

SCHURZ, GRANT AND CIVIL SERVICE

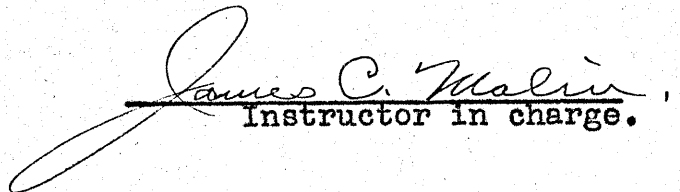
by

Grace M. Karr

A. B. University of Kansas, 1922.

Submitted to the Department of
History and the Faculty of the
Graduate School of the University
of Kansas in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the de-
gree of Master of Arts.

Approved by:


Instructor in charge.

Head or Chairman of Dept.

14 August 1929

Date

For his interest, assistance and kindly criticism
in the preparation of this thesis I am deeply indebted
to Dr. J. C. Malin.

SCHURZ, GRANT AND CIVIL SERVICE

Contents.

Chapter	Page
I. Activities of Schurz before his Election to the United States Senate.	1
1. Schurz.	
2. Organization of the Republican party.	
3. Military Career.	
4. Attitude toward the South.	
a. Special agent sent by Johnson to investigate conditions in the South.	
b. Contrasted views Schurz and Grant.	
II. Election of 1868	11
1. Schurz and Grant campaign.	
2. Election of Schurz to the Senate from Missouri, 1869.	
III. Events Contributing to the Break between Schurz and Grant.	18
1. San Domingo Controversy. Sumner's Removal. 1870-1871.	
2. Organization of the Liberal Party in Missouri. 1870.	
a. Schurz's changed point of view toward the South.	
3. Schurz's Attitude toward the President's use of War Powers. 1871.	
4. Grant and Civil Service Reform:	

a. Attitude of Grant.

b. Legislative attempts at reform.

1'. Summer 1864.

2'. Jenckes' leadership before Grant.

3'. Qualified suspension of Tenure of Office Act March 9, 1869.

4'. Senator Trumbull introduced (S. 298) to relieve members of Congress from importunity, Dec. 7, 1869.

5'. Speech made by Schurz explaining Bill introduced Dec. 20, 1869.

6'. Speech Jan. 27, 1871, occasioned by Trumbull's Bill (S. 298).

7'. Amendment to appropriation bill passed in the Senate authorizing the President to prescribe regulations, etc. Mar. 3, 1871.

a'. Commission appointed March 4, 1871.

b'. Appropriation of money and legislation asked for Dec. 19, 1871.

c'. Constitutionality Argued.

d'. S. Bill 525 introduced making appropriations to perfect and carry into effect rules regulation civil service, Jan. 24, 1872.

e'. Grant's failure to be governed by rules.

IV. Election of 1872

43

1. Candidates.

2. Program

3. Part played by Schurz.

V. Work of the Civil Service Commission

54

1. Character of Commission

2. Reports of the Commission

3. Application of Rules

4. Congressional inactivity

5. Abandonment of System, March, 1875.

VI. Partial Revival Under Hayes

66

1. Activities of Schurz in campaign of 1876.

2. Schurz as Secretary of Interior

VII Conclusions

75

CHAPTER I

ACTIVITIES OF CARL SCHURZ BEFORE HIS ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

In September, 1852 after a sea voyage of one month, Carl Schurz and his young wife arrived in the land of their adoption. It was with the idea of making America their home that they came and Schurz was determined from the first to look at everything from the brightest side and his youthful enthusiasm carried him over many hardships. And he was young¹ for at this time he was but twenty-three years of age.

It was good fortune that brought such a young man as Schurz to America in those years preceding the Civil War. Here he found a conflict was on into which his youthful enthusiasm could spend its strength with some degree of assurance that results would follow. The Revolutionary movements² of 1848 in Germany had been to him a training school.

"Other German Americans have applied their native vigor and large conceptions to industry, to commerce, to political management, to scholarship, to philanthropy; but Mr. Schurz surpassed them all in preserving the fine enthusiasm and the lofty, forward looking ideals with which his youth was so³ richly endowed."

There were various reasons why Schurz was able to quickly take such an active part in the affairs of the day but above all others was his ability as a linguist. In this he excelled to such a degree that on one occasion he astounded the members

of the Senate by translating at sight long extracts from four different languages, and the extracts read he had never seen before. It is claimed that he was the only statesman of his generation who could deliver an address in either the English or German without making it possible for the uninformed listener to determine which was his native tongue.⁴

According to his own statement, he never used an English grammar in teaching himself the new language but just resolutely began to read. First newspapers, later English novels and for vocabulary he found Shakespeare's plays most valuable. Within a period of six months, he was able to read, write and carry on conversation with little difficulty.⁵

Schurz was a musician of recognized ability and this art meant much to him both as a listener and performer. Garfield relates his experience of visiting the camp of General Schurz in the year 1862 and he says, "We had most splendid music from from Schurz and Sigel on the piano. They are both very fine performers, among the very best I ever heard."⁶

He was an artist but it was in the field of politics that he was destined to become known. Perhaps no political speeches became better known than those of Schurz on civil service reform, the tariff, Blaine, free silver, and anti imperialism. When he discussed a subject, all arguments on his side were set forth. He was associated in some way with every president from Lincoln to Roosevelt and leader in the major reform movements of his age.⁷

He was an independent in politics, criticized many times

by his opponents as a turncoat but his views of party morality⁸ were formed early and never changed. Schurz's independence of party was never shown more clearly than in the Greeley⁹ Campaign.

Schurz was the first German born citizen to sit in the United States Senate and ranks among the highest in contribution to his adopted country. Always loyal to the best of his native land, he won from Bismarck the praise, "I am proud¹⁰ of Carl Schurz."

Schurz, as all others, had his limitations and these are shown in Schurz's writings, "----- none of them show a trace of a sense of humor. He was intensely dogmatic, with the profoundest conviction of the absolute correctness of his own views. Like many reformers, he was inclined to see his particular reform out of focus, and to attack even his friends if they asserted the relatively greater importance of other¹¹ matters."

Schurz resided in Philadelphia for a few years after coming to America and there and in Washington, he gained a background of American politics. During a visit to Washington, he met numerous Senators and other public men. In writing to Mrs. Schurz March 23, 1854 he remarked that there was no foreign policy in the United States. In the same letter he states that he has met a Senator who seemed to be very much interested¹² in him.

In the summer of 1855 Schurz removed to Wisconsin where¹³ numerous relatives were already living. It is in Watertown,

Wisconsin, that Schurz began his career as a Republican and¹⁴
ardent supporter of the program of that party.

In the campaign of 1856, Schurz became one of the
leaders in promoting Fremont, the Republican candidate for
the presidency. Through the influence of a prominent Senator
in the Wisconsin Legislature Schurz made his first political¹⁵
speech in America.

In this first campaign he did not feel equal to lecturing
in the English language so he spent his time among the Germans¹⁶
and won many of them away from the Democratic party.

He was a Republican because that party in 1856 was stand-
ing for the thing which was uppermost in his thinking. He was
for his party only as a means to further the cause. Little
did he foresee what a part this way of thinking would play in
his political career. Schurz in his reminiscencing says,
"How many votes I won for Fremont, I do not know. But I was
so thoroughly convinced of the justice of my cause and of the
truthfulness of my arguments that I thought I must have won¹⁷
many."

Wisconsin went for Fremont which was pretty fair evidence¹⁸
that Schurz was correct in conclusions.

By the year 1858 his effectiveness on the platform was
so well established that he went into the Lincoln-Douglas¹⁹
campaign in Illinois. In less than a decade after landing
in this country he was meeting the arguments of Douglas in²⁰
the middle west and New England.

Perhaps the greatest of Schurz's national successes

was registered in his address on "The Doom of Slavery."²¹

Of his arguments on the slavery question Andrew White deems them the "broadest, the deepest and most convincing of the whole campaign".²² In explanation to Bismarck of Schurz's success White answered: "Schurz discovered the slavery question in a new way, mainly from the philosophic point of view, showing especially the injury slavery wrought upon the country as a whole above all on the slave states!"²³

Something of his importance as a Republican lecturer and his effectiveness is shown by the attitude the Democrats took towards him. He wrote his wife in September, 1860: "Every day I feel that I speak better and my powers grow with the heat of the struggle. The Democrats are furious, and wherever I have spoken they telegraph like mad in all directions for German speakers to neutralize the effect of my speeches.----- It seems as if victory could not fail us--and, by Jove! I have done my share towards it."²⁴

And it was felt that he had done his share since upon the request of Schurz, he was assured by Lincoln that he might have anything he asked for in the way of offices for his friends.²⁵ At the request of friends Schurz was appointed American Minister to Spain which was very flattering to Schurz as it meant a return to Europe after having left Germany a political refugee.²⁶ But early in January 1862 he returned to America at his own request anxious to be in the midst of the struggle at home.²⁷

That the services of Schurz as an officer in the army were intelligent, effective and faithful has been proved though

unfortunately blame for the mistakes of Chancellorsville for a long time lay at the door of Schurz and his fellow Germans of the Eleventh Corps.²⁸

Schurz saw Grant for the first time in September 1863 when Grant unexpectedly had come over to inspect the lines in Lookout Valley; Schurz had no chance of a personal meeting at this time but he was impressed by the little fuss made by a man who had been so successful.²⁹

General Schurz by his numerous suggestions to Lincoln concerning military tactics and administration policies drew from Lincoln a sharp reply: "If I must discard my own judgment, and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, republicans, or others--not even yourself."³⁰

Schurz in 1865, was ordered by Sherman to report to General Slocum for employment in the Army of Georgia, but as there was no command open he became temporarily Chief-of-Staff to Slocum. In April in the march upon Raleigh Schurz participated and at Smithfield rebel bullets were heard by Schurz for the last time.³¹

April 27th Johnston surrendered his army and as soon as his surrender was officially announced Schurz promptly resigned his commission in the army and returned to his family in Pennsylvania.³²

Schurz showed himself to have an unusual interest in the matter of reconstruction by the letters he wrote to President Johnson. In his communications it is apparent that

he differed greatly from Johnson and he was especially fearful lest Johnson would try to disqualify the negro for voting. In his letter of June 6, 1865 he reminded Johnson that he thought his original idea of appointing someone to supervise and aid political action of the military commanders in the South very good.³³

June 16, 1865 he wrote his wife "I am to visit the Southern States in order to inform myself thoroughly on the conditions prevailing there, give my opinion of them to the government and make certain suggestions. Johnson complained of being always obliged to act in the dark. I talked the matter over with Stanton and he considered it absolutely necessary that I accept the mission----that the President could not simply put my report into his pocket and that my opinions and experiences would go to the public officially, and could not fail to have some influence. But if I didn't the President would be able to say-----I wished to send down one of your own men but he did not wish to go."³⁴

Schurz spent three months in the fall of 1866 gathering information and observing conditions that he found. Upon his return he claimed that he was not very graciously received by the President, though he accepted the appointment contrary to his better judgment and at a financial loss. He wished to publish his findings and asked permission of the President to do this. Schurz's reports were distinctly unfavorable to Johnson's policy.³⁵

The New York Nation considered that Schurz made a careful and conscientious study and was correct in recommending that a Congressional Committee be sent to make a thorough study before admitting the states lately in rebellion to full rights.³⁹ Schurtz reported that he found the negro in many cases virtually bound to a master and that the employer generally felt that this was the only way in which he could get him to labor.⁴⁰ Schurz cited many cases of maltreatment of the negro for instance, "I saw in various hospitals negroes, women as well as men, whose ears had been cut off."⁴¹

The radicals were greatly strengthened by the report of Schurz, that the only way that the freedman could protect himself was by giving him the right of suffrage, it added arguments for opposition to the President's policy toward the South.⁴²

It was the opinion of the men of the South that Schurz did not really know the conditions with which they had to contend, that he had gone from army post to army post and had learned no more of the real feeling of the people than if he had been sailing along the coast.⁴³

Schurz certainly had more knowledge of the South, however, than General Grant as the latter made his report upon the basis of a four days' journey. In reporting Grant claimed that "the mass of the thinking men accept the present situation in good faith."⁴⁴ Further he recommended the removal of the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau and substitution of military officers.⁴⁵

On the 19th of April, 1866, the Senate asked for any other reports that had been made on the conditions of the South. And on the 7th of May the President turned over to them the report of Benjamin C. Truman, his reports, like Harvey Watterson's gave the President a view very different from the report of Schurz. When Truman returned after seven months, it was to report that disorder was diminishing in all parts, save Texas, the spirit of the people was improving, except, perhaps, in Mississippi and his conclusions were in favor of the return of the Southern states to their former places in the Union under their reconstructed governments. But his report did not please the radicals and had come too late to change the course of events.

47

In writing of his trip South and his report Schurz says in his Reminiscences: "I went to work at my general report with the utmost care. My statements of facts were regularly escorted by my witnesses whose testimony was produced in their own language. I scrupulously avoided exaggeration and cultivated sober and moderate forms of expression. It gives me some satisfaction now to say that none of these statements of facts has ever been effectually controverted. I cannot speak with the same assurance of my conclusions, and recommendations; for they were matters, not of knowledge but of judgment. We stood at that time face to face with a situation bristling with problems so complicated and puzzling that every proposed solution, based upon assumptions apparently ever so just and supported by

reasoning apparently ever so logical, was liable to turn out
in practice more mischievous than any other."⁴⁸

THE ELECTION OF 1868.

It was not surprising that the hero of the Civil War should be thought of in connection with the Presidential year of 1868. It was evident even as early as the closing year of the war that General Grant would be the candidate if he chose to run; but it was quite uncertain whether he was to be the Republican or the Democratic candidate. His last vote for a President had been cast for Buchanan. And many believed that he would join the Democratic ranks since he toured the South with Johnson and became associated with Johnson in the Cabinet. The difficulties which arose as a result of his leaving the Cabinet may have affected his political associations.¹

But probably not, as the Republicans were bidding for him quite early and Thurlow Weed in 1867 had picked him out as the Republican candidate for 1868. Weed said, "he had taken up Grant as he did General Taylor; had told him, as he had told Taylor to make no declarations, to write no letters, and, if he strictly followed his advice and directions, he would elect him."

