

Impeachment and Southern Politics

Phases of Reconstruction? Trace the events leading to Impeachment.

Causes and Outcomes of Impeachment?

What did Southern Republicans in Power Accomplish?

Bigger picture: four phrases

1. Lincoln & Johnson propose two different reconstruction paths.....1863-1867
2. Johnson's actions motivate Radicals and results in the Military Reconstruction Acts and Impeachment.....1867-1870
3. The Radicals give the vote to southern blacks and Southern politics change drastically.....1870-1874
4. The Freedmen's Bureau struggles to provide food, education, land, economic contracts, etc.....1864-1877
5. The end of Reconstruction.....1877

How and Why do we Impeach?????

Article Two of the United States Constitution (Section 4) states that...

"The President, Vice President, and all other civil Officers of the United States shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other High Crimes and Misdemeanors. The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeaching, while the United States Senate has the sole power to try all impeachments. The removal of impeached officials is automatic upon conviction in the Senate."

Federal Impeachments?

Two presidents.

Fifteen Judges.

One Senator (William Blount of TN).

One Secretary of War (William Belknap).

Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon and Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas both resigned in response to the threat of impeachment hearings, and, most famously, President Richard Nixon resigned from office after the House Judiciary Committee had already reported articles of impeachment to the floor. The popularity of Ronald Reagan prevented impeachment actions—but his accusers had gathered significant evidence.

The Johnson Proclamations...

Hated by most Americans....

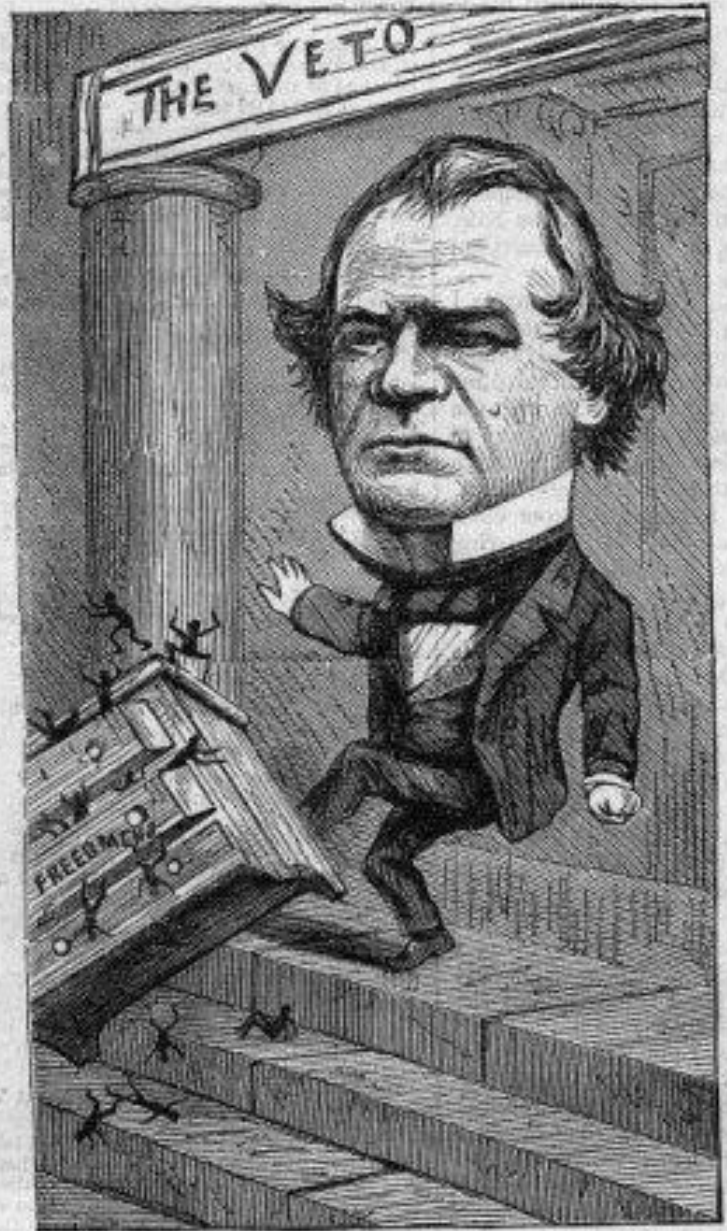
Johnson had offered proclamations of general amnesty for most former Confederates but with strict conditions.

The his personal pardons turned the restrictions into folly.

Johnson also vetoed legislation that extended civil rights and financial support for the former slaves—a demand of Radicals.

In Aug-Sept. 1866 swing around circle to garner support, backfired—resulting in a 3 to 1 Radical Republican (veto-proof) Congress.

Giving the veto...and
kicking the
Freedmen's Bureau.



Johnson critics were loud.



Was Edwin Stanton a problem?

Yes!!

Stanton---needed to be replaced...

Controlled other department's in Lincoln's absence...

Controlled Lincoln's funeral...

Controlled the State Dept since Seward was injured...

Used secret service to spy on Johnson...

Sent copies of cabinet meetings to radicals....

Steps to Impeachment....

Tenure of Office Act allowed suspension of appointees when Congress was in recess. During recess, Aug 5, 1867 Johnson suspended Stanton.

Appointed Grant as Interim Secretary.

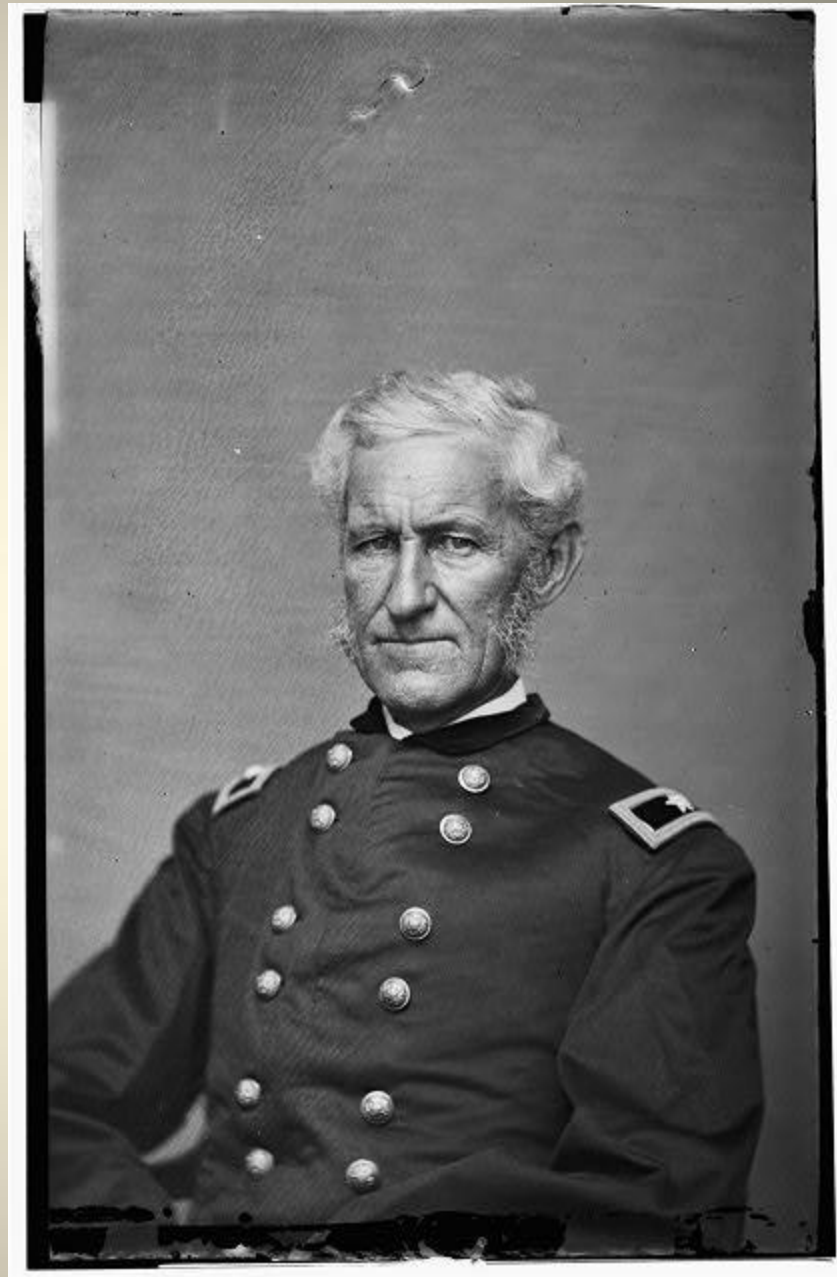
Jan 7 1868 Congress passed a resolution of non-concurrence & Grant honored it and resigned.

