ON HOW THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WON ELECTIONS: 1860 TO 1892

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ON HOW THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WON ELECTIONS: 1860 TO 1892

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The Republican Party held the Presidency from 1861 to 1885, 1897 to 1913, and 1921 to 1933. In this thesis, I will focus on the election of Lincoln in 1860 to the reelection of Cleveland in 1892. I will give the history and the reasons why the Republicans had won for so many consecutive elections. I argue that this is done in two phases for this timespan, the first phase was due to structural advantages, and the second was due to personality.

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I. Introduction

Between 1861 and 1897 (a thirty-six year period of time), the Republican Party held the Presidency for twenty-eight years. Out of the nine quadrennial presidential elections during this time, the Republican candidates won seven of the elections. The exceptions were the elections of 1884 and 1892 when Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland defeated Republican James G. Blaine and Republican Benjamin Harrison, respectively. Republicans were able to hold the presidency for nearly three decades because of two main reasons: structural advantages and personality.

There are many books on the presidents, most of them focusing on one president at a time and none giving appropriate coverage to the causes that led to the Republican Party dominating the presidency in the second half of the nineteenth century. This extended period in power contrasts the current trend in presidential elections. Since the election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952, the Presidency has switched between Democrats and Republicans every eight years. This is excluding President Jimmy Carter's failed reelection bid in 1980 against President Ronald Reagan, which broke the trend briefly with the Democrats having power for a four year period and the Republicans having power for twelve years during Reagan's two terms and President George H. W. Bush's one term. Even in those cases, party change was far more predictive than party consistency in the presidency. Thus the period in focus here is unique not only in the context of the events that occurred during that time period but in comparison to then-future trends.

First, the Republican Party enjoyed structural advantages from about 1860 to 1876, including the Electoral College, the Civil War, voting rights (enfranchisement and disenfranchisement), and Reconstruction. These advantages were important because they

allowed for several things; first, in 1860 the Democrats were not unified and, therefore, failed to win the Electoral College. Second, the South could not vote during the Civil War, which led to the Democrats in the North failing to win the Electoral College. Third, during Reconstruction, the South was under military occupation and many former Confederates were disenfranshized while freedmen were enfranchised and voted overwhelmingly Republican.

Throughout this first era of the Civil War and Reconstruction and especially towards the end of President Andrew Johnson's administration, Southerners were opposed to the corruption of the military rule over them. When President Rutherford B. Hayes was elected in 1876, he agreed to end Reconstruction and with it, the structural advantages that flowed from it for the Republican Party. At this point, elections at the presidential level shifted in tone to being personality-driven, rather than driven by structural advantage. This trend toward a party of personality showed signs of strength previously with the election of President Ulysses S. Grant, but it was not until the election of 1880 with President James Garfield where candidates were really forced to rely on personality. By personality, I mean charisma, oratory, or celebrity status such as famous Civil War Generals like Grant and Garfield or like Benjamin Harrison who was the grandson of President and military hero William Henry Harrison.

To begin, I will discuss the history of the elections from 1860 to 1897 in two groupings: Civil War/Reconstruction Era (President Lincoln to President Grant) and the Gilded Age (President Hayes to President Cleveland's second term). Throughout both of these sections, I will give some historical context and examine the results of the primaries and the general elections, the major events that may have played a role in determining the

succeeding election, and the candidates themselves. Following each of these two sections, I will give on overall analysis of the elections for the Era.

II. The Early Party

A. The Establishment of the Republican Party

The Republican Party was formed on July 6, 1854 in Jackson, Michigan (Note: the GOP had a meetings in Ripon, Wisconsin, Kalamazoo, Detroit, and Jackson, Michigan, before the Party was formally founded). The Republican Party was a coalition comprised of members from the dissolving Whig Party, the Free-Soil Party, and Northern Democrats who wished to preserve the power balance between the Northern Free States and the Southern Slave States after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Kansas-Nebraska Act provided that all newly admitted states north of the 36°30' demarcation were to be free states and those south of it would be permitted to be slave states, excluding the already existing states of Kentucky, Virginia (West Virginia was part of the state until 1863), Maryland, and Delaware all of which were completely or at least partially above the 36°30' demarcation and Missouri which was to be accepted as a Slave State as part of this compromise. Kansas and Nebraska were permitted to choose to be Free or Slave States based on the idea of "popular sovereignty." Not wanting the balance of national power to shift n the direction of slave states, the group formed the Republican Party to prevent the expansion of slavery into the new territories.

The Republican Party ran their first candidate John C. Frémont for President in 1856, just two years after the Party formed. Despite only having two years to institute party governance, recruit members, and develop their platform, they were able to run a respectable

campaign. Frémont of California (which had only become a state six years earlier in 1850) had received 114 Electoral Votes out of the 296 available—and only thirty-five short of the threshold needed to win. Frémont ran against former President Millard Fillmore of New York who ran as an American (Know-Nothing) Party candidate who received eight Electoral Votes and against Democrat James Buchanan of Pennsylvania who won with 174 Electoral Votes. This was particularly impressive as the Republican Party in this election was the most successful a new party has ever been and they managed to accomplish that feat in just two years.

B. Lincoln and the Election of 1860

The Presidential election of 1860 was the first election that the Republican Party won and began the Republican's dominance of the Presidency until Democratic President Grover Cleveland won the presidency in the election of 1884. This is due to the structural advantages and later due to the personality of the candidates.

The second Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, Illinois from May 16 to 18, 1860, no delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Tennessee attended the convention. There were five main candidates for the presidential nominee, Rep. Edward Bates of Missouri, Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Governor Salmon Chase of Ohio, Representative Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Senator William Seward of New York. There were three ballots cast and a fourth "corrected" ballot was redone as Lincoln was close to the necessary 233 votes to gain the nomination, which resulted in Lincoln having 349 of 466 votes, Seward 111.5, Dayton of New Jersey one, Chase two, Associate Justice Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky one, and Associate Justice John McLean of Ohio half a vote. The Vice Presidential

nomination only took two votes. Lincoln and Hamlin became the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees for the Republican Party.

The Democratic Party, split between the North and South, held three separate conventions. Between April 23 and May 3, the Democrats held a convention in Charleston, South Carolina and between June 18 and 23, they held a convention in Baltimore, Maryland, and the third convention for the Southern Democrats in Baltimore on June 28. The first convention in Charleston was contentious from the very start; the so-called "Fire Eaters" (radical pro-slavery Southerners who wanted to secede from the Union) decided they would attempt to push for a strong pro-slavery platform in which presumptive nominee Steven Douglas would not be able to defend. This, the Fire Eaters hoped, would make his nomination unlikely, as Douglas had been the main advocate for "Popular Sovereignty". The Fire Eaters failed. On April 30, the Northern Democrats were able to pass their platform, which caused fifty southern delegates to leave in protest. [1] Douglas needed two-thirds of the total number of delegates, 202 of 253, but the most he received out of fifty-seven ballots cast was 152.5 (on the thirty-third and thirty-forth ballots), and he had 151.5 on the fifty-seventh ballot. The convention adjourned without nominating a candidate for president, but agreed to reconvene in Baltimore on June 18.

The Baltimore convention started out with problems as well, the credentials committee had decided whether to readmit the fifty delegates that left in protest at the Charleston convention. The delegates were permitted back except some delegates from Alabama and Louisiana who had been replaced. Their replacement caused more delegates to

[1] Catton, Bruce. The Coming Fury. London: Phoenix, 2001, 37-40.

defect. Due to the defection, Douglas was finally able to get the two-thirds majority necessary to win the party's nomination on the second ballot, leaving the Democratic Party split on sectional ideals and geographically split. Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama won the Vice Presidential nomination, however later refused the nomination, which caused Douglas to offer the nomination to former Governor Herschel Johnson of Georgia.

The defected southern delegates reconvened in Baltimore on June 28 and voted for former Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky over Senator Daniel Dickinson of New York with eighty-one votes to Dickinson's twenty-four votes. Senator Joseph Lane of Oregon was selected as the Vice Presidential nominee. The platforms for the Northern Democrats had many key similarities to the Southern Democrats' platform, though not as rigid on the slavery issue. The Northern Democrats reaffirmed the 1856 platform in addition to acknowledging the differences in the Democratic Party regarding slavery and as a result, the Party vowed to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court. They believed that a railroad connecting the coasts was vital for speedy communications, postal service, commerce, and for the military. In addition to those goals, they argued that any attempt to weaken the Fugitive Slave Law was "hostile in character, subversive to the Constitution, and revolutionary," and that they also desired to annex Cuba, as it could be another slave state. [2]

The Southern Democrats' platform claimed that due to the temporary nature of state government, all citizens had the right to move to these territories with their property, including their slaves regardless of the laws of the territories. This would undo the idea of popular sovereignty and any idea of establishing locations for Slave and Free States as the

[2] "Democratic Party Platform." Avalon Project - Democratic Party Platform; June 18, 1860. 2008. Accessed May 04, 2017. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/dem1860.asp.

Missouri Compromise had done. Further, they demanded that the government protect property—the definition of which extended to slaves—in a policy move that angered many who opposed slavery. Similar to the Northern Democrats, the Southern Democrats condemned any actions to weaken the Fugitive Slave Law, the annexation of Cuba, and the creation of a transcontinental railroad.

These platforms demonstrate the deep divide between North and South and the weakened state of the Democrats in the North. By verifying that they were the Party of Slavery in the South, the Democrats in North would be dominated by the more liberal and anti-slavery views of abolitionists. This split resulted in the Republican candidate receiving the bulk of the Electoral College votes.

The Constitutional Union Party was a coalition of former Know-Nothings, former Whigs, and Southern Democrats who wished to prevent secession. The Party chose former Senator John Bell of Tennessee for their Presidential nominee and former Senator and Secretary of State Edward Everett of Massachusetts for their Vice Presidential nominee at their convention in Baltimore on May 9, 1860. Bell won on the second ballot with 138 votes over his main rival Governor Sam Houston of Texas who had sixty-nine votes. Everett was nominated for Vice President by voice vote.

With the Democratic Party split between Northern Democrat Douglas and Southern Democrat Breckinridge, as well as the Constitutional Union Party candidate Bell adding to the division, Lincoln swept the Electoral College while only having around 40 percent of the popular vote and not even being on the ballot in some Southern states. Lincoln claimed a total of 180 electoral votes. Douglas, while receiving 29.5 percent of the popular vote, only

received twelve electoral votes. Breckinridge won 18.1 percent of the vote and received seventy-two electoral votes. Bell won 12.6 percent of the vote and thirty-nine electoral votes.

The election had essentially been handed to Lincoln, with the Democrats splitting their votes between two main candidates and even a portion going for Bell, he was able to gain the majority, if not the plurality of votes in the North. Douglas had been denied more electoral votes because Breckinridge took the majority of votes in several states in the South and the plurality of votes in the rest of the South. Bell took the plurality in the boarder states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia; Lincoln did the same in the North. However, even if it were just Douglas and Lincoln, the vote likely would have still been Lincoln 180 to Douglas 123. Further, if Douglas could have flipped Pennsylvania, Lincoln would still have won by one electoral vote, 153 to 150. Lincoln won due to the structural advantage of the Electoral College. The Democratic Party's split was certainly a huge benefit to the Republicans, but it was likely that the coalition that the Republicans had built in addition to the drastically growing rift between the Southern pro-slavery and the Northern free-states left the Northern Electoral votes to the Republican candidate.