In the closing days of 1867, Wells noted in his diary that there was a growing enthusiasm for Grant and that Grant was willing and his desire to be the candidate was becoming more marked. Wells was opposed to Grant and voiced his opinion that Washburne and other "little Radicals" were getting control of Grant.³

George William Curtis through the editorial page was advocating the nomination of Grant. In February, 1868 he wrote, "There is something in the total want of exaggeration both in General Grant's character and conduct, a charm of blended modesty, sagacity, and simplicity, so unusual among our public men, that, as with Lincoln, its contemplation tends to high public benefit. He is the only prominent candidate for any office who knows not Buncombe."⁴

Previous to the National Republican Convention, General Logan presided over a convention of soldiers and sailors which was held at Chicago and was committed to the support of Grant. The Republican Convention met in Chicago, and completed its work in two days. Carl Schurz acted as temporary chairman and Joseph E. Hawley as permanent chairman.⁵ General Logan in a short but rousing speech presented the name of Grant and when the roll of the states was called Grant had received a unanimous vote.⁶

E. L. Godkin in his comment on the nomination spoke of the nominees of the Republican party in the years 1864 and 1868 as having the desirable characteristic of being men well-known who had demonstrated their administrative ability. General Grant, he held, also owed his nomination to his own qualities and career and had been nominated without ever having even made a speech.⁷

Carl Schurz was an enthusiastic supporter of Grant. He felt that Grant knew the Southern people and that they knew him and that there was a chance for a mutual understanding.

His unbending determination and generosity after victory were needed. To those men who were striving to adjust themselves to the new order of things, Schurz believed that Grant was the man for the time.

Schurz was active in the Grant campaign and as the question of adjustment in the South was under way he was of the opinion that Grant's influence would be effective in putting a "damper upon all reactionary aspirations--those elements of Southern society which have vitality in them will rise up to new life. Before Grant's administration is over the new order of things will have deeply entered into the habits of Southern society."

Grant enjoyed an independence which gave him an unusually good chance to rescue the public service from the hold of the spoils politician, those interested in the reform of the civil service looked up to him to carry out the declarations of intention contained in the platform. His popularity was at its height and everybody wised him well.

The election of General Grant was considered a test of the national faith in character, independently of purely party relations and the new President entered office with a general public confidence." In fact he took his seat with less actual opposition than any President since Monroe. "There was a widespread feeling that with Grant in the presidential chair, the National Government would be in safe hands."

Grant's election, it was believed would bring peace to the unsettled South. It gave promise of a complete payment of the public debt, the new President would be free to improve

on the methods of former presidents in the distribution of offices, merit would be considered more in the making of appointments.¹⁴

The President's inaugural speech led Carl Schurz and other supporters to feel that their confidence in General Grant had not been misplaced. He advised that the problems growing out of the rebellion be approached calmly and without prejudice, and promised to guard the national honor by paying every dollar of indebtedness in gold, unless otherwise stipulated in the contract.

He promised that there should be a faithful collection of the revenue, properly accounted for and expended, and to appoint to office only those who could be depended upon to carry out the program.¹⁵

Schurz, who had but recently come to St. Louis to edit a newspaper had gained quite an important influence through his editorials and brilliant oratory. He had supported with enthusiasm General Grant for the Presidency and due to a turn of affairs Schurz began his career as Senator from the State of Missouri at the same time that Grant began his first term as President.¹⁶

To have been elected as Senator from his State was an unexpected honor according to Schurz's own statement. One of the United States Senators from Missouri, Mr. John B. Henderson, had voted for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson, a thing which proved fatal to his prospects of a re-election.¹⁷

The immediate result was a decided activity on the part of Senator Charles D. Drake a prominent radical to bring into

office in place of Mr. Henderson, a man who would be in sympathy with him and at the same time subject to his control. 18

Schurz and a number of other men of St. Louis, met from time to time to discuss current events and this small group soon became active in its opposition to Senator Drake's choice for Senator, General Ben Loan, a man from the western part of the state, a man of good character, but of very common abilities. Colonel William M. Grosvenor and other members of the current events club became enthusiastic for the nomination of Carl Schurz for the senatorship and began to work toward that goal. 19

The most enthusiastic support for Schurz came from St. Louis. Drake had never been popular in the city and the leaders of his own party were determined that his colleague should not be chosen. 20

Under the direction of St. Louis Radicals the virtues and fitness of Schurz for the position were widely heralded. The west and southwest rallied to his support. In the northern and central parts of the state there was a movement for Schurz. The fact that he was from St. Louis although objectionable to some people was to some extent balanced by his oratory, his services to the party, and his progressive ideas. 21

The opposition to Schurz took the form of a "vitriolic" attack upon his previous career, nationality, views and opinions. They accused him of being in favor of the immediate enfranchisement of whites against the will of the party. "It was the ability to talk that elected Gratz Brown," declared

a Radical journal, "and Carl Schurz is another of the same type."²²

As the contest between Schurz and Loan developed those in favor of re-electing Henderson were encouraged as they believed that a deadlock between Loan and Schurz would result in the election of Henderson as a compromise. Another point considered by Henderson supporters as in his favor was Grant's friendship for him. "The president-elect was apparently in agreement with Henderson's more liberal ideas concerning enfranchisement and amnesty, ideas which stood in striking contrast with the provisions of the enforcement acts of his first term."²³

In January the 25th General Assembly convened and immediately the senatorial contest became the center of a party controversy. Drake directed Loan's campaign, Henderson his own and Grosvenor had charge of Schurz's campaign. The plans used by the Loan and Schurz leaders were in sharp contrast. Schurz was accused of being a German infidel, an habitual drunkard, and carpet-bagger. The Schurz campaign was carried on in a more temperate fashion, charges against Schurz were answered and it was shown by a prominent St. Louis clergyman that rigid religious tests should not be demanded.²⁴

Schurz met the opposition in debate and in this way had a chance to place his program before his listeners and his unusual eloquence impressed favorably his audience. Schurz advocated the adoption of a constitutional amendment which would give the negro the right to vote and as to the problem

of enfranchisement of the whites he declared himself in favor of the Radical national platform of 1868. A considerable part of Drake's time and energy was devoted to the purely personal aspects of the contest and on the whole was more of a fight against Schurz than one for Loan.²⁵

When the ballot was taken on the nominee for senator, Schurz received 59, a very scant majority, Loan 40, and 15 others were scattered. The nomination was then made unanimous. The election occurred on January 19, the complimentary Democratic vote was cast for J. S. Phelps, while Schurz received the unanimous support of his party.²⁶

"In its final and most important sense, the senatorial contest had far-reaching effects. It revealed a rising group of moderates among the Radicals who were loath to continue the policy of proscription and insistent that recognition be given to the newer economic and social problems. In Schurz, they found an able and sincere expounder of their views with the ability to consolidate and lead them."²⁷

Schurz delivered a speech before the General Assembly on January 20, in which he pointed out the necessity of the party to grapple with the new problems, the corrupt practices in political life, establishment of the public credit, and improvement of the system of education." We must not continue to fix our eyes but turn them full upon the future."²⁸

EVENTS CONTRIBUTING TO THE BREAK BETWEEN SCHURZ AND GRANT.

It has been interesting to trace some of the events that brought Schurz, such a loyal supporter of Grant in 1868 to look with such disfavor upon the Administration long before¹ the close of the first term.

There was found a note of dissatisfaction with the President in a letter written to W. M. Grosvenor March 29, 1869 in which he said, "Nothing could be better for Grant, just now, than to learn, that the Legislative power is, as such, in-²dependent and somewhat animated by an independent spirit."

Early in Grant's presidential career, he became interested in expansion. He probably had a lead in this direction by the past activities of Seward. Seward in the winter of 1866 and 1867, while Denmark was still trying to decide whether she wished to sell St. Thomas and a neighboring island, obtained an appropriation for the secret service of the Department of State and the Secretary of State and Admiral Porter went to San Domingo. They were authorized to inspect and make a treaty for the purchase of the gulf and peninsula of Samana. At that time the Dominican Government was not ready for positive negotiations but near the end of 1867 a favorable decision was reached and a commissioner was sent to Washington to conclude the desired treaty. From this move³ however, no considerable progress was made.

At least the region of the Carribean Sea seemed desirable to Grant and the time seemed opportune since Baez, the chief of the republic of San Domingo, finding it difficult to

maintain his power worked out a scheme to sell his country to the United States. Grant was interested and sent Orville E. Babcock of his military staff, nominally known as Grant's assistant private secretary to San Domingo in July, 1869. He returned in early autumn and it was not until then that it was known by cabinet members that a treaty was being negotiated.⁴

In the regular cabinet meeting Babcock was present and showed to each, "specimens of ores and other Dominican products, descanting upon the extraordinary value of the island." When cabinet business was begun, Grant at once commenced, "Babcock has returned as you see and has brought a treaty of annexation. I suppose it is not formal, as he had no diplomatic powers; but we can easily cure that. We can send back the treaty and have Perry, the Consular agent sign it." "But Mr. President," Secretary of the Interior Cox asked, "has it been settled that we want to annex San Domingo?" Grant was confused by this question and the general reception of the annexation so hastened to another item of business.

Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State felt that he had been compromised because a treaty had been negotiated without his consent. He offered his resignation but Grant pled with him to stay in the cabinet and Fish out of respect and love for Grant personally, remained. Fish in fact became a mild supporter of Grant's Dominican policy which, however was never again brought up for discussion in the cabinet meeting.⁵

The President, however did not give up his attempt and sent Babcock back to San Domingo and concluded a treaty for the annexation of the Republic, which provided that the United States should pay \$1,500,000 to be used for the liquidation of the debt. Grant had exaggerated ideas of the value of San Domingo and for this reason was determined that the United States should secure it.

He personally solicited the votes of leading senators. Sumner, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations was interviewed early in January, 1870. At the end of the interview Sumner said, "Mr. President, I am an administration man and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration." The President misunderstood Sumner and according to his own word he went away from Sumner's home of the opinion that he had his support for the treaty.⁶

Grant approached Carl Schurz, a member of the Committee on Foreign relations in regard to the Annexation of San Domingo. Schurz had come to the White House at the request of Grant, when asked to support the treaty in the Senate, Schurz assured Grant that he would be sincerely happy to act with his Administration but in this case he would be unable to do as Grant wished as he considered the population of the island unassimilable.⁷ To the Committee on Foreign Relations the treaty went in due course and on March 15, 1870 Schurz and Sumner were among those who joined in a report opposed to ratification of the treaty.⁸

A message was sent by the President to the Senate May 31,

1870 in which he expressed his wish that the treaty be ratified as San Domingo wished it, and that there was danger of some European power securing an advantage in the region; from the economic standpoint it was pointed out that San Domingo would prove to be a large consumer of American goods.⁹ Not until June 30, 1870 was a vote taken on the treaty and at that time it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote, among those of the opposition were found both Sumner¹⁰ and Schurz.

It was surprising that the vote on the treaty in favor of it should have equaled the opposition since popular opinion did not favor ratification. The New York Nation commented on the Grant policy in the following fashion: "anybody who, with the condition of the civil service of the Government in every department, and with the condition of the courts and jails fairly before him, and with even a faint conception of the problems now awaiting solution-----still desires the speedy annexation of San Domingo with their semi-barbarous population to the United States, is a person with whom there¹¹ is perhaps not much use of arguing."

From the controversy over the San Domingo question, there emerged a group of senators, not well organized but against the Administration. Schurz was of this group; he had stood against annexation when in conversation with the President, in the Committee, and on the floor of the Senate. He wrote Grant in July, 1870; "I am painfully sensible of the change

which our personal relations have suffered in consequence of our differences on the San Domingo treaty-----in fighting the treaty, I have used all the legitimate means of parliamentary warfare, and looking back upon my conduct, I have nothing to conceal and nothing for which I should reproach myself. I fervently hope the question is disposed of not to arise again, for it is my sincere and earnest desire to support your Administration with what ability and influence I may possess."

In his annual message in December, 1870, Grant earnestly urged upon Congress his desire for early action looking toward the acquiring of San Domingo. Without success attempts were made to secure it by joint resolution. Schurz, in what he considered one of his best speeches upheld in the Senate January 11, 1871 the position of those opposed to annexation.

The San Domingo difficulty resulted also in the alienation of Charles Sumner. The day after the rejection of the treaty, Motley, whom Sumner had been influential in getting appointed as minister to England was removed; and the public, as well as Sumner, connected the two events as cause and effect.