Johnson asked William T. Sherman a Stanton enemy to take the job, but Sherman turned him down.

Feb 21 1868 Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas was appointed and hand delivered the suspension notice to Stanton—Stanton refused to leave the office.

Stanton barricade his office doors and ordered Thomas arrested for violation of the Tenure of Office Act.

Adj General Lorenzo Thomas



Three days later, Feb. 24, House
voted 126 to 47 to impeach

Recorded impeachment vote.

Fortieth Congress U.S. Second Session.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Resolved, That Andrew Johnson President of the United States be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors in Office.

February 24th 1868

Spkgr. C. for Speaker *Condensed* Clerk.

YEAS.

1. Adams	26. A. P. Banks	51. T. Spaulding	76. H. Brown	101. <i>[Signature]</i>
2. Ag. J. Butler	27. Washburn	52. P. Wallcut	77. H. C. Allen	102. Geo. W. Johnson
3. W. A. Bigelow	28. W. A. Burleigh	53. W. A. Burleigh	78. J. M. Morrill	103. B. C. Johnson
4. G. B. Burt	29. J. B. Burleigh	54. J. B. Burleigh	79. J. M. Morrill	104. M. C. Johnson
5. J. C. Butler	30. J. B. Burleigh	55. J. B. Burleigh	80. J. M. Morrill	105. J. B. Johnson
6. J. C. Butler	31. J. B. Burleigh	56. J. B. Burleigh	81. J. M. Morrill	106. J. B. Johnson
7. J. C. Butler	32. J. B. Burleigh	57. J. B. Burleigh	82. J. M. Morrill	107. J. B. Johnson
8. J. C. Butler	33. J. B. Burleigh	58. J. B. Burleigh	83. J. M. Morrill	108. J. B. Johnson
9. J. C. Butler	34. J. B. Burleigh	59. J. B. Burleigh	84. J. M. Morrill	109. J. B. Johnson
10. J. C. Butler	35. J. B. Burleigh	60. J. B. Burleigh	85. J. M. Morrill	110. J. B. Johnson
11. J. C. Butler	36. J. B. Burleigh	61. J. B. Burleigh	86. J. M. Morrill	111. J. B. Johnson
12. J. C. Butler	37. J. B. Burleigh	62. J. B. Burleigh	87. J. M. Morrill	112. J. B. Johnson
13. J. C. Butler	38. J. B. Burleigh	63. J. B. Burleigh	88. J. M. Morrill	113. J. B. Johnson
14. J. C. Butler	39. J. B. Burleigh	64. J. B. Burleigh	89. J. M. Morrill	114. J. B. Johnson
15. J. C. Butler	40. J. B. Burleigh	65. J. B. Burleigh	90. J. M. Morrill	115. J. B. Johnson
16. J. C. Butler	41. J. B. Burleigh	66. J. B. Burleigh	91. J. M. Morrill	116. J. B. Johnson
17. J. C. Butler	42. J. B. Burleigh	67. J. B. Burleigh	92. J. M. Morrill	117. J. B. Johnson
18. J. C. Butler	43. J. B. Burleigh	68. J. B. Burleigh	93. J. M. Morrill	118. J. B. Johnson
19. J. C. Butler	44. J. B. Burleigh	69. J. B. Burleigh	94. J. M. Morrill	119. J. B. Johnson
20. J. C. Butler	45. J. B. Burleigh	70. J. B. Burleigh	95. J. M. Morrill	120. J. B. Johnson
21. J. C. Butler	46. J. B. Burleigh	71. J. B. Burleigh	96. J. M. Morrill	121. J. B. Johnson
22. J. C. Butler	47. J. B. Burleigh	72. J. B. Burleigh	97. J. M. Morrill	122. J. B. Johnson
23. J. C. Butler	48. J. B. Burleigh	73. J. B. Burleigh	98. J. M. Morrill	123. J. B. Johnson
24. J. C. Butler	49. J. B. Burleigh	74. J. B. Burleigh	99. J. M. Morrill	124. J. B. Johnson
25. J. C. Butler	50. J. B. Burleigh	75. J. B. Burleigh	100. J. M. Morrill	125. J. B. Johnson

NAYS.

1. J. C. Butler	10. J. C. Butler	20. J. C. Butler	30. J. C. Butler	40. J. C. Butler
2. J. C. Butler	11. J. C. Butler	21. J. C. Butler	31. J. C. Butler	41. J. C. Butler
3. J. C. Butler	12. J. C. Butler	22. J. C. Butler	32. J. C. Butler	42. J. C. Butler
4. J. C. Butler	13. J. C. Butler	23. J. C. Butler	33. J. C. Butler	43. J. C. Butler
5. J. C. Butler	14. J. C. Butler	24. J. C. Butler	34. J. C. Butler	44. J. C. Butler
6. J. C. Butler	15. J. C. Butler	25. J. C. Butler	35. J. C. Butler	45. J. C. Butler
7. J. C. Butler	16. J. C. Butler	26. J. C. Butler	36. J. C. Butler	46. J. C. Butler
8. J. C. Butler	17. J. C. Butler	27. J. C. Butler	37. J. C. Butler	47. J. C. Butler
9. J. C. Butler	18. J. C. Butler	28. J. C. Butler	38. J. C. Butler	48. J. C. Butler
10. J. C. Butler	19. J. C. Butler	29. J. C. Butler	39. J. C. Butler	49. J. C. Butler

One week later, the House adopted ten articles of impeachment.

These included suspension of Stanton.

Appointment of Thomas.

Even seizure of federal property.

And giving speeches disrespectful of Congress.

Johnson's Impeachment Committee



Under the Constitution the House must find cause, then must act as “prosecutor”.

The Chief Justice, Salmon P. Chase, supervised the “trial” to be held in the Senate.

Each Senator had one vote.

The President’s defense asked for 40 days to collect evidence, but the Senate granted only 10—the trial began in Mar 23, 1868.

After opening arguments, the President was given 6 more days—the trial re-convened Mar 30.