In the election of 1856, Indiana, Illinois, and Pennsylvania had been Democratic states, however, in 1860, Lincoln swept Indiana, most of Illinois (his home state) with the exception of the less populated southern portion, which voted for the native Douglas. Pennsylvania was the closest of these three states to go to the Democrats. Lincoln won it by a sizable margin of 56 percent to Breckinridge's 37.5 percent. This election was won solely on sectional votes: the North was more populous and had been almost totally unified by the Republican Party, ensured that Lincoln would sweep the Electoral College.

C. Lincoln and the Election of 1864

During the Election of 1864, the Northern Democrats attempted to save their party by distancing themselves from the secessionists in the South by running their faction of the Party as "anti-emancipation, anti-negro, and anti-war sentiments." [3] They also cited military defeats in the North and the cost of the war as reasons to oppose the Republicans and their war against the South. This was a great tactic. While it is contrary to our present-day view of Lincoln as one of the great Presidents, if not the greatest President in history (as shown in polls conducted by CSPAN since 2000[4]), Lincoln was viewed unfavorably during his presidency for his actions during the Civil War. His low approval rating was due to issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, allowing blacks into the military, conscriptions, the death toll, and the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus in several states, especially in Maryland. The Democrats even linked the Civil War, or "the War of Northern Aggression," to the Revolutionary War and defending the Constitution, as Democrats believed both wars were fought to protect property rights.

The Democrats in the North were divided into two groups: the War Democrats and the Peace Democrats, the most radical of the latter group were called Copperheads. The War Democrats wished to preserve the Union and wanted to keep slavery. However, slavery was a secondary issue compared to the preservation of the Union, meaning they would accept

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[3] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 178

[4] Presidential Historians Survey 2017." Total Scores/Overall Rankings | C-SPAN Survey on Presidents 2017. 2017. Accessed March 2017. https://www.cspan.org/presidentsurvey2017/?page=overall.

preservation of the Union without slavery if that would end the war sooner and bring the South back into the fold. The Peace Democrats wanted the war to end immediately and have the terms of peace be in favor of the South. They opposed the war, opposed blacks, and opposed anti-slavery policies.

In addition to the philosophical split, the Democratic Party had split along regional differences with the Northern Democrats supporting Stephen Douglas and the Southern Democrats supporting John C. Breckenridge. As such, the Party had faced an uphill battle to unification, including the division over the national position on the Civil War itself. This overwhelming lack of unity ensured that they were ill equipped going into the Midterm election in 1862. The Republicans maintained control in the House and Senate, though their control was reduced.

The Republicans had their own troubles, though not as large as the split between the Democrats. While the Republicans had a strong abolitionist faction known as "Radical Republicans," they also contained a larger, more Moderate faction, led by Lincoln, which wanted to end the war and, if possible, free the slaves and a Conservative faction that believed that the war should end as soon as possible and that the federal government should not outlaw slavery, but rather leave it up to each state to decide. Because of the criticisms of the Moderates, specifically criticisms towards President Lincoln, by the other two factions, the Republicans were forced to reevaluate their electoral strategy for the 1864 Presidential election.

The divisions in both parties led the Moderate Republicans to create a coalitional party with Conservative Republicans and War Democrats, named the National Union Party. The National Union Party platform had eleven main points, most notable for war related

ideals: the unconditional surrender of the South, the outlaw slavery in the United States, and the protection of the rights of all Americans under law regardless of skin color. Economically they believed that immigrants should be welcomed to the country, a railroad should be constructed to connect the two coasts, and "just taxes" should be created. With regards to the economic positions, the Party wanted to promote immigration as immigrants provide wealth and development, and the railroad would connect the nation together as California, Oregon, and Nevada were separated from the rest of the country by unsettled territory.[5]

The National Union Party met in Baltimore on June 7 and 8, 1864 for their convention. Lincoln won the nomination with just one ballot cast, after Missouri "recast" their twenty-two votes from General Ulysses S. Grant to Lincoln. The incumbent Vice President Hannibal Hamlin of Maine had wished to be re-nominated, however Lincoln left the Vice Presidential choice up to the convention voters without his input.[6] There were many other potential Vice Presidential candidates, most notably: Democratic Attorney General of New York Daniel S. Dickinson, former Democrat Massachusetts Senator Benjamin Butler, who strongly favored slavery but was loyal to the Union, and former Democratic Senator and Military Governor of Tennessee Andrew Johnson.

Johnson won the most votes on the first ballot but more than doubled his votes on the revised ballot for a total of 492 votes. Johnson's victory over the incumbent Hamlin would help Lincoln win over the War Democrats and Conservative Republican voters. In a letter to

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[5] Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1864," June 7, 1864. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29621.

[6] Goodwin, Doris Kearns. Team of rivals: the political genius of Abraham Lincoln. London: Penguin Books, 2013, 624.

The New York Times on July 2, Johnson denounced the actions of Southerners as treasonous and wrote that such actions should be punished with death. Johnson even pointed out that Southerners have wanted disunion for decades, quoting back to a letter that President Andrew Jackson wrote to Reverend A.J. Crawford on May 1, 1833 in regards to the Nullification Crisis: "Therefore the tariff was only a pretext, and disunion and a southern confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro, or slave question." Johnson viewed this as a verified prediction as he stated, "now not only 'the negro, or slavery question,' as a pretext, but the real cause of the rebellion, and both must go down together." Johnson further wrote how he supported slavery when it was subject to the Constitution, but now saw it as the sole cause of rebellion and therefore tried to "rise above the government, and control its action." Johnson accepted the nomination and called for his Democratic friends to realize that if the Rebellion won both governments, the North and the South would fail.[7] The result of the 1864 convention marked the only time in U.S. history that a party nominated individuals from two rival parties in an effort to build unity. The strong stances against Southerners by Johnson helped to solidify the coalition that Lincoln created.

The Radical Republicans held a convention before the National Union Party, on May 29, 1864 in Cleveland, Ohio in which they formed the Radical Democracy Party. The Party's platform advocated for a constitutional amendment ending slavery and protecting civil rights, Congress would lead Reconstruction, and the confiscation of Confederate lands.[8] The Party chose the 1856 Republican Presidential nominee John C. Frémont of California and General

[7] "THE BALTIMORE NOMINATIONS.; Correspondence with Gov. Johnson He Accepts the Nomination of the Vice-Presidency." The New York Times. July 23, 1864. http://www.nytimes.com/1864/07/23/news/baltimore-nominations-correspondence-with-gov-johnson-he-accepts-nomination-vice.html?pagewanted=all.
[8] Goodwin, Doris Kearns. Team of rivals: the political genius of Abraham Lincoln. London: Penguin Books, 2013, 624.

John Cochrane of New York for their Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, respectively. Frémont believed that Lincoln would lose and likewise, Lincoln feared he could lose especially with Frémont acting as a spoiler candidate, taking the Radical Republican votes from him. *The New York Times* published Frémont's remarks regarding his acceptance of the Radical Democracy Party's nomination for President, in which he states with regards to the potential re-nomination of Lincoln, "there will remain no alternative but to organize against him every element of conscientious opposition, with the view to prevent the misfortune of his election."[9] Lincoln, however, did receive the nomination, which resulted in Frémont remaining in the race for President for several months even while some of his fellow Radical Republican colleagues recommended that he withdraw to help prevent the Democrats from winning the election. Frémont did eventually withdraw on September 21, 1864. His withdrawal statement was published by *The New York Times* on September 23,

> I feel it is my duty to…withdraw my name from the list of candidates. The Presidential question has in effect been entered upon in such a way that the Union of the Republican Party has become a paramount necessity. The policy of the Democratic Party signifies either separation, or reestablishment with slavery. The Chicago Platform is simply separation. Gen. McClellan's letter of acceptance is reestablished with slavery.

Frémont continued with how Lincoln promised to restore the Union without slavery and that the Republican Party could force him to follow through with the commitment. Frémont made it clear that he still thought that Lincoln had been a failure politically, militarily, and finically, but that he believed that between separation or Union with slavery under a Democrat or Union with no slavery with a Republican, the last was preferred. Frémont states, "Between these issues, I think, no man of the Liberal Party can remain in doubt; and I believe

[9] "The Acceptance of Fremont." The New York Times. June 07, 1864. http://www.nytimes.com/1864/06/07/news/the-acceptance-of-fremont.html.

I am consistent with my antecedents in withdrawing, not to aid in the triumphs of Mr. Lincoln, but to do my part towards preventing the election of the Democratic candidate."[10]

To appease the Radical Republicans, especially Frémont, Lincoln requested that Postmaster General Montgomery Blair resign from his post after Frémont withdrew from the Presidential race[11] Blair did willingly, as he had previously offered his resignation to Lincoln whenever it would be necessary to have it.[12] Frémont and the other Radical Republicans had despised Blair, so his resignation at the request of Lincoln was a way to show the Radicals that Lincoln was willing to work with them for their support. As mentioned earlier, the twenty-two votes from Missouri during the National Union Party Convention had been given to Grant solely as a way for the anti-Blair Radical delegation to show their disapproval of Lincoln for his appointment of Blair to Postmaster, although they agreed to switch their votes to Lincoln after the first ballot.[13]

On August 29, 1864, the Democratic Party held their convention in Chicago, Illinois. The Party passed their platform, which stated their desire to preserve the Union and end the war as well as condemnation of Lincoln's actions throughout his first term especially, in their view, his disregard of the Constitution. Their "Chicago Platform" stated, "…the Constitution has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private rights alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and

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[10] "Withdrawal of Gen. Fremont." The New York Times. September 23, 1864. http://www.nytimes.com/1864/09/23/news/withdrawal-of-gen-fremont.html.
[11] Goodwin, Doris Kearns. Team of rivals: the political genius of Abraham Lincoln. London: Penguin Books, 2013, 659.
[12] Goodwin, Doris Kearns. Team of rivals: the political genius of Abraham Lincoln. London: Penguin Books, 2013, 658.
[13] Goodwin, Doris Kearns. Team of rivals: the political genius of Abraham Lincoln. London: Penguin Books, 2013, 625.

the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities.…"[14] While the platform had been in line with the Peace Democrats, the Party ultimately chose a War Democrat, Major-General George B. McClellan of New Jersey over the Peace Democratic candidates Governor Thomas H. Seymour of Connecticut and Governor Horatio Seymour of New York. McClellan received 174 votes on the first ballot, T. Seymour thirty-eight, H. Seymour twelve, Charles O'Conor a half vote, and one and a half votes were blank. The revised first ballot gave McClellan 202.5 votes, T. Seymour twenty-three and a half, and the other candidates received no votes. After the second revised ballot was casted, the delegates unanimously voted 226 for McClellan, giving the General the Democratic Party's nomination for President.

