

SILENT MAN MADE RULER

Two Parties in 1868 strove for the Same War Hero—Bloody Shirt Waved—Reconstruction Peril Looms Up—Tilden and Tammany

By FREDERIC J. HASKIN. (Copyright, 1908, by Frederic J. Haskin.) Washington, Sept. 11.—The long and bitter quarrel between President Johnson and congress resulted in the adoption of a policy of reconstruction of the southern states which had in it more of Thaddeus Stevens than of Abraham Lincoln. It resulted also in the enfranchisement of the negroes. But so far as the campaign of 1868 was concerned, its most important result was the adherence of General Ulysses S. Grant to the Republican party and his triumphal election to the presidency. General Grant was the greatest of all war heroes, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he was persuaded to become a candidate.

In the first place Grant was a Democrat, so far as he had any politics at all. His last vote before the war was for a radical pro-slavery Democrat, and he was not even a supporter of Douglas in the quadrennial fight of 1860. He never cast a Republican vote until after he had served eight years as a Republican president. They had even talked of nominating him in 1864. During the Johnson administration there was an earnest effort to get the Democratic party on its feet and to nominate Grant for president. If it had not been for the quarrel between congress and the president, which resulted in a violent break between Grant and Johnson, the probability is that Grant would have been nominated and elected by the Democrats in 1868.

Johnson turned the scales. But Johnson had provoked Grant to anger and had attempted to supersede him in command of the army by calling General Thomas to that position. Grant naturally fought against this move. Republican leaders in congress, nearly all of whom hated Johnson with their whole souls. So when the Republicans began to plead with Grant to be their candidate, he listened. For a time he held back, honestly doubting the wisdom of the move. The Republicans obtained, his candidacy announced and the whole thing was over. So far as the head of the Democratic party, the Republican national convention which met in Chicago on May 20 was merely a ratification meeting.

While some of the southern states were permitted to take part in the election, no attention was paid to them, as it was known that the Democrats would win. The Republicans concluded if their votes affected the result. The race in the north became a contest in loyalty. The Republicans of the war, told the "boys" to "vote as they shot," and called all the Democrats "copperheads." On the other hand, the violent protestations of intense loyalty, assuming the liberties guaranteed by the constitution. For the most part the Democrats were supporters of President Johnson's administration.

The Republican convention met in Chicago on the same day, of course it was an accident that the National Soldiers and Sailors convention met. The soldiers and sailors got under way a little earlier than the Republicans. They recommended the nomination of Grant. The convention, next day, accepted the recommendation with a whoop.

Andy Acquitied, Ben Busted. In some respects, however, it was the "maddest" bunch of Republicans that ever assembled in a national convention. The impeachment of President Johnson had been dragging itself out, and every Republican in the country was absolutely confident that the verdict of the senate would be "guilty." Only four days before the Chicago convention met, the senate voted and Johnson was acquitted. The vote was 34 guilty, and 19 not guilty, but that lacked one vote of being the requisite two-thirds. Seven Republicans had joined the 12 Democrats then in the senate in voting for acquittal. In the convention these senators were called the "seven traitors." Whatever may be the final verdict of history in the case of Andrew Johnson as a statesman, it is already unanimously agreed that his acquittal in the impeachment proceedings was right.

There was old Ben Wade, president pro tempore of the senate. If Johnson had been convicted he would have succeeded to the presidency under the old order of succession. He thought it was a certainty Grant was to be nominated, but Wade was running for vice-president on the strength of promising patronage for the few months he was to be president. The Wade-Ben Wade through when Johnson was acquitted and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana got second place on the ticket.

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the Republicans and told them that if they would let reconstruction stay at its present status the south would become Republican. Perhaps it would have done so, but there was more reconstruction to come. Governor Brown afterward came to the United States senate as a Democrat and his son, "Little Joe," was only recently nominated for governor of Georgia by the Democrats.

and president it was Salmon P. Chase. And if ever an aspirant had a supporter who was always faithful and always enthusiastic, it was Chase's daughter, Kate Chase Sprague. Chase had been a candidate in various parties before the war, he had opposed Lincoln for the nomination in 1860, and Lincoln had returned good for evil by making him Chief Justice of the supreme court, despite the memory of his quarrel with Chase as secretary of the treasury early in his administration.

It was now 1868 and Chase was again a candidate, this time for the Democratic leadership. He had presided over the trial of Andrew Johnson as chief justice, and the "fairness and impartiality" of his rulings were specifically commended in the Democratic platform. Seymour had fixed it up to give Chase the nomination. After the twenty-first ballot was taken on the fifth day of the convention Seymour left the chair to go out in the hall and organize the Chase stampede, which was to come off on the twenty-third ballot.

Now Samuel J. Tilden was there, and he was absolutely opposed to the nomination of Chase. He was informed as to Seymour's plans, and Seymour had left the chair but a moment when Tilden was in action. He started the Seymour stampede on the twenty-second ballot. Seymour rushed back to the platform, and as state after state followed Tilden as a lead, he said, "I am your candidate I can not be." But he was, and eight years afterward, when Samuel J. Tilden was contesting his right to the presidency before an extra constitutional tribunal, Kate Chase remembered that Tilden, who blocked her father's last hope of the presidency, and was revenged.

Grant, 214; Seymour, 80. The election was a walkway for Grant. He received 214 electoral votes to Seymour's 80. Seymour carried only eight states—Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Oregon. The first news from New York placed Seymour's majority at about 100,000. The exact figures varying. When the "official returns" were tabulated it was found that Seymour had received 29,882 votes and that Grant had received 419,882, leaving Seymour a plurality in the state of exactly 10,000 votes. Such an exact majority in such round numbers seem remarkable these days, but it must be remembered that Tammany hall was then all powerful, and William M. Tweed was at the head of its affairs, ruling both New York and Albany.

Paving the Way for Revolt. This was the first time that South Carolina held a popular election for presidential electors. Until the civil war, South Carolina always appointed its electors by the legislature. The reconstruction constitution provided for a popular election. Grant carried the state by over 10,000 majority and received its six votes. Of course most of the white people of South Carolina were not permitted to vote.

The campaign was not a close one, but it was bitter as gall. The Republican orators all over the country made "democracy" and "rebellion" out to be synonymous, uttering "ignoring the records of the war Democrats. This attitude led to estrangements at the north, and paved the way for the great liberal Republican revolt which was to come four years later.

Special Dispatch to The Journal's Toronto, Ont., Sept. 11.—Beginning next week and continuing until well into the winter the extension of the laymen's missionary movement throughout Canada is to be pushed forward vigorously by the holding of a series of institutes in a number of cities. The campaign will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

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WHY STEPHEN CHRISTY WAS WEARY OF LIFE. IMPERIAL VALLEY HOUSES WRECKED. (United Press Leased Wire.) Berkeley, Cal., Sept. 11.—The motive in the case of Stephen Field Christy, who deliberately lay down on the railroad track at Auburn yesterday and allowed a passing train to sever his head from his body, came to light today through letters he left addressed to his parents. In these he said he was tired of life and found he could not make a success. The boy was 17 years of age. He had been an invalid for 10 years as the result of a kick in the back administered by a playmate.

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