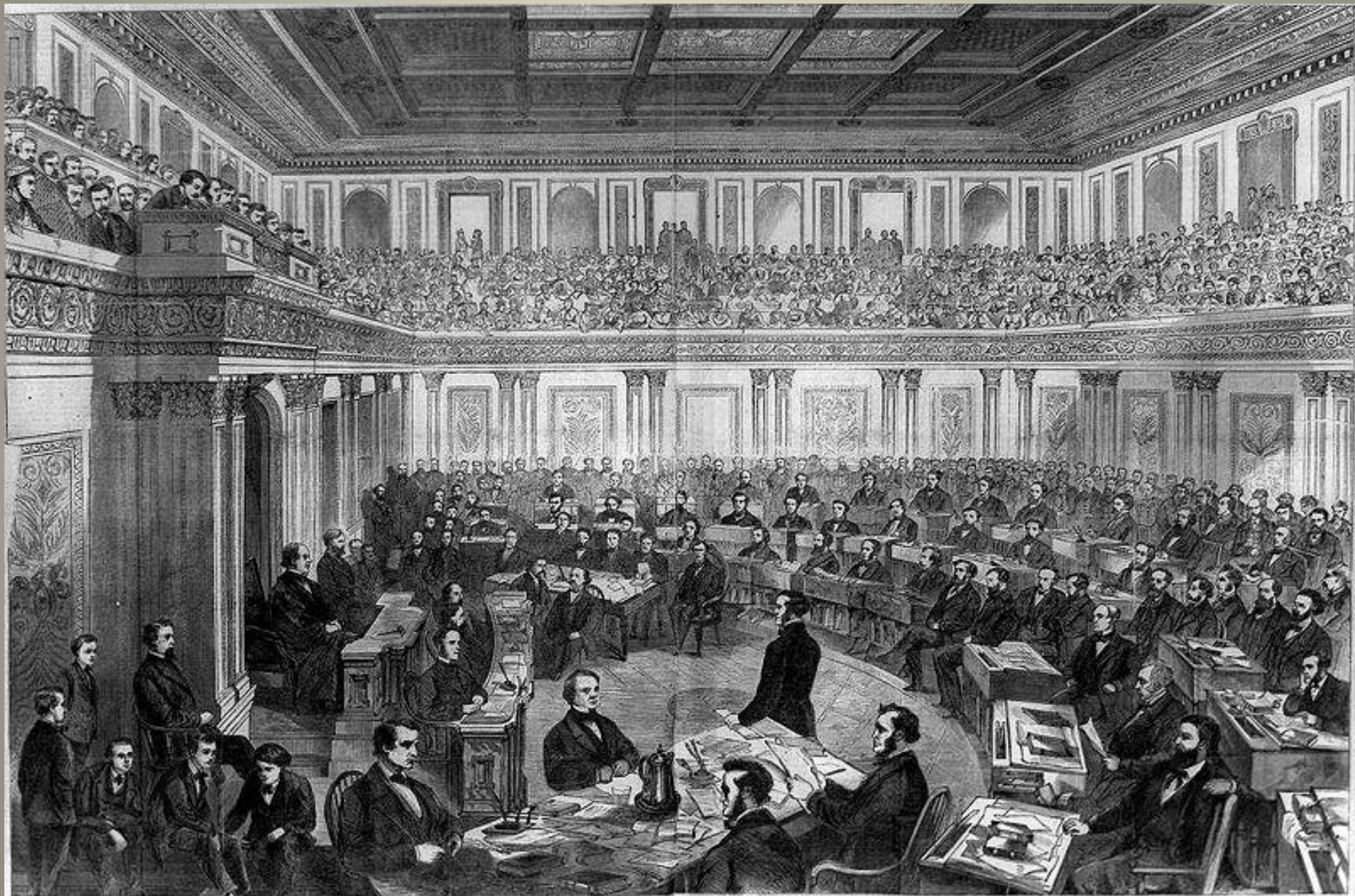
Benjamin Butler gave a 4 hour speech on historical tyrants who should have been impeached.

Johnson's main defense was that Stanton was a hold over from Lincoln, not covered by the new act, and so he could not have violated the act.

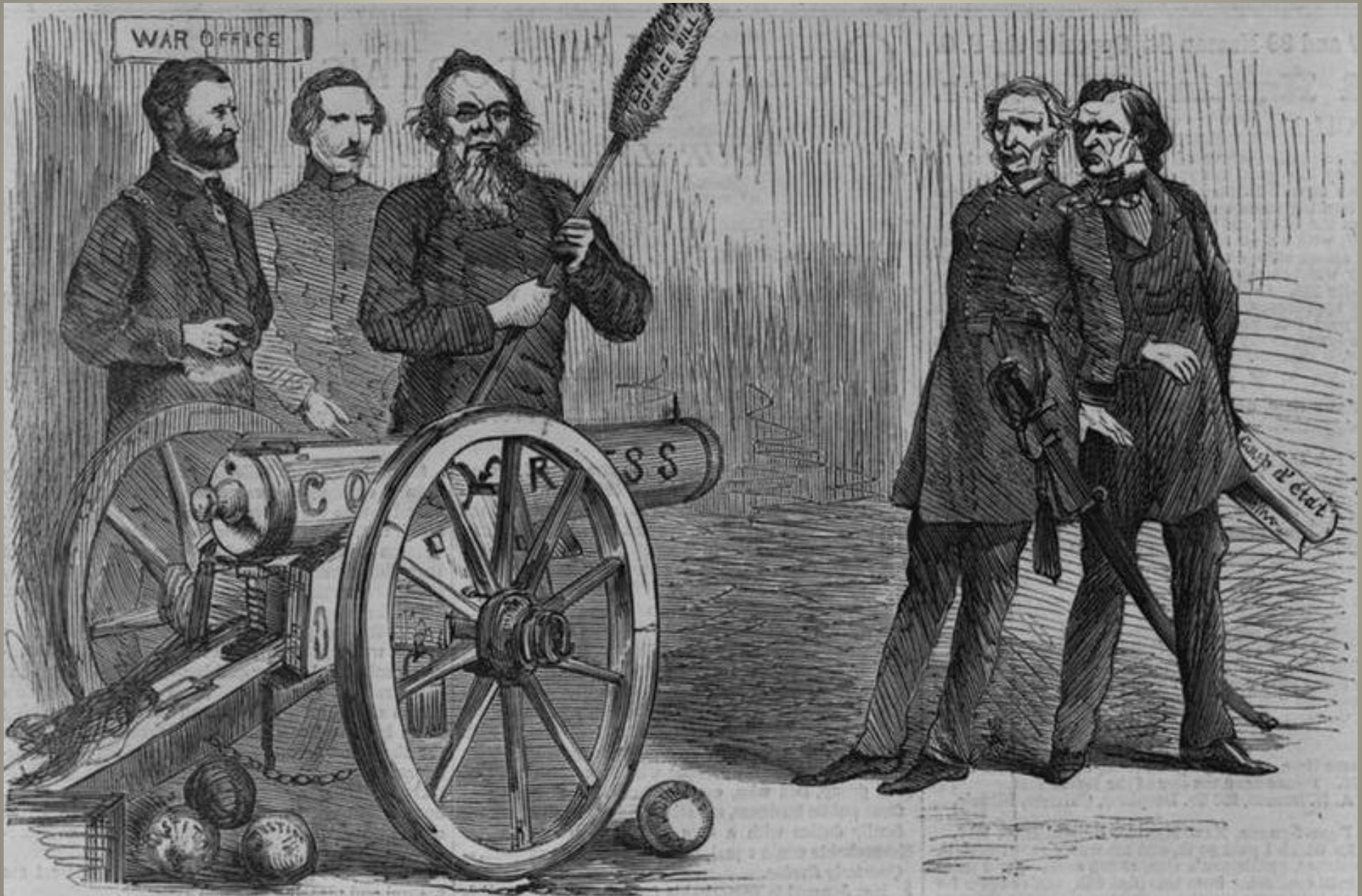


Senators were given tickets to re-give to supporters, Johnson was given only ten tickets.