The Democratic Vice Presidential candidate was a more contested race with eight people being nominated; the top four candidates for the first ballot were as follows: Representative George Pendleton of Ohio, Treasury Secretary James Guthrie of Kentucky, Senator Lazarus Powell of Kentucky, and President of the Northern Pacific Railway George Cass of Pennsylvania. Originally, Pendleton had fifty-five and a half votes however, on the revised ballot, his vote went up to 124.5, while Guthrie retained twenty-seven votes, Powell and Cass also both received twenty-six votes. Following this revised first ballot, Guthrie and Powell withdrew their names. On the second ballot, all the votes went to Pendleton making him the Vice Presidential candidate for the Democratic Party.

Pendleton was a Peace Democrat, which went well with the Peace Democrat leaning platform but clashed with the War Democratic candidate for President McClellan. McClellan

[14] "Democratic Party Platforms: 1864 Democratic Party Platform - August 29, 1864." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29578.

openly rejected the party's platform and the ideological differences did not create the unity the Party had hoped for. McClellan did not only openly oppose the platform but also reassured the public that he would win the war quickly against the South, which alienated the Peace Democrats who wanted to end the war with favorable terms for the South.

Lincoln did not believe that McClellan would keep such a promise. Lincoln believed that the Peace Democrats would cause McClellan to capitulate to them entirely. This upset Lincoln as he feared his unpopularity and the Union's continued defeats in numerous battles, especially between June and September of 1864, would result in McClelland being elected as President and therefore the Union's defeat to the South. On August 23, 1864, out of Lincoln's fear of this outcome, he had his cabinet sign a pledge:

> This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he can not possibly save it afterwards.[15]

In the event McClellan was elected, Lincoln pledged to have the war ended before McClellan would be inaugurated to ensure that the war would be concluded before McClellan could give into the Peace Democrats' demands to end the war immediately and on terms favorable to the South. However, the tides of the campaign turned when Atlanta fell on September 2 and because of the numerous Union victories that occurred between September and October, just before the November election. These victories undermined the Democrats' platform that the Union should capitulate to the South to gain peace. The Peace Democrats were unable to

[15] Lincoln, Abraham, and Roy Prentice Basler. The collected works of Abraham Lincoln. Volume VII 1863-1864. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953, 514.

say that the South might win, that peace needed to happen soon or the South would outright win, or that the war would drag on much longer; the War Democrats could not argue that McClellan would be able to end the war sooner or that Lincoln was currently handling the war poorly. The fall of Atlanta and the subsequent Union victories helped Lincoln drastically.

There were many negative attacks throughout the campaigns. Democrats attacked Lincoln for the Emancipation Proclamation, which already made Lincoln unfavorable throughout the North, but the Democrats used it as a way to suggest that Lincoln wanted to "mix the races" or allow "miscegenation" as well as criticizing Lincoln's ability to conduct the war. Lincoln and the Republicans attacked McClellan for being too timid to put his troops into combat when he was leading the Army of the Potomac, which hurt the progress of the war and even suggested that he was a traitor. The President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, had even attempted to help McClellan win the presidency, which certainly did not help negate the claims of McClelland being a traitor to the Union. The Democrats were portrayed in political cartoons linking them to the Confederates or at least suggesting that they were sympathizers to the Confederacy, and therefore essentially traitors or un-American.

The election, which Lincoln had feared would result in a victory for McClellan turned out to be a landslide victory for him. Lincoln won 212 electoral votes to McClellan's twenty-one electoral votes. Lincoln won twenty-two states, while McClellan won three states. Lincoln won roughly 55 percent of the popular vote or about 2,220,000 votes to McClellan's roughly 1,810,000 votes.

Lincoln's victory in this election made him the first President to be reelected since Andrew Jackson. The Democratic defeat was in part due to their platform, the confusion created by their nominees' conflicting political views, and the inability for Southern Confederates to vote, but there were three other causes worth discussing. First, the Radical Republicans joined the National Union Party in support of Lincoln, unifying them with the War Democrats, giving Lincoln an electoral edge. Second, the Union victories in the months leading up to the election helped undermine the Democratic Party's platform and made the case that Lincoln could defeat the South and unite the nation, and that it was too early to give into the Peace Democrats demands. Third, Republicans were able to get the Union soldiers the ability to vote, even some black soldiers, by enabling some soldiers to travel home to vote and others to use absentee voting in the field. Absentee voting from the field, was a new and unorthodox way of voting, so the Republicans had to pass laws in their states to permit this kind of voting. Even though Democrats had opposed absentee voting, thirteen states passed the legislation to permit soldiers the right to vote in the field. Absentee voting was a huge benefit for Lincoln as Lincoln received up to 92 percent of the vote from soldiers in some states, but averaged around 80% amongst most states' soldiers. Overall, soldiers cast 75 percent in favor of Lincoln and 25 percent for McClellan.[16]

The final reason the Republicans (or the National Union Party) won this election was the South's inability to vote, which created a huge structural advantage for Lincoln in the Electoral College. The 1860 census had given more seats to Southern states, which would have hurt Lincoln greatly in his bid for reelection, had Southerners been able to vote in 1864. The Democrats had many arguments that they could have used to defeat Lincoln and the

[16] BENTON, JOSIAH HENRY. VOTING IN THE FIELD: a forgotten chapter of the civil war (classic reprint). S.l.: FORGOTTEN BOOKS, 2015, 319-320.

Republicans, including the war's stagnation, the death toll, debt caused by the war, the unpopularity of conscription, the unpopularity of Emancipation, the use of black soldiers in the Union forces, as well as the perceived violations of civil liberties with the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus. However, these were not enough to overcome the political rift in the Democratic Party, let alone the fact that the "Solid South" was unable to vote. With the Northern voters historically voting for the opposition party to the Democrats, whether that be the former Whig Party or the Republicans, the Democrats' situation ensured that the Electoral College would lean to the Republicans, especially with support from the War Democrats. Further, Lincoln's political strategy of allowing soldiers to vote was genius. It is likely that without their overwhelming support, Lincoln could have lost several states such as Connecticut, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin and possibly even Michigan, Minnesota, and Nevada. However, even if Lincoln lost each of the aforementioned states, he would still have won with 136 Electoral votes to McClellan's 112 Electoral votes, as the threshold needed to win was 117 Electoral votes. The only way McClellan could have won would be if the South could have voted and the Democrats were successful in preventing the passage of state legislation that permitted soldiers the ability to vote. The structural advantage of the Electoral College in the election of 1864 allowed Lincoln to win. The failure of the Democrats to unite, the ability for soldiers to vote while still in the field, and many War Democrats supporting the National Union Party permitted for Lincoln to win in a landslide; he likely would have won no matter what.

III. Reconstruction and Its Structural Advantages

D. The Johnson Administration

By the end of the year 1864, General William Sherman continued his march to the sea after the fall of Atlanta on September 2, 1864 seizing Savannah from Confederate General William Hardee on December 20, 1864. This victory further ensured the war would soon be over. On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House, essentially ending the Civil War. The Confederates fought for the right to deny others' rights and keep them in bondage as slaves; however, the Senate voted for the Thirteenth Amendment, which ended slavery in January of 1865 (it was ratified in December 1865, finally ending slavery). The South knowing they would lose and no longer could keep their slaves, really had nothing left to fight for; at that point they were just prolonging the inevitable, costing money, human life, property, livestock, and railroads.

Lincoln was only able to enjoy the end of the war for a few days as he was assassinated on April 14, 1865, while attending the play *Our American Cousin* at Ford's Theater by actor John Wilkes Booth. He died the next morning. Lincoln had the chance to briefly discuss Reconstruction following the end of the Civil War in his last public speech on April 11, 1865. In this speech he stated:

> We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation…Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union; and each forever after, innocently indulge his own opinion whether, in doing the acts, he brought the States from without, into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it.[17]

[17] Lincoln, Abraham, Roy P. Basler, and Carl Sandburg. Abraham Lincoln, his Speeches and writings. Edited with critical and analytical notes by Roy P. Basler ... Preface by Carl Sandburg. Cleveland: The World Publishing Co, 1946, 799.

Lincoln had not wanted to punish the South, but instead to quickly bring each state back into the Union and grant rights to freedmen. This, however, differed from Johnson's plan or the ideals of the Radical Republicans.

As mentioned before, Lincoln wished to bring the Southern States back into the Union as quickly as possible. In order for these states to return and be readmitted, only 10 percent of their population would need to swear an oath to the Union and they would need to establish a new State Constitution, which banned slavery. Lincoln even pardoned most Confederates.[18]

The Radical Republicans wished to punish the South for causing the Civil War and to ensure freedmen had their rights protected. They passed the Wade-Davis Bill in July of 1864, which was pocket-vetoed by Lincoln. This bill would have required 50 percent of male voters in the South to take a so-called "Ironclad" oath, which meant that they had not supported the Confederacy. The bill disenfranchised any citizen who had held office, military position, or brought arms against the Union.[19] Once 50 percent of male voters took this oath, the state could be readmitted. The reason behind Lincoln's opposition was due to how he viewed the rebellion. The Radical Republicans viewed it as rebellious states that had officially left the Union and were their own independent nation, whereas Lincoln had always viewed the war as rebellious individuals within the Union and therefore not a "separate

[18] Lincoln, Abraham, Roy P. Basler, and Carl Sandburg. Abraham Lincoln, his Speeches and writings. Edited with critical and analytical notes by Roy P. Basler ... Preface by Carl Sandburg. Cleveland: The World Publishing Co, 1946, 738-741.
[19] Transcript of Wade-Davis Bill (1864). Our Documents-Transcript of Wade-Davis Bill (1864). https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=37&page=transcript, Sec. 4.

nation;"[20] therefore, forcing 50 percent of the population to take the oath or disenfranchising them would only hinder reconstruction efforts and the chance of reconciliation between residents of the North and South.

Johnson in a proclamation published on May 29, 1865, affirmed the pardons to those who had not received one from Lincoln except to those who were civil or diplomatic officers or agents for the Confederacy, those who left their judicial stations, congressional seats, or commissions to the Army or Navy, in order to aid the Rebellion, and all military or naval officers above colonel (army) or lieutenant (navy) in the Confederacy. (NY Times source page 3 of my stuff on Johnson)

Johnson's Plan was fairly similar to Lincoln's in terms of who was able to be pardoned, as listed above. The major difference (and something that had appeased the Radical Republicans) was the thirteenth Provision in his Proclamation, "The following classes of persons are excepted from the benefits of this proclamation...All persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, and the estimated value of whose taxable property is over twenty thousand dollars." The exclusion of the wealthy from Johnson's Presidential pardon was intended to disenfranchise the wealthy and shift control of the South from the planter aristocracy to the average farmer. To further help facilitate this, Johnson would confiscate the land of the wealthy.

Johnson, however, quickly softened on his rhetoric regarding the South. The man who once wished to punish the South for the war and execute the military leaders as well as confiscating their lands, pardoned them all and only had Captain Henry Wirz tried and

[20] Lincoln, Abraham, Roy P. Basler, and Carl Sandburg. Abraham Lincoln, his Speeches and writings. Edited with critical and analytical notes by Roy P. Basler ... Preface by Carl Sandburg. Cleveland: The World Publishing Co, 1946, 738-739.

executed for his war crimes at the Andersonville prison camp. Johnson even ended the redistribution of confiscated land to the freedmen and instead returned it to the owners once pardoned. This drastically changed the earlier excitement that Radical Republicans had for Johnson.

