

# Chapter 23:

## **“Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age”**

**1869 - 1896**

# Postwar United States

- Population increased to 39 million by 1870, making US 3<sup>rd</sup> largest nation in western world
- Political corruption rampant after the war
  - Idealism of Americans (fighting for Union and emancipation during the war) turned to cynicism (because of corruption and waste)

# Postwar United States

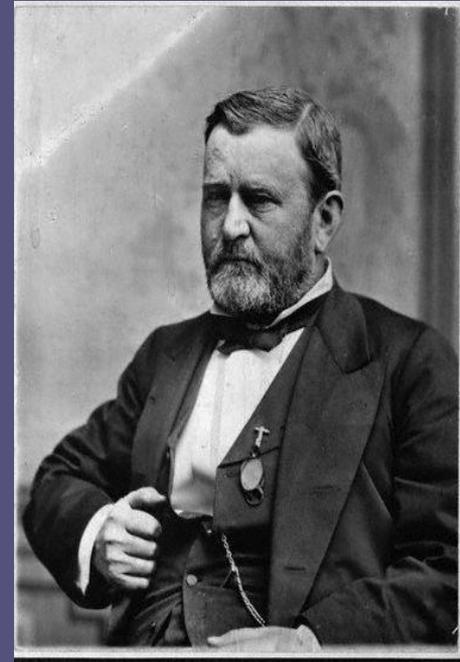
- The Gilded Age

- Used by *Mark Twain* to describe the 30 years after the Civil War
- “shiny and prosperous on the outside, but rotten on the inside” (Twain)

# The “Bloody Shirt” Elects Grant

- The election of 1868: the Republicans

- Nominate *Ulysses S. Grant*
- Grant was a popular war hero but had extremely limited knowledge with anything outside his immediate experience (military, horses, etc.)
- Republican platform called for continued Reconstruction in South with Grant’s call, “Let us have peace.”
- Republicans whipped up enthusiasm for Grant by “waving the bloody shirt” – reviving memories of Civil War and Democratic rebellion



