struggle for black freedom and crusade for women's rights were one and the same to many women
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony:
 - During war temporarily shelved their own demands
 - Worked wholeheartedly for cause of black emancipation
 - **Woman's Loyal League** gathered 400,000 signatures on petitions asking Congress to pass constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery

XII. No Women Voters (cont.)

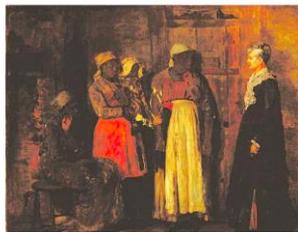
- With war over and 13th Amendment passed, feminist leaders believed their time had come
- Reeled with shock when wording of Fourteenth Amendment which defined equal citizenship:
 - Inserted word *male* into Constitution in referring to a citizen's right to vote
- Both Stanton and Anthony campaigned against Fourteenth Amendment
 - Despite pleas from Frederick Douglass, who supported woman suffrage, but believed this was "Negro's hour"

XII. No Women Voters (cont.)

- When 15th Amendment proposed to prohibit denial of vote on basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," Stanton and Anthony wanted word *sex* added to list
- Lost this battle, too
- Fifty years would pass before Constitution granted women right to vote

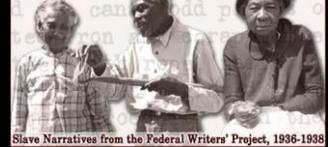
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South

- Congress, haltingly and belatedly, secured franchise for freedmen:
 - Lincoln and Johnson had proposed to give ballot gradually to blacks who qualified for it through:
 - Education, property ownership, or military service
 - Moderates and many radicals at first hesitated to bestow suffrage on freedman



Winslow Homer (American, 1836-1910), *Visit from the Old Mistress*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 16 1/2 x 26 1/2 in. (41.9 x 67.3 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Robert T. Coates, 1933.7.28. Reproduced with permission of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC. Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/pressroom/1001017>. © Smithsonian Institution

Born in Slavery



Black "Adjustment" in the South

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION in the South

- "40 acres and a mule"
- tenants
- Sharecroppers
- crop lien system

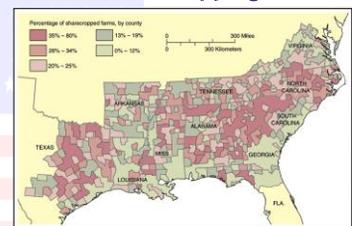


Sharecropper's cabin, North Carolina, 1914



Freedmen in Richmond, Virginia, 1865

Sharecropping



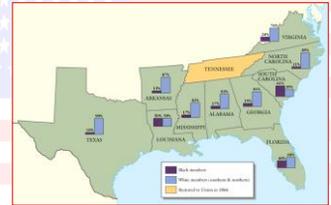
Tenancy & the Crop Lien System

Furnishing Merchant	Tenant Farmer	Landowner
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loan tools and seed up to 60% interest to tenant farmer to plant spring crop. Farmer also secures food, clothing, and other necessities on credit from merchant until the harvest. Merchant holds "lien" (mortgage) on part of tenant's future crops as repayment of debt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plants crop, harvests in autumn. Turns over up to $\frac{1}{2}$ of crop to land owner as payment of rent. Tenant gives remainder of crop to merchant in payment of debt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rents land to tenant in exchange for $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ of tenant farmer's future crop.

SHARECROPPING & THE CYCLE OF DEBT



Black & White Political Participation



The Balance of Power in Congress

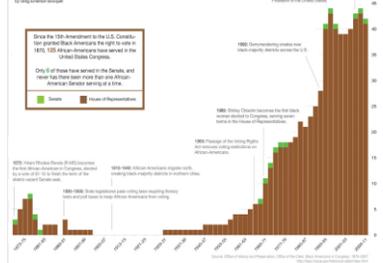


State	White Citizens	Freedmen
SC	291,000	411,000
MS	353,000	436,000
LA	357,000	350,000
GA	591,000	465,000
AL	596,000	437,000
VA	719,000	533,000
NC	631,000	331,000

Black Senate & House Delegates



African-American Members of Congress, 1870-Present



HARPER'S WEEKLY



Colored Rule in the South?

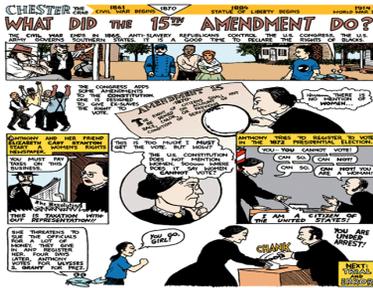
Blacks in Southern Politics

- ★ Core voters were black veterans.
- ★ Blacks were politically unprepared.
- ★ Blacks could register and vote in states since 1867.
- ★ The 15th Amendment guaranteed federal voting.



15th Amendment

- ★ Ratified in 1870.
- ★ The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
- ★ The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
- ★ Women's rights groups were furious that they were not granted the vote!



Reconstruction Amendments

THIRTEENTH
Abolition of Slavery

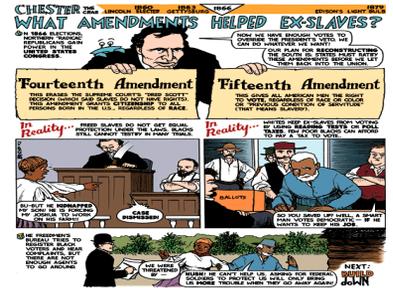
FOURTEENTH
1. Birthright Citizenship
2. Equal Protection
3. Punish Confederates

FIFTEENTH
Black [Male] Suffrage



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:

13 14 15



The Failure of Federal Enforcement

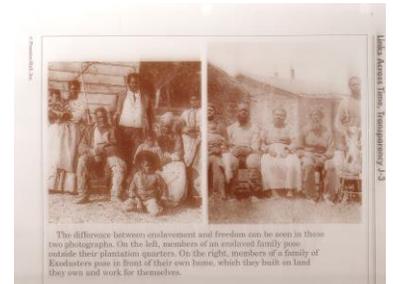
- ★ **Enforcement Acts** of 1870 & 1871 [also known as the KKK Act].



- ★ "The Lost Cause."
- ★ The rise of the "Bourbons."
- ★ **Redeemers** (prewar Democrats and Union Whigs).

The Civil Rights Act of 1875

- ★ Crime for any individual to deny full & equal use of public conveyances and public places.
- ★ Prohibited discrimination in jury selection.
- ★ Shortcoming → lacked a strong enforcement mechanism.
- ★ No new civil rights act was attempted for 90 years!



XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- 14th Amendment heart of Republican program for Reconstruction:
 - Fell short of guaranteeing right to vote
 - Envisioned for blacks and women—citizenship without voting rights
 - Northern states withheld ballot from their tiny black minorities
 - Southerners argued Republicans were hypocritical in insisting Blacks in South be allowed to vote

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- **Union League:**
 - Black men seized initiative to organize politically:
 - Freedmen turned League into network of political clubs
 - Mission included building black churches and schools
 - Representing black grievances before local employers and government
 - Recruiting militias to protect black communities from white retaliation



XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- African American women's roles:
 - Did not obtain right to vote
 - Attended parades and rallies common in black communities
 - Helped assemble mass meetings in new black churches
 - Showed up at constitutional conventions, monitoring proceedings and participating in informal votes outside convention halls

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- African American men's roles:
 - Some elected as delegates to state constitutional convention:
 - Formed backbone of black political communities
 - At conventions, sat down with whites to hammer out new state constitutions that provided for universal male suffrage
 - Even though no governors or majorities in state senates, black power increased exponentially

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- Former masters lashed out at freedmen's white allies with terms **Scalawags** and **carpetbaggers**:
 - Scalawags—Southerners, former Unionists and Whigs
 - Carpetbaggers—supposedly sleazy Northerners who packed all their goods into carpetbag suitcase at war's end and had come to seek personal power and profit
 - Most were Northern businessmen and former Union soldiers who wanted to play role in modernizing "New South"



"Carpetbaggers"

Nickname applied by Southern whites to people who migrated South after the Civil War



The Motives of the Carpetbaggers

- Power
- Opportunity
- Wealth
- Service

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- Radical regimes (legislatures) passed much desirable legislation:
 - Steps toward establishing adequate public schools
 - Streamlined tax systems
 - Launched public works
 - Granted property rights to women
- Reforms retained by all-white "Redeemer" government that later returned to power

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- Despite achievements, corruption rampant:
 - Especially in South Carolina and Louisiana
 - Conscienceless pocket-padders used inexperienced blacks as pawns
 - Worst "black-and-white" legislatures purchased:
 - As "legislative supplies," such "stationery" as hams, perfumes, suspenders, bonnets, corsets, and champagne
 - Corruption by no means confined to South in postwar years

The "Invisible Empire of the South"



The (First) Ku Klux Klan

1865-1874

Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, CSA

Vigilantism



The Two Klans "Kompared"

	The First Ku Klux Klan	The Second Ku Klux Klan
Time Period	Reconstruction	1920s
Regional Prevalence	South	Midwest, South
Purpose	Oppose carpetbagger governments	Oppose immigration, Catholicism, black migration
Methods	Intimidation & Violence	

Birth of a Nation (1915)

- Highest grossing silent film EVER
- Glamorized the KKK
 - Responsible for rise of Second KKK?

From Birth of a Nation

Griffith

“The white men were roused by a mere instinct of self-preservation . . . until at last there had sprung into existence a great Ku Klux Klan, a veritable empire of the South, to protect the Southern country.”