Johnson allowed Southern states to come back into the Union pending they created a state government which adopted the Thirteenth Amendment. Johnson believed that Reconstruction was over once the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified on December 6, 1865. Despite the abolition of slavery, the Southern states began passing black codes to restrict the rights of freedmen.

The Radical Republicans who controlled Congress were not pleased with Johnson's weak approach to Reconstruction nor were they pleased with Southern states passing the Black Codes, so Congress created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction on December 13, 1865, which would create requirements that Southern states had to meet to be restored to the Union. The Committee was composed of nine Representatives and six Senators (seven Republican Representatives, two Democratic Representatives, five Republican Senators, and one Democratic Senator).

In the Report filed by the Joint Committee, they address the claim of Southern states that they were being oppressed by the North and denied their right to representation. The committee outlined the argument as, "That inasmuch as the lately insurgent States had no legal right to separate themselves from the Union, they still retain their positions as States, and consequently the people therefore have the right to immediate representation in Congress without the imposition of any conditions whatever," as a result, the Southern states contended that until they were readmitted (without condition) all the laws passed by

Congress, affecting them were "if not unconstitutional, at least unjustifiable and oppressive." The committee briefly discussed how the South left the Union, legally or not, to create their own government and wage four years of war against the North, only stopping "when they were compelled by utter exhaustion….expressing no regret, except that they had no longer the power to continue the desperate struggle." The committee outlines their conclusion,

> I. That the States lately in rebellion were, at the close of the war, disorganized communities, without civil government, and without constitutions or other forms, by virtue of which political relations could legally exist between them and the federal government.
> II. That Congress cannot be expected to recognize as valid the election of representatives from disorganized communities, which, from the very nature of the case, were unable to present their claim to representation under those established and recognized rules, the observance of which has been hitherto required.
> III. That Congress would not be justified in admitting such communities to a participation in the government of the country without first providing such constitutional or other guarantees as will tend to secure the civil rights of all citizens of the republic; a just equality of representation; protection against claims founded in rebellion and crime; a temporary restoration of the right of suffrage to those who had not actively participated in the efforts to destroy the Union and overthrow the government, and the exclusion from positions of public trust of, at least, a portion of those whose crimes have proved them to be enemies to the Union, and unworthy of public confidence.[21]

This report was signed by all members of the committee except the three Democrats. This group also drafted the Fourteenth Amendment and the Reconstruction Act of 1867. The Fourteenth Amendment provides equal protection of law to all citizens,

[21] "Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction June 20 1866." Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction June 20 1866 < 1851-1875 < Documents < American History From Revolution To Reconstruction and beyond. http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1851-1875/report-of-the-joint-committee-on-reconstruction-june-20-1866.php.

including the recently freed slaves, Sec. 1 and bars any participant of the rebellion or other crime from voting or running for office Sec. 2 and 3. The Reconstruction Act of 1867 divided the South, except Tennessee, into five military districts: District 1: Virginia, 2. North Carolina and South Carolina, 3. Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, 4. Arkansas and Mississippi, 5. Texas and Louisiana. Each district had military leadership to oversee the state, and they were only able to have elections with Congressionally approved voters, which tended to be black voters and those who sided with the Union during Civil War. Once each of these states had adopted the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, created new state constitutions that a majority of the state's residents supported, including black residents, and had pledged loyalty to the Union, the state could then be admitted back into the Union.

This military occupation, denial of voting rights to former Confederates, and the enfranchisement of former slaves allowed the Republicans to win elections in the South. More tension arose between the Democrats of the South and the Republicans in general with the rise of the "Carpetbaggers" and "Scalawags" as well as the formation of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Carpetbaggers were Northerners who moved to the South and they voted Republican. Southerners typically believed that they had moved to make a profit off the circumstances of Reconstruction. Carpetbaggers often were educated middle class individuals who were teachers or businessmen, but many lived up to the stereotype of simply being corrupt opportunists. Scalawags were Southerners who voted for Republicans, for several possible reasons: they were strong supporters of the Union and therefore supported those who did not openly rebel against the Union, they believed that the Southern economy needed to change as slavery had ended, by industrializing, which was a policy that many Republicans favored and could make an economy beneficial to small farmers and merchants,

and some of the wealthy plantation owners believed that by accepting the Republican control in the South, they could regain power themselves by meeting the bare standards for entry into the Union and then create laws that would perpetuate the white power structure that was in place before.

Due to the support of the Republican Party in the South by the freedmen, Carpetbaggers, and Scalawags, the KKK rose in order to bring society back to the way it had been before by suppressing the vote, especially of freedmen, often through violence, terrorism, and intimidation. The KKK would burn crosses and houses of black people and their allies and even kill them as a means to further spread fear to blacks and their allies. These actions continued into the Grant administration despite laws to address the terrorist acts and many in both parties opposed the actions of the KKK, though for different reasons. The Democrats who opposed the KKK did so because they worried that their actions would justify the North to undertake military action in the South.

Johnson displeased the Radical Republicans with his weak effort in Reconstruction as well as by vetoing many bills that they passed to help facilitate Reconstruction and the rights of the freedmen, including the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, Civil Rights Bill, and the Tenure of Office Act (although Johnson's veto was overridden by Congress in the latter case). Following the midterm election of 1866, the Radical Republicans gained a veto-proof majority in Congress, allowing them to pass anything such as the Tenure of Office Act.

Johnson's veto of the Tenure of Office Act resulted in him being the first President to be brought up on articles of impeachment. This Act was passed to help ensure that Johnson could not remove Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, as he followed the orders of the Radical Republicans in Congress instead of the President, and was therefore attempting to do

far more for Reconstruction than Johnson wanted. Johnson dismissed Stanton on February 21, 1868, and on February 24,1868 the House voted 126 to 47 in favor of impeaching Johnson, with eleven articles of impeachment. These articles included: dismissing Stanton, appointing Lorenzo Thomas to a non-vacated office and without consent of the Senate, conspiring against Stanton, conspiring against the Tenure of Office Act. The impeachment trial resulted in thirty-five Senators voting that Johnson was guilty and nineteen voting for Johnson's acquittal; needing a two-thirds majority or thirty-six "guilty" votes, Johnson was found not guilty of any of the articles brought up against him.

E. Grant and the Election of 1868

General Ulysses Grant had sided with the Democrats in the past. In the 1856 election, he voted for Democrat James Buchanan over Republican candidate John C. Frémont, and in 1860, he had wanted to vote for Democrat Stephen Douglas over Republican Abraham Lincoln. Grant did not get a chance to vote because he had not registered to vote in Illinois in time.[22] Grant had even been supportive of President Johnson, a former Democratic Senator who joined the National Union Party coalition in 1864, until they had a falling out in late January of 1868 after the Impeachment trial. Grant had been viewed as a potential nominee for the Democratic Party until after this falling out with Johnson, however once that happened he was no longer a viable option for the nomination. [23]

The Republicans, however, were warming up to the idea of having Grant as their nominee for President as early as October of 1867, although most had favored Chief Justice

[22] Coleman, Charles H. The Election of 1868: the democratic effort to regain control. New York: Octagon Books, 1971, 84-85.
[23] Coleman, Charles H. The Election of 1868: the democratic effort to regain control. New York: Octagon Books, 1971, 85-86.

Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Grant's favorability drastically rose after his quarrel with Johnson.[24]

On May 20 and 21 of 1868, the Republicans held their convention in Chicago. All states had delegates attend except Texas, despite the fact that not all Southern states had been readmitted back into the Union. Well before the convention, Chief Justice Chase had been the presumptive nominee, but leading up to the convention Grant became highly favored which resulted in Chase and Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio dropping out of the race for the Republican nomination. Grant became the only Republican to receive unanimous support and won all 650-delegate votes on the first ballot[25] For the Vice Presidential nomination there were eleven candidates, but Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax of Indiana received 541 votes. Grant and Colfax were nominated as the Republican candidates for President and Vice President.[26]

The Democrats held their convention at Tammany Hall in New York City from July 4-9, 1868. President Johnson was unpopular and had endured an impeachment trial, in which he was one vote away from being found guilty. Despite his unpopularity, Johnson started off fairly well on the first ballot with sixty-five votes. This did not last long for Johnson, as he had dropped to single digit votes by the eighth ballot.

There were a total of sixteen Democratic candidates for the presidential nomination. The top contenders were Representative George Pendleton of Ohio, Senator Thomas

[24] Coleman, Charles H. The Election of 1868: the democratic effort to regain control. New York: Octagon Books, 1971, 86-87.
[25] Coleman, Charles H. The Election of 1868: the democratic effort to regain control. New York: Octagon Books, 1971, 92.
[26] Coleman, Charles H. The Election of 1868: the democratic effort to regain control. New York: Octagon Books, 1971, 93.

Hendricks of Indiana, and General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania. Pendleton was the presumptive nominee, having a clear lead on the first ballot of 105 votes to Johnson's sixty-five, who had the second highest vote total. However, despite being the presumptive nominee, Pendleton dropped to zero votes on the nineteenth ballot. Hendricks had 145.5 votes on the twenty-second ballot prior to the shift and Hancock had 103.5 on the same ballot. Thirty-one were blank votes and all other candidates had zero votes, with the exception of the Chair of the Convention, former Governor of New York Horatio Seymour, who received twenty-two votes. Seymour had refused to accept any votes, but a motion was called to shift all votes to Seymour. Seymour received all 317 votes and the Democratic Party's nomination for President. Francis Blair of Missouri received all 317 votes after the other candidates withdrew, and became the Democrats' nomination for Vice President.

Throughout the campaign, Democrats suggested that Grant was black as a way to sway voters from him. Seymour and the Democratic Party used the slogan: "This is a white man's country, let a white man rule."[27] They used such an attack because Grant supported the suffrage of all loyal men of the South, i.e. voting rights for Southern black men and not for former Confederates and supporting the ability for black men in the North to gain the right to vote by Constitutional amendment. This had been one of the major points in the Republican Party's platform and the Democrats hoped they could sway voters away from the Republicans due to such a stance on promoting "Black Supremacy". However, allowing

[27] Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, The New York Public Library. "Our ticket, Our Motto: This is a White Man's Country; Let White Men Rule." Campaign badge supporting Horatio Seymour and Francis Blair, Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President of the Unites States, 1868." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed April 20, 2017. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/62a9d0e6-4fc9-dbce-e040-e00a18064a66

black men to vote in the South while disenfranchising former Confederates had allowed the Republicans to win the South and the Electoral College by relatively large margins in previous elections.[28]

Aside from reiterating their support of Southern black suffrage, the Republicans also added to their platform the reduction of the debt, support for immigration, condemnation of the Johnson Presidency and the assassination of President Lincoln, and honoring those who gave or risked their lives defending the Union and ending the rebellion. Among these points, the appeal to immigrants assured that the Northeast, especially New York, would go to the Republicans and the condemnation of Johnson and honoring troops demonstrated that the Republican Party saved the Union and the Democrats were the Party of the treasonous South.

The Democratic platform focused heavily on ending Reconstruction, which would remove an important Republican structural advantage. The Democrats wanted a restoration of all states to their rightful place in the Union, amnesty to all past political offensives, (i.e. amnesty for Confederates), a reduction to the military, the abolition to the Freedmen's Bureau, and an end to the corruption of Reconstruction governance, "subject[ing] ten states, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy."[29] The Democrats also wanted to have equal taxation and one currency.