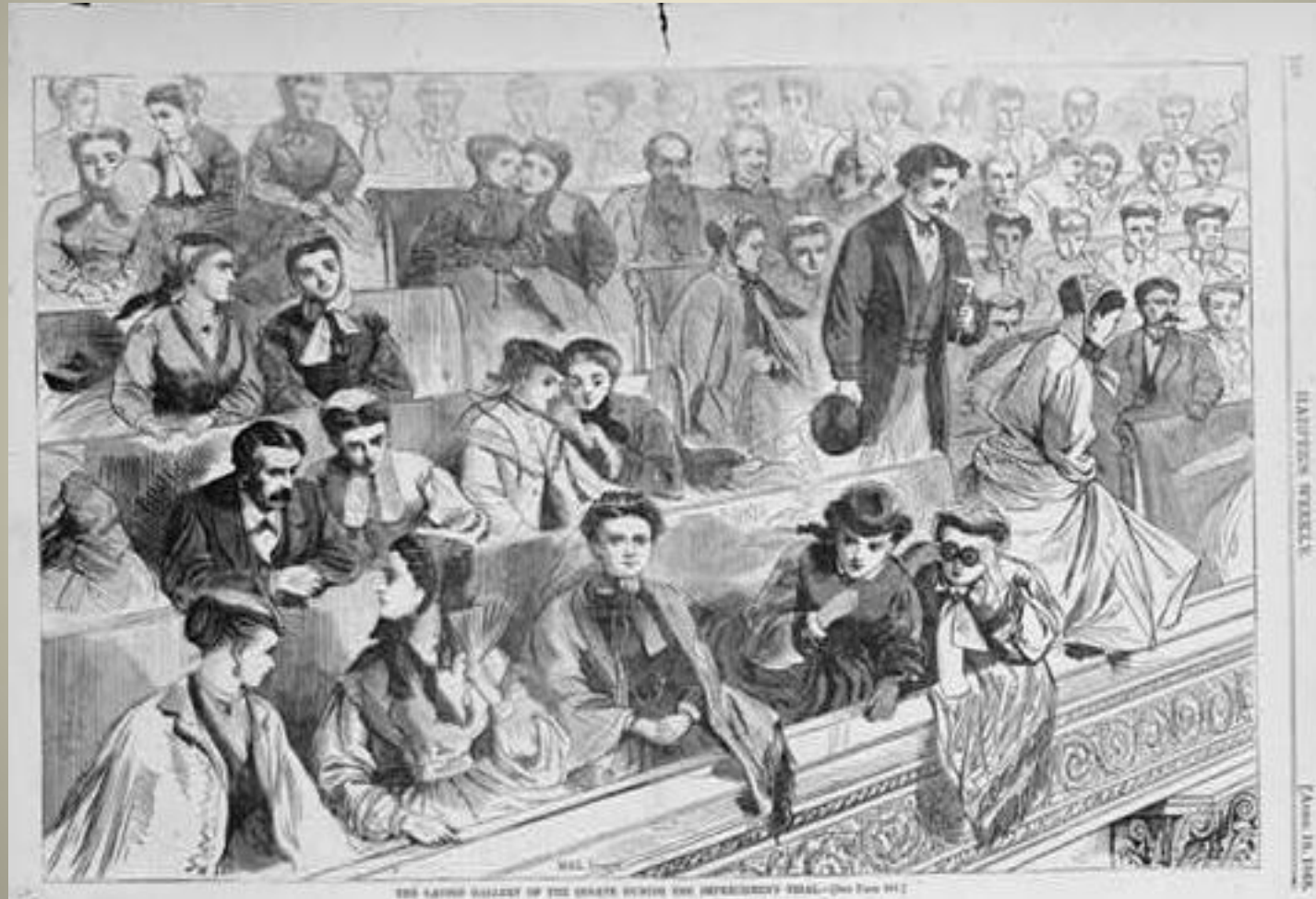
The trial.



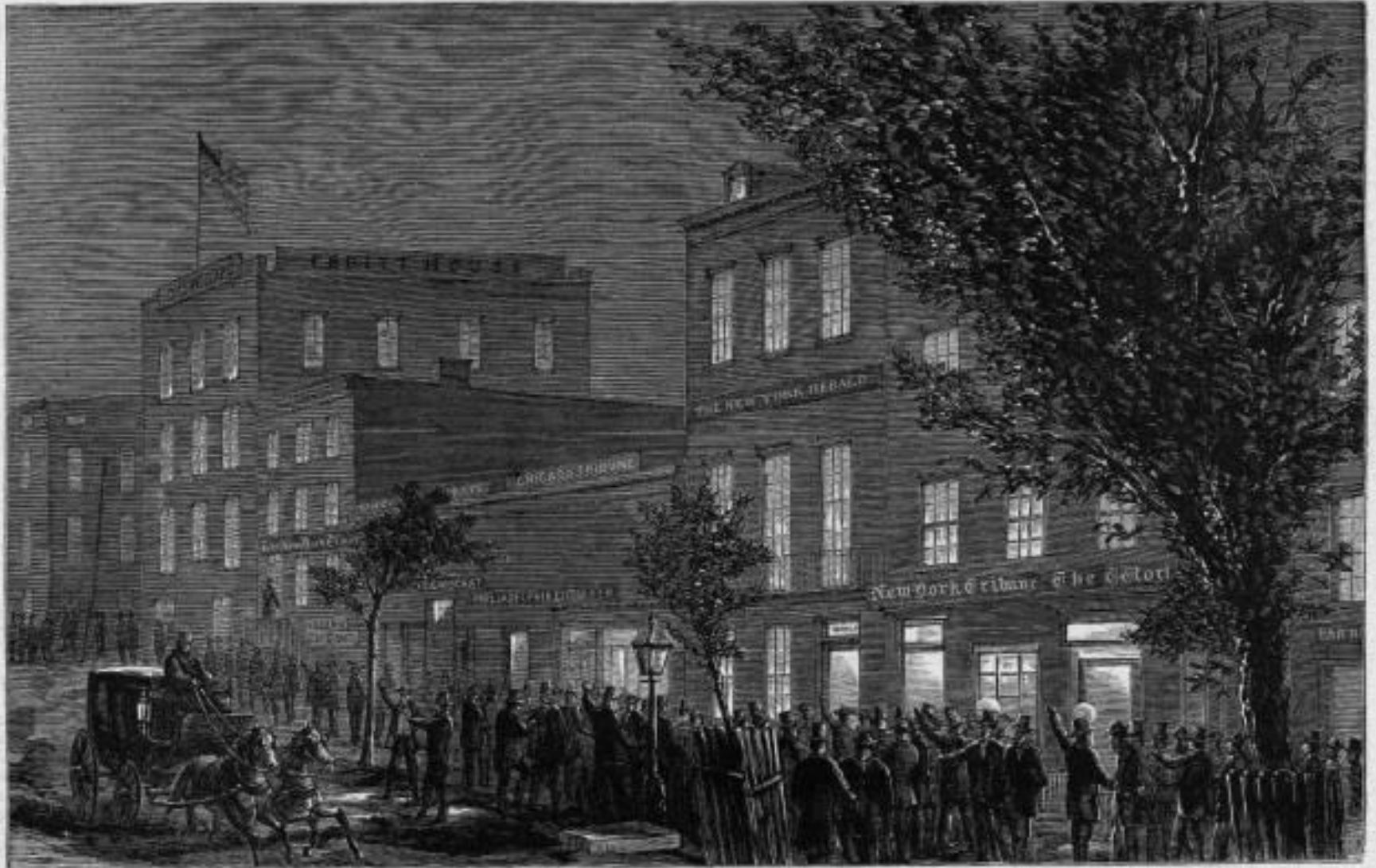
Stanton firing a cannon at Thomas and Johnson.



