CHAPTER XXI
RECONSTRUCTION UNDER JOHNSON AND GRANT
1865-1877

Summer—Democratic Tidal Wave—Anti-Third Term Resolution.

"JOHNSON, we have faith in you. By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government." So Senator Benjamin Wade, at the head of the joint Congressional committee on the conduct of the war, addressed President Andrew Johnson the day after he was sworn in as Chief Executive after Lincoln's death, as reported by Representative Julian of Indiana, present as a member of the committee. "I hold," said the new President, "treason is a crime and must be punished. Treason must be made infamous and traitors must be impoverished!"

This conversation illustrates a fact that seems strange indeed: that Radical Republicans looked on Lincoln's death as a godsend, as many of the devout ones saw in it a dispensation of Providence removing the great obstacle to punishing their late enemies. It demonstrates, too, how immediately the Republican Party departed from the principles and policies of Lincoln.

The history of the Democratic Party during the reconstruction period is that of a small minority handicapped by the majority party's added strength by reason of having just successfully conducted a war. All the minority could accomplish was sometimes to modify the majority action by siding with the moderates when there were party divisions.

The Radicals soon discovered that they had misunderstood Johnson's views and policies. He hated treason and traitors, as he termed them, but he did not hate states nor the mass of the people of the seceded states. An Andrew Jackson, strict-construction, states rights, anti-tariff Democrat, he had in 1860 stumped his state for Breckenridge. But he loved the Union and hated those he deemed responsible for secession, who might be described as the official and the higher classes. Lower than Confederate Colonels and men worth say $20,000 and over, the hate of Andrew Johnson did not descend. He thought he knew in what ranks secession had been bred.

Johnson was a sober-minded, intense sort of man. It is said that the only time he ever evoked so much as a smile in Congress was when in a Senate speech in 1861 he expressed a wish that Massachusetts and South Carolina might be chained together, taken to some remote spot in the ocean and fast anchored there to be washed by the waves and cooled by the winds until the other states recalled them.

Johnson's reconstruction plan was much as that of Lincoln's, though not quite so liberal—to get the states back into practical relation with the Union as soon as possible. He required three conditions: the repeal of secession, acceptance of emancipation and repudiation of Confederate debts. Later he added the adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments.

The Democratic regret over the death of the Whig Party was justified now. It was felt that Northern and Southern Whigs could and would have reunited as thoroughly as the Democrats of the two sections did when peace came. The Republican Party had no old Southern affiliations or ties, though former Whigs and Free-Soil Democrats, now Republicans, were a small element, but they were outnumbered and outgeneraled by the Radicals.

The first thing the Radical Congress did was to refuse recognition to the new Senators and Representatives from the South, and to appoint a "Reconstruction" committee to report whether those states were entitled to be represented in Congress. One political fact stood out glaringly: the freed negroes, each of whom now counted for a whole man instead of only three-fifths of one in Congress, increased Southern representation about one-fourth in Congress and in the Electoral College. This had its due and undue weight in every reconstruction measure considered. Nor were the states' county and municipal offices in the South left out of consideration.

The Democrats stood on the Constitution and on the Crittenden Resolution, adopted July 2, 1861, in the Senate 30 to 5, in the House with only two dissenting votes. It had been passed after states had seceded and while the other slave states were undecided. It had been adopted to keep those border states in the Union, and on faith of it they had remained and sent soldiers.
to the Union armies. The Democrats had strong ground here as a reading of the resolution will show.

"That this war is not prosecuted upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights and established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Democratic feeling in the North was well expressed by the resolutions passed at a great Tammany meeting in 1866.

"When we entered the late war, when we put our money, our lives, our reputation in the contest to put down the rebellion, we did it for the sake of preserving the Union and not for keeping the states out of the Union."

John Sharp Williams, in a letter written in 1828 to the author, says that had it not been for the encouragement and support of the Northern Democrats, especially those of Indiana, New Jersey and New York City, the Southern Democrats might have given up the fight and the Cotton States suffered a fate comparable to that of Haiti or Santo Domingo.

Sumner elaborated a theory of "State suicide" which destroyed all rights of seceded states; Stevens without any fine-spun theories declared them conquered provinces, and that Congress, not the President, had the power to deal with them.

The theory of an indissoluble Union could not withstand the practical necessities of the situation. The Democratic logic was good, but the logic of events, the logic of politics and of the election returns prevailed over it. Again was the moral commonplace of the people against the Democrats, and opposed to turning over to the Southern states the civil and political future of the emancipated negroes, as much as the fair-minded people of the North realized the evils of negro sufrage, only six Northern states allowing negroes to vote.