WOODROW WILSON

Birth of a Nation (1915)

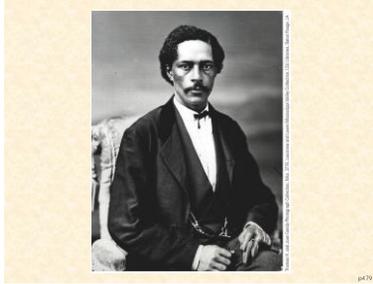
CLIP ONE

VIEW CLIP

NOTE: The inclusion of this video footage is for educational purposes and is not intended to endorse the views and perspectives contained therein.

XIV. The Ku Klux Klan

- Deeply embittered, some Southern whites resorted to savage measures against "radical" rule
- Resented successful black legislators
- Secret organizations mushroomed
- Most notorious—"Invisible Empire of the South":
 - Ku Klux Klan, founded in Tennessee in 1866
 - Used fright, tomfoolery, and terror against "upstart" Blacks
 - "Upstarts" flogged, mutilated, and murdered
 - Klan became refuge for bandits and cutthroats
 - Any scoundrel could don a sheet



XIV. The Ku Klux Klan (cont.)

- **Force Acts (1870-1871)** used U.S. troops to stamp out "lash law"
- **White resistance:**
 - Undermined attempts to empower blacks politically
 - White South flouted 14th and 15th Amendments
 - Wholesale disfranchisement of blacks in 1890s:
 - Used intimidation, fraud, and trickery
 - Literacy tests, unfairly administered by whites to advantage illiterate whites
 - Whites used goal of white supremacy to justify such devices



President Johnson's Impeachment

- ★ Johnson removed Stanton in February, 1868.
- ★ Johnson replaced generals in the field who were more sympathetic to Radical Reconstruction.
- ★ The House impeached him on February 24 before even drawing up the charges by a vote of 126 - 47!

Impeachment

- Tenure of Office Act
- Edwin Stanton
- Impeachment of President Johnson
- Trial in Senate

The Senate Trial

- ★ 11 week trial.
- ★ Johnson acquitted 35 to 19 (one short of required 2/3s vote).

Impeachment

Photo Credit: Bianca Lubian

IMPEACHMENT

- Tenure of Office Act of 1867
 - Passed over Veto
- Johnson fired Sec. of War
 - Impeached for violating TOA
- 35-19 vote in Senate to remove from office
 - How many would it have taken?

Johnson

IMPEACHMENT

By the Numbers



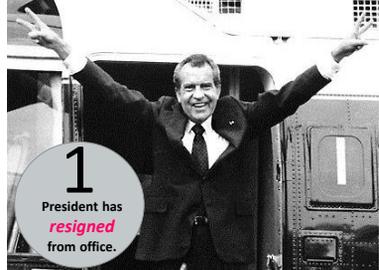
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2

Presidents have been **impeached** by Congress.

Photo Credit: Nancy Leifer



1

President has **resigned** from office.



0

Presidents have been **removed** from office.

XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plan

- Radicals attempted to remove Johnson from office:
 - Initial step—**Tenure of Office Act (1867)**—
 - Passed over Johnson's veto
 - Required president get consent of Senate before he could oust an appointee once they had been approved
 - One goal was to freeze into cabinet Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, a holdover from Lincoln's administration
 - Who secretly served as informer for radicals

XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plan (cont.)

- Johnson abruptly dismissed Stanton, early 1868
- House voted 126 to 47 to impeach Johnson:
 - For "high crimes and misdemeanors" as required by Constitution
 - Charged him with violations of Tenure of Office Act
 - Two additional articles related to Johnson's verbal assaults on Congress
 - Involved "disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, reproach"

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson

- Johnson's trial before Senate:
 - House conducted prosecution:
 - Johnson kept his dignity and maintained discreet silence
 - His attorneys argued president was testing constitutionality of Tenure of Office Act by firing Stanton
 - House prosecutors had hard time building compelling case for impeachment
 - May 16, 1868, by a margin of one vote, radicals failed to muster two-thirds majority to remove Johnson
 - Seven moderate Republican senators voted "not guilty"

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson (cont.)

- Several factors shaped outcome:
 - Fears of creating destabilizing precedent
 - Principled opposition to abusing constitutional mechanism of checks and balances
 - Political considerations:
 - Successor would have been radical Republican Benjamin Wade, president pro tempore of Senate
 - Wade disliked by business community for his high-tariff, soft-money, pro-labor views
 - Distusted by moderate Republicans

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson (cont.)

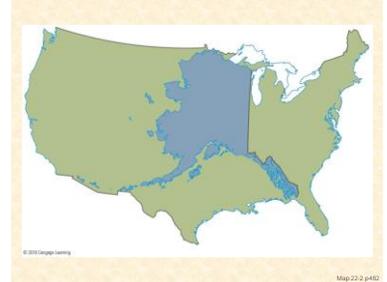
- Diehard radicals infuriated by failure to remove Johnson
- Nation avoided dangerous precedent that would have gravely weakened one of three branches of federal government

XVII. The Purchase of Alaska

- Johnson's administration:
 - Though enfeebled at home, achieved its most enduring success in foreign relations
- Russians wanted to sell Alaska
 - In case of war with Britain, Russia would have lost it to sea-dominant British
 - Alaska had been ruthlessly "furred out" and was a growing economic liability
 - Russians eager to unload "frozen asset"
 - Preferred purchase by U.S.A. because wanted to strengthen U.S.A. as barrier against Britain

XVII. The Purchase of Alaska (cont.)

- 1867 Secretary of State William Seward, an ardent expansionist, signed treaty with Russia:
 - Transferred Alaska to United States for bargain price of \$7.2 million (see Map 22.2)
 - Seward's enthusiasm not shared by his uninformed countrymen, who called it **Seward's Folly**, "Seward's icebox," "Frigida," and "Walrusian"



Map 22.2 p482

Alaska for \$7.2 Mil? What a deal!!!



XVII. The Purchase of Alaska (cont.)

- Why did United States purchase Alaska?
 - Russia alone among major powers had been friendly to North during recent Civil War
 - America did not want to offend their friend, the tsar
 - Territory had furs, fish, gold, and other natural resources
 - So Congress accepted "Seward's Polar Bear Garden"

XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction

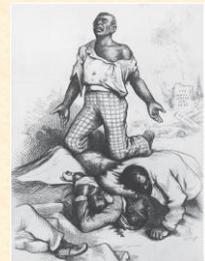
- White Southerners regarded Reconstruction as more grievous wound than the war itself:
 - Left scars that took generations to heal
 - Resented upending of social and racial system
 - Resented political empowerment of blacks and insult of federal intervention in their affairs
 - A wonder, given all the bitterness from war, that Reconstruction not far harsher than it was

XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction (cont.)

- No one knew at war's end what federal policy toward South should be
- Republicans acted from mixture of idealism and political expediency:
 - Wanted to protect freed slaves
 - Promote fortunes of Republican party
 - In end, efforts backfired badly
- Reconstruction:
 - Conferred only fleeting benefits on blacks
 - Destroyed Republican Party in South for nearly 100 years

XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction (cont.)

- Moderate Republicans never fully appreciated:
 - Extensive effort needed to make freed slaves completely independent citizens
 - Lengths to which Southern whites would go to preserve system of racial dominance
- Despite good intentions by Republicans, Old South more resurrected than reconstructed:
 - Spelled continuing woe for generations of southern blacks



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CHRONOLOGY	
1863	Lincoln announces "10 percent" Reconstruction plan
1864	Lincoln vetoes Wade-Davis Bill
1865	Lincoln assassinated Johnson issues Reconstruction proclamation Congress refuses to seat Southern congressmen Frederick's Bureau established Southern states pass Black Codes
1866	Congress passes Civil Rights Bill over Johnson's veto Congress passes Fourteenth Amendment Johnson locked candidates for congressional election Ku Klux Klan banned
1867	Reconstruction Act Tenth of Office Act United States purchases Alaska from Russia
1868	Johnson impeached and acquitted Johnson pardons Confederate leaders
1870	Fifteenth Amendment ratified
1870-1871	Force Acts
1872	Frederick's Bureau ended
1877	Reconstruction ends

Chapter 23
Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age, 1869-1896



Gilded Age Politics

Ms. Susan M. Pojer
Horace Greeley HS

Mr. Darrell Duncan
Merrol Hyde Magnet School

The Gilded Age

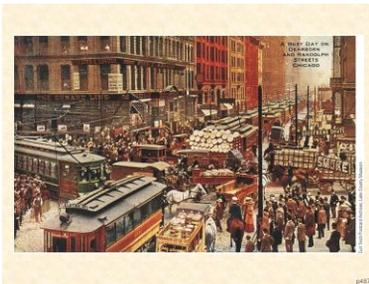
- The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* is an 1873 novel by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner satirizing greed and political corruption in post-Civil War America.
- Twain and Warner got the name from Shakespeare's *King John* (1595): "To gild refined gold, to paint the lily, is wasteful and ridiculous excess." Gilding a lily, which is already beautiful and not in need of further adornment, is excessive and wasteful, characteristics of the age. Twain and Warner wrote about in their novel.
- Another interpretation of the title, of course, is the contrast between an ideal "Golden Age," and a less worthy "Gilded Age," as gilding is only a thin layer of gold over baser metal, so the title now takes on a pejorative meaning as to the novel's time, events and people.



Although not one of Twain's more well-known works, it has appeared in more than 100 editions since its original publication in 1873. Twain and Warner originally had planned to issue the novel with illustrations by [Thomas Nast](#).