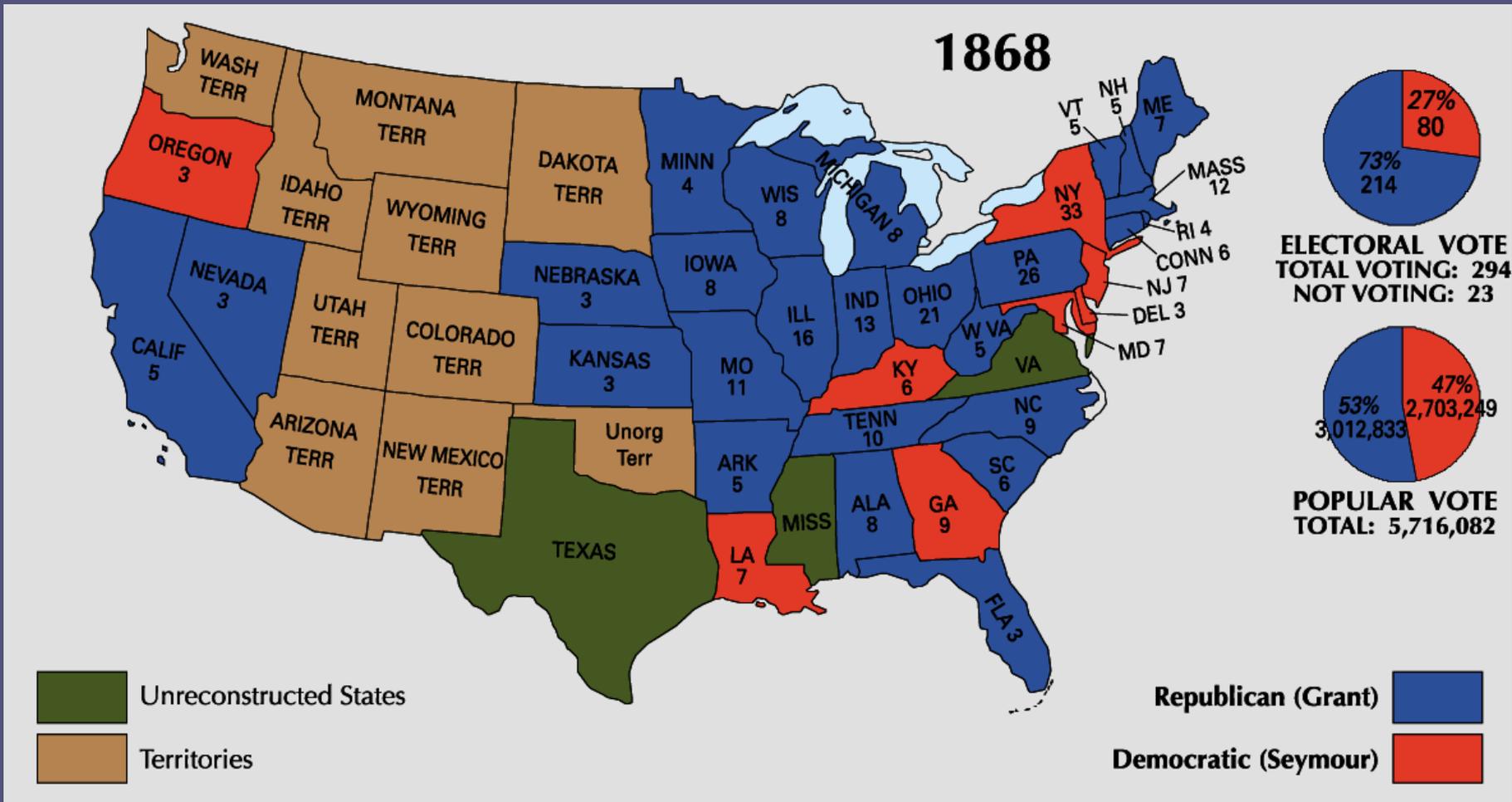
# The “Bloody Shirt” Elects Grant

- The election of 1868: the Democrats
  - Nominate *Horatio Seymour*
  - Democratic platform emerged out of dispute over monetary policy
    - Rich easterners wanted federal war bonds paid back with gold (although they had been purchased with depreciated greenbacks)
    - Poor, debtor Midwesterners came up with the “*Ohio Idea*”; wanted the bonds paid back with greenbacks (to put more money in circulation and keep interest rates lower)
  - Midwestern delegates got the Ohio Idea into the Democratic platform, but Seymour spoke out against it

# The “Bloody Shirt” Elects Grant

- The election of 1868: the results
  - Grant won the election
    - 214 to 80 electoral votes
    - 3 million to 2.7 million popular votes
  - Grant would not have won without freedmen’s votes
    - 300,000 margin in popular votes
    - 500,000 freedmen had voted for Grant
    - Republicans had to keep ex-slaves voting to stay in power

# The Election of 1868

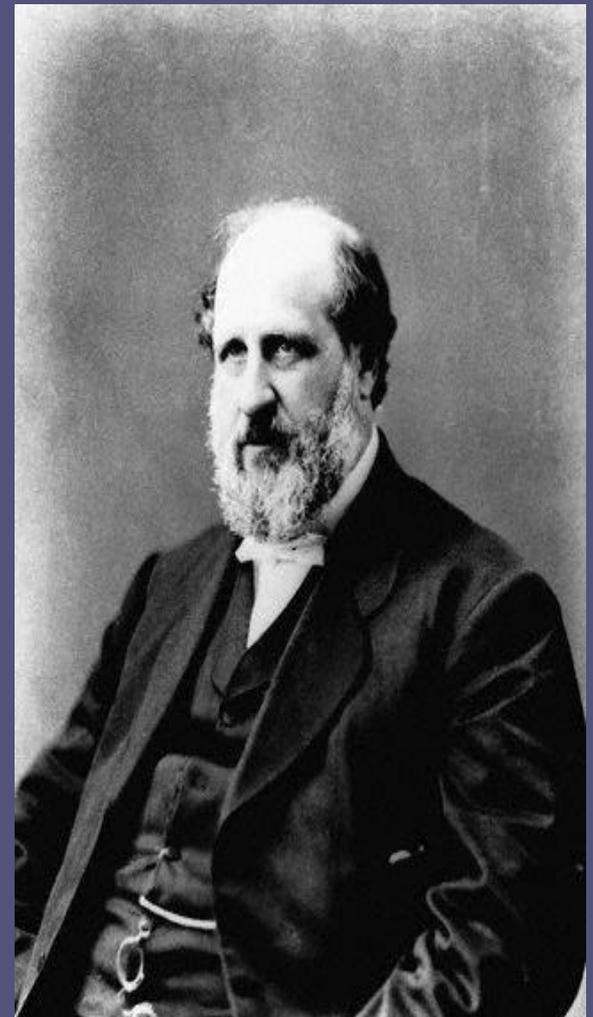


# The Era of Good Stealings

- Postwar era was one of corruption and dishonest dealings
  - Although not everyone was dishonest, many people were
  - Businesspeople stole investors money, politicians and judges took bribes

# The Era of Good Stealings

- ***Boss Tweed*** and the Tweed Ring in New York City
  - Used bribery, graft, and fraudulent elections to steal \$200 million from city treasury
  - Used taxes and intimidation to silence protests



# The Era of Good Stealings

- 1871 – Tweed destroyed by New York Times
  - Published irrefutable evidence of Tweed’s corruption
  - Tweed offered NY Times \$5 million to not publish the evidence, but they did anyway
- Cartoonist **Thomas Nast** also attacked Tweed
  - Also offered bribe to stop cartooning, but he refused it
  - Complained that his followers (who couldn’t read) turned against him when they saw “them damn pictures”
- Tweed prosecuted by New York attorney **Samuel J. Tilden** and died behind bars



THE "BRAINS"