Ladies Gallery



Reporter's Row



IMPEACHMENT—SCENE IN "NEWSPAPER ROW," WASHINGTON, ON THE NIGHT AFTER THE VOTE.—SKETCHED BY T. R. DAVIS.—[SEE PAGE 350.]

This is one of the last great battles with slavery. Driven from these legislative Chambers; driven from the field of war, this monstrous power has found a refuge in the Executive Mansion, where, in utter disregard of the Constitution and laws, it seeks to exercise its ancient far-reaching sway. All this is very plain. Nobody can question it. Andrew Johnson is the impersonation of the tyrannical Slave Power. In him it lives again.

Charles Sumner, voting guilty

What law does this record show the President to have violated? is it the tenure of office act? I believe in the constitutionality of that act, and stand ready to punish its violators; but neither the removal of that faithful and efficient officer, Edwin M. Stanton, which I deeply regret, nor the *ad interim* designation of Lorenzo Thomas, were, as has been shown, forbidden by it.

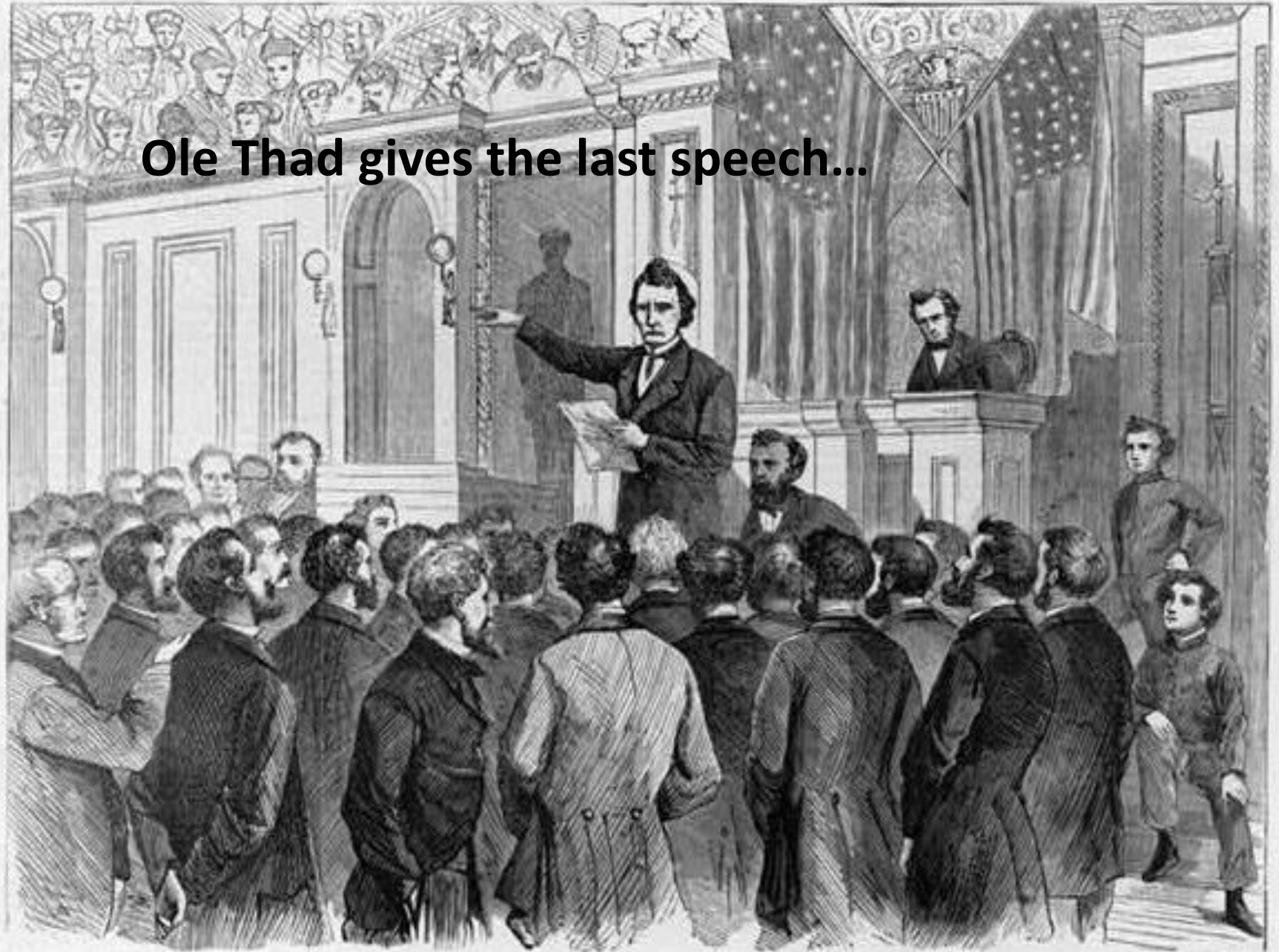
Lyman Trumbull, voting not guilty

In 3 votes, 35 voted guilty; 19 not guilty

—since a $2/3$ majority was required was to convict the President of treason...

He was acquitted by only one vote.

Ole Thad gives the last speech...



THE LAST SPEECH ON IMPEACHMENT—THADDEUS STEVENS'S CLOSING THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE, MARCH 2.—[SKETCHED BY T. H. DAVIS.]

Depicted as a “little boy...”



THIS LITTLE BOY WOULD PERSIST IN HANDLING BOOKS ABOVE HIS CAPACITY.



AND THIS WAS THE DISASTROUS RESULT.

Criticized as he returned to civilian life.



A. J. RETURNS TO HIS FIRST LOVE.

A Prophetic Picture, drawn by Our Paid Prophet.

The Radicals also attacked the Supreme Court

1866, Ex parte Milligan (U.S. Supreme Court)

A confederate was judged in a military tribunal in Indiana for attempting to take over a prisoner of war camp. The courts found that military tribunals were unconstitutional where civilian courts still functioned (as they did in Indiana).

This seemed to make military reconstruction illegal...what would happen next?

The Courts, influenced by the controlling Radicals, did say that the right of habeas corpus could be suspended by the military—but the military could not conduct the trials. The Radicals acted swiftly...

...passed laws requiring a 2/3 Court majority if laws were declared unconstitutional.

...enabling Congress to override the Court with 2/3 majority.

Then facing opposition the Congress backed away from an encounter with the Court.