During his campaign, Grant was attacked by the Democrats for several things other than being a potential "black president," such as his lack of oratory skill. Grant was rather quiet, poor at public speaking, and did little campaigning, strong reasons as to why Grant

[28] "Republican Party Platforms: Republican Party Platform of 1868 - May 20, 1868." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29622.
[29] "Democratic Party Platforms: 1868 Democratic Party Platform - July 4, 1868." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29579.

won due to structural advantages rather than personality. To counter this image however, Republicans would say Grant was a "strong, silent man" or point out that he was a soldier not a statesman. Grant did go on a tour to Denver with General William T. Sherman and General Philip Sheridan,[30] and he would often allow anyone to come to his home to speak to him directly in what are now called "front porch campaigns," and would become a staple of American elections in the remaining decades of the nineteenth century.

Grant won 214 electoral votes and over 3 million popular votes (52.7 percent) while Seymour won 80 electoral votes and just over 2.7 million votes (47.3 percent). Grant won a total of twenty-six states to Seymour's eight.[31] Seymour won New York 50.6% to Grant's 49.4%, likely edging out victory in the state due to it being his home state. Seymour won New Jersey and Oregon with similar slim margins, 50.9% to Grant's 49.1% and 50.4% to Grant's 49.6%, respectively. Grant won California by a narrow margin as well, 50.2% to Seymour's 49.8%.[32] Even though Grant's victory was marginal in the popular vote, his overwhelming victory in the Electoral College, 72.8 percent, proves that he won due to structural advantages of the populated Northern states, the disenfranchisement of many whites in the South, his popularity among freed black men helping him secure southern electoral votes, and the fact that Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia could not vote because they were not readmitted to the Union until 1870, rather than on his popularity. This is further evidenced by the narrow victories and losses in several states, including New York, Seymour's home state.

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[30] Coleman, Charles H. The Election of 1868: the democratic effort to regain control. New York: Octagon Books, 1971, 305-306.
[31] Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia were unable to vote in the election of 1868, as they were not yet readmitted into the Union until 1870.
[32] "1868 Presidential Election." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1868.

Due to Grant's close victory in the popular vote and his poor public speaking and campaigning, he falls within the structural advantage camp rather than personality. This is not to say that personality did not play a role in his victory, after all, he was celebrated as the General that essentially ended the Civil War. There can be a mix of structural advantages and personality as an advantage during any election of the second half of the nineteenth century; however, structural advantages are the main reason why Grant had won the election of 1868.

F. Grant and the Election of 1872

Grant's administration was riddled with corruption and scandals, for example Vice President Colfax was involved in the Crédit Mobilier Scandal, in which the railroad company charged high rates and bribed politicians by giving them shares in the company, so he was dropped from the Republican ticket in 1872. The scandals and corruption of the Grant administration, while not actually involving Grant, caused many to believe that Grant was inept and therefore vulnerable to losing his bid for reelection. The Republicans who worried that Grant would lose created a new third party called the Liberal Republican Party. Nevertheless, when the Republican Party held their convention in Philadelphia on June 5 and 6, 1872, Grant won the nomination unanimously, with 752 delegate votes. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts defeated Vice President Colfax with 399.5 votes to Colfax's 321.5 votes.

The Republican platform would ensure enforcement of newly ratified Civil War Amendments, thus guarantying the right to vote, citizenship, and preventing discrimination. They also wanted to maintain peace with all nations, end patronage, deny grants of land to corporations and monopolies, stimulate economic growth through taxes, suppress "violent

and treasonable organizations [Ku Klux Klan] in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot box," and reduce the debt.[33]

The Liberal Republican convention was held in Cincinnati, Ohio on May 1 to 3, 1872. and had seven main candidates. It took six ballots to decide the nominee for President. Former Representative and editor to the *New York Tribune* Horace Greeley received 482 votes on the revised sixth ballot, defeating, among others, former Representative Charles Adams (grandson to President John Adams and son to President John Quincy Adams) of Massachusetts and Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, who had been favored to win the Republican nomination on the 1868 election. Governor Benjamin Gratz Brown secured the Vice Presidential nomination with 435 votes.

The Liberal Republican platform was quite similar to the Republican platform: assert that all men are created equal before the law, maintain the Union, support the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, use taxes to pay off debt and other expenses of the government, end patronage, oppose further grants of land to railroads and other corporations, and maintain peace with other nations.[34] What differentiated their platform from the Republican platform was their desire to end Reconstruction and to prevent any President from being permitted to be a candidate for re-election. These were important differences. Ending Reconstruction would win over many Southerners and Democrats and help bring an end to the Republican Party's structural advantage in the Electoral College. Imposing term limits on the President was a repudiation of Grant and his bid for reelection. Excluding

[33] "Republican Party Platforms: Republican Party Platform of 1872 - June 5, 1872." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29623.

[34] "Democratic Party Platforms: 1872 Democratic Party Platform - July 9, 1872." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29580.

Lincoln who was assassinated a month after being sworn in to his second term, the last President to be reelected and serve both terms was Andrew Jackson who served from March 4, 1829 to March 4, 1837, meaning it had been nearly four decades since a President served two terms. The Liberal Republicans believed that the government would function better by limiting the ability of any one person to continue to feed their ambition and dole out patronage jobs to their supporters.

The Democrats did not nominate their own candidate; instead, they endorsed Greeley and Brown during their convention at Ford's Grand Opera House in Baltimore, Maryland on July 9 and 10, 1872. The Democrats endorsed the Liberal Republicans because they wanted to defeat Grant, but also believed that if they nominated their own candidate it would have taken votes from Greeley and ensured Grant's victory. This strategy was part of the Democrat's "New Departure." They believed that if their Party ended their opposition to Reconstruction and the suffrage of black men they would be redeemed of their role in the Civil War and they could win on economics issues, such as cutting spending, reducing support for public education, ending aid to railroads, cutting government salaries, and other government cuts.

Grant won 286 electoral votes (about 81 percent) of the Electoral College, 55.6 percent of the popular vote, and thirty-one states, although Arkansas and Louisiana's electoral votes were rejected. Greeley won six states and nearly 44 percent of the popular vote. However, Greeley died on November 29, 1872, before the Electors cast their votes for the President so Greeley's votes were divided amongst four others. The four who received Greeley's Electoral votes were: Democrat Thomas Hendricks of Indiana received forty-two votes, Liberal Republican Brown received eighteen votes, Democrat Charles Jenkins of

Georgia received two votes, Liberal Republican David Davis received one vote. The Georgia Electors cast their votes for Greeley, which caused their votes to be rejected. Greeley, had he lived, would have received sixty-six Electoral votes, not nearly enough to overcome Grant's structural majority.

The Election of 1872 was unusual as the Democratic Party chose not to nominate a candidate of their own, but rather endorse Greeley as the Liberal Republican candidate in an effort to defeat Grant, ensuring that a Republican was guaranteed to win the Presidency, as the election was between a Republican and a Liberal Republican. The Democrats recognized the structural advantage that the Republicans enjoyed, even with the corruption of Grant's administration possibly causing some voters to look for an alternative candidate, because of the disenfranchisement of Confederates, the enfranchisement of all black men to vote guaranteed by the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in early 1870, and the influence of the carpetbaggers. Even if a Democratic candidate had won all the Southern and Western states (Texas, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, California, Nevada, and Oregon) Grant would still have won with 208 electoral votes to the Democratic candidate's 161 electoral votes. The Republicans had such a strong structural advantage, simply carrying the heavily populated Northern states, which Grant was guaranteed to win. The Electoral College gave Grant 81 percent of the vote despite receiving slightly less than 56 percent of the popular vote.

G. Hayes and the Election of 1876

The Election of 1876 was the closest in Untied States' history in regards to the Electoral College and resulted in the end of the Republican Party's structural advantage.

President Grant's administration continued to have scandals into his second term and the Panic of 1873, which began in Europe, quickly affected the United States and harmed the economy and the Republican Party. The Panic was sparked in the United States by Jay Cooke & Company and the Northern Pacific Railroad's bankruptcy, as a result the Stock Exchange closed for ten days, thousands of people lost their jobs, banks and many railroad companies failed. This Panic affected New York greatly, and it likely played a role in the Democrats winning the state for the second time since 1852,[35] as well as the Democrats taking control of Congress in the Midterm elections of 1874. Further, as a result of the Panic and the economic downturn of the proceeding years, labor relations became tense and would factor heavily into elections for decades to come.

Despite the economic turmoil and scandals of Grant's second term, he had considered breaking tradition and running for a third term, though he withdrew his name from consideration before the Republican convention. The Speaker of the House James Blaine of Maine became the presumptive nominee.

The convention was held on June 14 to 16, 1876 at Exposition Hall in Cincinnati, Ohio. There were nine candidates for the Republican nomination, the top five being: Speaker Blaine, Senator Oliver Morton of Indiana, Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Bristow of Kentucky, Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, and Governor Rutherford Hayes of Ohio. There were a total of seven ballots cast, on the seventh ballot Bristow dropped to twenty-one votes, both Morton and Conkling dropped to zero votes, Blaine had received 351 votes, and

[35] The Panic of 1873 was not the sole reason, as it was likely a small factor, considering that both elections in which New York went to the Democrats was also because the Democratic candidates were from New York; Samuel Tilden in 1876 and Horatio Seymour in 1868.

Hayes won with 384 votes. On the ballot, Representative William Wheeler of New York won the Vice Presidential nomination with 366 votes.

The Republican platform reiterated that all men were created equal and the government would pacify the South to protect the rights of all citizens. Further, they opposed land grants to the railroads and other companies, believed that women should be given more rights, and pointed out that the Democratic Party was treasonous.[36]

The Democrats held their convention in St. Louis, Missouri on June 27 and 28, 1876. There were eight candidates, the top four being: Governor Samuel Tilden of New York, Governor Thomas Hendricks of Indiana, Major General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania, and former Governor William Allen of Ohio. Tilden received 534 votes, while all other candidates received less than sixty votes each. The delegates then voted unanimously to nominate Tilden with 738 votes. The Vice Presidential ballot had just one candidate; Governor Hendricks was nominated receiving 730 votes while eight votes were cast blank.

The Greenback Party was formed in Indiana in 1873, to address the needs of agricultural communities, inflate the economy by introducing paper currency called "greenbacks" into circulation, establish an eight hour work day, and reform labor practices in factories. The Greenbacks ran Presidential candidates for several elections; however their issues were gradually adopted by both the Democrats and Republicans as well as other third parties like the Socialist, Populist, and Progressive parties. They held their convention in Indianapolis, Indiana on May 28 and 29, 1876. There were four candidates, however Peter

[36] "Republican Party Platforms: Republican Party Platform of 1876 - June 14, 1876." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29624.

Cooper of New York won on the first ballot with 352 votes while former Representative Samuel Cary of Ohio was selected as the Vice Presidential nominee.

The Democratic platform continued with the Party's "New Departure" from the previous election as the Party accepted all the new civil rights Amendments. They denounced the Republican Party for wasting tax dollars, the continued military occupation of the South, and for allowing the "Mongolian race" to immigrate from the Chinese Empire to the U.S., "All these abuses, wrongs and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendency of the Republican Party, create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves."[37] The Democrats also wanted civil service reform as they viewed patronage as a major part of the corruption of the Republican Party.