The book is remarkable for two reasons—
-it is the only novel Twain wrote with a collaborator
-its title very quickly became synonymous with graft, materialism, and corruption in public life.



The Grant Administration (1868-1876)

The 1868 Republican Ticket



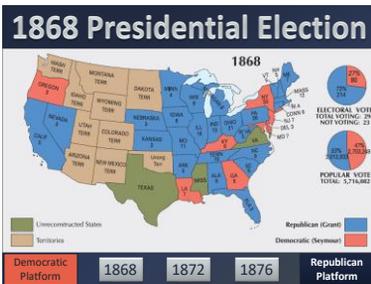
The 1868 Democratic Ticket

Waving the Bloody Shirt!

Republican "Southern Strategy"

The Democrats could only denounce military Reconstruction and couldn't agree on anything else, and thus, were disorganized.

- The Republicans got Grant elected (barely) by "waving the bloody shirt," or reliving his war victories and reminding voters of the "treasonous" Confederate Democrats during the Civil War.
- His war popularity was responsible for his victory, though his popular vote was only slightly ahead of rival Horatio Seymour. Seymour was the Democratic candidate who didn't accept a redemption-of-greenbacks-for-maximum-value platform, and thus doomed his party.
- Still, due to the close nature of the election, Republicans could not take future victories for granted.



President Ulysses S. Grant

THE CIVIL WAR MEMORIAL OF ULYSSES S. GRANT

Grant Administration Scandals

- Grant presided over an era of unprecedented growth and corruption.
 - Credit Mobilier Scandal.
 - Whiskey Ring.
 - The "Indian Ring."

I. The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant

- A good general:
 - Populace soured by wrangling of professional politicians in Reconstruction era
 - Notion still prevailed that a good general would make a good president
- Grant most popular northern hero:
 - Hapless greenhorn in political arena
 - His one presidential vote had been cast for Democratic ticket in 1856
 - His cultural background breathtakingly narrow

I. The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant (cont.)

- Republicans:
 - Freed from Union party coalition of war days
 - Nominated Grant for presidency in 1868
 - Platform called for continued Reconstruction of South
 - Grant "Let us have peace"
- Democrats:
 - In their nominating convention, denounced military Reconstruction but could agree on little else

I. The "Bloody Shirt" Elect Grant (cont.)

- Wealthy eastern delegates demanded federal war bonds be redeemed in gold
- Poorer Midwestern delegates called for redemption in greenbacks (Ohio Idea)
 - Debt-burdened agrarian Democrats hoped to keep more money in circulation and keep interest rates low
- Disputes introduced bitter contest over monetary policy that continued until century's end
- Midwestern delegates got the platform but not the candidate
 - Nominee Horatio Seymour repudiated Ohio Idea

I. The "Bloody Shirt" Elect Grant (cont.)

- Grant nominated:
 - Republicans energetically nominated Grant by "**waving the bloody shirt**"—
 - Revived glory memories of Civil War
 - Became for first time a prominent feature of a presidential campaign
- Grant won, with 214 electoral votes to 80 for Seymour
- Grant received 3,013,421 to 2,706,829 popular votes:
 - Most white voters supported Seymour
 - Ballots of three still-unreconstructed southern states (Mississippi, Texas, Virginia) not counted at all

I. The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant (cont.)

- Estimated 500,000 former slaves gave Grant his margin of victory
- To remain in power, Republican party had to continue to control South—and keep ballot in hands of grateful freedman
- Republicans could not take future victories "for Granted"

Who Stole the People's Money?



II. The Era of Good Stealings

- Postwar atmosphere stunk of corruption:
 - Some railroad promoters cheated gullible bond buyers
 - Some unethical financiers manipulated stock-market
 - Too many judges and legislators put their power up for hire
 - Cynics defined an honest politician as one who, when bought, stayed bought

II. The Era of Good Stealings (cont.)

- Two notorious financial millionaire partners:
 - "Jubilee Jim" Fisk and Jay Gould:
 - Corpulent and unscrupulous Fisk provided the "brass"
 - Undersized and cunning Gould provided the brains
 - Concocted plot in 1869 to corner gold market:
 - Plan would work only if federal Treasury refrained from selling gold

II. The Era of Good Stealings (cont.)

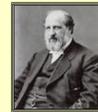
- Conspirators worked on President Grant directly:
 - And through his brother-in-law, who received \$25,000 for complicity
- For weeks Fisk and Gould bid price of gold skyward, so they could profit from its heightened value:
 - On "Black Friday" (September 24, 1869) bubble broke when Treasury compelled to release gold
 - Price of gold plunged
 - Scores of honest businesspeople driven to the wall
 - Congressional probe concluded Grant had done nothing crooked, but had acted stupidly



The Emergence of Political Machines

- Organized group that controls a city's political party
- Give services to voters, businesses for political, financial support
- After Civil War, machines gain control of major cities
- Machine organization: precinct captains, ward bosses, city boss

POLITICAL MACHINES



The Role of the Political Boss

- May serve as mayor he:
 - controls city jobs, business licenses
 - influences courts, municipal agencies
 - arranges building projects, community services
 - Bosses paid by businesses, get voters' loyalty, extend influence
- Immigrants and the Machine
 - Many captains, bosses 1st or 2nd generation Americans
 - Machines help immigrants with naturalization, jobs, housing
- Election Fraud and Graft
 - Machines use electoral fraud to win elections
 - Graft—illegal use of political influence for personal gain
 - Machines take kickbacks, bribes to allow legal, illegal activities

The Tweed Ring in NYC



William Marcy Tweed
(notorious head of **Tammany Hall's** political machine)

[Thomas Nast → crusading cartoonist/reporter]



http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indicators/cpi/2010/results



WILLIAM BOSS TWEED



- Corrupt political leader put New York City in debt
- **Political boss**
- 1851 elected to city council
- 1852 served in Congress
- Kept **Democratic Party** in power in NYC called **Tammany Hall**
- Formed the **Tweed Ring**
- Bought votes, encouraged corruption, controlled NYC politics

WILLIAM BOSS TWEED



- Received large fees for interests (***kickbacks**) from the Erie Railroad
- Tweed Ring milked the city with **false leases, padded bills, false vouchers, unnecessary repairs and over-priced goods**

**Return of a portion of the money received in a sale or contract often illegal and corrupt in return for special favors.*

II. The Era of Good Stealings (cont.)

- Infamous Tweed Ring:
 - Displayed ethics of age:
 - "Boss" Tweed employed bribery, graft, and fraudulent elections to milk metropolis of \$200 million:
 - Honest citizens cowed into silence
 - Protesters found tax assessments raised
 - Tweed's luck finally ran out:
 - New York Times published damning evidence in 1871
 - Refused \$5 million bribe not to publish it

II. The Era of Good Stealings (cont.)

- Gifted cartoonist Thomas Nast pilloried Tweed mercilessly.
- New York attorney Samuel J. Tilden headed prosecution.
- Unbailed and unwept, Tweed died behind bars.

Grant Administration Scandals

- ★ Grant presided over an era of unprecedented growth and corruption.
 - Credit Mobilier Scandal.
 - Whiskey Ring.
 - The "Indian Ring."



PRESIDENT GRANT'S SCANDALS

Credit Mobilier



- Phony construction company owned by stockholders of Union Pacific Railroad.
- Hired Credit Mobilier to build the transcontinental railroad
- Charged the U.S. government nearly twice the actual cost of the project.
- Bribed Congress to stop the investigation.
- Largest scandal in U.S. history, and led to greater public awareness of government corruption.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SCANDALS

Whiskey Ring



- A group of President Grant's officials imported whiskey
- Used their offices to avoid paying taxes
- Cheated US treasury of millions.

• Then, in 1875, the public learned that the Whiskey Ring had robbed the Treasury of millions of dollars, and when Grant's own private secretary was shown to be one of the criminals, Grant retracted his earlier statement of "Let no guilty man escape" and promptly pardoned him.



PRESIDENT GRANT'S SCANDALS

Indian Ring



- William Belknap – Sec. of War.
- Pocketed \$24,000 selling junk to indians
- Became a political issue....Later repealed.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SCANDALS

Salary Grab



- Congress gave itself a raise, \$5,000 to \$7,500 annually.
- Congressmen received a retroactive check for \$5,000, plus their raise.....
- Became a political issue....Later repealed.

III. A Carnival of Corruption

- Misdeeds of federal government leaders:
 - **Credit Mobilier scandal (1872):**
 - Union Pacific Railroad insiders formed Credit Mobilier construction company:
 - Then hired themselves at inflated prices to build railroad line
 - Earned dividends as high as 348 percent
 - Company distributed shares of its valuable stock to key congressmen
 - Newspaper expose and congressional investigation led to:

III. A Carnival of Corruption (cont.)

- Formal censure of two congressmen
- Revelation that vice-president accepted payments from Credit Mobilier
- Breath of scandal in Washington reeked of alcohol:
 - In 1874-1875, Whiskey Ring robbed Treasury of millions in excise-tax revenue
 - Grant's own private secretary among culprits
 - Grant volunteered a written statement to jury that helped exonerate thief
- Bribes:
 - Secretary of War William Belknap (1876) forced to resign after pocketing bribes from suppliers to Indian reservations
 - Grant accepted his resignation "with great regret"

The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

By 1872, a power wave of disgust at Grant's administration was building, despite the worst of the scandals not having been revealed yet, and reformers organized the **Liberal Republican Party** and nominated the dogmatic **Horace Greeley**.