"The problem was finally worked out during the succeeding twelve years, in an American way; E. L. Godkin summarized completed reconstruction as—"The work of sentimentalists controlled by knaves." Through it all the Democrats worked with the moderate Republicans for a plan as like Lincoln's as developments permitted. The Liberal Republicans in and out of Congress, Senators like Trumbull, in whose office William Jennings Bryan studied law later, B. Gratz Brown, Doolittle, Dixon and Cowan, and Governors Andrews of Massachusetts and Morton of Indiana were in accord with Democratic views on reconstruction. From the Democrats no positive action was possible or needed; their whole duty was to restrain immoderate action.

The better opinion now is that had the Lincoln-Johnson Democratic plan been carried out a saner and earlier reconstruction would have resulted. John Sherman, at that time a thoroughly Radical, and at all times a stubborn-minded Republican, in his Recollections says: "After this long lapse of time, I am convinced that Mr. Johnson's scheme of reorganization was wise and judicious. It was unfortunate that it had not the sanction of Congress, and that events soon brought the President and Congress into hostilities."

The Democrats opposed the 14th and 15th Amendments, the bill curtailing the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and all radical legislation.

With the conservative Republicans the Democrats defeated the impeachment of Andrew Johnson and saved the nation from an act of gross partisan injustice and folly.

The Senate consisted of 40 Republicans, 8 Democrats and 3 Independents; the House of 145 Republicans and 40 Democrats. Congress' first act, the Stevens' reconstruction committee resolution, was adopted 133 to 36 in the House, and barred forthwith Johnson's policy.

The Thirty-ninth Congress had in the Senate 40 Republicans, 8 Democrats and 3 Independents; in the House 145 Republicans and 40 Democrats. The Forty-first Congress was made up of a Senate of 55 Republicans, 8 Democrats and 3 Independents, and a House of 174 Republicans and 49 Democrats and Independents. It was this Congress that put through the 14th and 15th Amendments, curtained the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and purchased Alaska, this last measure receiving Democratic support and opposition from some leading Radicals. It impeached President Johnson. The tone of the majority of this Congress may be judged from the fact that it applauded the action of Wade, President of the Senate, who would succeed to the Presidency in the event of Johnson's conviction, in voting guilty on every count in the articles of impeachment.

Grave fears were excited in conservative minds when a bank, whose president was H. D. Cooke, a member of Jay Cooke & Co., the financial agents of the government, advertised in 1867 for Confederate bonds. Was there to be another "assumption of state debts?"
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The Democrats joined with conservative Republicans in attempting tax reduction, but no tariff bill could be passed, the House being in control of high-tariff advocates who fought for an increase of rates admittedly excessive when made and only justified as a war measure. The Senate favored a lowering of rates. The woolen growers and manufacturers combined and succeeded in putting a high tariff on wool, just as they did forty-five years later when President Taft said in speaking of the famous Schedule K: "It was found that in the Republican Party the interests of the wool growers of the West and the woolen manufacturers of the East are still sufficiently strong to defeat any attempt to change the woolen-tariff."

On the question of contraction of the currency, the Democrats rejected the lead of Thayer and Bayard, Democrats, and followed John Sherman, Republican, who afterward changed his views, and voted against contraction.

Grant's nomination by the Republicans in 1868 was a foregone conclusion sometime before the convention, and the convention there was over the selection for second place. Grant had been a Democrat, voting for Buchanan, and favoring Douglas in 1860, though he had cared little for politics.

The Democrats wished much to nominate Grant, but he felt that he owed his eminence to the other party, probably agreed with it on most matters, and his quarrel with Johnson over his giving up the War portfolio to Stanton without warning threw the General still more into Republican and Radical hands, and caused the latter to trust him and his views.

The Republican convention met at Chicago May 20th, and Grant was nominated by acclamation. On the fifth ballot Schuyler Colfax was chosen for second place. This gave adjoining states, Illinois and Indiana, the two places on the ticket.

The Tenth Democratic National Convention met in Tammany Hall, New York, July 4th. "Gentleman" George Pendleton, the Vice-Presidential nominee of 1864, champion of what was called the "Ohio Idea," had long been the leading candidate of those who favored paying the U. S. 5-20 war bonds in greenbacks and not in gold. This Ohio idea developed later into the Greenback Party. General Winfield Scott Hancock was the favorite of the Soldiers and Sailors; he was popular, too, at the South because of his course as military governor of Louisiana. The Southern delegates outwardly were for President Johnson, but with only half a heart. Chief Justice Chase had friends in this convention as well as at the Chicago one; his Democracy clung to him through all vicissitudes of politics. His elimination as a candidate was attributed to Tilden's skillful opposition,—and Kate Chase Sprague remembered this in 1876.

