

M.F. Bessler, "The Righting"

Introduction:

Recess has long been used as
the center stage - spending class recess

He sees Republican as fragmented

"Conservative Republicans" - the majority. Reversal
only in contrast to "reacting Democrats" -
"Radical Republicans"

Questions come for the Republicanist:

- (1) How federal vs. federalism?
- (2) To what extent did it incorporate
the views of independent Republicans?
- (3) Who really dominated the party?

II. Basis of Political Realism

Discusses the various personal and factional
recesses in GOP - the state & local levels.

More political differences - contests for control of the
state party organization around for some of the
inconspicuous in the voting record in Congress.

More active factionalism presented Johnson with a
opportunity to win advantage in the party by safe use
of the patronage. This he did on many occasions -
but his policies (legislation) were so offensive that
he neutralized his power completely. Brainerd

The party together in Congress.

3. Issue of Legislative Procedures

Notes Reverend's distinction between political and legislative procedures.

~~also~~ cites the perplexing historiographical question of how were the radicals?

Fin Dunmyre, et al, to Beale, to Cato's journal like Cohen, Kathleen Edmunds (Jen) and Glenn Hendler's voting analysis.

Reverend bases his analysis on the economic issues

(1) Tariff - finds two political considerations rather than legislative. Stances on Reconstruction are opposite - with NE + Atlantic States Congress vote for protection

(2) Money issue - N.E + NY favored hard money. While Westward favored soft money.

Some evidence that radicals were anti-contractualists - but it is possible that these two categories had no linkage.

Reverend discusses a class or economic determinants on the republicanism or defining federal power.

We have to go back to principles.

He agrees that there were security, protection for leaders and white terrorists, etc. - their common anti-slavery heritage (even Jackson Ten Block's Controversy Chapter 14 (Amend.) -

The fundamental agreements - principles and goals would explain why more conservative Republicans rarely attacked radical proposals as wrong - merely as "impractical." Now it, conversely, were willing to budge - to postpone what was right for political or expediency purposes.

Remember how often some of the struggles of why Conservatives were less enthusiastic to push harder.

IV. Lincoln & the Party Limited

Discusses the 39th Congress.

All Republican were united in their opposition to Executive Power as limited in Constitution. Not the case of the Congress was paramount. This despite the growing war powers assumed and acted upon by the President - Suspension of writ of habeas corpus, martial law, Emancipation Proclamation, Sundry, trading with the enemy & blockade of ports, etc.

All agreed that Proclamation of Amnesty was unsuccessful the question of legality - came up in the matter of recognition of Lincoln's provisional govt in Virginia, Arkansas, etc. and Louisiana. Could representatives be recognized from these "Reconstruction States" - was it legal to give them - the President's war-making powers?

M.L. Benedict, "The Logic Way"

(4)

There were some up a request to the Executive Proclamation. Under these wanted it under how to could not be overturned by S. Court, etc.

W-D tells us results of these conditions and apprehensions and practical legal considerations had for now to do with the barely unanimous support for Republicans from certain anti-Union parties. The conviction in the same congressional enactment - reconstruction, was any enactment, was a necessity for far overshadowed by controversy over the actual provisions

The difference the Lord Benedict puts to decisions Congress and his purpose in the W-D has been past.

(1) W-D has been no reconstruction until the war was over. (Also points to the uncertainty prevalent in Congress over how to restore the South) time will show for consideration.

(2) Lincoln's Proclamation a 10% Plan was a "war plan" - aimed at suppressing the strength of the Confederacy while war was going on. He hoped a potent weapon to shorten the war. It was not nearly as lenient as historians claim - for M.L. offered amnesty only to those who were willing to abandon the "sacred cause" while the war was ongoing and the outcome still in doubt.

Lincoln's amnesty was not going to endure until the war was over. He gave indirection of plans:

W. L. Garrison "The Right Way"

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But W. L. Garrison's efforts to bring positive reconstruction changed A. L.'s style - via language of agitation and to war.

(2) Second part - The Compulsion in the W. I. basis - A. L. plan was based on best in spirit - "voluntarism" and not coercion. It can thus be objected to in the W. I. basis.

But main "plans" assumed a great degree of federal force over the seceded States.

Lincoln had political motives - wanted to put down Democratic charges (1864 Election) that G. O. P.'s policy was one of revenge and vindictiveness. Must break - have no policy for restoring the Union, etc.

V. Radicals in the Department

1864 - Lincoln's new strength after re-election - threw the Republicans - Congress into war against Radicals. Strongly declared - most Rep. came over to support the President in all matters of Reconstruction. A period of war found that unity and cohesion.

The passage of the 13th Amendment followed.

B.'s departure of the battle over Louisiana -

Radicals' opposition to the Banks - Huber Gov. - Beckl suppress the issue
Lincoln's determination to have be recognized
Radicals defeated the measure with help of Democrat
The Party Congressional Banks were splitly good.

Mr. Benedict, "The Fight by"

200 10 400 200

(2)

Party Contrasts and Moderates had supported Lincoln's Reconstruction Plan. But Congress ~~ended~~ ^{ended} without any agreement on Reconstruction Act to meet until Dec 1865.

Pros - Lincoln would have 9 months to perfect his Reconstruction policy.

VI. Radicals on the offensive:

The stark honeymoon between Johnson and the Radicals & pro-Negro suffrage?

The Radicals were ~~at~~ certain Johnson supported their position on black suffrage.

For once the recognition of Peignor Gov. in Virginia this followed Lincoln's plans. But there was no provision for black suffrage.