– The Democratic Party also supported Greeley, even though he had blasted them repeatedly in his newspaper (the New York Tribune), but he pleased them because he called for a clasping of hands between the North and South and an end to Reconstruction.

The campaign was filled with more mudslinging (as usual), as Greeley was called an atheist, a communist, a vegetarian, and a signer of Jefferson Davis's bail bond (that part was true) while Grant was called an ignoramus, a drunkard, and a swindler.

– Still, **Grant crushed Greeley** in the electoral vote and in the popular vote as well.

In 1872, the Republican Congress passed a general amnesty act that removed political disabilities from all but some 500 former Confederate leaders.

The Election of 1872



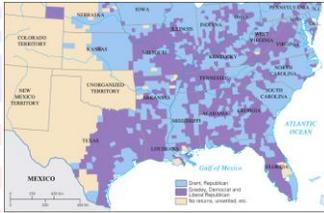
- ★ Rumors of corruption during Grant's first term discredit Republicans.
- ★ Horace Greeley runs as a Democrat/Liberal Republican candidate.
- ★ Greeley attacked as a fool and a crank.
- ★ Greeley died on November 29, 1872!



1872 Presidential Election



Popular Vote for President: 1872



IV. The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Liberal Republican party:
 - Slogan “Turn the Rascals Out” urged purification of Washington and end to military Reconstruction
 - Muffed chance when at Cincinnati convention they nominated:
 - Erratic Horace Greeley, editor of *New York Tribune*
 - He was dogmatic, emotional, petulant, and notoriously unsound in his political judgments

IV. The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872 (cont.)

- Democrats:
 - Endorsed Greeley’s candidacy
 - He had blasted them as traitors, slave shippers, saloon keepers, horse thieves, and idiots
 - He pleased them when he pleaded for clasping hands across “the bloody chasm”
 - Republicans dutifully renominated Grant
 - Voters had to choose between two non-politicians, neither of whom truly qualified



IV. The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872 (cont.)

- Election of 1872:
 - Republicans denounced Greeley as atheist, communist, free-lover, vegetarian, and cosigner of Jefferson Davis’s bail bond
 - Democrats derided Grant as ignoramus, drunkard, swindler
 - Republicans chanting “Grant us another term” pulled president through:
 - Electoral count: 286 for Grant to 66 for Greeley
 - Popular vote: 3,596,745 for Grant; 2,843,446 for Greeley

The Panic of 1873



- ★ It raises “the money question.”
 - debtors seek inflationary monetary policy by continuing circulation of greenbacks.
 - creditors, intellectuals support hard money.
- ★ 1875 → **Specie Redemption Act.**

★ 1876 → **Greenback Party** formed & makes gains in congressional races → *The “Crime of ‘73”!*

V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

- **Panic of 1873:**
 - Grant’s woes deepened in paralyzing economy:
 - Age of unbridled expansion
 - Overreaching promoters laid more railroad track, sunk more mines, erected more factories, sowed more grain fields than existing markets could bear
 - Bankers made too many imprudent loans to finance these enterprises
 - Profits failed to materialize; loans went unpaid; whole credit-based economy fluttered downward
 - Boom times became gloom times as more than 15,000 businesses went bankrupt

V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation (cont.)

- Black Americans hard hit
- Freedman’s Saving and Trust Company had made unsecured loans to several companies that went under
- Black depositors who had entrusted over \$7 million to banks lost their savings
- Black economic development and black confidence in savings institutions went down with it
- Hard times inflicted worst punishment on debtors
- Proponents of inflation breathed new life into issue of greenbacks
- Agrarian and debtor groups—“cheap money” supporters—clamored for reissuance of greenbacks

V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation (cont.)

- “Hard-money” advocates carried day:
 - 1874 persuaded Grant to veto bill to print more paper money
 - Scored another victory in Resumption Act 1875:
 - Pledged government to further withdraw greenbacks from circulation and
 - To redemption of all paper currency in gold at face value, beginning in 1879
 - Debtors looked for relief in precious metal silver

V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation (cont.)

- In 1870s Treasury maintained an ounce of silver worth only 1/16 compared to an ounce of gold
- Silver miners stopped offering silver to federal mints
- Congress dropped coinage of silver dollars (1873)
- With new silver discoveries in late 1870s, production shot up which forced silver prices to drop
- Demand for coinage of more silver was nothing more nor less than another scheme to promote inflation

V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation (cont.)

- Hard-money Republicans resisted scheme and called on Grant to hold line.
- He did not disappoint them:
 - Treasury accumulated gold stocks until day of resumption of metallic-money payments
 - Coupled with reduction of greenbacks, this policy called "contraction:"
 - Had noticeable deflationary effect, worsening impact of depression

V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation (cont.)

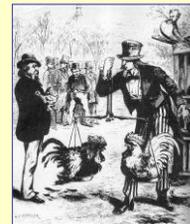
- New policy restored government's credit rating
- Brought embattled greenbacks up to full face value
- When Redemption Day came in 1879, few greenback holders bothered to exchange lighter and more convenient bills for gold
- Republican hard-money policy had political backlash:
 - In 1874, helped elect Democratic House of Representatives
 - 1878: spawned Greenback Labor Party, polled over a million votes, elected fourteen members of Congress
 - Contest over monetary policy far from over

The "Politics of Equilibrium"

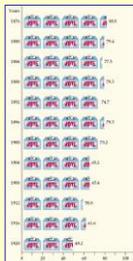
1. A Two-Party Stalemate



Two-Party "Balance"



2. Intense Voter Loyalty to the Two Major Political Parties



3. Well-Defined Voting Blocs

- | | |
|---|--|
| Democratic Bloc | Republican Bloc |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ White southerners (preservation of white supremacy) ★ Catholics ★ Recent immigrants (esp. Jews) ★ Urban working poor (pro-labor) ★ Most farmers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ Northern whites (pro-business) ★ African Americans ★ Northern Protestants ★ Old WASPs (support for anti-immigrant laws) ★ Most of the middle class |

4. Very Laissez Faire Federal Govt.

- ★ From 1870-1900 → Govt. did very little domestically.
- ★ Main duties of the federal gov't.:
 - Deliver the mail.
 - Maintain a national military.
 - Collect taxes & tariffs.
 - Conduct a foreign policy.
- ★ Exception → administer the annual Civil War veterans' pension.

5. The Presidency as a Symbolic Office

- ★ Party bosses ruled.
- ★ Presidents should avoid offending any factions within their own party.
- ★ The President just doled out federal jobs.
 - 1865 → 53,000 people worked for the federal govt.
 - 1890 → 166,000 " " " " " " " "



Senator Roscoe Conkling

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- **Gilded Age:**
 - Sarcastic name given to three-decade-long post-Civil War by Mark Twain in 1873
 - Every presidential election a squeaker
 - Majority party in House switched six times in seven sessions between 1869 and 1891
 - Few significant economic issues separated major parties yet elections ferociously competitive
 - Nearly 80% of those eligible, voted

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age (cont.)

- How can paradox of political consensus and partisan fervor be explained?
 - Sharp ethnic and cultural differences in membership of two parties:
 - Distinctions of style and tone, especially religious sentiment
 - Republicans adhered to creeds that traced lineage to Puritanism:
 - Strict codes of personal morality
 - Believed government should play role in regulating both economic and moral affairs of society

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age (cont.)

- Democrats:
 - Immigrant Lutherans and Roman Catholics figured heavily
 - More likely to adhere to faiths that took a less stern view of human weakness
 - Religion professed toleration in an imperfect world
 - Spurned government efforts to impose single moral standard on entire society
- Differences in temperament and religious values produced raucous political contests at local level, esp. on issues like prohibition and education

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age (cont.)

- **Democrats:**
 - Solid electoral base in South
 - In northern industrial cities—with immigrants and well-oiled political machines
- **Republicans:**
 - Strength largely in Midwest and rural, small-town Northeast
 - Freedmen in South continued to vote Republican in significant numbers

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age (cont.)

- Members of Grand Army of the Republic (GAR)—politically potent fraternal organization of several hundred thousand Union veterans of Civil War
- **Patronage**—lifeblood of both parties:
 - Jobs for votes, kickbacks, party service
 - Boisterous infighting over patronage beset Republican party in 1870s and 1880s
 - Roscoe (“Lord Roscoe”) Conkling—embraced time-honored system of civil-service jobs for votes

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age (cont.)

- Half-Breeds wanted some civil-service reform:
 - Champion was James G. Blaine of Maine
 - Two personalities succeeded only in stalemating each other and deadlocking party



Northern Support Wanes

- ★ "Grantism" & corruption.
- ★ Panic of 1873 [6-year depression].
- ★ Concern over westward expansion and Indian wars.
- ★ Key monetary issues:
 - should the government retire \$432m worth of "greenbacks" issued during the Civil War.
 - should war bonds be paid back in specie or greenbacks.



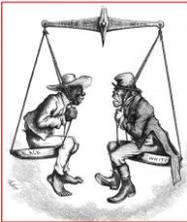
And They Say He Wants a Third Term



1876 Presidential Tickets

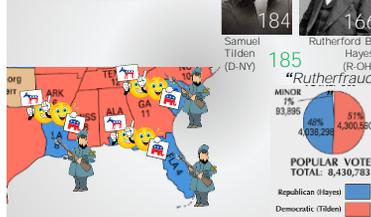


"Regional Balance?"



Compromise of 1877

DISPUTED ELECTION



1876 Presidential Election



The Political Crisis of 1877



- ★ "Corrupt Bargain" Part II?