THAT ACHIEVED THE TAMMANY VICTORY AT THE ROCHESTER DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

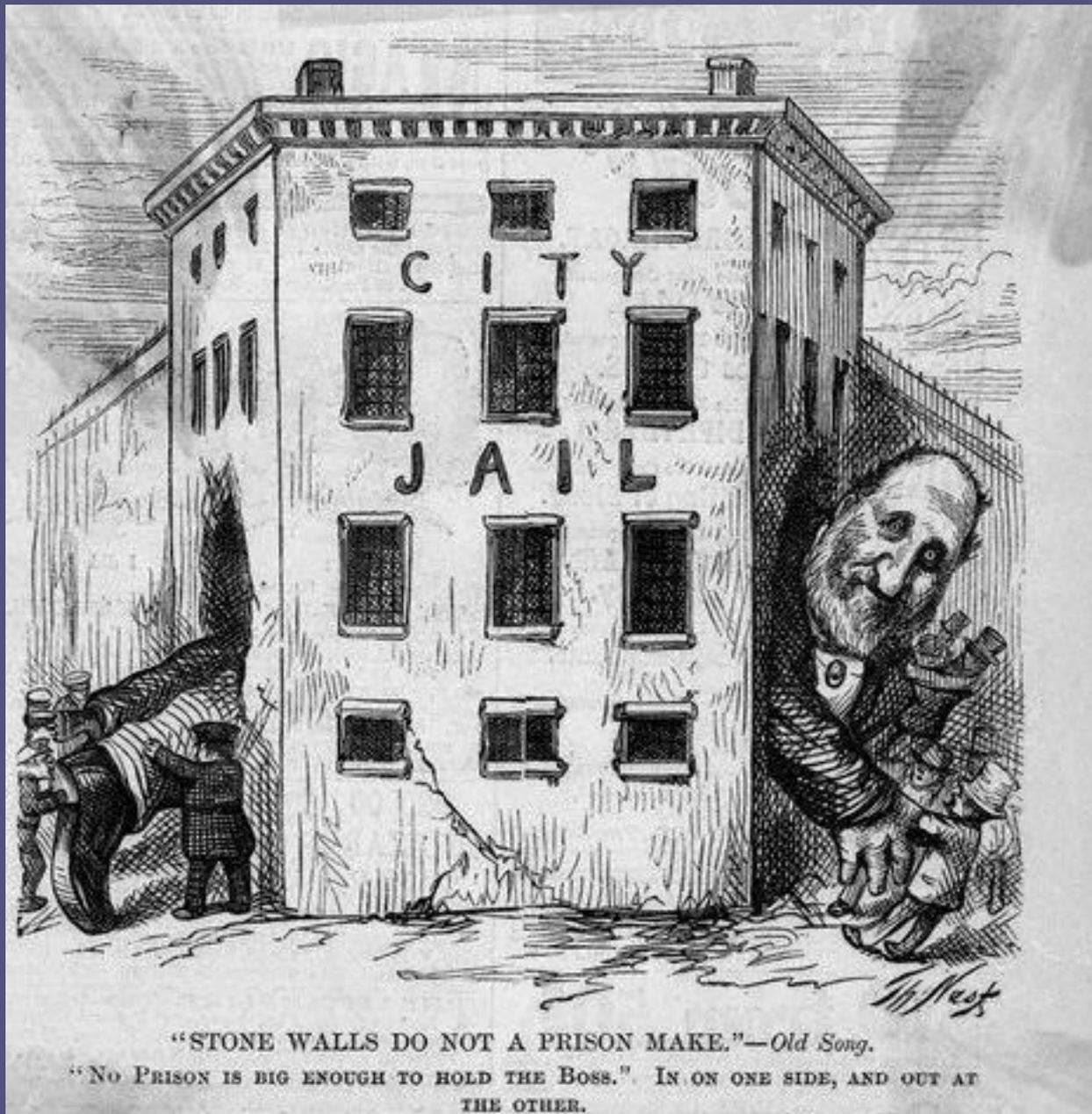
**The  
"Brains"  
That Won a  
Recent  
Election**

# Can the Law Reach Him?



**"You have the Liberty of Voting for any one you please; but we have the Liberty of Counting in any one we please."**





**Stone  
Walls Do  
Not a  
Prison  
Make**

"STONE WALLS DO NOT A PRISON MAKE."—*Old Song.*

"NO PRISON IS BIG ENOUGH TO HOLD THE BOSS." IN ON ONE SIDE, AND OUT AT  
THE OTHER.

# A Carnival of Corruption

- Corruption in Grant's administration widespread and pervasive
  - Cabinet was filled with grafters and incompetent office seekers
  - People who wanted favors from government came to White House, giving Grant gifts to get favorable policies enacted

# A Carnival of Corruption

- **Crédit Mobilier scandal**
  - Union Pacific Railroad insiders created construction company, then hired themselves to build the line (at inflated prices)
  - Distributed shares of stock to important congressmen to prevent investigation
  - 1872 investigation by newspaper and Congress led to breakup of Crédit Mobilier, censure of 2 congressmen
  - **Vice President Schuler Colfax** shown to have taken bribes (dropped in 1872 by Grant)