Outcomes of Impeachment

...Separation of Executive and Legislative branches in tact.

...Constitutional powers of appointment left in tact.

...The Presidency restored to some importance.

...The Supreme Court remained powerful.

...The Radicals were free to try their experiments in the south.

...The military rule in the South would now go on for eight years.

...As impeachment floundered, the Southern States re-entered the Union.

Bones and Banjoes Conventions

Criticized as conventions of “monkeys”, the state constitutional conventions met in 1867-1868 to produce exceptional constitutions...

...universal manhood suffrage (ahead of the North)

...educational and prison reforms

...new public services paid for with property taxes

The main disagreements were....

...treatment of ex-Confederates

...and public school segregation...practiced in all Southern States

Would the new Southern state constitutions be approved?

Conservative whites in Alabama boycotted the vote which meant that less than the required percentage of registered voters went to the polls.

The Radicals passed the Fourth Reconstruction Act allowing state constitutions to be approved with simple majorities.

Between May and August 1868, six more Southern States approved constitutions.

The size of Texas and local issues delayed some progress, but slowly between 1868 and 1870 the Southern States were re-admitted to the Union.

The Election of 1868

Republicans wanted control of the White House AND Reconstruction,

TWO ISSUES:

1. Nominee?

Would it be Republican Salmon Chase? NO—he supported Johnson's innocence.

Or, Grant, the former Democrat & War Hero—YES—anything to win

2. Black suffrage in the North?

Michigan had defeated a referendum for black suffrage; but party radicals demanded the national platform support universal black suffrage.

Moderates won with a plank stating black suffrage was up to the Northern states.

Democrats in 1868...too many candidates

...Johnson...General Winfield Scott Hancock, another war hero

...Indiana Senator Thomas Herndricks...Ohio Representative George Pnedleton

After 22 deadlocked votes the convention turned to the Governor of NY, Horatio Seymour.

Seymour had opposed the Reconstruction Acts, and black suffrage

He had even supported the NY rioters

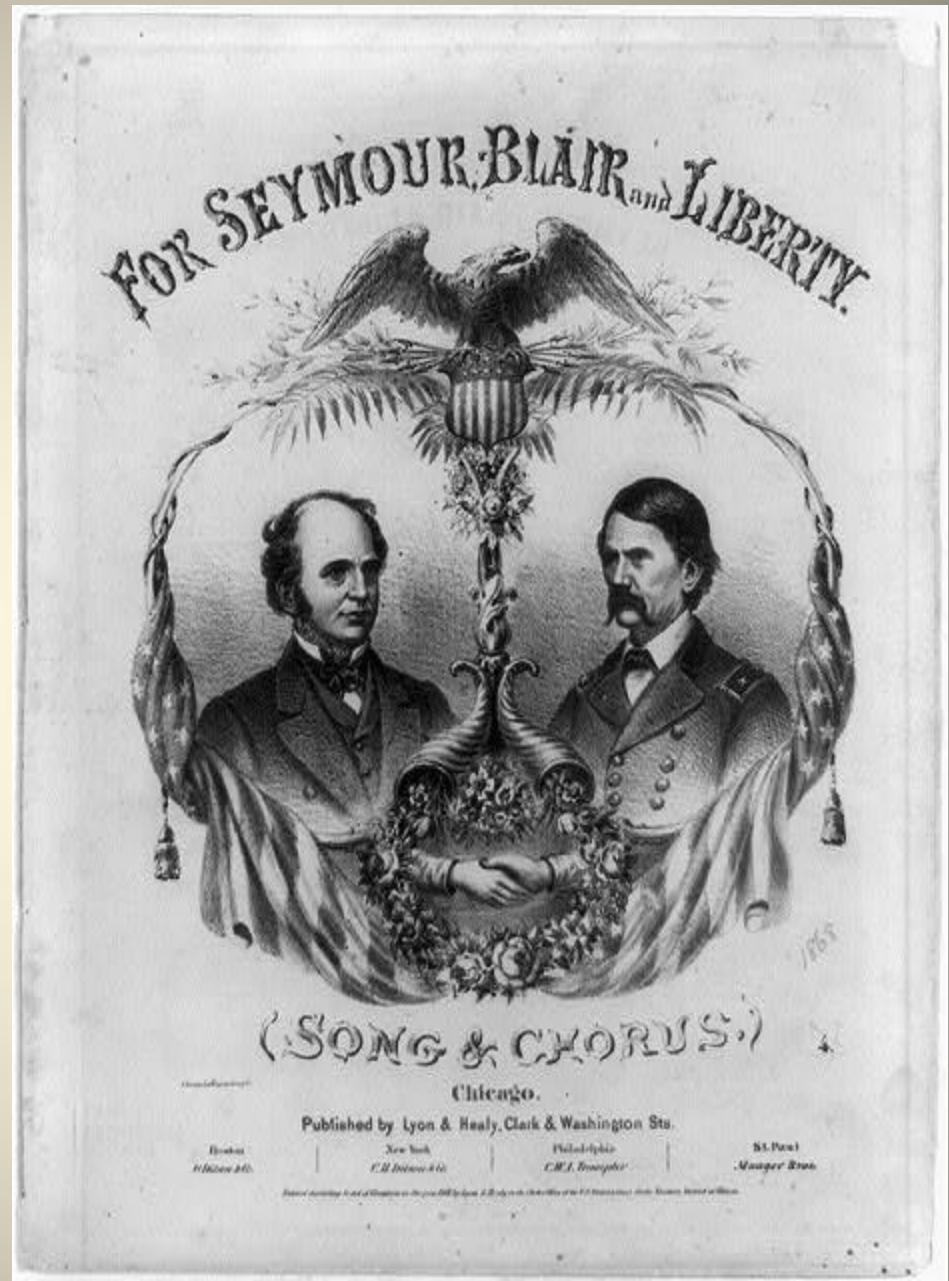
Dems vowed to undo Reconstruction and return governments to "white people".