Hayes Prevails

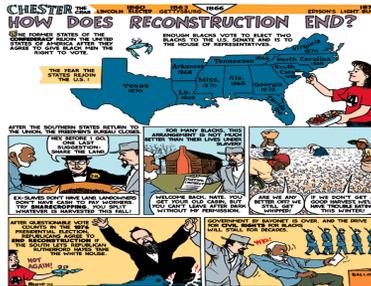
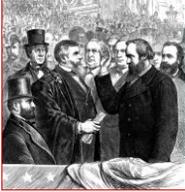


Alas, the Woes of Childhood...



Sammy Tilden—Boo-Hoo! Ruthy Hayes's got my Presidency, and he won't give it to me!

A Political Crisis: The "Compromise" of 1877



VII. The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

- Grant thought about a third-term:
 - House derailed this by 233 to 18:
 - Passed resolution on anti-dictator implications of two-term tradition
- Republicans
 - Turned to compromise candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, "The Great Unknown:"
 - Foremost qualification: hailed from "swing" state Ohio
 - Served three terms as governor

VII. The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876 (cont.)

- Democrats:
 - Nominee was Samuel J. Tilden:
 - Risen to fame by jailing Boss Tweed in New York
 - 185 electoral votes needed
 - Tilden got 184 with twenty disputed votes in four states—three of them in South (see Map 23.1)
 - Tilden polled 247,448 more popular votes than Hayes, 4,284,020 to 4,036,572
 - Both parties sent "visiting statesmen" to contested Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida



VII. The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876 (cont.)

- Disputed states:
 - All sent two sets of returns: one Democratic and one Republican:
 - Dramatic constitutional crisis:
 - Constitution merely specified that electoral returns from states be sent to Congress
 - Then in presence of House and Senate, they be opened by president of Senate (see Twelfth Amendment in Appendix)

VII. The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876 (cont.)

- Who should count them?
 - On this point, Constitution silent:
 - If counted by president of Senate (a Republican), Republican returns would be selected
 - If counted by Speaker of House (a Democrat), Democratic returns would be chosen
 - How could impasse be resolved?

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction

- **Compromise of 1877:**
 - Deadlock broken by Election Count Act:
 - Passed by Congress in early 1877
 - Set up electoral commission of fifteen men selected from Senate, House and Supreme Court (see Table 23.1)
 - February 1877, a month before Inauguration Day, Senate and House met to settle dispute

TABLE 23.1 Composition of the Electoral Commission, 1877

Members	Republicans	Democrats
Senate (Republican majority)	3	2
House (Democratic majority)	2	3
Supreme Court	3	2
TOTAL	8	7

The Political Crisis of 1877



★ "Corrupt Bargain"
Part II?

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction(cont.)

- Roll of states tolled off alphabetically
- Florida, first of three southern states with two sets of returns—
 - Disputed documents referred to electoral commission, which sat in nearby chamber
- After prolonged discussion, members:
 - By partisan vote of 8 Republicans to 7 Democrats, voted to accept Republican returns
 - Outraged Democrats in Congress, smelling defeat, undertook to launch filibuster

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (cont.)

- Other parts of Compromise of 1877:
 - Democrats agreed Hayes might take office in return for removing U.S. troops from two states in which they remained, Louisiana and South Carolina
 - Republicans assured Democrats a place at presidential patronage trough
 - And supported bill subsidizing Texas and Pacific Railroad's construction of southern transcontinental line

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (cont.)

- Deal held together long enough to break dangerous electoral standoff:
 - Democrats permitted Hayes to receive remainder of disputed returns—all by partisan vote of 8 to 7:
 - So explosive, it was settled only three days before new president sworn into office

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (cont.)

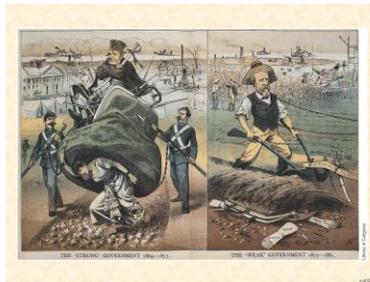
- Compromise bought peace at a price:
 - Partisan violence averted by sacrificing civil rights of southern blacks
 - With Hayes-Tilden deal, Republican party abandoned commitment to racial equality
- **Civil Rights Act of 1875:**
 - Last gasp of feeble radical Republicans
 - Supreme Court pronounced much of act unconstitutional in *Civil Rights Cases* (1883)

The Civil Rights Act of 1875

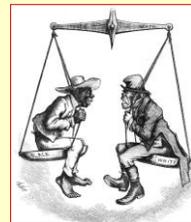
- ★ Crime for any individual to deny full & equal use of public conveyances and public places.
- ★ Prohibited discrimination in jury selection.
- ★ Shortcoming → lacked a strong enforcement mechanism.
- ★ No new civil rights act was attempted for 90 years!

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (cont.)

- Court declared Fourteenth Amendment prohibited only *government* violation of civil rights, not denial of civil rights by *individuals*
- When President Hayes withdrew federal troops that were propping up Reconstruction governments, Republican regimes collapsed



"Regional Balance?"



“Redeemer” Governments

Southern White “Bourbon” Democrats re-assert authority

“Solid South”

– DEMOCRATIC STRONGHOLD
• Republican Party a non-entity in Southern politics until the 1960s



Gov. Wade Hampton (SC)



The “New South”



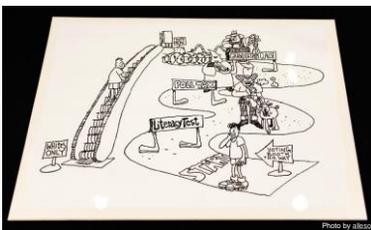
“Jim Crow”
Laws
Racial
Segregation



Literacy Tests
Poll Tax
Designed to keep
Black citizens from



Grandfather
Clause



The Supreme Court and Civil Rights (Late Nineteenth Century)







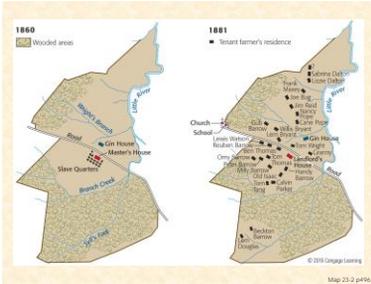
In the late 19th century, the Supreme Court upheld Jim Crow, as well as restrictions on voting (since these restrictions did not *explicitly* discriminate based on race).

IX. The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

- Democratic South solidified:
 - Swiftly suppressed now-friendless blacks
 - White Democrats ("Redeemers"), relying on fraud and intimidation, reassumed political power
 - Black who tried to assert rights faced unemployment, eviction, and physical harm
 - Many blacks forced into **sharecropping** and tenant farming
 - "Crop-lien" system where storekeepers extended credit to small farmers for food and supplies, in return for lien on harvest

IX. The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South (cont.)

- Farmers remained perpetually in debt
- Southern blacks condemned to threadbare living under conditions scarcely better than slavery (see May 23.2)
- Blacks forced into systematic state-level legal codes of segregation known as **Jim Crow** laws
- Southern states enacted literacy requirements, voter-registration laws, and poll taxes



IX. The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South (cont.)

- Tolerated violent intimidation of black voters
- Supreme Court:
 - Validated South's segregationist social order in **Plessy v. Ferguson** (1896):
 - Ruled "separate but equal" facilities constitutional under "equal protection" clause of Fourteenth Amendment
 - Segregated in inferior schools and separated from whites in virtually all public facilities including railroad cars, theaters, and restrooms

IX. The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South (cont.)

- Southern whites dealt harshly with any black who dared to violate South's racial code of conduct
- Record number of blacks lynched in 1890s:
 - Most often for "crime" of asserting themselves as equals (see Table 23.2)
- Would take a second Reconstruction, nearly a century later, to redress racist imbalance of southern society



Table 23-2 Persons in United States Lynched by race, 1882-2012*

Year	Whites	Blacks	Total
1882	45	49	113
1883	110	24	134
1884	11	82	93
1885	46	113	159
1886	0	284	284
1887	5	37	42
1888	0	67	67
1889	11	56	67
1890	0	17	17
1891	5	20	25
1892	2	18	20
1893	3	4	7
1894	0	1	1
1895	0	1	1
1896	1	5	6
1897	0	3	3
1898	1	2	3
1899	0	0	0
2012	0	0	0

*Based on publications of the FBI's *Yearbook* after 1885. The number of whites lynched after 1885 is based on information from the *Yearbook* and other sources. The number of blacks lynched after 1885 is based on information from the *Yearbook* and other sources. The number of whites lynched after 1885 is based on information from the *Yearbook* and other sources. The number of blacks lynched after 1885 is based on information from the *Yearbook* and other sources.

Table 23-2 p497

X. Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

- Scenes of class struggle:
 - Railroad workers faced particularly hard times:
 - Even though railroads continue to make huge profits
 - Workers struck when wages were going to cut by 10%
 - President Hayes sent in federal troops to quell unrest by striking laborers
 - Failure of railroad strike exposed weakness of labor movement

X. Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes (cont.)

- Federal courts, U.S. Army, state militias, local police helped keep business operating at full speed.
- Racial and ethnic issues fractured labor unity:
 - Divisions esp. marked between Irish & Chinese in California:
 - Chinese came originally to dig in goldfields and to sledgehammer tracks of transcontinental railroads
 - When gold panned out and tracks laid, many returned home to China with meager savings

X. Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes (cont.)