The Forty-second Congress met March 4, 1871 and the caucus for arranging committees met March 9 and as a result of its deliberation Sumner was removed from the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was claimed that Sumner had not been removed because of his opposition to the San Domingo treaty but in the course of the report, when reading from some notes taken of the proceedings, the "cat was let out of the bag"

that Howe in the Caucus defended the action of the committee in displacing Sumner on the grounds that he was not in agreement on the San Domingo question.¹⁷ Sumner it was true had been in a position to work with deadly effect against the treaties but he did it from the highest motives.¹⁸

Badeau explained Sumner's attitude as disappointment over not being appointed Secretary of State and that Sumner's unfortunate speech against England,¹⁹ and the fact that Sumner could or would not work with the President nor the Secretary of State were responsible for his removal from the Committee. Sumner felt the blow keenly and when the next election came he "joined hands" with those who had been, not only his enemies but those of his country as well in order to overthrow Grant.²⁰

Schurz raised his voice with others against Sumner's removal and assigned as the cause the activities of Sumner against the San Domingo Treaty. He asked the question, "Why is this senator disgraced before the country? Sir, a senator has the right to differ with the President and Secretary of State as with any other public officers."²¹ Schurz was destined to find himself at variance with the Administration on problems other than the acquisition of territory. Schurz resided in the border state of Missouri. Missouri had been kept in the Union with an effort and within the State were Radicals, who after the war was over were primarily interested in making it difficult for those that had been lately in rebellion. Disfranchisement of southern sympathizers was provided for by more or less strict measures in all the border

states; and Missouri ratified in June, 1865, a new constitution which; through a very stringent test oath denied to such persons not only the right to vote and hold office, but also the right to act as trustee, to practice law, and "to teach or preach or solemnize marriages."²²

Every political campaign was a civil war, it had become so bad that in 1866 a movement inside of the Republican party was instituted by B. Gratz Brown, to secure citizens' rights for those that were disfranchised.²³ The election of Schurz to the Senate in 1869 had far-reaching effects since it revealed a rising group of moderates, who were unwilling to continue the proscription of their neighbors who had differed with them on the issues of 1861.²⁴

The question of negro suffrage was a problem in Missouri and had been considered at different times; the proposed Fifteenth Amendment to the Consitution of the United States proved a solution to this perplexing problem, as Missouri quickly ratified the Amendment much to the disgust of the Democrats.²⁵ In Missouri in 1869, there was a grave lack of unified leadership in both parties. Schurz and Drake were as divided upon the Congressional policy of Reconstruction as upon the issues in Missouri.²⁶ Finally in 1870, amendments changing and making more liberal the Consitution were submitted to the people. Schurz joined Brown and they with other Liberals withdr̄w from the Republican State Convention leaving the old radical element in control. The Brown-Schurz party organized a separate convention nominated Brown and

and declared in favor of the constitutional amendments, "the extension of equal political rights and privileges to all classes of citizens without distinction." After a vigorous campaign the Liberals joined by the Democrats adopted the amendments and elected Brown by a 40,000 majority. ²⁷

What was the attitude of the Administration toward this movement? The Radicals had the support of the President: Federal officers who had taken the part of the opposition in the campaign lost their positions, President Grant in a letter to the collector of internal revenue at St. Louis expressed the conviction that Schurz and Brown were merely aiming to put the Democrats in power. ²⁸ Schurz wrote from St. Louis to Senator Carpenter of Wisconsin in October, 1870, "You do not seem to be aware that Grant has read me out of the Republican party and is at work chopping off the official heads of those who are suspected of sympathizing with me." ²⁹ Schurz and Grant had drifted far apart on the question of Reconstruction since the day when Schurz made his report of findings in the South and that somewhat later day when Grant gave out his "Let us have peace." Since 1865, Schurz had studied the Southern question, had kept an open mind in regard to the problem and through his residence in Missouri had personal observation of negro suffrage and its attending difficulties. His clear insight into the purely partisan influences that operated in promoting the administration Ku Klux policy caused him to stand against the Administration in the progress of the Ku Klux Act through Congress. In spite of his activities and that of others the bill became a law April 20, 1871. ³⁰

Schurz was of the opinion that not all people in the rebel states could be considered in the same light. He believed that there were those who were still filled with the rebel spirit; those that had broken away from the past and still another group who had always been loyal. Those of the last class should be believed, be strengthened by those of the second and "unreasonable distrust should cease."³¹

On the removal of political disabilities, Schurz argued that the disqualifications had been imposed when it was necessary but with the passing of time that necessity ceased and they should be removed.³²

"Nothing will remind men more painfully of past conflicts than an abnormal and degrading position in society, which imposes all the duties and burdens of citizenship without conpling with them the corresponding rights."³³

In the eyes of President Grant the Liberal movement in Missouri was something in the nature of a rebellion and most of the Republican politicians shared his view. Such senators as Morton, Chandler, Conkling, and the Southern Carpetbaggers, at the opening of Congress in 1870, gave a "chilling reception to all who had taken part in the Liberal campaign in Missouri or sympathized with it."³⁴

There was talk of a movement in Washington to suppress Mr. Schurz, begun by the President who refused to receive him when he called at the White House and his attitude was continued by the constant supporters of the Administration and by the "blind" party men.³⁵ Grant even went so far as to ask for

the removal of Senator Schurz from Missouri.

Against the President's policy in San Domingo, Sumner continued to agitate and introduced in the Senate, resolutions against the employment of the Navy of the United States on the coasts of San Domingo, especially since the United States was still negotiating for the island. He felt that the United States was treating this inferior nation in a manner that was lacking in respect due it and that the forces were being used without the authority of Congress, and that the President was not justified in his procedure. Instead of the above course, Sumner felt that it would have been better had the United States used her good offices by a friendly appeal to have reestablished peace in the island.

37

During the time devoted to the consideration of Mr. Sumner's resolutions, relative to the employment of the Naval forces of the United States in the waters of San Domingo, Schurz took occasion to express his views in regard to the use of the war powers by the President. March 28 and 29, 1871, Schurz delivered a stirring address against what he termed, the President's usurpation of the war powers. These to protect the territory but also for the purpose of keeping in power the personal government of Baez against the wishes of the citizens of the republic. The orders he held had been issued without the authority of Congress and he declared, that if it could be proved that the orders had been issued unconstitutionally, "I suggest that all the glowing rhetoric about General Grant's past services and all the vituperation heaped upon the Senator

from Massachusetts and others will be utterly without void." Congress was in session at the time but he acted upon his own decision without being authorized by Congress. 39

He pointed out that he thought it was time to get away from the idea that the United States, the Government and the person of the President were one and the same thing; "it is high time to check the growth of irresponsible power which is gradually and with a cat like step creeping upon us in various forms. In the history of France you read of Louis XIV how he entered the Parliament in session, slapping his whip upon his riding boots and proclaiming, 'I am the State'. What do you see here? You see the executive stepping before the people and proclaiming, I am the War making power of this Republic." 40

If to the President is passed the war making power in addition to the patronage then he could become in some respects more absolute than the Emperor of Germany himself. The significance of the place the President held in the hearts of his countrymen had been pointed out by a Grant enthusiast, but Schurz came back with the question, "Is that an argument why he should be permitted to overleap constitutional limitations of his power?" 41

Schurz attempted to show Congress that if approval was given to the President's action, Congress would be guilty of shouldering the responsibility upon the Republican party and further he contended that in his opinion the evidence against Andrew Johnson was slight by the side of the evidence against

Grant.

He continued, "I would be the last man unmindful of the great services of our President-----but we cannot but deplore that he has done things so dangerous to republican institutions in peace after contributing so much to the salvation of the Republic in war. Our disapproval of a Presidential Act of General Grant will not diminish our appreciation of the capture of Vicksburg, but the laurels of Vicksburg cannot make his acts now under discussion constitutional."⁴³

The abuses resulting from the civil service system of the United States in vogue at the time of the inauguration of Grant as President in 1868 are too well known to need repeating, the offices had become mere "spoils", public plunder, regarded as conquests, berths into which men were put, not to use the best of their energies, but to make it comfortable for themselves and their friends.⁴⁴

Men saw the need of reform and what, they asked, were the prospects of change, reform under Grant, what did he think about it and how was he especially fitted to deal with the problem? His military career was urged as one thing which fitted him for the task, his administration of the army had shown that he was a judge of men and it was expected that he would form a cabinet in which knowledge and ability would count for most. This, it was also thought, would cause him to set about to improve the diplomatic, revenue, and postal service, to wipe out disorder and corruption and make them what he had found the army and navy to be, a credit to the

45
country.

Grant on taking office gave instructions to the effect that there should be no sweeping and partisan changes. Removals from office would be made in cases of incompetence or misbehavior, or for reasons of economy, or even where extreme partisanship had compromised the loyalty of the Government, but no general proscription on account of political opinion was to be authorized.⁴⁶

The New York Nation, shortly after Grant's election, voiced its approval in the following words, "Grant comes into the civil service of the country literally as a savior. Luckily he has learned his duty to the country in a school in which truth and courage are still the highest virtues and in which the political art as practised in caucuses excites only disgust. Although the political tone of the American Army is not all that could be desired, it is permeated by a morality which we shall have to infuse into the civil service if we are to save the Government. He did not seek the nomination either, and during the canvas refused steadily to contract obligations. Anybody who worked for Grant did so on his own responsibility. The result is that there is an extraordinary and almost unprecedented absence of rumors about office, a scarcity of office seekers in Washington."⁴⁷ E. L. Godkin, editor of the New York Nation was always very much interested in civil service reform and pushed this reform year after year,⁴⁸ he felt that President Grant had been true to his pledge and had shown in most cases good judgment in the appointment of

his cabinet.

The President's Second Annual Message of December 5, 1870 was met with general approval by those interested in the reform of the civil service. The President among other things said, "I respectfully call your attention to one abuse of long standing which I would like to see remedied by this Congress. It is a reform in the civil service of the country. I would have it go beyond the mere fixing of the tenure of office of clerks and employees, who do not require the advice and consent of the Senate to make their appointments complete. I would have it govern, not the tenure only, but the manner of making all appointments. The present system does not secure the best. Elevation and purification of civil service will be hailed with approval."⁵⁰

Just what had been attempted in the way of civil service reform before Grant became President and what was accomplished during the years he was President? As early as 1864, Sumner had introduced a bill in the Senate for the reform of the civil service, crude in detail, but embodying the principles upon which future legislation was to be built.⁵¹ This represented the first distinct and formal attempt ever made in Congress for the reform of civil service. He included in his bill a plan for competitive examination for admission to and promotion in the civil service, removals except for good cause were to be prohibited. It did not seem practicable to press it at the time and at Sumner's suggestion it was laid on the table.⁵²

Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island was one of the pioneers in the field of civil service reform and introduced a bill in the House in 1866 but it was finally tabled in February, 1867.⁵³ He was not to be discouraged and May 14, 1868 introduced another bill,⁵⁴ which provided for the creation of a department of civil service, to be presided over by the Vice President, with a board of four commissioners to be appointed for five years whose duties were; to prescribe qualifications, provide for the examination and conditions of probation of persons eligible for office.⁵⁵ But the bill met with little favor in Congress and never came to a square vote in the House.

Shortly after Grant took office, the relation of the Senate to the offices became a subject of debate. Grant asked for a repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, in fact, he declared he would make no removals until his hands were freed.⁵⁷ The House at once repealed the act but the Senate refused to take immediate action and the matter was referred to the Judiciary Committee which reported in favor of suspension until the next session of Congress.⁵⁸ Schurz favored suspension as he believed that it would be instrumental in bringing the matter of reform in making appointments as well as removals to the attention of Congress. In his support he said, "we agree with the President that corruption must be hounded down---the thieves driven out of the public service. I esteem the President highly----I believe him to possess an understanding altogether too sound and a purpose altogether

too honest not to avail himself of every possibility to do that which the country expects no matter whether that he offered to him in the shape of suspension or repeal of the
 59
 Tenure of Office Act.

Suspension did not meet with approval, a substitute was drawn up which passed the Senate but was turned down by the House. Finally a compromise was drawn up which passed the Senate but was turned down by the House. Finally a compromise was drawn up and passed by both houses, which gave the President more power than Johnson could exercise but it was
 60
 not until 1887 that the Tenure of Office Act was repealed.

The agitation for improvement in the civil service of the country took form in bills of various types. One of the acknowledged evils of the system was the part that fell to Congressmen to play. To lessen this evil Senator Lyman Trumbull introduced a bill to relieve members of Congress from importunity and preserve the independence of the Departments of Government. The only recommendations that the measure would allow were those made in writing at the solicitation of the President and further provided a fine of one thousand dollars for each failure to follow the regulations. It was not lawful for the President or any Department to appoint to office or employ in his Department anyone who had been directly recommended by a member of Congress except when
 61
 solicited by the President or a Department head.

Schurz wrote to a friend early in his Senatorial career of the nuisance of being solicited for offices. In a letter

of April 18, 1869 he wrote, "To be a United States Senator may be a very high honor. But so far I have found it the meanest drudgery a human imagination ever conceived. The utter absurdity of our system of appointment to office has by this time so glaringly demonstrated itself that even the dullest patriots begin to open their eyes to the necessity

63

of reform.

In keeping with this desire for reform of the service Schurz introduced in the Senate December 20, 1869, a bill providing for a Civil Service Board to examine the qualifications of candidates, in order further to insure the best qualified, there was to be a probation period of one year. At first the regulations were to apply only to those appointments made by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and to those inferior officers appointed by Heads of Departments. Schurz's bill included the whole of Jencke's scheme with a few slight changes and additional measures. All appointments were to be made for five or eight years and removals only after careful investigation, these vacancies to be filled not for the unexpired term but for eight years. Schurz believed that appointments for eight years would give a long term to the efficient, they would continue in office through two administrations and possibly a change of party, which he believed in time would wean people from the spoils system. Expirations would not occur in such large numbers at a time which would give more time

63

for investigation. The bill was reported without amendments

by the joint select Committee on Retrenchment,⁶⁴ but was
 passed over in April and again in June, 1870⁶⁵ and came up⁶⁶
 for the last time and was passed over December 12, 1870.

Senator Trumbull's bill was discussed and passed over
 several times during the Second and third sessions of the
 Forty-first Congress.⁶⁷

On one occasion, when Trumbull's bill was under con-
 sideration and slight changes in the wording and amendments⁶⁸
 to the original bill were being offered, Senator Schurz,
 delivered January 27, 1871, an extensive speech on the evils
 of the existing civil service system and offered an elaborate
 plan to be worked into Trumbull's which he considered in-
 adequate, he agreed with Trumbull that the solicitation of
 offices for a Congressman's constituency was a disagreeable
 burden but he questioned who was better prepared under the
 existing system to advise the President. Schurz pointed out
 the evils resulting from taking the whole machinery of govern-
 ment to pieces each time that there was a change in admini-
 stration and putting it together again, sparing no one save
 a few old experts without whom the work would come to a
 stand still.⁶⁹

In the appointment of officers what guidance was possible?
 In most cases the ones to be appointed were unknown and those
 who did the appointing were forced to rely on recommendations.
 Schurz explained how the average senator was lacking in know-
 ledge, in some cases patronage had degenerated into an office

brokerage, and the man "who must be provided for" presented
⁷⁰another problem. Schurz was of the opinion that a very definite evil of the system was the short and uncertain tenure of office which encouraged the making of the most of the short opportunity ⁷¹and was responsible for the "rings" in the public service.