# A Carnival of Corruption

- Whiskey Ring

- 1874 – 1875 – group of distillers who bribed federal agents to avoid paying millions in whiskey taxes
- Grant's private secretary, **Orville Babcock** took money from the group
  - Grant refuses to fire him
  - Grant's testimony helps assure his acquittal



# A Carnival of Corruption

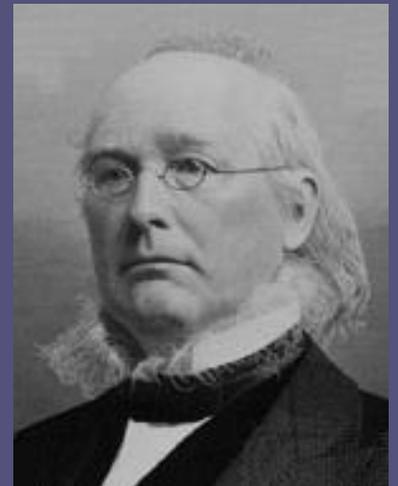
- Indian land bribes
  - 1876 – secretary of war *William E. Belknap* took bribes from suppliers to Indian reservations
  - Belknap impeached and resigned
  - Grant stayed loyal to his friend until the end

# The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Republicans split over disgust with corruption (“Grantism”) in Grant administration

# The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Liberal Republicans campaign on removing corrupt officials in Washington and ending military Reconstruction in South
  - Nominated **Horace Greeley**, editor of New York Tribune; good editor, but too ideological and stubborn as political candidate



# The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Democrats endorse Greeley as their nominee also
  - Greeley had long attacked Democrats as “traitors” (because of Civil War)

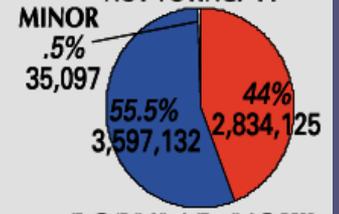
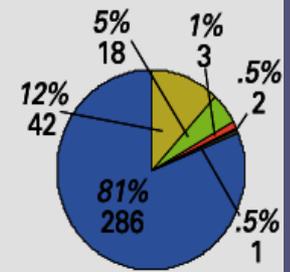
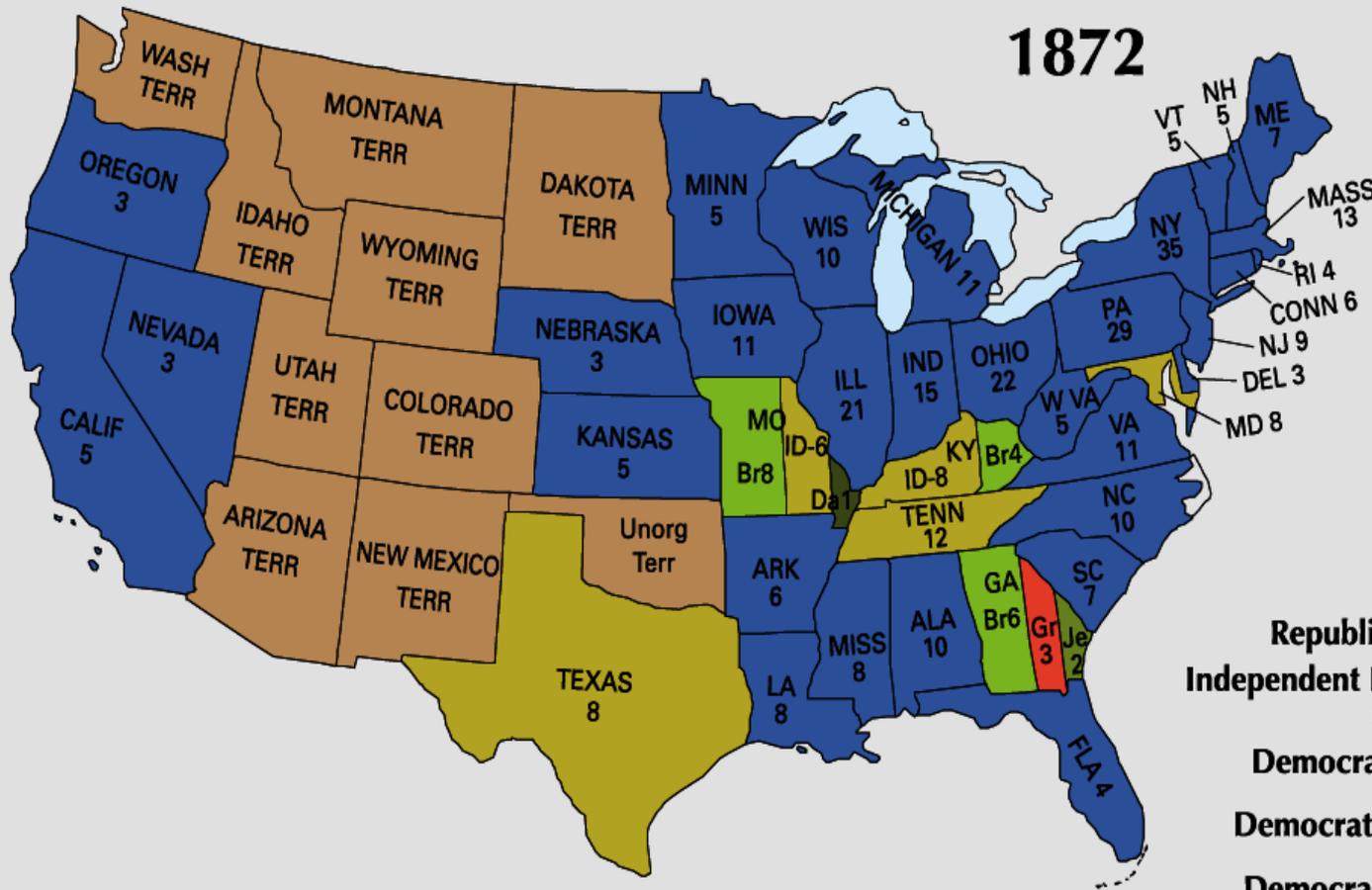
# The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Republicans re-nominate Grant for president
- Campaign in 1872 was brutal
  - Greeley denounced as believer in exotic, discredited ideologies (communism, vegetarianism) and of being soft on Southern rebellion
  - Grant attacked for corruption in his administration and incompetence