- Those who remained faced extraordinary hardships:
 - Menial jobs: cooks, laundrymen, domestic servants
 - Without women or families, deprived of means to assimilate
 - In San Francisco, Denis Kearney incited followers to violent abuse of hapless Chinese
- Chinese Exclusion Act (1882):**
 - Prohibiting nearly all further immigration from China
 - Door stayed shut until 1943



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X. Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes (cont.)

- Native-born Chinese:
 - Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898) stated Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed citizenship to all persons born in United States
 - Doctrine of "birthright citizenship" as contrasted with "right of blood-tie" (citizenship based on parents' nationality) provided protection to Chinese Americans as well as other immigrants



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SPOILS SYSTEM

- Under the Spoils System (**patronage**), candidates for political office would offer potential jobs in exchange for votes.
 - gave supporters access to money and political favors.
- During the Gilded Age, the Republicans and Democrats had roughly the same number of supporters.
 - To keep party members loyal, candidates rewarded supporters and tried to avoid controversial issues.

The Republicans

- appealed to the industrialists, bankers, and eastern farmers.
- They favored the gold standard (**sound money**) and high tariffs
- Blue laws**, regulations that prohibited certain activities people considered immoral.

The Democrats

- attracted the less privileged groups.
- such as northern urban immigrants, laborers, southern planters, and western farmers.
- Supported **soft money** and silver coinage.

SPOILS SYSTEM

President Rutherford Hayes

- Elected in 1877
- Reformed the civil service, appointing qualified political independents instead of giving positions to supporters.
- No Congressional support or from the Republican Party.
- Hayes did not seek a second term.

President James A. Garfield

- 1880 election, Republicans were split into 3 factions.
 - Stalwarts** defended the spoils system—Senator Roscoe Conkling
 - Half-Breeds** reform but still supported it—Senator James Blaine
 - Independents** opposed the spoils system.
- Garfield wanted reforms. His running-mate was Chester Arthur, a **Stalwart**.
- July 2, 1881 Garfield was assassinated by a **Stalwart** who wanted Arthur as president.

XI. Garfield and Arthur

- Presidential campaign of 1880:
 - Hayes a man without a party
 - James Garfield from electorally powerful state of Ohio
 - Vice-presidential running mate a notorious Stalwart henchman, Chester Arthur of New York
 - Democratic candidate Civil War hero Winfield Scott Hancock

PRESIDENT	%	Number of offices out of total
ARTHUR 1881	0%	13,780 offices out of 131,208
MCKINLEY 1901	41%	156,205 offices out of 256,000
WILSON 1912	71%	497,503 offices out of 699,116
ROOSEVELT 1904	72%	662,832 offices out of 920,310
TRUMAN 1912	87%	2,278,446 offices out of 2,625,257
NIXON 1970	90%	2,993,000 offices out of 3,325,000
G.H.W. BUSH 1990	57%	1,694,000 offices out of 2,980,000
CLINTON 2000	49%	1,351,072 offices out of 2,734,338
G.W. BUSH 2007	49%	1,298,263 offices out of 2,670,857
OBAMA 2012	54%	1,478,255 out of 2,760,569

Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, *Public Civil Service Statistics—Employment and Vacancies*, <http://www.opm.gov/publications>, and www.opm.gov

Figure 23.1 p499

XI. Garfield and Arthur (cont.)

- Statistics:
 - Garfield polled only 39,213 more votes than Hancock—4,453,295 to 4,414,082
 - Margin in electoral votes a comfortable 214 to 155
 - Disappointed and deranged office seeker, Charles Guiteau, shot President Garfield at Washington railroad station

XI. Chester and Arthur (cont.)

- Garfield lingered in agony for 11 weeks
- Died on September 19, 1881:
 - Guiteau found guilty of murder and hanged
 - Garfield's murder had one positive outcome:
 - Shocked politicians into reforming shameful spoils system
 - Unlikely instrument of reform was Chester Arthur
- Pendleton Act (1883):
 - Magna Carta of civil-service reform
 - Made compulsory campaign contributions from federal employees illegal

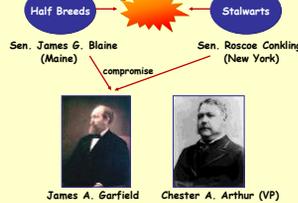
XI. Chester and Arthur (cont.)

- Established Civil Service Commission to make appointments to federal jobs on basis of competitive examinations rather than "pull"
- At first covering only 10% of federal jobs, civil-service did rein in most blatant abuses
- "Plum" federal posts now beyond reach, politicians:
 - Forced to look elsewhere for money, "mother's milk of politics"
 - Increasingly turned to big corporations
 - New breed of "boss" emerged

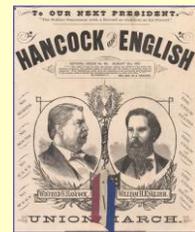
XI. Chester and Arthur (cont.)

- Pendleton Act:
 - Partially divorced politics from patronage
 - Helped drive politicians into "marriages of convenience" with big-business (see Figures 23.1)
- President Arthur's display of integrity offended too many powerful Republicans
- His party turned him out to pasture
- In 1886, he died of cerebral hemorrhage

1880 Presidential Election: Republicans



1880 Presidential Election: Democrats



Inspecting the Democratic Curiosity Shop



1880 Presidential Election



1881: Garfield Assassinated!



Charles Guiteau:
I Am a Stalwart, and Arthur is President now!



PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S ASSASSINATION



- Assassinated by an upset Spoilsman.
- Led to VP Chester Arthur becoming president
- Supported a change to the corrupt spoils system.

- Signed into the law the **Pendleton Act** also called **the Civil Service Act**.
- Required candidates applying for government positions to a test to determine their qualifications.

Chester A. Arthur: The Fox in the Chicken Coup?



Pendleton Act (1883)

- Civil Service Act.
- The "Magna Carta" of civil service reform.
- 1883 → 14,000 out of 117,000 federal gov't. jobs became civil service exam positions.
- 1900 → 100,000 out of 200,000 civil service federal gov't. jobs.



Arthur Reforms the Civil Service

After the assassination, President Arthur was able to get congressional support for the Pendleton Civil Service Act, which created a commission of classified government jobs

Reforming the Civil Service



LAISSEZ FAIRE

An economic belief supported by the U.S. that opposes the government regulating business.

- ❖ In the late 1800's businesses operated without much government regulation. This is known as **laissez-faire** economics.
- ❖ Laissez-faire means 'allow to be' in French or the government stays out of your business.
- ❖ Laissez faire supports our economic system of **capitalism**

Laissez Faire Federal Govt.

- From 1870-1900 → Govt. did very little domestically.
- Main duties of the federal gov't. :
 - Deliver the mail.
 - Maintain a national military.
 - Collect taxes & tariffs.
 - Conduct a foreign policy.
- Exception → administer the annual Civil War veterans' pension.

CAPITALISM

Economic system characterized by private property ownership

- ❖ Individuals and companies compete for their own economic gain (**Profit**)
- ❖ Capitalists determine the prices of goods and services.
- ❖ Production and distribution are privately or corporately owned.
 - ❖ Reinvestment of profits
 - ❖ Supports laissez faire

SOCIALISM

Economic system based on cooperation rather than competition

- ❖ Believes in **government ownership** of business and capital
- ❖ Government controls production and distribution of goods.
- ❖ Opposite of **laissez faire** and **capitalism**

Republican "Mugwumps"

- ★ Reformers who wouldn't re-nominate Chester A. Arthur.
- ★ Reform to them → create a disinterested, impartial gov't. run by an educated elite like themselves.
- ★ Social Darwinists.
- ★ Laissez faire government to them:
 - Favoritism & the spoils system seen as gov't. intervention in society.
 - Their target was political corruption, not social or economic reform!

XII. The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

- James G. Blaine:
 - Persistence in seeking Republican nomination paid off in 1884
 - Clear choice of convention in Chicago
 - Some reformers, unable to swallow Blaine, bolted to Democrats—called Mugwumps
- Democrats:
 - Turned to reformer, Grover Cleveland
 - From mayor of Buffalo to governorship of New York and presidential nomination in three years

XII. The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884 (cont.)

- Cleveland's admirers soon got shock:
 - Learned he had an illegitimate son
 - Made financial provision for son
- Campaign of 1884 sank to perhaps lowest level in American experience:
 - Personalities, not principles, claimed headlines



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TABLE 23.3 Population of Chinese Ancestry in the United States, 1850-2010

Year	Population	Males per One Female	Percentage U.S. Born	Persons Achieving Legal Permanent Resident Status or Preceding Occasion*
1850	4,019†	—	—	32
1860	24,933	19	—	23,515
1870	63,799	13	1	54,028
1880	105,465	21	1	131,119
1890	107,496	27	3	83,797
1900	89,863	19	10	55,766
1910††	435,062	N.A.	N.A.	81,107
1920	306,040	N.A.	N.A.	134,377
1930	1,694,852	N.A.	N.A.	289,029
2000	2,412,585	0.94	29	458,952
2010	3,342,229	0.89	35.5	649,284

*Includes Chinese immigrants in Hawaii after 1898, includes immigrants from Hong Kong beginning in 1970.
 †Estimated.
 ††The percentage of the Chinese population in the United States fell in 1920 despite reduced Chinese immigration to the United States. A liberalization of American immigration laws and Chinese public opinion beginning in the 1970s, however, has led to a great increase in population of Chinese ancestry in the United States.
 Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, relevant years; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2010.