By the patronage, a part of the Executive functions were transferred to the Legislative and in a measure the independence of the Legislative Department was endangered by the corrupting power of the Executive. "The Spoils system has made the atmosphere of the Executive Mansion so thick with favor seeking that the sound waves of an independent public opinion can no longer penetrate it."
⁷²Lincoln one day shortly before his death pointed out to a friend the crowd of office seekers besieging his door and said to him, now we have mastered the rebellion, but there you see something that in the course of time may become far more dangerous to this republic than the rebellion itself."
⁷³

Schurz proposed that the board, which was to be appointed under the provisions of his bill, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, should have the duty of prescribing qualifications, providing for the giving of examinations to those who presented themselves. Further it was the work the Board of Commissioners to establish rules and regulations necessary and make reports of rules and regulations established by them.
⁷⁴

Some in the civil service were to be exempt from the operation of the act among these were judges and clerks of

of the courts of the United States, members of the Cabinet, ministers Plenipotentiary, Ministers Resident of the United States and officers of the two houses of Congress. Judges were to be exempt, as it was presumed that only men recognized as being of high standing in law would be appointed, and since the political views of the President are represented in cabinet and diplomatic officers he felt that the President should have free disposal of those places.⁷⁵

"I maintain" said Schurz in closing, "that republican government will rather gain than lose, and gain immensely by a reform which takes from the machinery of the public service its partisan character, and which will remove from our political life that most dangerous agency of corruption and demoralization which consists in partisan patronage."⁷⁶

Grant in his second Annual Message had requested that Congress should do something to correct the evils of the existing civil service system. On March 3, 1871, it was announced in the House that the Senate had passed the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill with amendments and asked the House to concur in those. The Senate Amendment was substantially the same as the resolution introduced in the House in June, 1870 by Representative Armstrong and provided "that the President of the United States is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service as will promote efficiency thereof----and for this purpose the President is authorized to employ suitable persons to conduct said inquiries, to prescribe their duties, and to

establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service."⁷⁷

Acting in accordance with the above granted power, President Grant appointed the first Civil Service Commission on March 4, 1871, the members of this first commission were George William Curtis, Editor of Harper's Weekly and an earnest advocate of civil service reform. He became the chief one in the activities of the commission but associated with him were Gattell, Medill, Walker and three officers representing the Treasury, Interior, and Post Office Departments.⁷⁸

President Grant in his Third Annual message to Congress pointed out that the aim of the Administration had been to enforce honest efficiency in the offices. And if undesirables had been placed in office it was the fault of the system or the fault of those who recommended them. The President assured those interested in reform that he intended to give the experiment a fair trial.⁷⁹

December 19, 1871, the President sent a message to the Senate and House in which he explained that the rules and regulations drawn up by the Civil Service Commission for the purpose of reforming the service should go into effect January 1, 1872. The Executive, he further added was reserved the right to enforce the regulations, also to "abridge, alter, or amend them at his option." He pointed out that legislation was needed to make the rules prescribed permanent and an appropriation of funds which should guarantee its support.⁸⁰ In comments accompanying the first report, the

President asked for all the strength which Congress could give him in order that he might be enabled to carry out the reforms recommended by the Commission.
81

Definitely pledged to the defeat of the activities of the Commission, was a group of Congressmen, who were determined that the rules should not go into effect. Senator Carpenter was one of these and he introduced a resolution in the Senate questioning the constitutionality of any law or regulation that was designed to relieve the President, and in the cases pertaining to them the courts of law or heads of Departments of the full responsibility of such nominations or appointments,
82
and declared such were a violation of the Constitution.

Besides being unconstitutional it was argued that those individuals who had not had school privileges would be excluded from the public service, the "sons of the rich to the exclusion of the sons of the poor" would make up the government class contrary to the most essential principle of republican government.
83

The President had asked for legislation and an appropriation of money both of which were necessary in order to make the rules and regulations of the Commission effective. In January, 1872 Senator Frelinghuysen introduced a bill in the Senate which provided for an appropriation to enable the President to perfect and put in force rules regulating civil service which would be from time to time adopted by him. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and was reported back February, 1872 with recommendation that the

bill be indefinitely postponed.

Those interested in the rescue of the public service from the condition in which it was found to be at the time of the election of General Grant had looked upon his election as a hopeful sign, due to his freedom from political traditions. But they were to be disappointed even in the choice of his cabinet. Mr. Washburne, who had been appointed Secretary of State knew nothing about foreign affairs and was appointed for no other reason than that of friendship, the place was held long enough for him to enjoy the title and he then resigned. He was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, which proved to be a wise choice. As Secretary of the Treasury, Grant appointed A. T. Stewart, a rich merchant of New York, who had to resign almost at once because of an existing law which disqualified him for the place on account of his commercial interests. He appointed A. E. Boice, a rich invalid of Philadelphia as Secretary of the Navy, a man with practically no training for the place and he too resigned. In the appointment of J. D. Cox of Ohio, as Secretary of Interior, and Judge E. R. Hoar of Massachusetts as Attorney-General the President chose more wisely. Grant told Farragut that he chose Washburne as Secretary of State merely as a compliment.

Wells wrote in his diary April 12, 1869, "The Senate convened today at noon and the President sent in quite a list of nominations. The Administration appears to be making an unusual change or general sweep of all official incumbents, irrespective of party."

Grant's most striking characteristic appeared to be his devotion to his friends, a devotion which he carried to an excess. Grant's Administration, it was stated by the New York Nation, had made some of the worst appointments that had ever been made by any government.

89

Grant was moved by flattery and many reached his heart in this manner. He placed a large number of brothers-in-law and other relatives in office. Some have placed the number of those on the pay rolls connected with the President by blood or marriage ties at forty-two persons.

90

With a kind of egotism difficult to reconcile with the simplicity which had seemed earlier to characterize him he looked upon the presidency as a reward bestowed upon him for his personal services, to be used by him in turn to reward his relatives and friends and punish his enemies.

91

The Radicals soon came to control the President and never before had the "hacks and flunkies of 'practical politics' made their way in such large numbers into the civil service.

Moses H. Gunnell was presiding over the affairs of the New York custom house but he was dismissed because he would not lend himself to Conkling's schemes for distributing the patronage in that city. Thomas Murphy, an illiterate hatter, an ally of Tweed and other leaders of Tammany Hall was appointed in Grinnell's place and soon became one of the President's closest friends.

Federal appointments in Louisiana were made at the dictation of Grant's brother-in-law, Casey, who was collector

of the port of New Orleans. Offices had been distributed with a view to winning the support of senators for Grants
92
San Domingo scheme.

Cabinet members, who refused to have their policies dictated by politicians soon found themselves forced to resign. In June, 1870, Attorney General Hoar was actually dismissed. Secretary Cox had attempted to organize his department on the merit basis but as he received no support from
93
Grant, he resigned in October, 1870.

The Editor of the New York Nation regretted that the politicians had taken control of the President, influencing him to get rid of men like Cox and Hoar, in truth they felt that the wreck of General Grant's fame was a misfortune to
94
himself and to those who believed in him.

THE ELECTION OF 1872.

Many months before time to nominate presidential candidates for 1872, it was being considered as a question of importance whether President Grant would have any opposition, that would prove a hindrance to his nomination or election. Schurz wrote to E. L. Godkin in March, 1871 that he believed the Republican party was controlled by the "office managers who go through thick and thin with the Administration." It was his opinion that in order to save the life of the party the leadership must be broken up and that the party at large must be convinced that the nomination of Grant was im-

¹ practical. One month later he wrote to J. D. Cox "unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, the superstition that Grant is the necessary man, is rapidly giving way. The spell is broken and we have only to push through the breach." ²

Schurz was interested in the organization of a third movement made up of those elements within the two old parties that were not satisfied with the policies of either. He knew it would take effort to accomplish anything and he doubted whether the nomination of Grant could be prevented but because of that, he urged that the Liberal movement would need to be that much more carefully organized. He was determined that he would not support Grant neither would he approve a Democratic Candidate. The solution in his mind was ³ a third party movement. The President's disregard of the promised civil service reform had been instrumental in causing Schurz to assume the attitude he did. In writing William

Follenius, a State Senator of Missouri in January, 1872 he remarked, "no sooner was the faintest beginning made of carrying a system of reform into effect, than it revealed at once a most determined and active opposition inside of the Administration party, not only to the plan of reform, but to any reform of civil service calculated to do away with that prolific source of corruption, the patronage." ⁴ The Liberal Republicans of Missouri held a state convention at Jefferson City, January 24, 1872, they adopted a platform and called a national mass convention to meet at Cincinnati on the first Monday in May. ⁵ The movement spread like fire. The convention was a mass meeting, as the Liberal Republicans in most places had no organization and the membership for that reason was made up for the most part of volunteers. ⁶ The National Convention of the Liberal Republicans, which was the first public step in the fusion with the Democracy, was held in Cincinnati on the first day of May, 1872. The attendance was large, especially from the States immediately adjoining the place of meeting and from New York. The proportion of free-traders, outside of New York, was a marked feature of the assemblage. From New York also a number were present and they were of course opposed to Greeley, but Mr. Greeley's friends ⁷ succeeded in keeping them off the list as delegates.

Schurz, as permanent President of the convention delivered the key note speech of the meeting. In his discourse he took it upon himself to point out the evils of the Administration. Jobbery and corruption were condemned in a

stirring manner, the assumption of power by the President was pointed out as dangerous and unexcusable. He continued, "if you want to know how reforms are not executed, look at those now in power, you will hardly excel them in the art of how not to do it." ⁸ Although Schurz was accused that his activities in the campaign were solely for the overthrow of Grant, he argued that he was simply interested in the over- ⁹ throw of the pernicious system.

The choice of a candidate at Cincinnati was a contest at first between Judge David Davis and Charles Frances Adams, the latter being supported by Schurz. But through the compromise of the Blair faction of Liberals and the Greeley New York delegates, the contest shifted Adams and Greeley. In a short time the Greeley power began to rise and after a few ballots he received the necessary vote for nomination and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri became the nominee for Vice-President. The result was a surprise and a disappointment and his selection was certainly not counted on by those who had formed the Liberal organization. Judge Hoadly called it an "alliance of Tammany and Blair" but still hoping to escape ¹⁰ Grant. Schurz, commenting on the results said, "I see a movement so hopefully begun, so noble, and so promising, dragged down to the level of an ordinary political operation ¹¹ and stripped of its moral power."

The Republican convention met in Philadelphia, June 5 and spent the first day in organization and voicing vigorous party appeals and eulogies on President Grant. True to the

fears of the most hopeful Liberals on the next day, when the roll was taken General Grant was nominated without a dissenting vote, and after a brief contest Henry Wilson was chosen as the Vice-President nominee over Colfax.¹²

A little more than a month later July 9, the Democrats met in convention at Baltimore and on the second day the Committee on Resolutions reported the Cincinnati platform without addition or qualification. The Confederate leaders, 'still sore and angry over their failure to break the Union' now declared that they remembered "with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic." And in the course of events the Liberal Republican ticket was stamped with the highest Democratic authority and Democracy was pledged to support Horace Greeley.¹³ The endorsement of Greeley by the Democrats was odd indeed, as Greeley from the time he first entered politics and had come to prominence in the Whig campaign for Harrison and Tyler in 1840, had waged an incessant battle against the Democrats. Every outstanding Democratic leader had received his blows and the party as a whole had been repeatedly assailed.¹⁴

Before considering the campaign, which became one of the bitterest and most given to personal criticism and abuse on the part of leaders; the platforms of the respective parties need to be considered. The platform of the Liberal Republicans was based to a large extent upon that drawn up by the Liberal Republicans of Missouri in their meeting in January. It started from the Republican position and aimed to be Republican

in tone and principle. Then the platform makers set about to shout wherein the Liberals had made a departure by declaring themselves in favor of the equality of all men before the law, deserving of equal and exact justice. Further it was held that fidelity to the Union, to emancipation, and enfranchisement were essential. They voiced an opposition to the re-opening of questions, settled by recent amendments and favored a complete removal of all disabilities, local government left in the hands of the people, and especially set forth the idea that civil should take precedence over the military. Great stress was laid upon the necessity of civil service reform to correct the prevailing abuses; to further this reform it was decided to write into the platform a plank limiting the President of the United States to one term. On these planks the Liberals were united but the matter of free-trade brought a break in the ranks. There was decided agitation against Greeley and his protectionist supporters and since neither group would yield, a compromise was decided upon which left the matter to be settled by the
15
districts and Congress.

The Republican Convention answered the arraignment of the civil service by declaring that "any system of civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefor favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage."
16
Much of the platform of the party was given over to a recital of the achieve-

48

ments of the party since 1861, also it advocated import
duties and approved of the enforcement acts and amnesty. 17

Schurz, as well as many other prominent Liberal Republicans were not satisfied with the nomination of Greeley and had held a meeting to consider the steps that should be taken to right the matter but unable to get anywhere finally came to the conclusion that of the two unsatisfactory candidates more promise of true reform was assured in the election of
18
Greeley than in that of Grant.