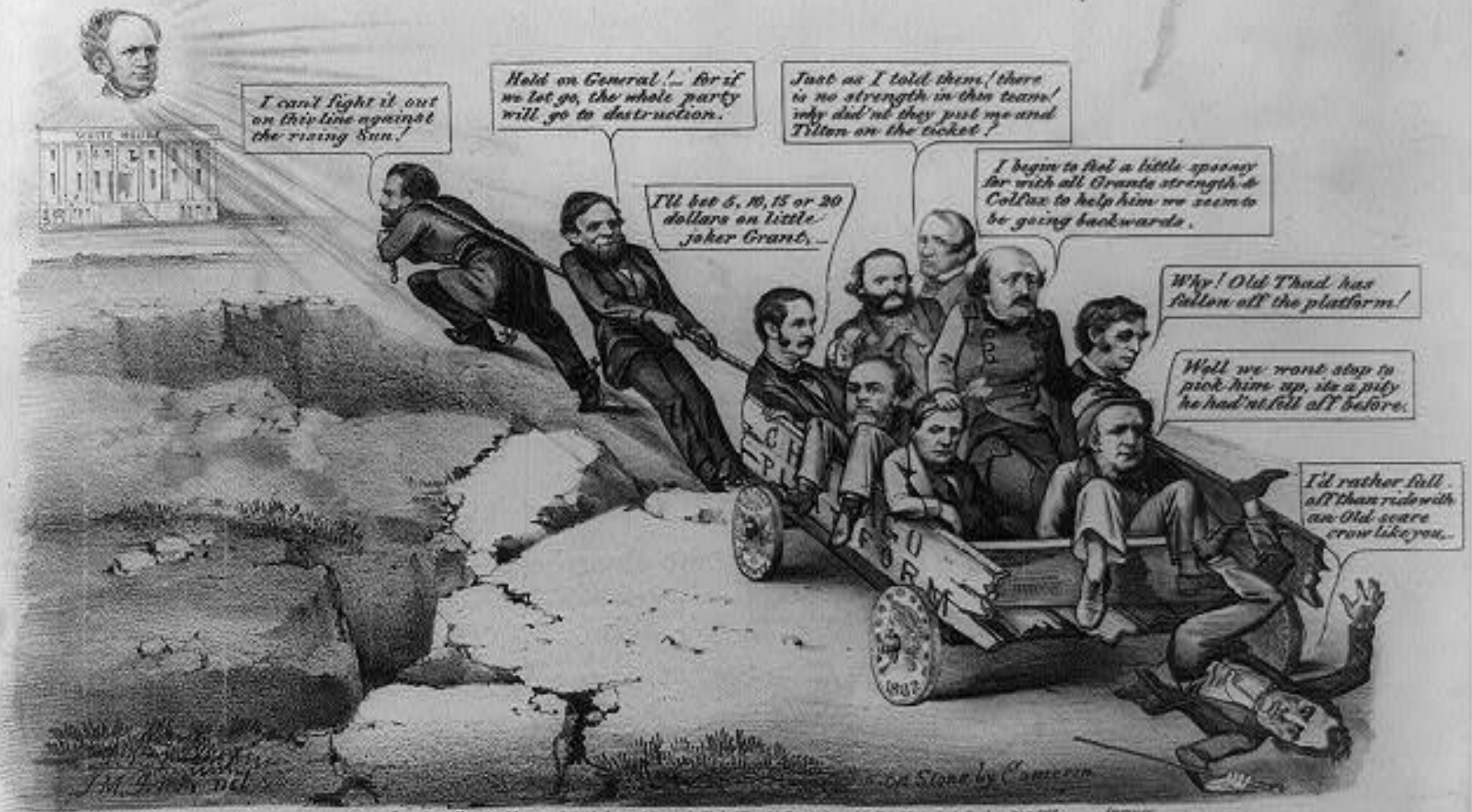
New York Governor
Horatio Seymour,

Democratic Presidential
Nominee, 1868



Seymour, Blair & Liberty





I can't fight it out on this line against the rising Sun!

Hold on General!... for if we let go, the whole party will go to destruction.

Just as I told them! there is no strength in this team! why did 'nt they put me and Tilton on the ticket!

I'll bet 5, 10, 15 or 20 dollars on little-joker Grant,...

I begin to feel a little uneasy for with all Grants strength & Colfax to help him we seem to be going backwards.

Why! Old Thad. has fallen off the platform!

Well we want stop to pick him up, its a pity he had 'nt fell off before.

I'd rather fall, all than ride with an Old scare-crow like you.

Reproduction by the Act of Congress, in 1868 by Cameron & Fox, in the City of New York, of the Drawing of the United States by the Northern District of New York. Grant, Colfax, Wilson, Stanton, Lincoln, Phillips, Sumner, Greeley, Stevens.

THE RADICAL PARTY ON A HEAVY GRADE.

The campaign was bitter...

The Democrats called the black governments in the south
“bastards”...

But Grant responded “let us have peace”

This sent the right message to a public weary of war and
political warfare.

Then violence and voter fraud marred the election.....

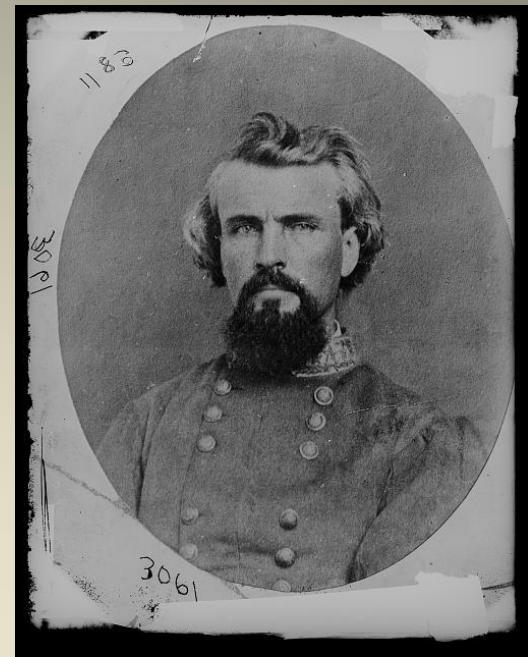
The KKK...at first a fraternal group...became a terrorist organization...the reign of terror focused on keeping Republicans from the polls in 1868

...formed in Pulaski, TN and led by former confederates including Nathan Bedford Forrest became the “military arm” of the Democrats

...200 murders were reported in Arkansas associated with the KKK

...In Georgia threats of violence resulted in almost no republican turnout.

...nearly 1,000 blacks were killed in Louisiana whose Governor called for national troops to preserve the peace---Johnson refused



The 15TH Amendment

As the election winds down, Republicans were still hoping for black suffrage.

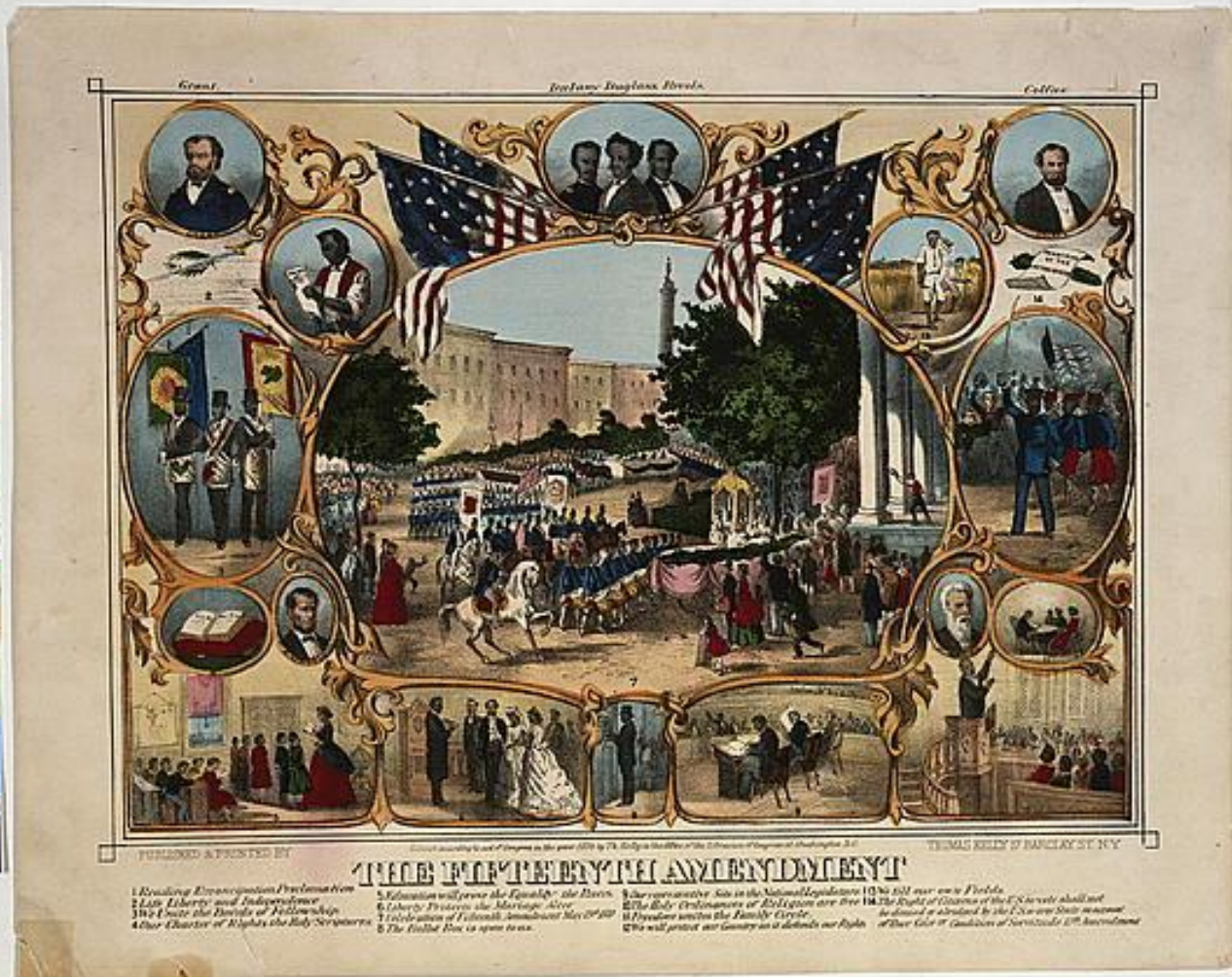
Black men could not vote in 11 of 21 northern states, nor in any of the 5 border states.

