

# BITTERNESS IN 1880 CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENCY

Republicans Divided Over the Renomination of President Grant.

## GARFIELD UNITED PARTY FACTIONS

Hatred of Blaine by Conkling Reached Climax—Hayes Incurred Enmity of Both Sides and Was Not Candidate for Re-election—Nomination of Garfield Came as a Compromise.

By Frederic J. Haskin.

The preliminaries of the presidential contest in 1880 had many points similar to those of the one now ending. General Grant was a candidate for a third term—not a consecutive term, but a third term after a four year's break. He had made a trip around the world and wherever he went had been received with that same acclaim and welcome that characterized the European visit of Theodore Roosevelt at the end of his African hunt.

The Republican party was divided sharply into the Grant and the anti-Grant factions. At one time there was as much bitterness as there was last summer just preceding the final fight for the presidential nomination at the Republican National convention. The bitterness of the anti-Grant sentiment is illustrated by a tale that is told of the preacher who was exhorting to his hearers to be prepared for the fulfillment of Mother Shipton's prophecy that "The world to an end will come in eighteen hundred and eighty-one." While he was declaring that this prophecy would happen, a member of his congregation exclaimed, "Thank God!" The preacher wanted to know the reason for his sudden burst of thankfulness and he replied: "Anything to beat Grant!" And that was the attitude of every anti-Grant Republican in the country.

On the other hand, with Roscoe Conkling, the leader of the Grant forces it was a case of using the name of Grant to defeat Blaine. Conkling had prevented Blaine's nomination in 1876, and now was equally determined to circumvent it in 1880. One cannot tell whether he was more in earnest in his hatred of Blaine or in his affection for Grant, but certain it is that he hated Blaine as much as the human heart may hate, and loved Grant as much as one great man may love another.

**Feud of Long Standing.**  
His hatred of Blaine arose when they were both members of the house of representatives. Their purposes crossed upon several occasions and the impetuous, overbearing attitude of Conkling aggravated Blaine, who, in a speech in which he called Conkling a "singed cat" and a "whining puppy," declared that "his contempt is so willing and his haughty disdain and overpowering, turkey gobbler strut so crushing to myself and to all the members of the house, that I knew it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him." Conkling was a great hater and never spoke to Blaine after that, although they served together in congress for 15 years. Conkling's hatred of Blaine was the means of his defeat when he finally was nominated.

Hayes was not a candidate for re-election. He had incurred the enmity of both sides. Coming into the White House with a clouded title to the presidency he was handicapped from the beginning. He broke with his own party to a large degree because he recognized the Democratic state gov-

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When the Republican convention met, Conkling, fearing that if Grant should be nominated there would be a bolt, offered a resolution binding every delegate to support the nominees of the convention or withdraw beforehand. It passed 719 to 3, and then he sought to drive the three out of the convention just as Bryan sought to drive Belmont, Ryan and Murphy out of the Baltimore convention last summer. But Conkling did not press his point, just as, and for the same reason, that Bryan failed to press his at Baltimore. Another resolution was passed which put an end to the unit rule, and that took 90 votes from the Grant column at a single swoop.

**Ohio Delegates Bolted.**  
Soon after the balloting began nine Ohio delegates who were pledged to Sherman, bolted him and went to Blaine. Some of the party leaders asserted afterward that the bolt to Blaine so angered the Sherman forces that it prevented Blaine from being nominated. The very morning of the day the nomination was made, Garfield, who was leading the Blaine forces, declared he was afraid that Grant would be nominated after all and that it would destroy the Republican party.

Garfield's speech nominating Sherman, in which he declared that the fine frenzy of the Grant adherents reminded him of the billows and the spray of a tempest-tossed ocean, but that all heights and depths are measured from a still, smooth sea, riveted the eyes of the convention upon him. When he finally was nominated such observers as Senator Hoar and Senator Cullom say he was overcome. Sherman charged others with double-dealing, but acquitting Garfield. The 306 who stood by Grant through the day of balloting became known as the "Immortal 306," and gold medals were struck to commemorate their stand. The Wisconsin delegation by one majority, decided to support Garfield over Windom. Had they gone to Windom he might have won, for it was

Wisconsin's switch that turned the tide.