Hayes also advocated for the end of patronage, he and Tilden actually agreed on most important issues, including not only ending corruption by ending patronage by passing civil service reform but also that the federal government should end Reconstruction.[38] As a result of the candidates' agreement on the issues, most of the campaigning was mudslinging personal attacks.

The Republicans were called out for the corruption of their Party, especially under the Grant administration. Tilden ran as a reformer to corruption within the Democratic Party and was able to show his prosecution of William "Boss" Tweed of Tammany Hall, which was the Democratic Party's political machine, as an example of his fight against corruption. The

[37] "Democratic Party Platforms: 1876 Democratic Party Platform - June 22, 1876." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29581.
[38] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 209.

Democrats also ridiculed the Republicans for speaking about the Civil War, they referred to it as "waving the bloody shirt," trying to use sympathy for the dead to get votes. However, the Democrats used the dead for political points as well, as they claimed that Hayes had stolen money from dead soldiers while he was a General.

Republicans had used similar personal attacks as well, they claimed Tilden had evaded taxes, that he supported slavery, and made millions of dollars as an attorney for the "robber barons."[39] The Republicans' main argument against the Democrats, as it had been since the election of 1864, was that they were the Party of slavery and rebellion. A popular slogan at the time was, "Not every Democrat was a rebel, but every rebel was a Democrat."

For the election, throughout the South the Redshirts, the White League, and the Ku Klux Klan actively suppressed the vote of Republicans, black and white, and committed voting fraud and stuffed the ballot boxes. They were also able to trick illiterate Republicans into voting for the Democrats by using a picture of Lincoln on the ballot to represent the Democrats. These fraudulent practices resulted in an incredibly high voter turnout, even with the suppression of Republican votes. In South Carolina, the voter turnout was 101 percent of the total male voting population.[40] Many northern states had higher than normal turnout as well, going to either candidate, which also suggests ballot stuffing in the North.[41]

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[39] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 209.

[40] Holt, Michael F. By one vote: the disputed presidential election of 1876. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011, 167; 255.

[41] Holt, Michael F. By one vote: the disputed presidential election of 1876. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011, 255.

The election was the closest, electorally, in United States history. Either candidate needed at least 185 Electoral votes to win; Tilden had 184, Hayes had 165, while twenty Electoral votes were disputed by both parties. Tilden needed just one vote to win. Hayes needed all twenty. The twenty disputed votes were from Florida (four), Louisiana (eight), South Carolina (seven), and one vote from Oregon, as one Elector was an elected official and therefore not legally allowed to be an Elector.

Oregon had been won by Hayes, so he had been entitled to that disputed vote; however, due to the removal of the Elector, Oregon's Governor La Fayette Grover believed that he could replace the Elector with a Democrat thus giving Tilden 185 Electoral votes and the presidency. His plan was contested and was brought to Congress to decide. The votes in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina were close enough that both parties claimed victory in all three states, however Hayes actually had the majority of the popular vote in each state, 51 percent, 51.6 percent, and 50.2 percent, respectively.[42]

To decide the results of these states, and thus the election, in January of 1877 Congress created an Electoral Commission and appointed fifteen men to decide how each state's Electors should vote. The Commission was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. The results followed party lines, and all twenty votes were awarded to Hayes eight to seven. The decision was confirmed by the Senate on March 2, 1877 and Hayes was sworn in two days later on March 4, 1877.

As a compromise, the Democrats said they would accept the Commission's judgment and Hayes's presidency so long as he agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South.

[42] "1876 Presidential Election." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1876.

Hayes had already promised this, making it an ideal compromise. The result of this, however, was the removal of troops from the South and an effective end to Reconstruction. Soon thereafter, the legislatures in Southern states immediately began disenfranchising black voters, who had been the main supporters of the Republican Party. This compromise caused Republicans to lose two out of three of their main structural advantages in one fell swoop.

As a result of the compromise, Hayes reached the necessary 185 Electoral votes (50.1 percent) to Tilden's 184 (49.9 percent). Despite winning the Electoral College, Hayes lost the popular vote, receiving just over 4 million votes or 48 percent to Tilden's nearly 4.3 million votes or 51 percent, although this could be due to the massive amount of voter suppression, voter fraud, and ballot stuffing that took place in the South. The fact that so much of the voting process was fraudulent and the Republican candidate still won shows how powerful the structural advantage was for the Republicans. The North was so heavily populated that they were still able to scrape by and win the presidency by one Electoral vote. However, this election caused changes within the electorate, meaning that the Republicans lost the structural advantage ensured by Reconstruction and that future elections were mostly decided on candidates' personality traits, which includes charisma, oratory skill, and status.

H. Analysis of Structural Advantages

Throughout the elections of 1860 to 1876, the Republican Party had several advantages that were independent of the candidates themselves, which had allowed for the Party to win the Presidency for each of these elections. In the Election of 1860, Lincoln had the advantage of the Democrats being divided by sectional differences: Northern Democrats and Southern Democrats each had their own candidates as well as a boarder party which appealed to Southern Democrats who had not wanted to break away from the Union. As a

result of the Democratic Party being split in three, Lincoln won a landslide election, nearly 60 percent of the Electoral College, despite not being on any Southern ballot, and not even reaching 40 percent of the popular vote.

As a result of the Southern states seceding from the Union, only Northern states were permitted to vote in the 1964 election, ensuring a Republican victory. Following this election, during Reconstruction, several Southern states were still not readmitted to the Union and those that had been tended to vote Republican, this was due to Republicans disenfranchising Confederates and enfranchising Southern black men. This provided Republicans with three main advantages: first, Northern states were more populated meaning higher Electoral Votes, second, Confederates (which were essentially all Democrats) were unable to vote, either by being disenfranchised or by their state not being readmitted to the Union, and third, the vote of black men typically went to the Republican candidates as the Democrats were the Party of Slavery and the Republicans were the Party that freed them and gave them the right to vote.

During the Election of 1876, all Southern states were readmitted and Confederates were given the right to vote once again all while terrorist organizations like the KKK, Redshirts, and the White League suppressed the black vote by intimidation, murder, and literacy tests, poll taxes, and voter fraud. However, due to close popular votes in three Southern states, a commission rewarded their Electoral Votes and thus the Presidency to the Republican candidate. As a result of this compromise, Reconstruction was ended and blacks in the South lost their right to vote essentially ending the structural advantages for the Republicans, leaving them only with the more populated states of the North, which was not necessarily enough to win an election. To ensure victory, Republicans had to make sure they could win key swing states with high Electoral votes such as Indiana and New York.

IV. The Gilded Age of Personality

After the Election of 1876, elections tended to result in victory for the popular, charismatic, celebrity, or issue-oriented candidates. This shift from an Electoral College structure which favored Republicans to campaigns based on candidates' personality allowed for Democrats, starting with Grover Cleveland in 1884 and 1892, to gain the country's highest office after more than twenty years of Republican control. [43] By "personality" I mean the candidates' charisma, oratory skills, and celebrity status, but I will refer to these traits as personality for simplicity. Beginning with the election in 1880, personality was the main reason for a candidate's victories, which often left elections extremely close in regards to the popular vote.

I. Garfield and the Election of 1880

Former President Grant decided to run for a third term because President Hayes promised he would not seek a second term. Grant had the backing of the Republican faction known as the Stalwarts. The Stalwarts believed in the use of patronage and the political party machines led by Roscoe Conkling. There were two other factions: the Half-Breeds and Reformers. Both groups wanted to reform civil service and believed patronage should be ended. The Half-Breeds were led by James Blaine of Maine and the Reformers were led by John Sherman of Ohio.

The Republican convention was held from June 2 to 8, 1880 at the Interstate Exposition Building in Chicago. The three main candidates were Stalwart former President

[43] Exceptions to this are Democrat Jimmy Carter losing reelection in 1980 to Republican Ronald Reagan and the election of Republican George H. W. Bush in 1988 against Democrat Michael Dukakis.

Grant, Half-Breed Senator Blaine, and Reformer Secretary of Treasury John Sherman.[44] After thirty-five ballots with seemingly no way for any faction to win, delegates for Blaine and Sherman cast their votes for dark horse candidate, General James Garfield of Ohio, giving him 399 votes to Grant's 306, Blaine's forty-two, and all other candidates nine, awarding Garfield the Presidential nomination.[45] Stalwart and Chair of the New York State Republican Executive Committee Chester Arthur received the Vice Presidential nomination on the first ballot with 468 votes.[46] Garfield was a compromise candidate between the three factions and the Stalwarts were successful in boosting up their candidate to be the Vice Presidential nominee, though in the end, he would go against their beliefs to end patronage after being sworn in as President following the assassination of President Garfield.

The Republican platform stated that the Constitution was the supreme law of the land, rather than a contract like the South seemed to believe, and that they would enforce all laws to protect all citizens' rights. Their economic policies were protectionist in nature and included raising tariffs. They also opposed grants for railroads, wanted to reduce Chinese immigration, and wanted to ban polygamy in the territories.[47]

The Democratic Convention was held in Cincinnati, Ohio from June 22 to 24, 1880. The two main candidates were General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania and Senator Thomas Bayard of Delaware. Hancock won on the second ballot with 705 votes to Bayard's

[44] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 19.
[45] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 103-105; 109-115; 120-121.
[46] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 131.
[47] "Republican Party Platforms: Republican Party Platform of 1880 - June 2, 1880." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29625.

two votes, the delegates then unanimously voted for Hancock giving him 738 votes. Former Representative William English of Indiana won the Vice Presidential nomination unanimously on the first ballot because he was a Conservative Democrat and from the swing state of Indiana. Hancock was a good choice for the Democrats as he was a Union General, which helped to undermine the Republican's attempts to "wave the bloody shirt."

The Democratic platform focused on free-trade policies such as lowering tariffs, using the slogan "tariffs for revenue only;" they also advocated using gold, silver, and paper currency. They wanted to ban Chinese immigration, reform civil service, decentralize the federal government, and give more power to local governments. They also claimed that the Election of 1876 was fraudulent. Further, they opposed attempts by the government to protect voting rights, stating:

> The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the election, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic powers, insult the people and imperil their institutions.[48]

The Greenback convention was held on the day after the Republican convention from June 9 to 11, 1880 in the same building in Chicago. General and Representative James Weaver of Iowa was nominated unanimously for President while Barzillai Chambers of Texas won the Vice Presidential nomination with 403 votes. The Greenback platform advocated for women's suffrage and progressive economic policies such as the gradual

[48] "Democratic Party Platforms: 1880 Democratic Party Platform - June 22, 1880." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29582.

income tax, standardized currency, the use of silver and "greenbacks," protection of laborers, end of child labor, and the establishment of eight hour work days.[49]

During the campaign the Republicans resurrected the idea of the South being treasonous and "wav[ed] the bloody shirt," positing that the Democrats took control of both chambers of Congress in the Midterm election of 1876 by suppressing the votes of Republicans and black voters. The Democrats also campaigned against corrupt elections, by suggesting that the Election of 1876 was fraudulent. As part of his campaign strategy that emphasized his personality, Garfield campaigned from his front-porch, as Grant had done before him, while having famous individuals, such as Mark Twain and Grant, campaign in swing states. In addition to famous proxies, Garfield's campaign was helped by political cartoonist Thomas Nast attacking Hancock in his cartoons. Garfield had a rags-to-riches story that resonated with the common voter and his story had been made into a book called *From Canal Boy to President* by Horatio Alger.[50] Republicans also came up with the strategy to focus on swing states such as Indiana, New York, Illinois, and Ohio, because they could no longer rely on winning any Southern state since the end of Reconstruction and the disenfranchisement of black voters.