When Schurz made up his mind to espouse the cause of Greeley he did it in a wholehearted manner and entered into the campaign enthusiastically. He set about first to convince individual leaders. E. L. Godkin, the Editor of the New York Nation was approached in an attempt to persuade him to vote for and support Greeley through his paper. Schurz told him that he believed that he could make Greeley
19
commit himself to certain specific reform measures. Godkin replied, I supported Grant with far better guarantees than Greeley offers, and he made fine promises and broke them, and good appointments and reversed them, and I have, in consequence, been for three years in opposition.----I cannot divest myself of the idea that you are to some extent sacrificing the future to the present in accepting Greeley under any circumstances. It will make a difference finally whether you come to the work with an unquestioned reputation for the highest principle or come simply as a man so hostile to Grant that he tried to make a reform President out of poor old Greeley and failed miserably." 20
At another time Godkin in a letter

to Schurz declared, "no man of standing and character can take the stump for Greeley without putting his whole future in peril. I do not know whether you are aware what a conceited, ignorant, half cracked, obstinate old creature he is."²¹

Through the columns of the widely read Harpers Weekly, Greeley was cartooned in every possible manner by the pen of Nast who was renowned for his unusual cartoons. The editor, George William Curtis was an enthusiastic reformer and head of the Civil Service Commission, but he was decided in his opposition to Greeley for President. It was his observation that the nomination of Greeley was probably the only one for that office which was received with a good humored laugh; and that he was nominated by a convention called by the most earnest free-traders in the country, who became associated with the most notorious of politicians was indeed an unusual coincidence.²² Curtis also had no faith in the one term feature of the Liberal platform as a reform of the Civil service. In his opinion it would no more produce a reform of the civil service than it would make a dishonest²³ man honest.

In support of Grant, Curtis criticised Schurz for his attitude toward the President and he contended that President Grant with all the mistakes and misfortunes which had marked his Administration was stronger in the public confidence than any previous President, and that he was the choice of most of the people for another four years. It was pointed out that

Grant had been the only President who had strenuously insisted upon a reform of the whole system of party patronage,²⁴ the only President who had recommended it to Congress.

The denunciation of Greeley from some quarters was unusually strong. Bigelow in writing to a friend concluded, "Greeley, I think, is destined to learn the differences between notoriety and popularity, and to discover in the course of this canvas from his own experience that it is possible to have one without the other. Greeley is an interesting curiosity, which everyone likes to see and show, and in whom we all feel a certain kind of natural pride, but I do not think anyone can seriously believe in his fitness for any administration whatever."²⁵ Andrew White felt that of all patriotic men associated with public affairs, Horace Greeley seemed to him the most unfit for executive duties and that as far as politics were concerned his "affections seemed to be lavished on politicians who flattered and coddled him."²⁶

As it has been explained, it was a surprise to many that the Liberal Republicans should have nominated a man, who had been so violently an anti-Democrat in politics, when they were depending on the strength of this party for considerable support. The explanation was to be found in the favorable standing which Greeley had attained through a journey which he made into the South in the summer of 1871. He had gone to Houston, Texas to deliver an address but the larger purpose proved to be a study of the conditions prevailing in the South." Thousands, by whom his name had been sounded forth as enemy, or fanatic

acclaimed him and it soon appeared, from his speech, that he had come to an understanding of the mischiefs of the carpet bag system of government, and that he was in a frame of mind to denounce it with the courage that he brought to the discussion of whatever cause he espoused." Greeley had contended for sometime that universal amnesty and impartial suffrage were just and desirable.²⁷

Schurz's strong point as a leader in the Greeley campaign was his unusual ability to speak. One of the outstanding speeches of the campaign was delivered in July at St. Louis. Here he set out to defend his position as an independent by explaining that he had become an independent because he had found it impossible to any longer support the Administration, which he argued had developed some of the worst tendencies of all times.²⁸

He recounted the failures of the Administration to reform the civil service, which had become the reward to friends and relatives, the officers, becoming the "servants of a party and of a man." The foreign policy was assailed and in this he contended that patronage played its part in winning members of Congress to the idea of extending our control into the Caribbean.²⁹

He then assailed Grant, personally "Grant", he said, "stands as the embodiment and personification of the pernicious system which derives from his individuality its peculiar character. Gratitude for his military services---have long

restrained many from expressing their real opinions concerning him." ³⁰ He explained wherein Grant had failed to live up to great confidence people had in him, how he had been unable to understand the difference between military command and civil administration, how he had filled his cabinet with men whom he desired to please and liked rather than with men who would ³¹ have served best.

Schurz continued, "he occasionally recommended amnesty, civil service reform---had he pressed these as the San Domingo scheme he might have accomplished much. There was a difference between a thing the President wanted and others he cared little about. ³² --- He is by no means a monster of iniquity. He is simply a man who makes use of his high official position to suit him. He does not sit in his closet a designing usurper, gloomily pondering how he may subvert the free institutions of the Republic. Neither does he ponder how he may preserve them. ³³ He does not ponder at all."

In conclusion he tried to show how the attempt to reform the civil service had been turned into a farce, how he felt that things would be remedied under Greeley, but that he would make no flattering promises for him as he "came near doing that once, in good faith, for General Grant, and----- been sick of it ever since." He explained instead Greeley's pledge to construct a cabinet of statesmen, abolish traffic in office, to select men of "integrity, experience, and business sagacity and transform civil service into a business establishment" and also to follow a saner plan in bringing

the South into right relation to the Government.

The enthusiasm for the Liberal movement which was so noticeable at the opening of the campaign rapidly lessened as the significance of the nomination became more clear. In the end Greeley was defeated by 750,000 votes in a total of six and a half million, a disaster which, together with the death of his wife and the overwork of the campaign, resulted in his death shortly after the election.

36

The defeat was a disappointment to Schurz, but the independent spirit rallied and he is found writing to Horace White just after the election, "There are many good men in the Republican party who entertain the hope that General Grant's second Administration will avoid the blunders and faults of the first. If contrary to our expectations Grant should adopt a reform policy, we should have the manliness to recognize any good. We want civil service and the revenue system reformed; we want a policy of reconciliation adopted with regard to the South and we do not care who does it, provided it be done. If after all the promises which have been made for him, General Grant's second Administration proves merely a continuance of the dangerous tendencies of the first, we should offer an opposition, loyal and candid."

37

WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

On March 4, 1871 the President appointed George William Curtis and six other gentlemen, as has been noted, to^{act} as an Advisory Board to conduct the inquiries under the Act of Congress and report regulations for his approval; that is, they were to prepare and report a working plan for the experiment of Administrative reform. Mr. Curtis had been a civil service reformer in sentiment for many years. He was then at the height of his manhood, personally most attractive and everywhere known and admired. He was a Republican and one of the most effective supporters of General Grant for the presidency in 1868 and again in 1872. The support of his paper meant much at that time, as it had a circulation of more than 300,000.¹ The appointment of Curtis was considered by Oberholtzer to have a political significance for that reason, but considering his enthusiasm for Civil service reform the deduction seems somewhat unwarranted. Oberholtzer also assigns the same motive to Grant's appointment of Joseph Medill, the Editor of the Tribune at the time.²

Just a few comments by Curtis on the necessity for adequate reform in the civil service will show that he was interested long before his appointment, and it was also shown that he was a loyal supporter of Grant previous to appointment, "There is" said Curtis, "no bill before Congress (referring to the Jenche's Bill) of more vital importance and we hope for the speedy passage of a law that cannot be

3
plausibly opposed. There is no way in which Congress could more effectively aid the good cause of the Republican party and its candidates than by a judicious simplification of the tax bill and passage of the Civil Service Reform bill."⁴

In regard to Schurz's bill he wrote, "The strength of the reform lies in its essential reason and good sense, in the economy and efficiency which it will introduce into the public service."⁵ In addressing the American Social Science Association in October, 1869 Curtis scored a point in favor of reform "it is alleged," he said, "that the reformed civil service will create a favored class and end in a haughty aristocracy. If we put capable men into public clerkships upon moderate salaries and turn them out when they become inefficient, shall we be encouraging the growth of a race of Italian tyrants. Will these proud lords of fifteen hundred and two thousand dollars a year despoil our estates and crush us with taxes and send us to bed at the sound of the curfew?"⁶

Curtis introduced his first report of the Commission with a recital of the evils of the system as it was and a suggestion that the correction would be affected by the substitution of fitness for patronage as the ground for admission to the public service. The real question being, "can competence be more nearly ascertained by direct examination of the candidates or by the certificates of interested and virtually irresponsible persons?"⁷

According to the rules and regulations submitted to the President on December 18, 1871 it was provided, that no person should be admitted to any position in the Civil

Service within the appointment of the President or heads of departments, who was not a citizen of the United States. And he must show evidence of character, good health, and pass satisfactorily an examination in speaking, reading, and writing English. Provision was also made for the grouping of positions in each branch of the Civil Service, according to duties grading each from highest to lowest and giving an opportunity for an individual to advance from a low to higher place. The competitive examination was to be given to test knowledge, ability and special qualification for performance of the duties of the office. To avoid any semblance of the Board making an appointment, the three highest on the list as a result of examination were to be recommended. A vacancy in any grade above the lowest was to be filled by examination⁸ given to the rest of the group.

Appointments to such places as cashiers of collectors of customs even though the applicant had been duly certified should have the approval of the officer to whom the individual is responsible. A postmaster, whose annual salary would be less than \$200 per year could be appointed upon written request of applicant, the only fitness necessary that which was satisfactory to the head of the department. The appointment of all persons, except those appointed by the President, by and with the advise and consent of the Senate, were to have a six month's probationary period. The President was to designate three persons in each department as examiners. Under supervision of the Advisory Board examinations were to be held at such times and places as it

should determine. In order to protect those who had given a long and faithful period of service, the head of a department might transfer them to positions of less responsibility. Nothing in the rules was to prevent the appointment of an alien to a position, which he could fill better than a person who did not have the foreign language. Assessment of officers of the government was forbidden under the form of voluntary contributions or otherwise. The Advisory Board was to make recommendations to the President from time to time of such changes in the rules as were deemed necessary. From the application of the fore-going rules were excepted the heads of departments, judges of the United States courts, ambassadors and other public ministers, director of the mint, governors of territories, special commissioners, visiting and examining boards, persons appointed to positions without compensation for services and some others.⁹ On the day following this first report Grant informed Congress that the rules should go into effect January 1, 1872 and that the Executive had the power to enforce, full power to abridge and alter or amend them. He asked for further legislation which was needed to make the Commission permanent and for an appropriation to finance the activities.¹⁰

The Advisory Board made a more detailed report in April 1872 in which some new rules and regulations are found which did not appear in the report made in December. It had been decided that the examinations should be held in the different states. Heads of bureaus were to be nominated by the Presi-

dent or appointed by the head of department as the case might be, from persons within the department, who, in the judgment of the head of the department are suitable and qualified. But here as in every case if no such person could be found the appointment was to be made by the one to whom¹¹ the appointing power fell.

In the Post-Office Department, those places of 20,000 or more, had many offices to fill and for that reason the Advisory Board drew up a good many regulations. In the filling of subordinate positions, names were to be suggested to the President not exceeding three by the Postmaster General and from these the President was to make nomination to fill the vacancy if possible from the three. In the large post-offices and others also, appointments could be excepted¹² from the rules until otherwise ordered.

The concluding four rules covered subjects which had a definite relation to all of the preceding rules. Modifications that were made by the examining board were to be reported to the Commission, nothing in the rules or regulations was to prevent the reappointment at discretion of the office holder. All communications in writing relative to employment, or removal were to be addressed to the proper department, personal application was not to be entertained by the President or heads of departments, this regulation was not accepted by the President. Those positions of the civil service, not classified by the rules and regulations were to be excepted¹³ from the operation of the rules.

The rules regulating appointments, including the grouping of the official places were promulgated and thereafter until their suspension by the President, they were enforced in the federal offices of New York and in the departments at Washington with satisfactory results.¹⁴ The rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission were only partially put into practice. Assessments were still being made upon clerks and other employees although there was an accepted rule against it. A circular letter was issued by the Superintendent of the Box Department, New York City Post office in which he requested the clerks of the Post-office to contribute to the party expenses at the coming elections. It was observed that unless practices of this sort were stopped, people would continue to regard the prohibition of assessments contained in the civil service rules as a mockery and the whole movement of civil service as a delusion.¹⁵

The business world was interested in the adoption and carrying out of rules which would give adequate reform in the civil service. And a memorial was sent to Congress signed by 450 of the best houses and responsible business firms of the country, asking that Congress should give its support to such reforms as were admitted to be necessary to secure a pure and efficient civil service. "Congress has repeatedly discussed but taken no definite action but we hope it will regard the petition referred to as entitled to serious and immediate consideration."¹⁶

Some appointments made in this period showed little concern for rules and regulations. "A burst of surprise, indignation, and dismay greeted the appointment of Simmons as Collector of Boston. He is quite illiterate, and in appearance a good specimen of the street rowdy. As supervisor of internal revenue he was so grossly negligent or incompetent that John D. Sanborn, following around in his tracks, almost without effort discovered several hundred thousand dollar's worth of taxes due the United States that had escaped notice. These large amounts being chiefly such as the most ordinary efficiency might have secured---namely, legacy and succession taxes, and taxes on railroad dividends. The Advertiser says that as it was the duty of Simmons to collect these taxes, and as the Government employed Sanborn on a contract giving him half the proceeds, the United States lost a \$100,000 by the manner in which Simmons performed the duties of his office."¹⁷

It was clear also that the New York Customs House had become a "party engine." It had as many as 1500 employees, many of them Republican henchmen who gave no services in return for the salaries which were paid them. It sank deeper deeper into the bag of politics after Grant appointed Thomas Murphy to be the Chief officer. Together with Leet the Administration of the warehouses became "grossly exacting and oppressive to the merchants of New York. The concession was supposed to be worth from \$100,000 to \$200,000 a year----- most valuable perquisite in the gift of the President,

barring, perhaps some Indian agencies. When Secretary Boutwell asked that the system be abolished his recommendations were disregarded. Grant was directly appealed to by merchants without avail-----the income was double that of the President 'for putting an obstruction in the pathway of lawful commerce.' Tom Murphy finally resigned and in turn received a most effusive letter of appreciation and regret from Grant.¹⁸

Curtis had been the moving force of the Commission, appointed by Grant for the purpose of improving the civil service. He had accepted in good faith Grant's word that he wished to see the service reformed but in February, 1873 President Grant nominated Mr. J. Benedict as surveyor of customs at the port of New York. This nomination proposed the promotion of a man thoroughly qualified for the work which he was required to perform, and Mr. Curtis publicly hailed it as the beginning of a new era. Vigorous opposition was made to the confirmation of the nominee, and in a short time the President substituted the name of General Sharpe, a name much more acceptable to the Senate. As a result of this incident Mr. Curtis resigned as a member of the Civil Service Commission.¹⁸