But real test came with North Carolina - the Johnson prototype for his Reconstruction program. The N.C. Carolina Plan provided no provision for black suffrage. Radicals were shocked.

How to account for this "betrayal" denounced by Conservatives like Sumner and Blair? Mr. B. sees it as Wholly Johnson's own doing. He wanted the suffrage issue on voluntary basis alone. He made some suggestions to Gov. Sherman of Mississippi - etc. But by Oct. 1865 he had nothing more to say about Negro suffrage.

The vote is question as for new state Conventions - no question about State ^{state} qualification on voting is the question on Johnson's plan.

The Growing National Resistance for black suffrage - the Party - all factions - came not increasingly for black suffrage in the South - or least in the Convention.

Mr. Bessell, "the long leg"

(1)

part: Northern states during summer of 1865 - voting down Negro
Suffrage amendments. [Admiral Fustel]

But his peaceably-won office to bring pressure on the President
was rolled back once the party was more certain of A.S.'s
opposition to any device except Volunteering. By end of summer
the situation was reversed. Republicans (even radicals) were
backtracking. They were voting for Lincoln a suffrage to get back
into step with Johnson.

M.C.B. voter patronage favor was important

G.O.P. factionalism: States secured the
opponent to "force" each other or supporters of black voting, etc

The great blow came in Connecticut - voters turned back a Negro suffrage
amendment. Radicals were crushed. { only 2000 Blacks "voters" - the
state.

Defects in Unionism in Pennsylvania.

9 Center Republicans change their minds

8. Conservative Reconstruction - Part one

Deals with the "Centrist & moderate adjustments" to Johnson's
Govt. The major point here is that the dominant middle of
the party or two of 40th Congress was willing to drop Negro
suffrage - Johnson's position here accepted. Northern election
returns in summer of '65 helped to change attitudes.

And, men like Tomulree, Fessenden, etc. did not want to
stay living on reputation with Johnson and destroy the party.

M. L. Benedict, "The Negro King"

Radicals stuck to principle of Negro Suffrage - but they were not to decrease free.

But what did the moderates expect to see [if no vote for blocks] from Adams.

What was essential for Centrists

Plan.

~~Conservative~~ Agreed to Constitution in the No. Carolina

Only those who could take the "no deal" Test could be admitted to Congress

Equal Civil Rights for freedmen ^{and} white

[political rights and]

If there were practical - there was also hope to Conservative Republicans to accept the Johnson Gato.

Radicals still insisted on block suffrage. Or those who still insisted on the Constitution can be termed Radicals

In short, the Party leadership - was accommodating itself to Johnson. They acquiesced in his stand on Negro vote. All they asked was for a modest "package" - especially security for freedmen and white Unionists in the Southern States.

Johnson could have won their support by voting for the 1866 Civil Rights bill

Republican moderates assumed they, not radicals, controlled key committees in Congress. Joint Committee on Reconstruction was key. This would be Committee to judge the Credentials of representatives from Johnson. South. Republican centrist rode with the mass - between moderate - conservative base.

Senate Judiciary Committee was under Sumner's leadership

It was for Trumbull's moderate Committee - Senate for the
House - Bureau and Civil Rights were organized.

Civil Rights bill originally tied to 13^B Amendment - and passed in present
in 13^D Amendment then gave Congress power to enforce amendment by appropriate
legislation.

See portions of Civil Rights Bill.

Harriet Capers Clause - Check the "Fugger" clause of
the bill - the key was Court jurisdiction - equal to the demand on
federal courts only of state judicial system fails to provide
equal protection. In short, the fugger of state interference could be
prevented only by the States

→ Institutionally or legislative form of ^{people}

These two measures (1) Fugger (2) Civil Rights bill was
the key party Conservative Reconstruction program in 1866.

Radicals opposed it (1) no black franchise (2) Senate critical
of no bond provisions - emancipators, etc.

But Act. seen in as opportunity - as Radical Republican program out to
frontline line

The bulk of the party had abandoned black suffrage to please
Johnson. They had been using eventually to recognize govts restored
under his authority, dominated as they were by Confederates. They had
passed legislation acceptable to him - - beyond exact other.

And Johnson responded with a Veto - a second Veto.

Passing of the 14th Amendment - This Clause accelerates the
Conservative Republican Reconstruction program.

Expected South would bring the 14th as they
broke into the Union

X + XI Radical Reconstruction

MLB puts out that "Radical" here has been overdone. The vision of black suffrage by the party moderates in 1867 was really not as radical as appears compared to schemes of the Radicals - Territorialization, disenfranchisement, and impeachment of Johnson. This was how extreme the radicals had become after the failure of the 14th to be ratified by the South. Engaged to have demand - the final acceptance of black suffrage in the 1867 Reconstruction Acts hardly suggests the idea that radical faction had finally taken over the G.O.P.

Black suffrage was an extension to a radical reconstruction program which embodied moral, much more.

- B. goes over the Radical activities in Home; State
- Territorial States
- Disenfranchisement E.g. all these "blacks" who could not vote
- Impeachment

XII Presidential Obstruction + how of Impeachment.

Conservative and Constitutionally-minded nature of the Reconstruction Govts. They had left the govts created by Johnson still standing - they were subordinated to the armed forces of which Johnson was Commander/Chief. His govts, Republians were surprisingly sensitive to the proper functions of the President and not reluctant to temper with them. They pointed to Johnson's efforts to using their powers in dangerous Reconstruction.

Miss. Panchet "The Right Way"

Now they were not going to award his. The. Johnson was given proper
role in administering the reconstituted law. Englewood with the
Department of Justice