This convention was the first national convention since 1860 in which all states were represented. As no vice-chairman was elected by the Democratic National Committee, called to order, Henry L. Palmer was temporary, Horatio Seymour permanent chairman. The two-thirds and unit rules were adopted by adopting the rules of the 1864 convention, the proposal to adopt the rules of the "Radical" House of Representatives being overwhelmingly rejected. The unit rule was twice questioned and upheld. The two-thirds rule came up for interpretation and it was held that a nomination required two-thirds of the number of the Electoral College, that is, of a full convention, not merely of the number voting. General Richardson, Douglass' manager at Charleston and Baltimore in 1860, opposed the rule and announced that he would move that in all future conventions it be abandoned as mischievous and un-Democratic. Kernan of New York defended it as assuring Democratic sentiment; he did not want his own or any others' judgment to prevail unless two-thirds of the convention approved it.

The territories were denied representation. A memorial from the Women's Suffrage Association, signed by Susan Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Horace Greeley was received and read, but no action taken on it. The platform was adopted before nominations allowed.

The platform unanimously recommended by the resolutions committee was adopted by the convention without discussion or dissent. The nominating speeches were limited to five minutes.

The first ballot was, Pendleton 105, Johnson 65, Hancock 33, the other votes scattered among favorite sons. Johnson immediately began to fade out of the picture, losing 13 on the second ballot, Hancock gaining him. For many ballots Hancock, Hendricks and Pendleton ran well without making any progress. Pendleton's name was withdrawn and the nineteenth ballot gave Hancock 135, Hendricks 107. It was said that the East wanted neither of these two and kept the vote scattered, but the ballots afforded no proof of this.

When Ohio was called on the twenty-second ballot, General
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The security environment is experiencing a transformation. The cyber environment is evolving, and there is a growing need to protect critical infrastructure and sensitive data. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is leading the effort to enhance cybersecurity and protect against cyber threats.

DHS has developed a strategy to address these challenges, which includes improving cybersecurity awareness, promoting best practices, and collaborating with industry and other stakeholders. The goal is to create a more resilient and secure cyber environment that can withstand attacks and respond effectively to incidents.

This strategy is part of a broader national effort to improve cybersecurity. It aligns with the Administration's priorities and supports the President's Cybersecurity Agenda.

The DHS's cybersecurity strategy is based on three pillars:

1. Enhancing Cybersecurity Awareness and Sharing:
   - Increase the number of cyber incidents that are reported.
   - Improve the sharing of threat information among government agencies, industry, and other stakeholders.
   - Develop tools to help organizations better understand and respond to cyber threats.

2. Improving Risk Management:
   - Implement risk management practices that are tailored to the specific needs of different sectors.
   - Develop metrics to measure the effectiveness of risk management strategies.
   - Foster a culture of continuous improvement in risk management practices.

3. Securing Critical Infrastructure:
   - Identify and prioritize critical infrastructure sectors to ensure that they are protected against cyber threats.
   - Develop and implement robust cybersecurity measures for critical infrastructure sectors.
   - Promote collaboration between government and industry to share best practices and resources.

The DHS's cybersecurity strategy is a comprehensive approach that addresses both the challenges and opportunities of the cyber environment. It is designed to help protect our nation's vital interests and maintain the trust of our citizens.
A further examination of the participation equation in 1929 has been conducted, which suggests that the diffusion of information and the creation of consciousness from the top-down process has been more effective in promoting awareness and participation in the democratic process.

The effect of this diffusion on the participation equation has been significant. The results indicate that the top-down process of information diffusion has led to increased participation rates, particularly among the younger generations. The diffusion of information has been facilitated through various channels, including the media, community meetings, and educational institutions.

The diffusion process has not only increased participation rates but has also enhanced the quality of participation. Participants are more informed and engaged, leading to more effective decision-making and policy formulation.

In conclusion, the diffusion of information through the top-down process has played a crucial role in increasing participation and enhancing the democratic process. Future research should continue to explore the mechanisms through which information diffusion affects participation and the implications for democratic governance.
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TILTON, ALVAREZ, DISTRICT ELECTION

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