Grant, continuing to claim an interest in the reform of the public service, said in his Inaugural Speech in March, 1873, "it has been, and is, my earnest desire to correct abuses-----to secure this reformation, rules regulating methods of appointment and promotions were established and have been tried. My efforts for such reformation shall be

continued to the best of my judgment. The spirit of the
 rules adopted will be maintained."¹⁹

Curtis ignored the fact that it had become necessary for him to resign and made no reference to it whatever, but in the closing months of the year there are found various instances of criticism of Grant in relation to the civil service. He pointed out that the reasons for a lack of belief in real reform lay in the fact that the President had forbidden political assessments but the orders were held in contempt, because it was not felt that the use of their power was sternly disapproved. Also the country was aware of the guilt of the Collector of New Orleans, but he was renominated for the position; the failure of the President to promote an efficient officer of lower rank outweighed a thousand examinations. "If the President had promptly accepted the resignation of the Collector of New Orleans---if it had not been evident that the chief offices in New York had been filled upon the principles, which the spirit of the rules repudiates ----that these things are not being done results in the open jibe of the opposition. Until these things are done the work of the Commission, faithful, able, devoted as we know it to be will be in vain, and the Republican party will have no right to claim that it has reformed Civil Service."²⁰ The President was held responsible for the enforcement of the rules for during his Administration his order was all that was necessary. "If the rules were not observed, it was because he did not enforce them. He forbid assessments under

the form of voluntary contributions but six weeks ago a political assessment in the form of a voluntary contribution was levied upon the clerks in the New York Post-Office. Indeed, Congress will be persuaded to consider the subject," it was pointed out, "only when it sees that the rules which the President has adopted he means resolutely and consistently and continuously to enforce."²¹

Mr. Eaton, who had taken the place of Curtis on the Commission reported that one thing was evident, that, so far as the minor offices were concerned, the President and the heads of departments were in favor of the reform, because it made it easier for them as it would take disagreeable work off their hands; while as to the more important offices they were almost openly hostile to the spirit of the reform, because it took power away from them.²²

Congress had repeatedly failed to make any appropriation for the financing of the work of the Civil Service Commission. In December, 1873 the President announced that in three successive messages, he had called the attention of Congress to the subject of civil service reform. "Action has been taken so far as to authorize the appointment of a board to devise rules governing methods of : making appointments and promotions, but there never had been any action making these rules, or any rules, binding, or even entitled to observance, where persons desire the appointment of a friend or the removal of an official-----under the authority of said act I convened a board-----there is need of the acquiescence

of Congress as well as the Executive. I suggest that a special committee of Congress might confer with the Civil Service Board during the present session for the purpose of devising such rules as can be maintained, and which will secure the services of honest and capable officials---- proper rules will protect Congress, as well as the Executive from much needless persecution, and will prove of great value to the public at large."²³

No legislation was passed by Congress. The report of the Civil Service Commission was delivered to Congress in April, 1874 accompanied by remarks by the President. He pointed out that he had no doubt but that the rules could be improved and be of more benefit to the public service if they were sustained by Congress. He felt that the rules which applied to the officers who were appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate were impracticable, except in so far they were sustained by that body. An appropriation of funds to the same amount as the previous²⁴ year was asked for.

After reviewing the benefits of the rules adopted and the unpracticability of maintaining the system without the support of Congress, Grant concluded his message to Congress in December, 1874 with the statement that "if Congress adjourns without positive legislation on the subject of civil service reform, I will regard such action as a disapproval of the system and will abandon it, except so far as to re-

quire examinations for certain appointee's fitness. Competitive examinations will be abandoned. The gentlemen who have given their services have shown much zeal and earnestness in their work and to them, as well as to myself, it will be a source of mortification if it is to be thrown away. But I repeat that it is impossible to carry this system to a successful issue without general approval and assistance with positive law to support it." ²⁵ Congress again refused to make an appropriation or pass laws supporting the civil service reform measures; and in March, 1875 the President formally abandoned the system, and gave orders for the ²⁶ abolition of the examining boards throughout the country.

Curtis in alluding to the course of the President and the results observed, "the apparent disregard of both the spirit and the letter of the rules in many important appointments had shown members of Congress either that Grant did not comprehend the scope and character of reform or that he was indifferent to it. ²⁷ ----- A President really in earnest would not permit the regular violation of his rule prohibiting assessments." ²⁸ Schurz expressed himself in somewhat the same language. It was his opinion, "that if the President had been sincere the opposition might have been overcome, and the reform have been carried out within the entire scope ²⁹ of the Executive power.

PARTIAL REVIVAL UNDER HAYES.

As President Grant's second term came near a close there was a good bit of conjecture as to the possibility of him being a candidate for renomination. Schurz voiced his decided opposition to such a move in a speech delivered in Ohio in September, 1875. He said that he was as honestly and earnestly as ever opposed to President Grant's renomination. He further declared that it was his sincere conviction that there was just as little danger of the re-election of President Grant as there was of a new rebellion.¹

Andrew White was of the opinion that the President was not at all in favor of another term. He said that during a walk with Grant he spoke about the approaching close of his second term and Grant replied, that he found himself looking forward to it with the same longing which he had formerly had as a cadet at West Point when looking forward to a furlough.² Even so there lingered in the minds of many the possibility that Grant was ambitious for the third term. On May 29, 1875 Grant felt impelled to write a public letter which could be interpreted as a "grudging" declination to be a candidate for the third term. In December of the same year the House passed a resolution against departing from the time honoured precedent of Washington.³

With the third term boom crushed, Republicans became interested in probable candidates. The Republican nominating convention met on June 14.⁴ Conkling and Morton were candi-

dates. Grant favored Conkling of the two, but he expected a dark horse to be nominated and Fish had been thought of in this relation.⁵ Interest in the Southern issue had waned but Blaine early in the election year displayed his oratory in an attack on Jefferson Davis and the horrors of Andersonville. The sectional hatred came to life and Blaine became a prominent candidate. His greatness was heralded by Robert G. Ingersoll in a famous speech before the Republicans. His chances for the nomination were excellent but for the charge of corruption which had been fastened upon him.⁶ On the seventh and nominating ballot Hayes of Ohio received 384 votes; Blaine 351; Bristow 21; Hayes received just five more than the necessary number to nominate.

Schurz, again showed his independence and hurried back from Europe to support Hayes as the candidate of the regular Republican party.⁷ Hayes was satisfactory to Schurz on the currency question, he was also convinced that Hayes agreed with him on the civil service and the Southern question.⁸

Schurz wrote Hayes June 21, 1876 in an attempt to secure from Hayes just what his position was to be. He wrote, "The new Cincinnati platform promises civil service reform, but the platform of 1872 did the same----in your letter of acceptance you can, if you choose, give your own construction of the platform and your own understanding of your duties if elected."⁹ To this letter Hayes replied, "I now think as you do ----probably precisely as you do, on the civil service reform part of our platform. I want to make that the issue of

the canvas-----to be perfectly explicit, decided and square,
 but brief in regard to it."¹⁰

Schurz became very active in the campaign, and was responsible for Hayes's paragraph on civil service reform contained in his speech of acceptance. The substance of the suggested paragraph expressed the conviction of the necessity for a thorough and permanent civil service reform. Promised that dishonest officers would expect a most "rigorous execution of the law and the strictest enforcement of personal accountability." He declared that the system needed changing, that the constitutional relations of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government in regard to appointments to office, as defined in the Republican platform should be observed. Well regulated and fixed methods of determining the eligibility of candidates for office and the permanency of the system should be insured by law. "Upon these principles" it was suggested that he should say, "I shall, if elected, organize and conduct my Administration, and its whole energy will be devoted to the task of establishing and perpetuating this reform."¹¹

Mr. Schurz was often forced to defend his position in supporting Mr. Hayes. In a letter to Mr. Ottendorfer, Editor of the Staats-Zeitung is found an explanation of his position. He said, "I am convinced that Mr. Hayes will undertake with honest will and carry out with all energy exactly such a thorough reform of the civil service as that for which I have

striven. In his letter of acceptance, Mr. Hayes, has presented the clearest and completest program of civil service reform with which I am acquainted." He has promised to punish dishonorable officials; to make no more appointments just because Congress requests them; removals only when the officer is not doing his duty. Mr. Hayes has not suddenly become a civil service enthusiast, he has expressed himself¹² in favor of reform years ago.

In the course of the campaign Schurz suggested to Hayes in a letter dated August 14, 1876, that he believed that it would be well for Hayes to protest in some way against the collection of money for canvas from clerks and other Government officers. It would be more in keeping he thought with a civil service reform campaign in which one of the principles professed is, that "Government officers are neither expected nor desired to render any partisan service-----a protest from you, -----would be tangible proof that we mean¹³ what we say."

Hayes was urged by Schurz to keep the reform issue ever to the front, since the Independents were eager for reform and were likely to go to Tilden, if they were not sure. There was a cry for change found among many at this time. Hayes disregarded the plea of Schurz to disregard the Southern question and spent the last six weeks of the campaign exploiting the Southern horrors. Schurz and Hayes came to "substantial harmony" however by the time Hayes's inauguration

became likely."¹⁴

The election of Hayes, as is well known was quite irregular and it was not until March 2 that Hayes was formally announced elected.¹⁵ Before the announcement, Hayes had been considering Cabinet appointments and had asked Schurz to suggest different men for the positions. To this request Schurz replied, suggesting such men as Evarts,¹⁶ Bristow, Cox and Edmunds. Hayes had the support of Harper's Weekly, Curtis had early declared his belief that Hayes was in character a pure, self-relying man, whose sympathies were warmly with the better elements and tendencies of the Republican party.¹⁷

Hayes did not have an Administration, wholly pleasant and uncriticised, as it was soon evident that his policies were to have much opposition. The policy of Hayes's Government, Grant always thought reflected on his own. A personal enemy of Grant had been made Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury were men for whom he had no personal preference. Many of the inferior appointments were also not to his liking, in fact he had no word of approval for the Administration. "He was especially mortified at the appointment of Schurz as Secretary of the Interior; but he was out of power, and the influence of an incoming Secretary was greater than all the authority of the ex-President. It was Hayes's Administration, not Grant's and Grant, who had more than a spice of human nature in his composition, liked it less than if it had consulted his wishes

or views instead of its own.-----But he offered no more than an occasional criticism of Mr. Hayes or his Government, and never opposition, except to Schurz his dislike for whom was doubtless returned in kind. Schurz was indeed one of the men for whom Grant conceived a violent hate, yet even Schurz called at Grant's house to inquire for him while the great soldier lay dying.¹⁸

In some departments under Hayes, competitive examinations were again instituted, and this was notably the case in the Department of the Interior. Here Mr. Schurz established and maintained such examinations during the whole period of his being in office, which furnished a practical demonstration of the usefulness of the system. In December 1877, Hayes asked Congress to renew the appropriation for the support for the Civil Service Commission but Congress refused and Republican senators and representatives denounced the reform.¹⁹

Among those opposed to Hayes and his policies was found Congressman Platt. He claimed, that Hayes called into consultation George William Curtis and others "of our foes. Between them, there was evolved the impossible civil service 'reform' system,-----There is one subject of political discussion which demagogues have magnified unto unseemly proportions. I refer to the incessant cry 'the Republican party is pledged to reform in the civil service.' Hayes accepted the bounty of his party, and then refused to recognize any obligation to that party.²⁰

Hayes incurred the enmity of Congress by declaring his independence of and the repeated appeal on the part of Hayes
21
for an appropriation was unheeded.

In spite of Hayes's activities for reform, the rush for
offices was something unprecedented and overwhelming, al-
though there had been no change in Administration. 22 With
the Radical Republicans the appointment of Schurz was not
popular. By them he was pronounced a "political trimmer",
he has been equally at home with all parties and in all
classes," 23 said a prominent member of the House.

There were those, who noted in the appointment of Schurz
a move in the right direction. Samuel Bowles wrote to him
as soon as his appointment had been ratified "I am just
tickled clear through that you have gone to the head at
last. I was terribly afraid it would not be, and have been
exhorting in public and private this last month---- I can
scarcely believe my eyes! The reform element square at the
front and you in the Cabinet. What a Reformation! I can-
not help congratulating you----and, much more, congratulating
the country. Now, for a resolute Forward! in the spirit
of the inaugural and in harmony with the Cabinet, and the
better days of the Republic are close at hand." 24

Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky assured him that his
appointment was peculiarly pleasing to him. He continued,
"the intelligent and patriotic people of the country are in
sympathy with the President's declared purpose---Your
appointment will be accepted as an earnest of the President's

settled purpose to stand firmly by his promises." ²⁵

An example of Schurz's careful method was shown by his manner of handling the advertising in his Department. In a letter to W. M. Grosvenor, he explained that by putting the advertising on a business basis, he had reduced the expense to \$3,000 while in the two years previous it had been \$40,000 and \$25,000 respectively. ²⁶

Schurz, in reviewing his activities, connected with placing the work of his Department on a civil service reform basis, revealed several interesting things. As he became Secretary of the Interior it is claimed by him that he did not take a single man into the Department with him, not even a private confidential Secretary. The Secretary he selected from among the force already in the Department, a man of excellent capacity and well acquainted with affairs of the Department. He said he was besieged by Senators and Representatives, as well as by other politicians, all asking him to fill vacancies with men whom they recommended. He heard them but decided to fill the vacancies on the principles of the merit system. It was difficult, since there was no money appropriated for the purpose and he had to depend on clerks, whose time was temporarily not fully employed, or who were willing to work after office hours. The work was carried on for four years under these inconveniences and the severest opposition of the patronage. "I learned thus" he says "from actual practice on that field of very complicated duties and heavy responsibilities, quite thoroughly to

appreciate the value of merit system--also the true nature
²⁷
of the difficulties. ---I could not remove a clerk for
undutiful conduct, aye, not even for habitual drunkenness,
without having a lot of Congressmen on my hands protesting
against the removal, and going sometimes so far as to
threaten me with obstructing the appropriation for my
Department if I insisted." But he claims that he remained
firm and required the candidates to take an examination before
²⁸
an impartial commission.