# The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Results of the 1872 election
  - Grant won with greater margin than 1868
    - 286 to 66 electoral votes
    - 3.5 to 2.8 million electoral votes

# The Election of 1872



- Republican (Grant) ■
- Independent Democratic (Hendricks) ■
- Democratic (Brown) ■
- Democratic (Greeley) ■
- Democratic (Jenkins) ■
- Democratic (Davis) ■

■ Territories

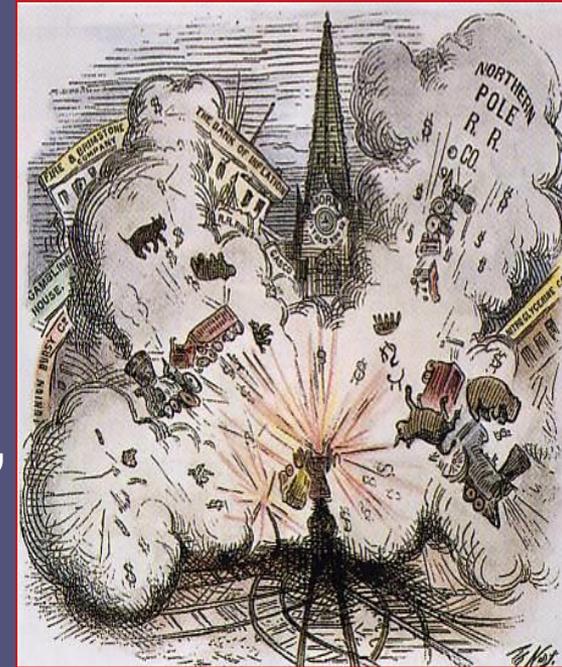
# The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- Republicans fixed major problems that Liberal Republicans and Democrats brought out, to prevent voter rebellion in future elections
  - 1872 – ***general amnesty act*** passed; removed political disabilities from all but 500 Confederate leaders
  - High tariffs (from the war) reduced
  - Mild civil-service reform enacted to get rid of worst people from Grant's administration

# Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

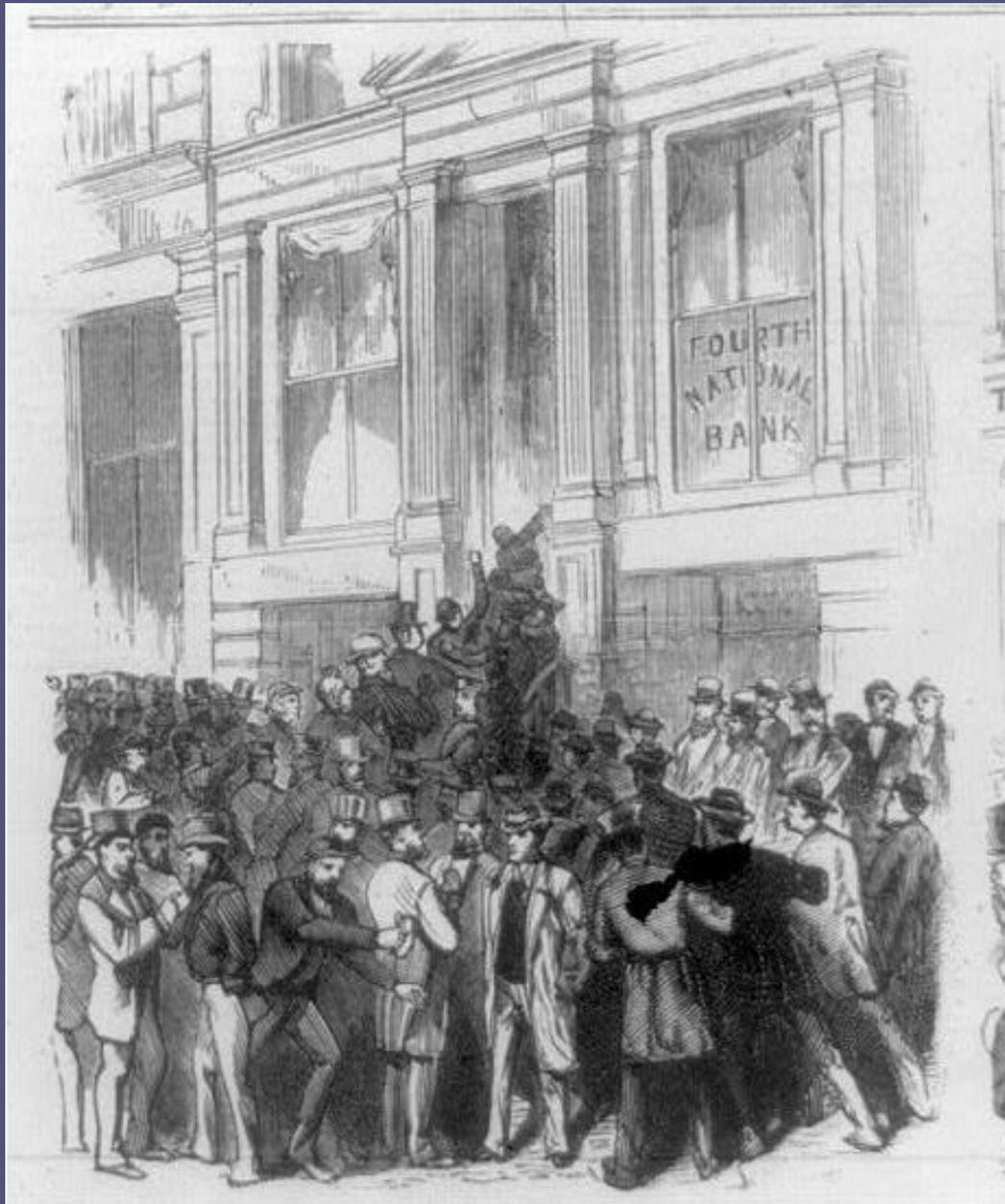
- Panic of 1873

- Began as Grant's 2<sup>nd</sup> term began
- Caused by over-expansion of railroads, mines, factories, farms, fueled by bad loans made by banks
- When profits didn't come in, bank loans not paid, and economy collapsed
- Led to depression that lasted for 4 years



# Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

- Effects of the Depression
  - 15,000 businesses failed
  - Unemployed rioted and battled police in New York City



# A Run on a Bank During the Panic of 1873

# Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

- Greenbacks

- \$450 million in greenbacks issued during Civil War
- Had depreciated because it wasn't backed by gold and because Supreme Court declared the law under which it was issued (Civil War Legal Tender Act) unconstitutional in 1870 (although the Supreme Court reversed itself in 1871)
- Treasury withdrew \$100 million from circulation by 1868; in process of taking out more

# Greenbacks



# Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

- Debtors hit hardest by Depression called for greenbacks to be issued to inflate (increase) money supply
  - More money meant cheaper money (and rising prices), making debts easier to pay off

# Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

- “hard money” Republicans won
  - Creditors argued against inflation because they did not want to be paid back in money worth less than the money they had originally loaned (depreciated money)
  - 1874 – convinced Grant to veto a bill to print more paper money
  - 1875 – ***Resumption Act of 1875*** passed
    - Government would withdraw greenbacks from circulation
    - Repayment of all paper money in gold at face value by 1879

# Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

- Reaction against Republican hard money policies
  - Democrats won House of Representatives in 1874
  - ***Greenback Labor party*** formed in 1878
    - Strong showing as 3<sup>rd</sup> party presidential run
    - 14 seats in Congress

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- Political parties almost evenly matched (in terms of support) throughout Gilded Age
  - Presidential elections always close
  - Control of Congress went back and forth between the 2 parties
  - Rarely did 1 party control Congress and presidency at same time
  - Meant that politicians were timid; focusing on trivial issues instead of important issues

# Electoral Margins in the Gilded Age

## Electoral Margins in the Gilded Age

<b>Year</b>	<b>Popular Vote</b>	<b>% of Popular Vote</b>	<b>Electoral Vote</b>
1876	4,036,572	48.0	185
	4,284,020	51.0	184
1880	4,453,295	48.5	214
	4,414,082	48.1	155
	308,578	3.4	
1884	4,879,507	48.5	219
	4,850,293	48.2	182
1888	5,477,129	47.9	233
	5,537,857	48.6	168

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- Democrats and Republicans basically agreed on important national issues of the time
  - Tariffs, civil-service, currency reform
- Democrats and Republicans were still (in spite of their overall agreement) very competitive
  - High voter turnout (up to 80%)
  - Strong political feelings (for their chosen party) among electorate

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- How can the contradiction between basic overall political agreement and strong political feelings be explained?
  - Because the 2 parties were divided by culture, ethnicity, and religion

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- Republican voters
  - Belief system traced back to Puritanism
  - Government should regulate economic and moral affairs of society
  - Strongest in Midwest and rural and small-town Northeast, along with blacks in South and Union veterans from Civil War