Table 23-3 p501

XII. The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884 (cont.)

- Contest hinged on state of New York, where Blaine blundered badly in closing days of campaign
- Republican clergy called Democrats party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" insulting culture, faith, and patriotism of New York's Irish American voters
- Blaine refused to repudiate phrase
- New York Irish vote gave presidency to Cleveland
- Cleveland swept solid South and squeaked into office with 219 to 182 electoral votes
- 4,879,507 to 4,850,293 popular votes

HARPER'S WEEKLY
JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.
 A man who has been in the office for years, and who has done his duty, is being crushed by a large, dark, multi-headed creature representing corruption and political machines.

The Mugwumps

Men may come and men may go, but the work of reform shall go on forever.

★ Will support Cleveland in the 1884 election.

1884 Presidential Election

Grover Cleveland
 (DEM)

James Blaine
 (REP)

A Dirty Campaign



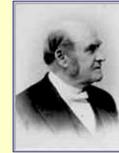
Ma...where's my pa?
He's going to the White House, ha... ha... ha..!

Little Lost Mugwump



Blaine in 1884

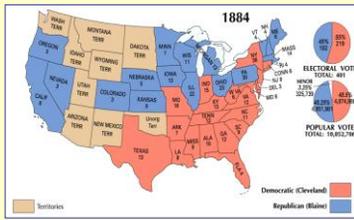
Rum, Romanism & Rebellion!



Dr. Samuel Burchard

- ★ Led a delegation of ministers to Blaine in NYC.
- ★ Reference to the Democratic Party.
- ★ Blaine was slow to repudiate the remark.
- ★ Narrow victory for Cleveland [he wins NY by only 1149 votes].

1884 Presidential Election



Cleveland's First Term

- ★ The "Veto Governor" from New York.
- ★ First Democrat elected since 1856.
- ★ *A public office is a public trust!*
- ★ His laissez-faire presidency:
 - Opposed bills to assist the poor as well as the rich.
 - Vetoes over 200 special pension bills for Civil War veterans!

Bravo, Señor Clevelando!



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XIII. "Old Grover" Takes Over

- Cleveland in 1885 was first Democrat to take oath of presidency since Buchanan, 28 years earlier
- Cleveland a man of principles:
 - Staunch apostle of hands-off creed of laissez-faire
 - Summed up philosophy in 1887 when he vetoed bill to provide seed for drought-ravaged Texas farmers:
 - "Though the people support the government," "the government should not support the people" -Cleveland

XIII. "Old Grover" Takes Over (cont.)

- Outspoken, unbending, and hot-tempered
- Narrowed North-South chasm by naming two former Confederates to cabinet
- Cleveland whipsawed between demands of:
 - Democratic faithful want jobs
 - Mugwumps, who had helped elect him, want reform
 - At first he favored reform, but eventually caved to carings of Democratic bosses
 - Fired almost two-thirds of 120,000 federal employees, including 40,000 incumbent (Republican) postmasters, to make room for "deserving Democrats"

XIII. "Old Grover" Takes Over (cont.)

- Military pensions gave Cleveland political headaches:
 - Powerful Grand Army of the Republic lobbied for hundreds of pension bills that granted benefits to
 - » Deserters
 - » Bounty jumpers
 - » Men who never served
 - » Former soldiers who incurred disabilities not connected to war
 - Conscience-driven president read each bill carefully:
 - » Vetoes several hundred
 - » Laboriously penned individual veto messages to Congress

XIV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

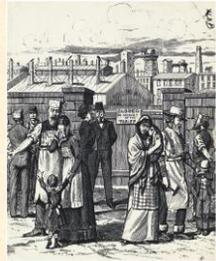
- **Tariff:**
 - Increased to raise revenues for Civil War military
 - Republicans profited from high protection
 - Piled up revenue at customhouses
 - By 1881 Treasury had annual surplus of \$145 million
 - Most government income, pre-income tax, came from tariff

XIV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff (cont.)

- Surplus could be reduced:
 - Squander it on pensions and "porkbarrel" bills—curry favor with veterans and self-seekers
 - Lower tariff—big industrialists vehemently opposed
 - Cleveland knew little and cared less about tariff before entering White House
 - As he studied tariff, he favored downward revision of tariff schedules

XIV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff (cont.)

- Would mean lower prices for consumers and less protection for monopolies
- Would mean end to Treasury surplus
- Cleveland saw his duty and overdid it:
 - Made appeal to Congress late 1887
 - Democrats frustrated
 - Republicans rejoiced at his apparent recklessness:
 - Claimed lower tariffs would mean higher taxes, lower wages, and increased unemployment
 - First time in years, a real issue divided two parties



XIV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff (cont.)

- Upcoming 1888 presidential election:
 - Democrats dejectedly renominated Cleveland in St. Louis convention:
 - Republicans turned to Benjamin Harrison:
 - Grandson of former president William Henry ("Tippecanoe") Harrison
 - Two parties flooded country with 10 million pamphlets on tariff
 - Republicans raised \$3 million—heftiest yet—largely by "frying the fat" of nervous industrialists



XIV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff (cont.)

- Money used to line up corrupt "voting cattle" known as "repeaters" and "floaters"
- In Indiana, crucial "swing" state, votes purchased for as much as \$20 each
- Election day:
 - Harrison nosed out Cleveland 233 to 168 electoral votes
 - Change of 7,000 N.Y. ballots would have reversed outcome
 - Cleveland polled more popular votes:
 - 5,537,857 to 5,447,129
 - Became first sitting president defeated since Martin Van Buren in 1840

The Tariff Issue

- ★ After the Civil War, Congress raised tariffs to protect new US industries.
- ★ Big business wanted to continue this; consumers did not.
- ★ 1885 → tariffs earned the US \$100 mil. in surplus!
- ★ Mugwumps opposed it → WHY???
- ★ President Cleveland's view on tariffs????
- ★ Tariffs became a major issue in the 1888 presidential election.

Filing the Rough



Tariff of 1888

1888 Presidential Election



Grover Cleveland (DEM)

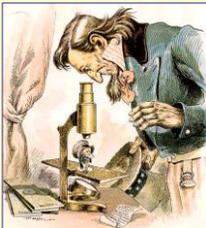


Benjamin Harrison (REP)

Coming Out for Harrison



The Smallest Specimen



1888 Presidential Election



Disposing the Surplus



XV. The Billion-Dollar Congress

- Republican in office:
 - Had only three more votes than necessary in House for quorum
 - Democrats obstructed House business by refusing to answer roll calls:
 - Demanded roll calls to determine presence of quorum
 - Employed other delaying tactics
 - New Republican Speaker of House: Thomas B. Reed of Maine



XV. The Billion-Dollar Congress (cont.)

- Reed bent House to his imperious will
- Counted as present Democrats who had not answered roll and who, rule book in hand, denied they were legally there
- By such tactics "Czar" Reed dominated "Billion-Dollar Congress"—first to appropriate that sum
 - Showered pensions on Civil War veterans
 - Increased government purchases of silver
 - Passed McKinley Tariff Act of 1890:
 - » Boosted rates to highest peacetime level
 - » Average of 48.4 percent on dutiable goods

XV. The Billion-Dollar Congress (cont.)

- Results of McKinley Tariff Act of 1890:
 - Debt-burdened farmers had no choice but to buy manufactured goods from high-priced protected industrialists
 - Compelled to sell their agricultural products in highly competitive, unprotected world markets
 - Mounting discontent against Tariff caused many rural voters to rise in anger
 - In congressional election (1890) Republicans lost majority—seats reduced to 88 as opposed to 235 Democrats
 - Even McKinley defeated
 - New Congress included 9 from Farmers' Alliance—militant organization of southern and western farmers

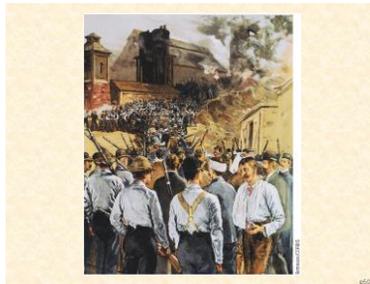


XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent

- People's party or "Populists":
 - Rooted in Farmers' Alliance; met in Omaha (1892)
 - Platform denounced "prolific womb of governmental injustice"
 - Demanded inflation through free and unlimited coinage of silver—16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold
 - Called for graduated income tax
 - Government ownership of railroads and telegraph
 - Direct election of U.S. Senators; one-term limit on presidency; adoption of initiative and referendum to allow citizens to shape legislation directly

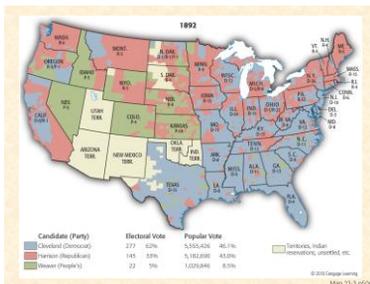
XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent (cont.)

- Shorter workday and immigration restrictions
- Populists uproariously nominated Greenbacker, General James Weaver
- **Homestead Strike (1892):**
 - At Andrew Carnegie's Homestead steel plant, near Pittsburgh, officials called in 300 armed Pinkerton detectives to crush strike by steelworkers over pay cuts
 - Strikers forced Pinkerton assailants to surrender after vicious battle that left 10 dead and 60 wounded
 - After troops entered, union broken



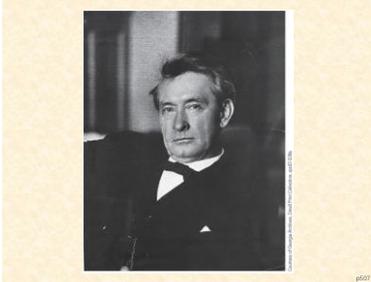
XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent (cont.)