"After four years of service," Schurz concluded, "I
left the Interior Department with the firm conviction that
the positions in it, and no doubt in all the other Depart-
ments would be vastly better filled---that the public interest
would be much better served, if the whole force---were subjected
²⁹
to the civil service rules.

Whitelaw Reid was both defender and critic of Hayes's
Administration. He approved of the soundness and the prompti-
tude of the effort through which Hayes sought "to divorce
government service from partisan committee work, pitilessly
depriving office-holders of the joys of political activity."
He could not "applaud when he saw the very purpose of the
President go away because of amateurish management, so that,"
as he said, "the new policy outran the most visionary theorist,
and then halted, limped, and broke down utterly in the most
³⁰
capricious and confusing manner."

CONCLUSIONS.

Grant and his Administration as President have been praised, criticised and excused, many times by the same persons. Many writers, who have been friendly to Grant have explained that his mistakes were due to his friends. Badeau claimed that "the greatest mistakes in Grant's career, the greatest misfortunes of his life, came from his mischoice of friends. He sometimes seemed to know men marvelously well; but at other times he was absolutely blind to arts and traits that were apparent to many lookers on. His political career was blighted by those whom he sustained in evil report and good."¹

Another biographer observed that, "Grant was not fastidious in his friends. He picked them," he said, "as he chose without regard to others' liking-----'what Grant needs' Charles E. Norton wrote to Curtis, 'is independent, sympathetic, intelligent, and trustworthy counselors. He is easily influenced by what one may call second-class ideas if skilfully put before him', and his magnanimity, which was conspicuous during the war, degenerates into something not far from a vice in the peaceful regions of politics."²

In dealing with Congress Grant was inclined to follow the counsels of second-rate advice. And has been said, "Outside he associated too frequently with questionable characters, who cleverly used him as a mark for schemes that were an insult to his integrity, but which his lack of ex-

perience and his utter inability to judge character kept hidden from his view. Honorable himself and loyal to a fault to his friends, he believed in the honesty of men who betrayed him, long after the rest of the world had discovered what they were."³

Grant has been given credit for being the first President to utter officially a single word of protest against the prevailing civil service system and its attending evils.⁴ Then why was so little accomplished and the attempted reform dropped? Curtis blamed Congress most. "Congress," Curtis asserted, "good naturedly tolerating what it considered Grant's whim of inexperience, granted money to try an experiment. The adverse pressure was tremendous. He was enveloped in whirlwinds of sophistry, and incredulity. When at last President Grant said, 'If Congress adjourns without positive legislation on civil service reform, I shall regard such action as a disapproval of the system and shall abandon it,' it was, indeed, a surrender of a champion, who had honestly mistaken both the nature and the strength of the adversary and his own power of endurance. It is not reasonable to expect a President to go much faster than public opinion."⁵

Contrary to this idea it was argued by others that the President had by his power of removal of his cabinet officers, a very definite control over civil service. And for that, if for no other reason the President must be held to the fullest extent responsible for civil service reform in all the Departments. The Editor of the New York Nation continued,

"he has it in his power to carry out the reform by a single executive order, and if he fails to do so, he, personally and officially, must bear the whole and sole responsibility for the failure to do so."⁶

General Grant did not realize the seriousness of civil service reform and before a week had passed it had become clear that the President's perseverance in the attempt to reform would bring about a serious break with Congress.⁷ The President gave way under the severe opposition. "The rules drawn up by the Commission were," according to Curtis, "never effectively carried into practice at any point in the service."⁸

Did Grant sincerely want reform in the civil service? Butler represented Grant's interest in civil service as a mere trick, while Garfield urged that "from all the means of information at my command, I am clearly of the opinion that in all this matter of civil service reform the President has been not only sincere but deeply in earnest."⁹

What Grant really thought of civil service may be inferred, perhaps from his remarks to John Russell Young in 1879, When in conversation with Young on the general topic of honesty in public life Grant said, "men in public life are like men in other spheres of life. It would be very hard for me to say that I knew six men in public position that I know to be dishonest of absolute moral certainty. -----the men who were reformers, who turned their eyes at the sins of others, I generally found as anxious for patronage as

others. My experience of men makes me charitable in my criticism of public officers---our civil service is as good as any in the world that I have seen. There is no man in the country so anxious for civil service reform as the President of the United States for the time being. ¹⁰ ---- He is necessarily a civil service reformer, because he wants peace of mind. Even apart from this, I was anxious when I became President to have a civil service reform broad enough to include all that its most earnest friends desired. I gave it an honest and fair trial, although G. W. Curtis thinks I did not,-----There is a good bit of cant about civil service reform which throws doubt upon the sincerity of the movement. -----many of those who talk civil service reform in public are the most persistent in seeking offices for their friends."

He continued in somewhat the same vein of thought and pointed out that he felt that Congress was to blame for any failure to bring about civil service reform. "I made", he said, "some removals in the beginning that I should not have done, by mere exercise of executive power, without adequate reason. But as soon as I came to know the politicians this ceased. I always resisted this pressure from Congress, and I could recall many cases where nothing but resistance, ¹¹ my own determined resistance saved good men." "As for censuring a President," he continued, "because there is no civil service reform written in rules and books, it is absurd, for, as I have said, the President, whoever he is, is the one man in the country most anxious for the reform,----I see in

some newspapers, that under Mr. Hayes it is a subject for congratulation that office-holders are no longer removed because they will not pay assessments for political campaigns. I never removed a man for such a refusal, never knew one of my cabinet to do so, and if I had ever known it, I would have dismissed the officer who had made such removals. I can see where our service can be amended. But every day the Republican party remains in power amends it.-----the only danger to re-¹²form is the triumph of the Democratic party."

Young's account can be accounted reliable, since he states in the preface to his second volume that wherever he quoted Grant he asked his permission to do so, and that in most instances Grant revised the proof-sheets.

Schurz did not feel that the failure of the civil service movement was due so much to the fact that Congress was unwilling to give up its patronage and the party leaders their machine. But especially was due to the fact that President Grant never knew what civil service meant, and since his friends and other interests lay so much nearer his heart, he was glad to offer the opposition in Congress as the reason for defeat in reform. "I have always been convinced," said Schurz, "that if the President had been sincere, the opposition might have been overcome, and the reform have been carried out within the entire scope of the executive power. If he had so much, Congress, under the pressure of a public opinion invoked by the President, would finally have accommodated it-¹³self to legislative measures in the same direction."

Hoar criticised Grant but he too excused him, and Hoar felt that Schurz and other reformers did not adopt the best methods. "There was," Hoar pointed out, "undoubtedly great corruption and mal administration in the country in the time of President Grant. Selfish men and ambitious men got the ear of that simple and confiding President. They studied Grant, some of them, as the shoemaker measures the foot of his customer. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Schurz and -----scores of other men--left the party. They were, so long as they maintained that attitude, absolutely without political influence. -----When the great reforms were accomplished, that were accomplished, they were not there. Others interested in reform stayed in the party--they purified the Administration they accomplished reform."¹⁴

It was the opinion of Hoar that Schurz in his dislikes and severe judgment of individuals lost sight of great principles.¹⁵ Blaine in commenting on Schurz's aspiration to the title of Independent said of him, "the party he upheld yesterday met with his bitterest denunciations the day before, and to-morrow he will support the political organization of whose measures he is the most merciless censor today."¹⁶

It might be said of Schurz that his faults as a public servant grew out of a temperament too 'uncompromisingly idealistic'. This trait made it difficult for him to work in organizations, for always the platform of the organization must be a compromise between extremes. "As a United States Senator, he was more interesting than influential and as

Secretary of Interior," it has been said, "he did not leave the mark upon the policy of the Government that was left by John Hay in his transformation of diplomatic methods. Schurz did do much by his criticisms to expose public abuses and by his ideals to raise those of the Nation." And as a civil service reformer, he did much to put the service upon a higher level and this work was near to his heart to the end of a long life.¹⁷

People in evaluating Grant seem to have accepted a phrase from Grant's last message to Congress, when he said, "failures have been errors of judgment not of interest."¹⁸ And in Grant's last days people forgot his mistakes and the friendship for the man was uppermost. Grant appreciated and expressed himself thus, "the universally kind feeling expressed for me at a time when it was supposed that each day would prove my last, seemed to me the beginning of the answer to 'Let us have peace'. The expressions of these kindly feelings were not restricted to a section of the country, nor to a division of the people. Politics did not enter into the matter at all."¹⁹

CHAPTER I.

Footnotes.

1. Schurz, Carl. The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz. Three volumes. Cited hereafter, Schurz, Rem. New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1909. v. II, p. 3.
2. Johnson, W. H. "Schurz". The Dial 43:413-15 December 16, 1907.
3. Wheeler, Edward J. "Germany's Best Gift to America." Current Literatures. 41:39 July, 1906.
4. Ibid., p. 40
5. Schurz, Rem. v. II, p. 9.
6. Smith, Theodore Clark. The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield. Two volumes. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925. v. I, p. 243.
7. Warren, Charles. "Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz." American Historical Review 19:376 January, 1914.
8. Ibid., p. 377.
9. Editorial. "The Orator and Patriot." The New York Nation. 97:262 September 18, 1913.
10. Abbatt, Lyman. "In Honor of Carl Schurz." The Outlook. 104:135 May 24, 1913.
11. Warren, Charles. "Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz." American Historical Review 19:379 January, 1914.
12. Schurz, Carl. Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz. Ed. Frederic Bancroft. Six volumes.

Hereafter cited Schurz, Speeches. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913. v. I, pp. 12-13.

13. Ibid., p. 20.

14. Ibid., p. 23

15. Schurz, Rem. v. II, p. 68.

16. Johnson, W. H. "Schurz." The Dial 43:413 December 16, 1907.

17. Schurz, Rem. v. II, p. 71.

18. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 26.

19. Johnson, W. H. "Schurz". The Dial 43:413 December 16, 1907.

20. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 80.

21. Editorial. "The Orator and Patriot." The New York Nation 97:261 September 18, 1913.

22. White, Andrew Dickson, "Autobiography". Two volumes. New York, The Century, 1905. v. I, p. 86.

23. Ibid., p. 586.

24. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 161.

25. Ibid., p. 180

26. Schurz, Rem. v. II, p. 223.

27. Ibid., p. 307.

28. Johnson, W. H. "Schurz". The Dial 43:414 December 16, 1907.

29. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 68.

30. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 220.

31. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 111.

32. Ibid., p. 117

33. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, pp. 262-63.

34. Ibid., p. 264.
35. Oberhaltzer, Ellis Paxson. A. History of the United States Since the Civil War. Three volumes (two others to be published). New York. The Macmillan Company, 1917-1926. v. I, p. 156.
36. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 206-7.
37. Dunning, William Archibald. Reconstruction and Political Economic. The American Nation Series, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1907, p. 48.
38. Oberhaltzer, Since the Civil War. V. I, p. 157.
39. Editorial. "Carl Schurz". The New York Nation 82: 401-402. May 17, 1906.
40. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 159
41. Ibid., p. 175.
42. Winston, Robert W. Andrew Johnson. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1928. p. 316.
43. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. I, pp. 73-4.
44. Pierce, Edward L. Charles Sumner, Memoir and Letters. Four volumes. Boston, Robert Brothers, 1893. v. IV, p. 271. (Hereafter cited--Pierce, Sumner.)
45. Winston, Andrew Johnson. p. 316.
46. Blaine, James G. Twenty Years of Congress. Norwich, Conn., The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1884. v. I, p. 148.
47. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. I, pp. 158-59.
48. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 204.

Footnotes.

1. Pierce, Sumner. v. IV, pp. 357-58.
2. Wells, Gideon. Diary of Gideon Wells. Three volumes. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911. v. III, p. 249.
3. Ibid., pp. 244-45.
4. Editorial. Harper's Weekly. 13:114 February 22, 1868.
5. Stanwood, Edward. A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1916. Two volumes. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1898-1928. v. I, p. 318.
6. Ibid., p. 320.
7. Editorial "The Platform and the Nomination." The New York Nation 6:424 May 28, 1878.
8. Schurz, Speeches. v. I p. 458.
9. Ibid., v. I, p. 459.
10. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 303.
11. Editorial. Harper's Weekly. 13:131 February 27, 1869.
12. Ibid., p. 162.
13. Schurz, Rem. III, p. 285.
14. Oberholtzer. Since the Civil War. v. II, p. 195.
15. Richardson, James D. A Compilation of the Messages and and Papers of the Presidents. Ten Volumes. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896-99. v. VII, pp. 6-7.
16. Oberholtzer. Since the Civil War. v. II, pp. 268-69.
17. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 291.
18. Ibid., pp. 293-94.
19. Ibid., p. 295.
20. Barclay, Thomas S. The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri. Columbia, The State Historical Society of

Missouri, 1926. p. 152.

21. Ibid., pp. 153-54.

22. Ibid., p. 154.

23. Ibid., p. 155.

24. Ibid., pp. 156-57.

25. Ibid., p. 158.

26. Ibid., p. 161.

27. Ibid., p. 162.

28. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, pp. 478-79.

Footnotes.

1. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 190.
2. Ibid., p. 482.
3. Bancroft, Frederic. The Life of William H. Seward.
Two volumes. New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1900.
v. II, pp. 486-87.
4. Rhodes, James Ford. History of the United States. Nine
volumes. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906-'20.
v. VI, pp. 457-58.
5. Ibid., p. 459.
6. Ibid., pp. 460-61.
7. Schurz, Rem. v. III, pp. 307-308.
8. Rhodes, History of the United States. v. VI, p. 460.
9. Richardson, Messages. v. VII, pp. 61-62.
10. Pierce, Sumner. v. IV, pp. 444-45.
11. Editorial. "The Annexation Fever." The New York Nation
8:289 April 15, 1869.
12. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 71.
13. Pierce, Sumner. v. IV, pp. 452-53.
14. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 71.
15. Pierce, Sumner. v. IV, p. 445.
16. Ibid., p. 470.
17. White, Horace. The Life of Lyman Trumbull. Boston,
Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913. p. 345.
18. Cortissoz, Royal. The Life of Whitelaw Reid. Two volumes.
New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921. v. I, p. 189.
19. Badeau, Adam. Grant in Peace. Hartford, Conn., S. S.
Scranton and Company, 1887. pp. 211-12.