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- Democratic voters
  - Immigrant Lutheran and Roman Catholics important
  - Believed in toleration in imperfect world, less stern than Republican Puritanism
  - Rejected government efforts to regulate morality
  - Strongest in South and northern industrial cities (with large number of immigrants)

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- Patronage
  - Disbursement of jobs and favors to supporters in return for votes
  - Very important to both political parties

# Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- Republican divisions over patronage

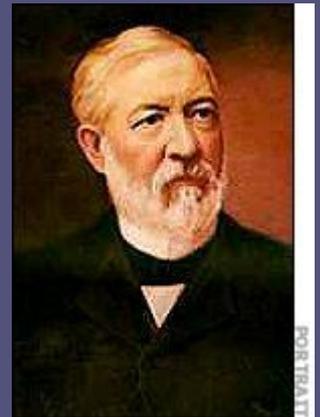
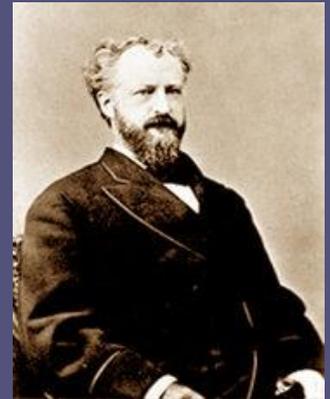
- “*Stalwarts*”

- Led by *Roscoe Conkling*, US senator from New York
- Strongly believed in using patronage for political advantage

- “*Half-Breeds*”

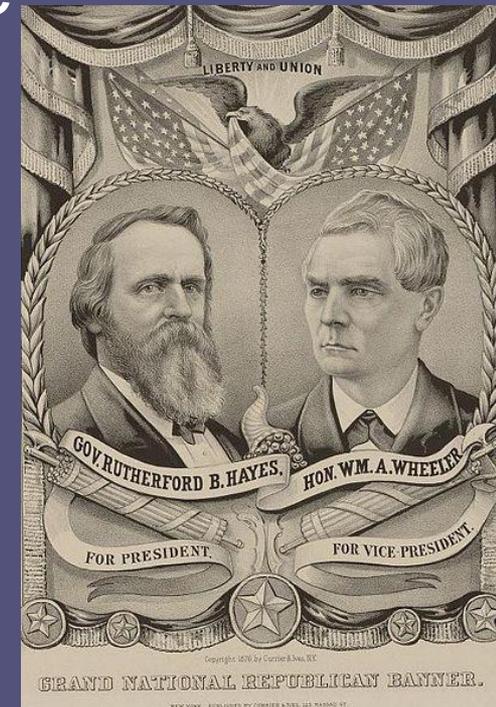
- Led by *James G. Blaine*, congressman from Maine
- Supposedly favored civil-service reform
- In reality wanted to take power from Stalwarts to control who gave out the jobs under patronage

- Neither side was ever successful in controlling Republican party (by defeating opposing side)



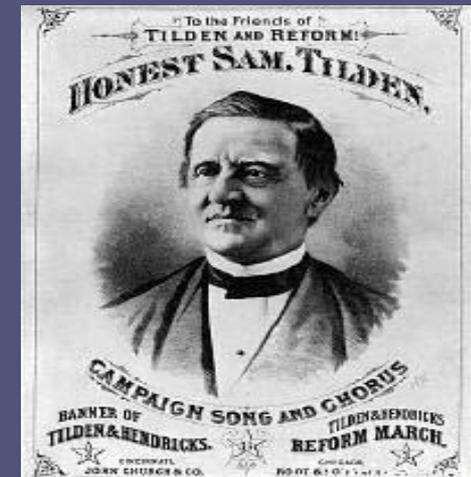
# The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

- The election of 1876: the Republicans
  - Grant considered a 3<sup>rd</sup> term, until the House passed a resolution condemning the idea
  - **Rutherford B. Hayes**, former 3-term governor of Ohio, chosen as nominee
    - Ohio important (and populous) swing state at the time



# The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

- The election of 1876: the Democrats
  - Nominated *Samuel J. Tilden*
    - Best known as man who had prosecuted Boss Tweed
  - Tilden campaigned on platform against Republican scandal