Garfield was heavily favored in the North. He won the majority in states with high Electoral votes such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. This was likely due to the Republican Party focusing the campaign on swing states as well as the fact that many

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[49] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 220.

[50] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 195.

immigrants, who had typically voted Democrat in states like New York, switched to Garfield because he supported high tariffs, which would protect their jobs, while Hancock was opposed to them. Hancock received over 60 percent of the vote in several states like Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia; however, these states had far fewer Electoral votes. Both Garfield and Hancock received nineteen states each; Hancock won the "Solid South" in addition to New Jersey, California, and Nevada, none of which were as populated as the North. All nineteen states won by Hancock had about as many Electoral votes as the eight most populous states in the North: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Indiana, Michigan, and Iowa. Garfield won the Electoral College with 214 Electoral votes (58 percent) to Hancock's 155 Electoral votes (42 percent). Despite Garfield's enormous victory in the Electoral College, the popular vote was incredibly close: Garfield received 48.3 percent, Hancock earned 47.9 percent, Weaver won 3.2 percent, and all other candidates got 0.6 percent.[51]

As a result of the election being based more on personality, elections were far closer in terms of the popular vote, Republican candidates had to campaign more, use more personal attacks, and appeal to the voters on issues rather than rely on the disenfranchisement of the vast majority of Southern whites.

J. The Arthur Administration

President Garfield was shot twice by Charles Guiteau at the Baltimore and Pacific Railroad Station in Washington, D.C. on July 2, 1881 and had died on September 19, 1881.

[51] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 379.

Guiteau was captured at the station trying to flee, he told the police officer that held him, "I did it. I will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart and Arthur will be President."[52]

Guiteau had expected to receive a patronage job from Garfield after delivering the speech "Garfield against Hancock" at the Republican headquarters, which he believed elected Garfield to the Presidency. Guiteau had written to Garfield after the election and visited the White House in an attempt to meet with Garfield about being appointed as a consul to Paris or Austria.[53] After being passed up on the appointments, Guiteau thought that if he assassinated Garfield then Arthur would become President, being a Stalwart himself and having been kind to Guiteau during the election, he believed that a President Arthur would give him his patronage job. Guiteau came to believe that the idea to assassinate Garfield was implanted in his mind by god, saying, "'if it was not the Lord's will that I should remove' the president the He should 'intercede.'"[54]

During the trial of Guiteau, he had passed out a written statement to the press about who truly killed the President, "General Garfield died from malpractice… According to his own physicians, he was not fatally shot. The doctors who mistreated him ought to bear the odium of his death, and not his assailant. They ought to be indicted for murdering James A.

[52] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 379.
[53] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 265-272.
[54] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 346-357.

Garfield, and not me."[55] Garfield had died from a combination of infection, blood poisoning, and starvation.[56] Guiteau was found guilty and executed by hanging on June 30, 1882.

Chester Arthur who had hated President Garfield[57] had worried about the failing health of Garfield following his shooting and the malpractice of the doctors that treated him. Arthur never wanted to be the President and feared he would be hated gaining it under such conditions.[58] Many had believed that Arthur had conspired with Guiteau to ensure he would become President, not knowing how much he truly feared the notion of him being in such a high office with no real experience or qualifications. Arthur was sworn in as President early in the morning of September 19, 1881 in his front parlor. He then mailed a letter asking for a special session of the Senate to choose a President Pro Tempore, as to ensure a line of succession, should he himself be assassinated while on his way to Washington, D.C.[59]

Arthur was asked by his closest friend, Roscoe Conkling, to remove William Robertson from the position as Collector of New York Custom House as Conkling despised the man. Arthur refused, as he believed it was his duty to continue the policies and not reignite the political wars between the Stalwarts and Half-Breeds.[60] In 1883, Arthur would anger many Stalwarts and thus alienate himself from his friends, by signing into law the

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[55] Millard, Candice. Destiny of the republic: a tale of madness, medicine and the murder of a president. New York: Anchor Books, 2012, 276.
[56] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 420.
[57] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 324.
[58] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 383-385; 394; 404; 421.
[59] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 428-429.
[60] Ackerman, Kenneth D. Dark Horse: the Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield. Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, LLC, 2003, 434-435.

Pendleton Civil Service Reform, which would require most federal positions be filled by a merit system.

K. Cleveland, Harrison, and the Elections of 1884, 1888, and 1892

Democrat Grover Cleveland served two non-consecutive terms (1884 and 1892), the only president to do so. Additionally, he had been the candidate for reelection for the Election of 1888, only to lose to Benjamin Harrison.

The Republican convention was held at Exposition Hall in Chicago from June 3 to 6, 1884. There were two main contenders, Speaker Blaine and President Arthur. General John Sherman and Secretary of War and son of President Lincoln, Robert Todd Lincoln both declined to run for the nomination, however they received votes on the fourth ballot. Blaine defeated Arthur with 541 to 207 votes. The Vice Presidential nomination went to another Half-Breed, Senator Logan of Illinois who won on the first ballot with 780 votes.

The Democratic convention had also been held at the Exposition Hall in Chicago from July 8 to 11, 1884. There were three main candidates, Governor Grover Cleveland of New York, Senator Thomas Bayard of Delaware, and Governor Thomas Hendricks of Indiana. After two ballots and a shift in the votes, Cleveland received 683 votes to Bayard's 81.5, and Hendricks's 45.5. The Vice Presidential nomination was given to Hendricks who ran unopposed and received 816 votes with four abstaining.

Cleveland ran as an anti-corruption candidate, which helped him in the election against Blaine who had been caught up in several scandals such as railroads giving him money for land grants and the Mulligan Letters. The Mulligan Letters were written by Blaine to businessman Warren Fisher, Jr. of Massachusetts in which he discussed his corrupt

dealings with the railroad companies. At the end of the letter, Blaine requested Fisher to "kindly burn this letter."[6162] As a result of Blaine's corruption, a group of Republicans called the Mugwumps spoke out against Blaine and refused to vote for him. Mugwumps instead voted for Cleveland.

The main attack levied at Cleveland was his extramarital affair and his illegitimate child with Maria Haplin. Republicans would chant, "Ma, Ma, Where's my Pa?" at rallies, it was also often used in political cartoons. Democrats would respond to the chant with their own, "Gone to the White House ha-ha-ha!" Republicans claimed that Cleveland "seduced" the young women (although she was only a year younger than himself) and pointed out that Cleveland had Haplin committed to the Providence Asylum for the mentally deranged and had the child sent to the Protestant Orphan Asylum. With the revelation of Cleveland's extramarital affair and illegitimate child, he was publically humiliated and as a result, he made few public appearances. Cleveland's reaction to this scandal left the public with the impression that Cleveland was an honest man and had integrity.[63] The attack on Cleveland backfired as it made him more likable to the public whereas Blaine could not even get his own Party to back him.

To make matters worse for Blaine, he held two events on October 29, 1884 for which he was attacked in the newspapers for. At the first event, Reverend Samuel Burchard who introduced Blaine said, "We are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and

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[61] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 231.
[62] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 59.
[63] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 60-61.

identify with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."[64] Having claimed Romanism (Catholicism) as a negative virtue of the Democratic Party on par with rebellion had angered Irish Catholics and Democratic leaders ensured that the remarks were published in newspapers across the country and for the remarks to be attributed to Blaine himself. This shifted many Catholics in New York to Cleveland. The second event was a "prosperity dinner" in which only the super wealthy were invited to attend. In the *New York World* they had published a political cartoon by Walt McDougall titled "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine and the Money Kings." In the cartoon, it depicts the wealthy eating "Monopoly Soup" and "Lobby Pudding" while the poor begged them for food. These two events cost Blaine many of the votes for the Irish Catholics, working class, and poor.[65]

Both parties' platforms differed on little other than tariffs and which party was best for civil service reform, so personality was incredibly important for gaining votes in key swing states such as Indiana and New York. The election was close in regard to the popular vote, Blaine had 48.2 percent to Cleveland's 48.9 percent. However, due to Cleveland winning Connecticut, Indiana New Jersey, and New York along with all Southern states, he won the Electoral College 219 (54.6 percent) to 182 (45.4 percent). Had Blaine won New York, he would have won the election 218 to 183. New York was decided by just 1,047 votes so Blaine likely would have won if he did not host the two events just before the election.[66]

The Election of 1884 was the first time since 1856 that a Democrat was elected as President. This reflects the weaknesses in the personality-driven presidential campaigns of

[64] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 65.
[65] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 65-66.
[66] "1884 Presidential Election." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1884.

the post-Reconstruction era. The anti-Catholic remarks during Blaine's event added to Cleveland's success. The Mugwumps leaving the Republican Party due to the questionable integrity of Blaine cracked the façade of personality and exposed internal rifts. Blaine's several personal scandals had allowed Cleveland to surmount the barriers of personality to barely win the election.

In 1888, President Cleveland was renominated by acclamation at the Democratic convention at the Exposition Building in Saint Louis from June 5 to 7, 1888. The last time an incumbent Democrat was renominated for a second term was President Martin Van Buren in 1840, and just like Van Buren, Cleveland would lose to a Harrison.[67] During Cleveland's first term, his Vice President Hendricks died on November 25, 1885 so a new Vice President was needed for the ticket. There were three candidates, Senator Allen Thurman of Ohio, Governor Isaac Gray of Indiana, and Union Colonel John Black of Illinois. Thurman won easily on the first ballot with 684 votes to Gray's 101 and Black's thirty-six votes, and one vote was blank. All 822 votes were then given to Thurman.

The Republican convention was held in Chicago from June 19 to 25, 1888 at the Auditorium Theatre. There were four main candidates, Senator Benjamin Harrison (the grandson of the ninth President William Henry Harrison) of Indiana, Senator John Sherman of Ohio, Governor Russell Alger of Michigan, and former Secretary of Treasury Walter Gresham. Blaine declined to run knowing he was too controversial and would again split the Republican vote. On the ballot, Harrison won with 544 votes, Sherman 118, Alger 100, Gresham fifty-nine, all others received zero except Representative and future President

[67] Van Buren lost to William Henry Harrison and Cleveland lost to W. H. Harrison's grandson Benjamin Harrison.

William McKinley of Ohio. Former Representative Levi P. Morton of New York won the Vice Presidential nomination on the first ballot with 591 votes.