20. Ibid., p. 219.
21. Pierce, Sumner. v. IV, P. 473.
22. Dunning, Reconstruction Political and Economic. p. 8.
23. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. II, p. 268.
24. Barclay, The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri.
p. 162.
25. Ibid., 167.
26. Ibid., 170.
27. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. II p. 269.
28. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 322.
29. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 520.
30. Schurz, Rem. v. III pp. 329-30.
31. Congressional Globe, 41st Congress Second Session, p. 473.
(Cited after this Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess.)
32. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 3rd sess., p. 53.
33. Ibid., p. 118.
34. White, Whitelaw Reid. v. II, 355.
35. Editorial. The New York Nation. XI: 393 December 15,
1870.
36. Blaine, Twenty Years in Congress. v. II, p. 461.
37. Cong. Globe, 42 d. Cong., 1st sess., p. 253.
38. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, pp. 179-80.
39. Ibid., p. 189.
40. Ibid., p. 239.
41. Ibid., p. 242.
42. Ibid., pp. 246-47.
43. Ibid., p. 249.

44. Ibid., pp. 141-42.
45. Editorial. The New York Nation 7:344-45 October 29, 1808.
46. Adams, Henry Brooks. "Civil Service Rẽform." North American Review 109:444.
47. Editorial. The New York Nation 7:452-53.
48. Ogden, Rollo. Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin. Two volumes. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1907. v. II, p. 41.
49. Ibid., p. 304.
50. Richardson, Messages. v. VII, p. 109.
51. Schurz, Speeches. v. III, p. 50.
52. Pierce, Summer. v. IV, p. 191.
53. Cong. Globe, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 1033-36.
54. Cong. Globe, 40th Cong. 2d. Sess., p. 2466.
55. Editorial. The New York Nation 8:425.
56. Cong. Globe, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 269.
57. Schurz, Rem. v. III, pp. 315-16.
58. Rhodes, History of the United States. v. VI, p. 354.
59. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 154-56.
60. Rhodes, History of the Unites States, v. VI, p. 354.
61. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., p. 17.
62. Schurz, Speeches. v. I, p. 483.
63. Dong. Globe, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 236-37.
64. Ibid., p. 1477
65. Ibid., pp. 2953, 4309.
66. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 59.
67. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., p. 1077, p. 4305.

68. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 779.

69. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, pp. 126-27.

70. Ibid., pp. 129-30.

71. Ibid., p. 142.

72. Ibid., pp. 151-52.

73. Ibid., p. 155

74. Ibid., p. 156

75. Ibid., p. 167.

76. Ibid., p. 173.

77. Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 1935.

78. Curtis, George William. Orations and Addresses.

Three volumes, ed. by C. Eliot Norton. New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers. v. II, p. 30. 1894.

79. Richardson, Messages. v. VII, pp. 154-55.

80. Cong. Globe, 42nd Cong., 2d Sess., p. 210.

81. Ibid., p. 416.

82. Cong. Globe, 42nd Cong., 2d Sess., p. 453.

83. Ibid., p. 455.

84. Cong. Globe, 42nd Cong., 2d Sess., p. 546.

85. Ibid., p. 1176.

86. Lingley, Charles Ramsdell. Since the Civil War. New York, The Century Company. 1926. p. 36.

87. Wells, Diary. v. III, p. 551.

88. Ibid., p. 576-77.

89. Editorial. "The Alleged Dissatisfaction with Grant." The New York Nation. 9:224 September 16, 1869.

90. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. II, p. 306.

91. Merriam, George S. The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles.

Two volumes. New York, The Century Company, 1885. v. II, p. 112.

92. Ibid., pp. 307-308.

93. Ibid., pp. 309-12.

94. Editorial. The New York Nation 11:322 November 17, 1870.

Footnotes.

1. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 253.
2. Ibid., p. 254.
3. Schurz, Rem. v. III, pp. 338-39.
4. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 317.
5. White, Trumbull. p. 372.
6. Stanwood, A History of the Presidency. v. I, p. 341.
7. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress. v. II, pp. 520-21.
8. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, pp. 354-55.
9. Ibid., p. 358.
10. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress. v. II pp. 523-24.
11. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 367.
12. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress. v. II, pp. 526-27.
13. Ibid., pp. 529-30.
14. Ibid., p. 524.
15. Ibid., p. 521.
16. Ibid., p. 528.
17. Lingley, Since the Civil War. p. 44.
18. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 352.
19. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 385.
20. Ibid., pp. 386-87.
21. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 376.
22. Editorial, Harper's Weekly 16:386 May 18, 1872.
23. Ibid., p. 578.
24. Editorial. Harper's Weekly 15:1218 1871.
25. Seitz, Don C. Horace Greeley. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926. p. 380.

26. White, Andrew. Autobiography. p. 160.
27. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. III, pp. 8-9.
28. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, pp. 393-94.
29. Ibid., pp. 401-404.
30. Ibid., p. 413.
31. Ibid., pp. 415-16.
32. Ibid., p. 420.
33. Ibid., p. 423.
34. Ibid., p p. 434-35.
35. Ibid., pp. 434-36.
36. Lingley, Since the Civil War. p. 44.
37. Schurz, Speeches. v. II, p. 445.

Footnotes.

1. Rogers, Sherman. "G. W. Curtis and Civil Service Reform." Atlantic Monthly 71:18-19. January, 1893.
2. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. III, p. 3.
3. Editorial. "Civil Service." Harper's Weekly. 12:355 June 6, 1868.
4. Ibid., p. 403 June 27, 1868.
5. Editorial. Harper's Weekly 14:34 December 20, 1869.
6. Curtis. Orations and Addresses. v. II, pp. 23-24.
7. Ibid., pp. 46-48.
8. Ibid., pp. 81-82.
9. Ibid., pp. 83-84.
10. Cong. Globe. 42nd. Cong., 2d. Sess., p. 210.
11. Curtis, Orations and Addresses. v. II, pp. 107-108.
12. Ibid., pp. 111-112.
13. Ibid., p. 114.
14. Rogers, Sherman S. "G. W. Curtis and Civil Service Reform." Atlantic Monthly 7:19 January, 1893.
15. Editorial. "Assessments." The New York Nation 17:282 October 30, 1873.
16. Editorial. "Civil Service". Commercial and Financial Chronicle 14:178 February 10, 1872.
17. Editorial. "The Boston Collectorship." The New York Nation 18:134 February 26, 1874.
18. Oberholtzer, Since the Civil War. v. II, pp. 597-98.
19. Richardson, Messages. v. VII, p. 223.

20. Editorial. "The Prospects of Civil Service Reform."
Harper's Weekly 17:938 October 25, 1873.
21. Editorial. "The Message and the Civil Service."
Harper's Weekly 17:1154 December 27, 1873.
22. Editorial. "Report of the Commission." The New York Nation 18:260 April 23, 1874.
23. Richardson, Speeches. v. VII, pp. 254-55.
24. Ibid., p. 263.
25. Ibid., pp. 300-301.
26. Richardson, Speeches. v. VII, p. 199.
27. Editorial. "Once More into the Breach." Harper's Weekly 18:554 July 4, 1874.
28. Editorial. Harper's Weekly 18:930
29. Schurz, Speeches v. III, p. 270.

Footnotes

1. Schurz, Speeches. v. III, pp. 166-67.
2. White, Autobiography. v. I, pp. 179-80.
3. Rhodes, History of the United States. v. VII, p. 207.
4. Lingley, Since the Civil War. p. 47.
5. Rhodes, History of the United States. v. VII, p. 207.
6. Lingley, Since the Civil War. pp. 47-48.
7. Schurz, Rem. v. III, p. 363.
8. Ibid., p. 368.
9. Schurz, Speeches. v. III, p. 250.
10. Ibid., p. 254.
11. Ibid., pp. 255-56.
12. Ibid., pp. 267-68.
13. Ibid., pp. 285-86.
14. Schurz, Rem. v. III, pp. 371-73.
15. Lingley, Since the Civil War. p. 50.
16. Schurz, Speeches. v. III, pp. 379-80.
17. Editorial. "The Republican Candidate." Harper's Weekly 20:546 July 8, 1876.
18. Badeau, Grant in Peace. p. 253.
19. Curtis, Orations and Addresses. v. II, p. 199.
20. Platt, Thomas Collier. The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt. Ed. by Louis J. Long. New York, B. W. Dodge and Company, 1910. pp. 84-85;97.
21. Sparks, Edwin Erle. National Development. The American Nation Series, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1907. p. 154.

22. Smith, Garfield. v. II p. 653.
23. Sparks, National Development. p. 106.
24. Schurz, Speeches. v. III, p. 408.
25. Ibid., p. 409.
26. Ibid., p. 410.
27. Schurz, Speeches. v. VI, pp. 138-39.
28. Schurz, Speeches. v. V. pp. 376-77.
29. Schurz. Speeches. v. VI, p. 140.
30. Cortissoz, Whitelaw Reid. v. I, p. 386.

Footnotes.

1. Badeau, Adam. Grant in Peace. pp. 405-406.
2. Coolidge. Ulysses S. Grant. P. 393.
3. Lingley, Since the Civil War. p. 42.
4. Curtis, Orations and Addresses. v. II, p. 16.
5. Ibid., pp. 185-86.
6. Editorial. "The President and Civil Service." The New York Nation 13:104 August 17, 1871.
7. Adams, Henry Brooks. "Civil Service". North American Review 109:451-52 October 1869.
8. Oberholtzer. Since the Civil War. v. II, p. 318.
9. Editorial. Harper's Weekly. 16:362 May 11, 1872.
10. Young, John Russell. Around the World with General Grant. Two volumes. New York, The American News Company, 1879. v. II, pp. 263-64.
11. Ibid., pp. 265-66.
12. Ibid., pp. 267-68.
13. Schurz, Speeches. v. III, p. 270.
14. Hoar, George F. Autobiography of Seventy Years. Two volumes. London, Bickers and Son, 1904. v. I, pp. 197-98.
15. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years. v. II, p. 29.
16. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress. v. II, pp. 439. 40.
17. Editorial. "Carl Schurz". The Outlook 83:107-108, May 19, 1906.
18. Lingley, Since the Civil War. p. 47.
19. Grant, Ulysses S. Personal Memoirs. Two volumes. New York, Charles L. Webster and Company, 1885. v. II, p. 553.

Public Documents.

The Congressional Globe.

Other Source Material.

Badeau, Adam. Grant in Peace.

Hartford, Conn., S. S. Scranton and Company, 1887.

Blaine, James G. Twenty Years of Congress. Two volumes.

Norwich, Conn., The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1884.

Boutwell, George S. Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs. Two volumes. New York, McClure Phillips and Company, 1902.Butler, Benjamin F. Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences.

Boston, A. M. Thayer and Company, 1892.

Curtis, George William. Orations and Addresses. Three volumes
Ed. by C. Eliot Norton, New York, 1894.Grant, Ulysses S. Personal Memoirs. Two volumes. New York,
Charles L. Webster and Company, 1885.Hoar, George F. Autobiography of Seventy Years. Two volumes.
London, Bickers and Son, 1904.Platt, Thomas Collier. The Autobiography of Thomas Collier
Platt. Ed. Louis J. Long. New York, B. W. Dodge and Company,
1910.Richardson, James D. A Compilation of the Messages and Papers
of the Presidents 1789-1897. Ten volumes. Washington,
Government Printing Office, 1896-'99.Schurz, Carl. The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz. Three
volumes, sketch by Bancroft and Dunning in the third volume.
New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1909.

- Schurz, Carl. Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz. Six volumes. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.
- Wells, Gideon. Diary of Gideon Wells. Three volumes. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.
- White, Andrew Dickson. Autobiography. Two volumes. New York, The Century, 1905.
- Young, John Russell. Around the World with General Grant. Two volumes. New York, The American News Company, 1879.
- Merriam, George S. The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles. Two volumes. New York, The Century Company, 1885.
- Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. A History of the United States Since the Civil War. Three volumes (4th and 5th to be published). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1917-26.
- Pierce, Edward L. Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner. Four volumes. Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1893.
- Rhodes, James Ford. History of the United States. Nine volumes. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920.
- Seitz, Don C. Horace Greeley. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926.
- Smith, Theodore Clark. The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925.
- Sparks, Edwin Erle. National Development. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1907.
- Stanwood, Edward. A History of the Presidency, From 1788 to 1897. Two volumes. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928.

White, Horace. The Life of Lyman Trumbull. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

Winston, Robert W. Andrew Johnson. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1928.

Secondary Works.

Coolidge, Louis A. Ulysses S. Grant. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917.

Cortissoz, Royal. The Life of Whitelaw Reid. Two volumes. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.

Dunning, William Archibald. Reconstruction Political and Economic. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1907.

Ogden, Rollo. Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin. Two volumes. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907.

Lingley, Charles Ramsdell. Since the Civil War. New York, The Century Company. 1926.

American Historical Review: New York, 1895.

Atlantic Monthly. Boston, 1857.

Commercial and Financial Chronicle. New York, 1865.

Current Literature. New York, 1888.

The Dial. Chicago, 1880.

Harper's Weekly. New York. Volumes 1-62. 1857-1916.

Editor 1863-92 George William Curtis; 1892-93 Carl Schurz.

1916 merged into the Independent.

The New York Nation. 1865. Edited 1865 by E. L. Godkin.

1900 --- by O. G. Villard.

The North American Review. Boston, 1815-1877; New York, 1878.

The Outlook. New York, 1870.