- Populists' remarkable showing:
 - In presidential election (see Map 23.3)
 - Achieved 1,029,846 popular votes and 22 electoral votes for Weaver
 - One of few third parties to win electoral votes
 - Fell far short of electoral majority
 - Populists votes came from only six Midwestern and western states; only four (Kan. Colo. Idaho, Nev.) fell completely into Populist basket



XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent (cont.)

- South unwilling to support new party:
 - one million black farmers organized Colored Farmers' National Alliance:
 - Shared many complaints with poor white farmers
 - Populist leaders reached out to black community
 - Stressed common economic problems
 - Black leaders, disillusioned with Republican party, responded



XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent (cont.)

- Alarmed, white elite in South played upon racial antagonisms to counter Populists' appeal and to woo poor whites back to Democratic party
- Southern blacks were heavy losers
- White southerners used literacy tests and poll taxes to deny blacks the vote
- **Grandfather clause:**
 - Exempted from new requirements anyone whose forebear voted in 1860
 - When black slaves had not voted at all
 - More than a century would pass before southern blacks could again vote in considerable numbers

XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent (cont.)

- **Jim Crow laws:**
 - Imposed racial segregation in public places:
 - Including hotels and restaurants
 - Enforced by lynchings and other forms of intimidation
 - Crusade to eliminate black vote had dire consequences for Populist party:
 - Tom Watson abandoned interracial appeal; became vociferous racist
 - Populist party lapsed into vile racism; advocated black disfranchisement

Changing Public Opinion

- ★ Americans wanted the federal govt. to deal with growing soc. & eco. problems & to curb the power of the trusts:
- Interstate Commerce Act - 1887
- Sherman Antitrust Act - 1890
- McKinley Tariff - 1890
 - Based on the theory that prosperity flowed directly from protectionism.
 - Increased already high rates another 4%
- Rep. Party suffered big losses in 1890 (even McKinley lost his House seat!).

1892 Presidential Election



Grover Cleveland
again * (DEM)



Benjamin Harrison
(REP)



Cleveland Loses Support Fast!

- ★ The only President to serve two non-consecutive terms.
- ★ Blamed for the 1893 Panic.
- ★ Defended the gold standard.
- ★ Used federal troops in the 1894 Pullman strike.
- ★ Refused to sign the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894.
- ★ Repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act.

XVII. Cleveland and Depression

- Cleveland in office again (1893):
 - Only president ever reelected after defeat
 - Same Cleveland, but not same country:
 - Debtors up in arms
 - Workers restless
 - Devastating depression of 1893 burst:
 - Lasted for four years
 - Most punishing economic downturn of 19th century

XVII. Cleveland and Depression (cont.)

- Economic depression of 1893--causes:
 - Splurge of overbuilding and speculation
 - Labor disorders; ongoing agricultural depression
 - Free-silver agitation damaged American credit abroad
 - U.S. finances pinched when European banks began to call in loans
- Depression ran deep and far:
 - 8,000 businesses collapsed in six months
 - Dozens of railroad lines went into receivers' hands

XVII. Cleveland and Depression (cont.)

- Soup kitchens fed unemployed
- Gangs of hoboes ("tramps") wandered country
- Local charities did their feeble best
- U.S. government (bound by let-nature-take-its-course philosophy) saw no legitimate way to relieve suffering
- Cleveland, who had earlier been bothered by a surplus, now burdened with deepening deficit:
 - Treasury required to issue legal tender notes for silver bullion it bought

XVII. Cleveland and Depression (cont.)

- Owners of paper currency would present it for gold
- By law, notes had to be reissued
- New holders would repeat process
- Drained gold in "endless-chain" operation
- Gold reserve in Treasury dropped below \$100 million
 - Cleveland sought repeal of Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890
 - To do so, he summoned Congress into special session
- Cleveland developed malignant growth in his mouth:
 - Removed with extreme secrecy

XVII. Cleveland and Depression (cont.)

- If he had died, Vice President Adlai Stevenson, a "soft-money" person, would be president—
 - would have deepened crisis
- In Congress, debate over repeal of silver act ran its heated course:
 - William Jennings Bryan championed free silver
 - Friends of silver announced "hell would freeze over" before Congress would pass repeal
 - Cleveland broke filibuster
 - Alienated Democratic silverites like Bryan
 - Disrupted his party at start of his term

XVII. Cleveland and Depression (cont.)

- Repeal of Sherman Silver Purchase Act:
 - Only partially stopped drain of gold from Treasury
 - February 1894, gold reserve sank to \$41 million
 - United States in danger of going off gold standard
 - Cleveland floated two Treasury bond issues in 1894 totaling over \$100 million
 - "Endless-chain" operations continued
 - Early 1895 Cleveland turned in desperation to J.P. Morgan, "the bankers' banker," and head of a Wall Street syndicate

XVII. Cleveland and Depression (cont.)

- After tense negotiations at White House, the bankers agreed to lend government \$65 million in gold
- Charged commission of \$7 million
- Did make significant concession when bankers agreed to obtain one-half of gold abroad
- Loan, at least temporarily, helped restore confidence in nation's finances

XVIII. Cleveland Breeds a Backlash

- Gold deal stirred up nation:
 - Symbolized all that was wicked in politics:
 - Cleveland's secretive dealings with Morgan savagely condemned as "sellout" of national government
 - Cleveland certain he had done no wrong
- Cleveland suffered further embarrassment with Wilson-Gorman tariff in 1894.

XIII. Cleveland Breeds a Backlash (cont.)

- Wilson-Gorman tariff:
 - Democrats pledged to lower tariff
 - But bill that made it through Congress loaded with special-interest protection
 - Outraged, Cleveland allowed bill to become law without his signature:
 - Contained 2% tax on incomes over \$4,000
 - When Supreme Court struck down income-tax provision in 1894, Populist and disaffected saw proof courts were tools of plutocrats

XIII. Cleveland Breeds a Backlash (cont.)

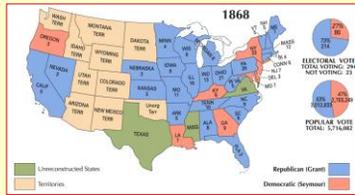
- Democrats' political fortunes:
 - Suffered several setbacks:
 - House Democrats dislodged in 1884
 - Republicans won congressional election in landslide
 - 244 seats to 105 for Democrats
 - Republicans looked forward to presidential race of 1896
 - Cleveland failed to cope with economic crisis of 1893:
 - Became one of "forgettable presidents" along with Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and Harrison

**Presidential
Elections During
the Gilded Age**

Gilded Age Presidents

1. Ulysses S. Grant (1868-1876) – Republican
2. Rutherford B. Hayes (1876-1880) – Republican
3. James A. Garfield (1880-1881) – Republican
4. Chester A. Arthur (1881-1884) – Republican
5. Grover Cleveland (1884-1888) – Democrat
6. Benjamin Harrison (1888-1892) – Republican
7. Grover Cleveland (1892-1896) - Democrat

1868 Presidential Election



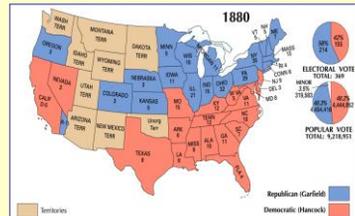
1872 Presidential Election



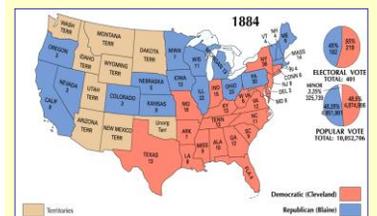
1876 Presidential Election



1880 Presidential Election



1884 Presidential Election



1888 Presidential Election



1892 Presidential Election



Gilded Age Presidents

1. Ulysses S. Grant (1868-1876) – Republican
2. Rutherford B. Hayes (1876-1880) – Republican
3. James A. Garfield (1880-1881) – Republican
4. Chester A. Arthur (1881-1884) – Republican
5. Grover Cleveland (1884-1888) – Democrat
6. Benjamin Harrison (1888-1892) – Republican
7. Grover Cleveland (1892-1896) - Democrat

CHRONOLOGY	
1868	Grant defeats Seymour for presidency
1869	Fisk and Gould corner gold market
1871	Tweed scandal in New York
1872	Credit Mobilier scandal exposed Liberal Republicans break with Grant Grant defeats Greeley for presidency
1873	Panic of 1873
1875	Whiskey Ring scandal Civil Rights Act of 1875 Resumption Act
1876	Hays-Tilden election standoff and crisis
1877	Compromise of 1877 Reconstruction ends Railroad strikes paralyze nation
1880	Garfield defeats Hancock for presidency
1881	Garfield assassinated; Arthur assumes presidency
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act
1883	Civil Rights Cases Pendleton Act sets up Civil Service Commission
1884	Cleveland defeats Blaine for presidency
1888	Harrison defeats Cleveland for presidency
1890	"Billion Dollar" Congress McKinley Tariff Act Sherman Silver Purchase Act (repealed 1893)
1891	Homestead steel strike Cover of Alton (Robert Silver miners' strike) People's party candidate James B. Weaver wins twenty-two electoral votes Cleveland defeats Harrison and Weaver to regain presidency
1893	Depression of 1893 begins Republicans regain House of Representatives
1895	J. P. Morgan's banking syndicate loans \$65 million in gold to federal government
1896	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> legitimizes "separate but equal" doctrine

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Legal Challenges

- ★ *The Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873)
- ★ *Bradwell v. IL* (1873)
- ★ *U. S. v. Cruickshank* (1876)
- ★ *U. S. v. Reese* (1876)