After three versions were discussed, Congress accepted the most moderate version Feb 26, 1869..it would take more than a year to get ratification

...and much drama in Georgia

...March 30, 1870

Celebrating Ratification of the 15th Amendment



Celebrating Ratification of the 15th Amendment



THE RESULT OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT,

And the Rise and Progress of the African Race in America and its final Accomplishment, and Celebration on May 19th A.D. 1870.

ILLUSTRATED BY H. W. WOODS, AND BY W. W. WOODS

Published at the Office of the Publisher, No. 100, Nassau Street, New York.

ARTICLE XV

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Southern Republicans

Through military occupation, and Radical Reconstruction, the South gave rise to a different type of party

80% were black men who were ex-slaves and mostly illiterate

The others supporting them were northerners come south, Abolitionists, and opportunists

Black leadership, 1868-1876

14 Black Representatives

2 Black Senators

Many local black elected officials

Several well educated, one-third business men or craftsmen

Many had served in the Union in the war, an education in itself, and returned to the South

Democrats, Ex-confederates, and
Racists criticized...

James S. Pike, *The Prostrate State*,
described SC as run by “Negro
rule” or the “dregs of the
population....”

Reality—White dominance

Blacks held around 18% of offices during Reconstruction

Only one black man, Jonathan Wright became a judge

Whites, with money and experience, dominated the southern Republican Party

Carpetbaggers

Northerners settling in the South (mostly Union Officers staying on)

Gained almost 1/3 of local southern elected offices

Nearly HALF of Southern Governors, Congressmen & Senators were carpetbaggers from the North.

Scalawags

White Southerners who join the Republicans

Called “vile, filthy, unfit for the dogs”

Not the reality, most carpetbaggers & scalawags saw a new south—prosperous and well educated

Most were from the northern tier of southern states and were “Unionist” against the plantation wealth of the Old south.

A Fragile Coaliton

Blacks [dis-harmony between free and ex-slave blacks]

Whites from the North

Whites from the South, especially middle income yeomen and “Unionists”

Groups often disagreed and both white and black feared violence

Accomplishments of Southern Republicans

...established statewide education systems

...re-organized state judicial systems

...massive re-building program for roads and bridges

...loan programs to Railroads

But also many corrupt government officials

Security in the South

...KKK targeted black schools—a direct threat to white supremacy

...But most KKK violence was a threat leading up to elections

...Enforcement became impossible. Black troops would escalate the situation. Union troops were not trained for counter-insurgency. And Southern Governors had no money for either tactic.

...Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee attempted to fight the Klan and almost no arrests were made.

May 31, 1870, Congress passed the first enforcement act making it illegal to interfere with voting. In February 1871 a second act provided organization to supervise voting; and the Ku Klux Act April 20, 1871 authorized the President to use force to protect Southern voters.

President Grant took modest action...

...sent troops into three states

...Federal Grand Juries indicted 3,000

...fewer than 900 were put on trial, most receiving fines and acquittal.

Grant was criticized as using “bayonet rule”

The election of 1872

Grant was hurt by massive corruption from his conies....But was helped by his middle of the road appraoch to Southern violence

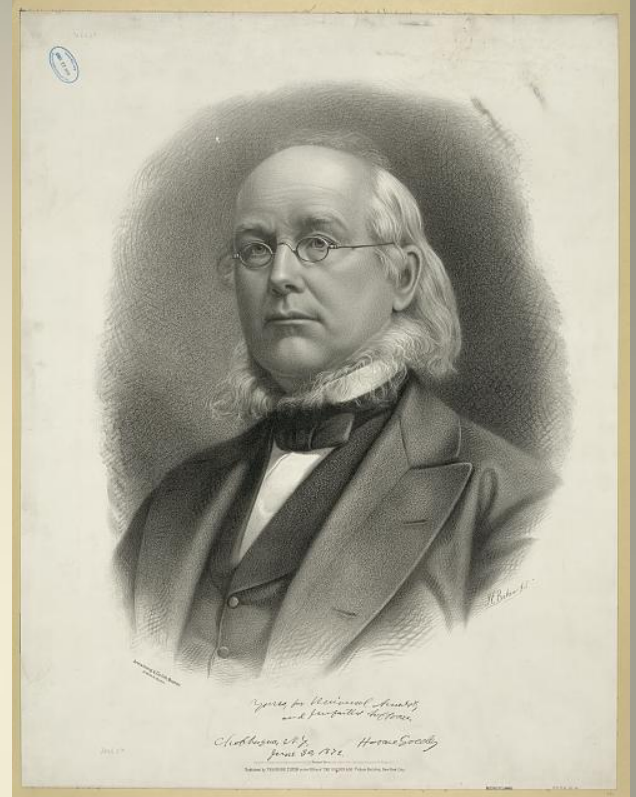
Liberals nominated a well-known NY editor, Horace Greeley.

“Anything but Grant”

civil service reform, tariff reduction

sectional reconciliation, amnesty

Grant won 56% of the vote, every Northern state and most of the Southern states.



Conclusions

...Johnson's personal pardons and defiance of the Radicals put the Radicals in charge...Radical calls for Impeachment were out of spite and resulted in a circus atmosphere

...The outcome of a weakened President was that Radicals were free to experiment with the South

...Southern states starting the re-admission process

...Voters elected Grant in 1868, and the KKK violence re-newed...focused on schools and elections

...The radicals, still hoping for black suffrage, pass the 15th Amendment

...Southern Republicans develop a coalition of blacks, carpetbaggers and scalawags to run the South

...Violence grows and Congress passes three enforcement acts. Grant intervenes and wins the election of 1872. The public grows weary of reconstruction.