The Democratic convention nominated General Winfield S. Hancock. There were contesting delegations from New York, the regulars and the Tammany forces. The Tammanyites wanted to cast 40 of the votes of New York, but the fact that John Kelly, the Tammany chieftain, had declared he would not support Tilden if he were renominated, gave them little standing in the convention, and by a vote of more than two to one the Tammany delegation was denied seats in the convention. Tilden wrote a letter saying he did not want a renomination, but left the impression that he might not refuse it if it came. But Tammany said it would not support him and the convention turned away from him to Hancock. At the last minute Tammany killed Hancock and sent New York to the Democrats and thereby the presidency.

The campaign had four federal generals running for president that year. Garfield had been a general, Hancock was one, and so was Weaver, the Greenback candidate. The Prohibitionists nominated General Neal Dow as their standard bearer and the candidacy of Weaver brought more votes to a "third party movement" than any other third party had polled since the outbreak of the Civil war. The Greenbackers got over 300,000 popular votes. After that the third party movement waned, until 1892, when, for the first time since 1860, a third party candidate received votes in the electoral returns. Both of the major parties had a wholesome respect for the paper money sentiment in the country, and both realized that while the Greenbackers could not muster any electoral votes, they could, in close states, take enough votes away from one party or the other to throw the electoral votes of those states to the opposition. That was why both parties, in their conventions, were careful for years to "straddle" on the money question.

**Was Less Sectional.**  
Although in some sections the bloody shirt was still waved, and although for the first time in the history of the country the south had become the "solid south," there was perhaps less sectionalism in this campaign than in any that had preceded since the defeat of Henry Clay in 1844. It was the first time that all of the states participated in a popular election and saw their electoral votes counted. South Carolina had never had a popular election for president before the civil war, and since that time in every election something had happened which prevented some state from having its vote counted or from having a popular election. When Colorado was admitted to the union in 1876, the Republicans of the state, under the pretense that they did not want to hold another election so soon, but in reality because they controlled the legislature and feared the state would go Democratic on a popular vote, chose its electors in the legislature. It is more than probable that this maneuver, engineered by Senator Teller who became a Democrat 20 years later, gave the presidency to Hayes.

The fighting was neither fast nor furious until after the Maine state election was held. This anti-election barometer had regularly disclosed the direction of the political wind since the days of "Tippecanoe" Herrison, and now it showed equally weather ahead for the Republicans. It gave them a great scare and the Democrats an over supply of confidence. The Democrats rested on their oars, while the Republicans awoke to their danger. Grant and Conkling had practically agreed to knife the ticket, but now the hatchet was buried and the two barnstormed the middle west, Conkling doing the talking and Grant gracing the platform. Although Garfield was charged with a hand in the "Credit Mobilier" and letters were forged showing that he was in favor of Chinese immigration, he pulled through with a popular majority of 769. Hancock had said that "the tariff is a local issue" and by that the Republicans proved he did not know enough about fiscal matters to be elected president.

After Garfield won he made Blaine his secretary of state. Garfield was staying at the old Riggs house prior to his inauguration and Conkling and two other leaders called to protest against the appointment. One of them afterward declared that he had never heard any living mortal receive such a "cussing out" as the president-elect received at Conkling's hands. Garfield sat on the side of his bed and Conkling paced the floor, and for the best part of an hour poured forth his powerful invectives upon the head of Garfield. But the appointment stood.

Tomorrow—Presidential Elections. XXII—Return of Democracy.

Mrs. Jessie E. Gidden of Kerman, Cal., is visiting in the city.

## COLORADO WILL VOTE ON MANY MEASURES

Denver, Colo., Nov. 1.—The Colorado voter certainly has his work cut out for him when he goes to the polls next Tuesday. He will be given an opportunity to express his preference for two United States senators, as well as representatives in congress, governor and all other state officers and numerous judicial county and local officials. Independents appear on the ballot for many of the offices, in addition to the nominees of half a dozen regular parties and political factions.

In addition to the regular congressional, state and county tickets, the voter is expected to register his opinion for or against 32 measures submitted under the initiative and referendum. Proposals for state-wide prohibition and the recall of all elective officials, including judges, are regarded as the most important of the measures to be voted on. Other measures submitted under the initiative and referendum are those providing for a mother's compensation act, the extension of the civil service to all state, county and city offices, the use of public school houses as social centers, an eight-hour day for women,

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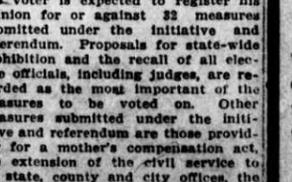
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