The major difference between the two parties was the issue of tariffs. Cleveland, being a Bourbon (Conservative) Democrat opposed tariffs and opposed unions as evidenced by Cleveland's actions during the Pullman Strike, this caused laborers and industrialists to vote against him. Further, Cleveland opposed pensions for Union soldiers, which cost him many votes in the North, as they voted for Harrison who supported tariffs and pensions.[68] To further alienate voters, Cleveland's anti-tariff stance was supported by England, making it appear to many immigrants that Cleveland was pro-British. On October 24, 1888, a Californian Republican posing as a British expatriate named "Murchison" wrote a letter to British ambassador Sir Lionel Sackville-West asking who the British would support and he wrote back saying Cleveland would be the best to vote for. This letter was published by Republicans just weeks before the election making it appear that Cleveland was a free-trader due to the influence of the British and therefore Britain had a vested interest in him winning his reelection.[69]

During the campaign, Cleveland continued to adhere to tradition and refused to campaign or allow any of his staff to campaign, leaving all campaigning to his Vice Presidential nominee Thurman who was seventy-five years old. Harrison campaigned by giving speeches from his front porch and having his speeches circulated by newspapers

[68] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 118-119.
[69] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 94.

across the country.[70] Harrison also benefitted from being the grandson of former President William Henry Harrison. Harrison also had Blaine and John Sherman campaign across the country for him. In addition to this, there were many reports that Republicans had bought votes on Election Day.[71]

Due to the alienation of immigrants, industrialists, Union veterans, and laborers by Cleveland and the active campaigning of Harrison who had reached out to these affected groups, Cleveland had lost the Electoral College despite winning the popular vote. Harrison won 233 Electoral votes (58.1 percent) to Cleveland's 168 Electoral votes (41.9 percent). Harrison lost the popular vote by nearly 90,000 votes (0.8 percent). Harrison won Indiana and New York, possibly because he and his running mate were from those states, in addition to favoring high tariffs, pensions for Union veterans, plus the Murchison Letter, which angered the Irish and other immigrants.

The Election of 1892 was the first—and so far only—election to have two Presidents running for a second term against each other. The main issues were economic issues such as "sound currency" in which Democrats favored a gold standard and were anti-tariff while the Republicans wanted bimetallism (gold and silver) and favored protectionist policies like tariffs.

Republicans under President Harrison implemented their economic policies of high tariffs such as the McKinley Tariff which set tariffs around 50 percent, but rather than having the positive effects Republicans ran on in 1888, the policies harmed the economy. The result

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[70] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 240.
[71] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 93-94.

was higher prices for goods and lower payments for the producers. Farmers were especially hurt as the machinery they relied on cost more, their produce was sold for less, and all the "middlemen" they worked with such as lenders and railroads charge higher fees. The two major parties did not offer help so they turned to third parties especially in the West, plains, and in the South. These third parties took control of several state legislatures, gubernatorial positions, and nine seats in the House.[72] While farmers began switching to the third parties, many in the South stayed in the Democratic Party, as historian Fred Israel notes that they stayed "because the Party meant White Supremacy."[73]

These various factions met in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1891 and again in St. Louis, Missouri in February of 1892 were they created the People (Populist) Party. The Populists held their convention on July 4, 1892 in Omaha, Nebraska where they nominated Union General and former Greenback candidate James Weaver of Iowa on the first ballot with 995 votes to the Senator of South Dakota James Kyle's 265 votes. To balance out the ticket in an effort to appease the Southern voters, former Confederate Major James Field of Virginia was given the Vice Presidential nomination with 733 votes. The Populists called for the secret ballot, an end to all federal subsidies to corporations, coinage of silver, the government should control the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and land as they were all a necessity for

[72] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 248.
[73] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 248.

the people and society and therefore should not be held by private companies for profit. We now have many of these today due to the efforts of the Populists.[7475]

The Republicans held their convention at the Industrial Exposition Building in Minneapolis, Minnesota from June 7 to 10, 1892. There were three main candidates, incumbent President Benjamin Harrison, Secretary of State Blaine, and future President, Governor William McKinley of Ohio. On the first ballot, Harrison won with 535 1/6 votes to Blaine's 182 5/6 votes and McKinley's 182 votes. Vice President Levi P. Morton had not been selected to run for re-nomination as the Vice Presidential nominee, so the Party unanimously voted for former Minister to France and editor of the *New York Tribune* Whitelaw Reid with 906 votes.[7677]

The Republican platform had called out the "inhuman outrages" (i.e. voter suppression and terrorism towards blacks) in the South. They had argued for the creation of a stronger navy using American-built ships to protect U.S. interests and fishermen while reaffirming the Monroe Doctrine. They had also supported protecting laborers, anti-discrimination, opposed trusts and monopolies, supported the creation of a Nicaraguan canal, temperance (prohibition), and pensions for Union veterans.[78]

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[74] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 248-249.
[75] "Minor/Third Party Platforms: Populist Party Platform of 1892 - July 4, 1892." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29616.
[76] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 249.
[77] Calhoun, Charles W. Benjamin Harrison. New York: Times, 2005, 140-141.
[78] "Republican Party Platforms: Republican Party Platform of 1892 - June 7, 1892." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29628.

The Democrats held their convention from June 21 to 23, 1892 in Chicago with eleven candidates for President. The top three were former President Cleveland, Senator David Hill of New York, and Governor Horace Boies of Iowa. Cleveland barely won two-thirds majority he needed on the first ballot, gaining 617 1/3 votes to Hill's 114, Boies 103, and all others received 75 2/3 votes. The Party then unanimously voted all 910 votes to Cleveland. There were eight candidates for Vice President, the top two being former Representative Adlai Stevenson of Illinois and former Governor Isaac Gray of Indiana. Stevenson won on the first ballot after shifts with 652 votes to Gray's 185 votes, all others received seventy-three votes, they then voted unanimously to give Stevenson all 910 votes.[7980] Cleveland was a gold standard Democrat, which alienated Southerners and voters in the West, Stevenson as a free-silver Democrat helped balance the ticket.[81]

The Democratic platform was fairly similar to the Republican platform with focuses on support for laborers, promotion for creating a strong Navy with American-built ships, and the construction of a Nicaraguan canal. However, they denounced the McKinley Tariff and other protectionist policies pushed by the Republicans as well as being anti-prohibition.

During the campaign, Harrison's wife Caroline had been ill and would eventually die two weeks before the election, out of respect to Harrison, Cleveland did not campaign and stopped his surrogates from campaigning upon her death. Democrats had been able to benefit from the Populists who were actively campaigning to gain more support from laborers and farmers felt abandoned by both major parties, which especially hurt the Republicans who

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[79] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 249.
[80] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 105.
[81] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 105-106.

failed to handle the Homestead Strike properly. In June to July of 1892 workers began striking at the Carnegie Steel Company in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Several people on both sides of the conflict were killed and many more were wounded; the Populists used this as a way to split the Electoral votes with the Republicans allowing Cleveland to win several Republican states and the Presidency.[8283]

Cleveland won 277 Electoral votes (62.4 percent) and over 5.5 million votes (46 percent), Harrison received 145 Electoral votes (32.6 percent) and over 5.18 million votes (43 percent), Weaver received 22 Electoral votes (5 percent) and over 1 million votes (8.5 percent), and all others received 2.5 percent. With the relatively popular third party candidate Weaver, the votes shifted far from the normal. Not only had Indiana and New York gone to Cleveland but so had California, Illinois, and Wisconsin, which occurred likely due to voters voting for Weaver instead of Harrison. Weaver did fairly well in only a few counties in Alabama, Georgia, and Texas, but was unable to win any Southern state as the Populist Party was believed to undermine white supremacy. (Cleveland p. 107)

There were several states with close popular votes such as California, which went to Cleveland by about 100 votes, Delaware by roughly 500 votes, and West Virginia by about 4,000 votes. Ohio went to Harrison by nearly 1,000 votes and North Dakota went to Weaver

[82] Graff, Henry F. Grover Cleveland. New York: Times Books, 2002, 108-109.
[83] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 249.

by less than 200 votes, although the three Electoral votes were split between the three candidates.[8485]

Five states had split their Electoral votes, North Dakota as previously mentioned, but also Michigan which gave nine votes to Harrison and five to Cleveland and Ohio gave one vote to Cleveland. California was won by Cleveland but one elector gave their vote to Harrison and Oregon gave one vote to Weaver.[86]

L. Analysis of the Personality Era

Beginning in 1880 to 1892, Republicans relied on personality, which was a combination of traits (though not necessarily all these at once) including charisma, campaign strategy, stances on issues, oratory skills, and celebrity status (such as being a famous war hero or being related to a famous politician). As a result of this, the elections in this timespan were close in regards to the popular vote, as no candidate won with a majority of the vote during this time but received the majority of the Electoral vote. In the Election of 1884, the Republicans would have won if they had been able to secure New York with at least 1,048 more votes. In the Election of 1892, it was much more nuanced as the Populists Party had done relatively well, but if the Republican Party had campaigned[87] and addressed the grievances of the farmers and laborers, the Republicans may not have had a strong Populist

[84] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 252.
[85] "1892 Presidential Election." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1892.

[86] Deskins, Donald Richard., Hanes Walton, and Sherman C. Puckett. *Presidential elections, 1789-2008: county, state, and national mapping of election data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010, 250.
[87] Although the illness and death of Harrison's wife would be an understandable reason to forgo campaigning.

Party to split their Electoral votes. The Democrats were only able to gain the plurality in several Republican states (California, Connecticut, Illinois, and Wisconsin) and the swing states of Indiana and New York allowing them to win the Presidency due to the Populists taking the votes from the Republicans in those states.

V. Conclusion

The Republican Party had held the Presidency almost uninterrupted for a seventy-two year span of time with the exception of two Democrats, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. This thesis had focused on the timespan of Abraham Lincoln from 1860 to Grover Cleveland's second term in 1892, where the Republicans relied on structural advantages and then on personality to win each election.

Structural advantages such as the Electoral College, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the disenfranchisement of Confederates, and the enfranchisement of black men in the South had handed the Presidency and control of state legislatures and both chambers of Congress, until Southern states began to be brought back into the Union. Once this occurred, Democrats regained state legislatures and in 1875 took control of the House for six years and once Reconstruction was ended by President Hayes, Democrats were able to take control of the Senate for two years.

Following the end of Reconstruction, candidates had to rely on personality (personality, oratory skills, campaign strategies, issues, charisma, celebrity status, etc.) in order to win. Due to this, both parties were often close in the popular vote, though depending on who managed to win the swing states of Indiana and New York would typically win in an Electoral landslide. This trend continued from the election of William McKinley in 1896 to

the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. This timespan was different in the fact that the popular vote was not close, the Republicans had always won with at least 51 percent of the popular vote.[88] However, beginning with the election of President Eisenhower in 1952, presidential elections switched between the Democrats and Republicans every eight years, with exception to President Carter and his loss to Ronald Reagan in 1980 and George H. W. Bush's victory over Michael Dukakis in 1988.

Republicans were able to hold the presidency for nearly three decades because of two main reasons: structural advantages and personality. For these two other timespans, it would be worth evaluating at another time, asking the questions of why Republicans were able to win by a majority of the popular vote from 1896 to 1932, or what it was about the Republicans of this timespan that was different from the Republicans in the timespan of 1880 to 1892. Further investigation could go into researching what were the mechanisms that cause the trend of voters to switch between the two major parties every eight years beginning in the Election of 1952? Such questions are important in understanding future elections and the shifting political climate of the United States.

[88] Except the elections they had lost, 1912 and 1916 against Democrat Woodrow Wilson and 1932 against Democrat Franklin Roosevelt.

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