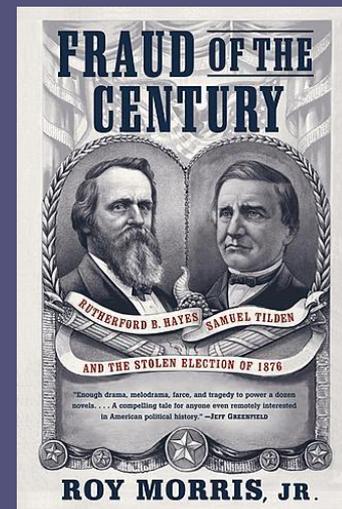


# The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

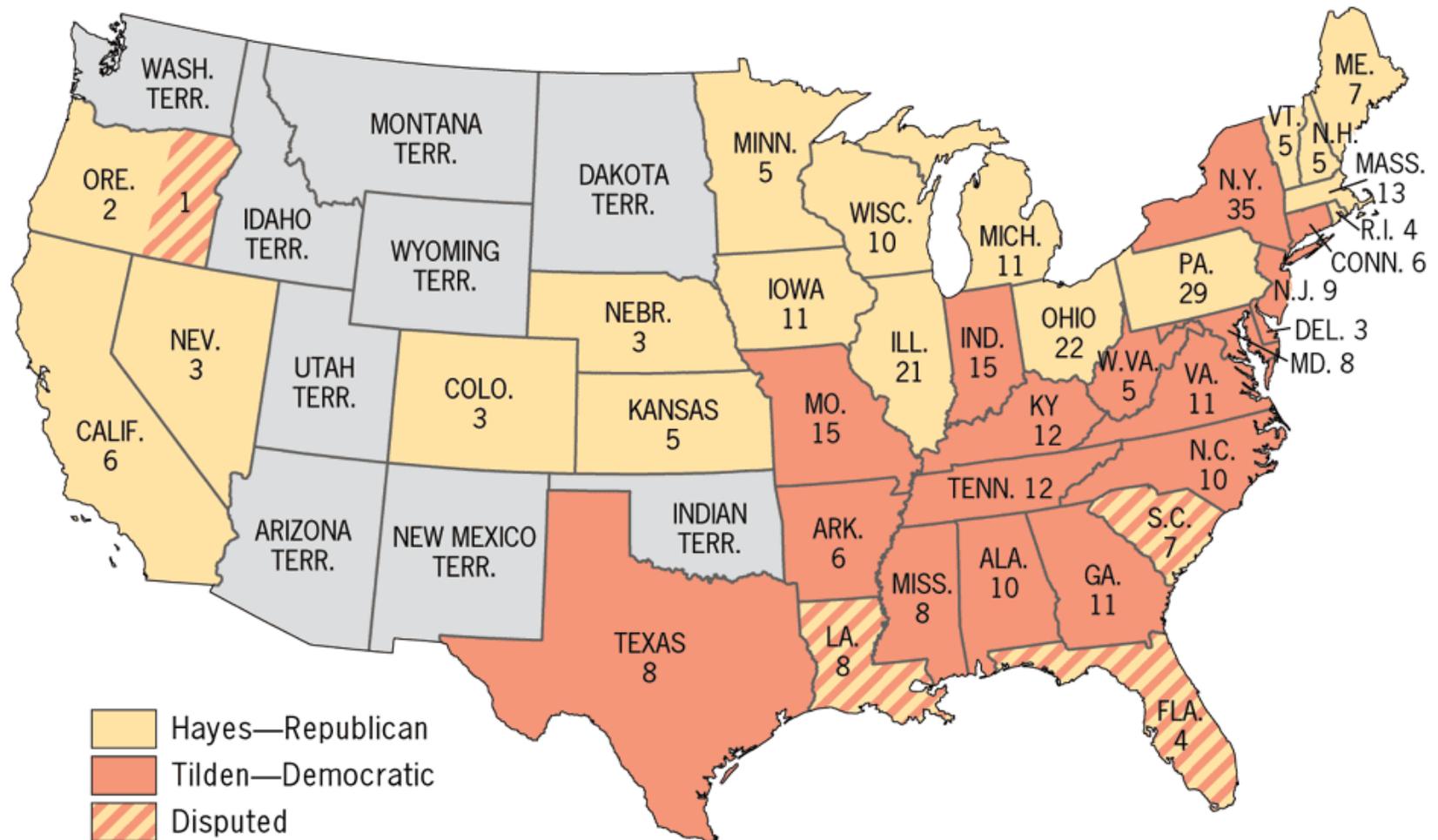
- The election of 1876: the results
  - Tilden won more popular votes than Hayes (4.28 to 4.0 million)
  - Tilden had 184 (of needed 185) electoral votes for victory
  - 4 states (Oregon, South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida) had disputed electoral returns
    - Oregon's was minor dispute over 1 electoral vote; Hayes definitely won the popular vote there and was awarded the electoral vote

# The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

- Electoral returns from South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida
  - Democrats probably won the 3 states, but there was significant intimidation of Republican voters
  - All 3 states sent 2 separate returns to Washington (1 showing Tilden won; 1 showing Hayes won)
  - Constitution states that returns shall be opened by president of Senate (vice president) before House and Senate; does not specify who should count the returns
    - House (Democratic) and Senate (Republican) controlled by different parties; whichever body counted would determine the winner



# The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876



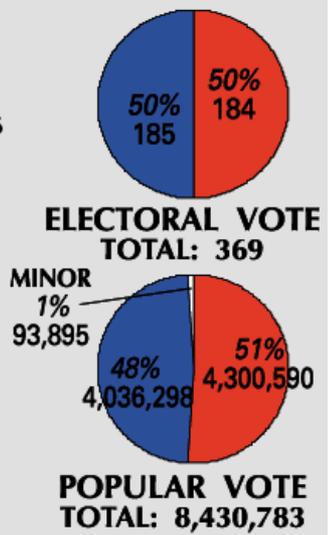
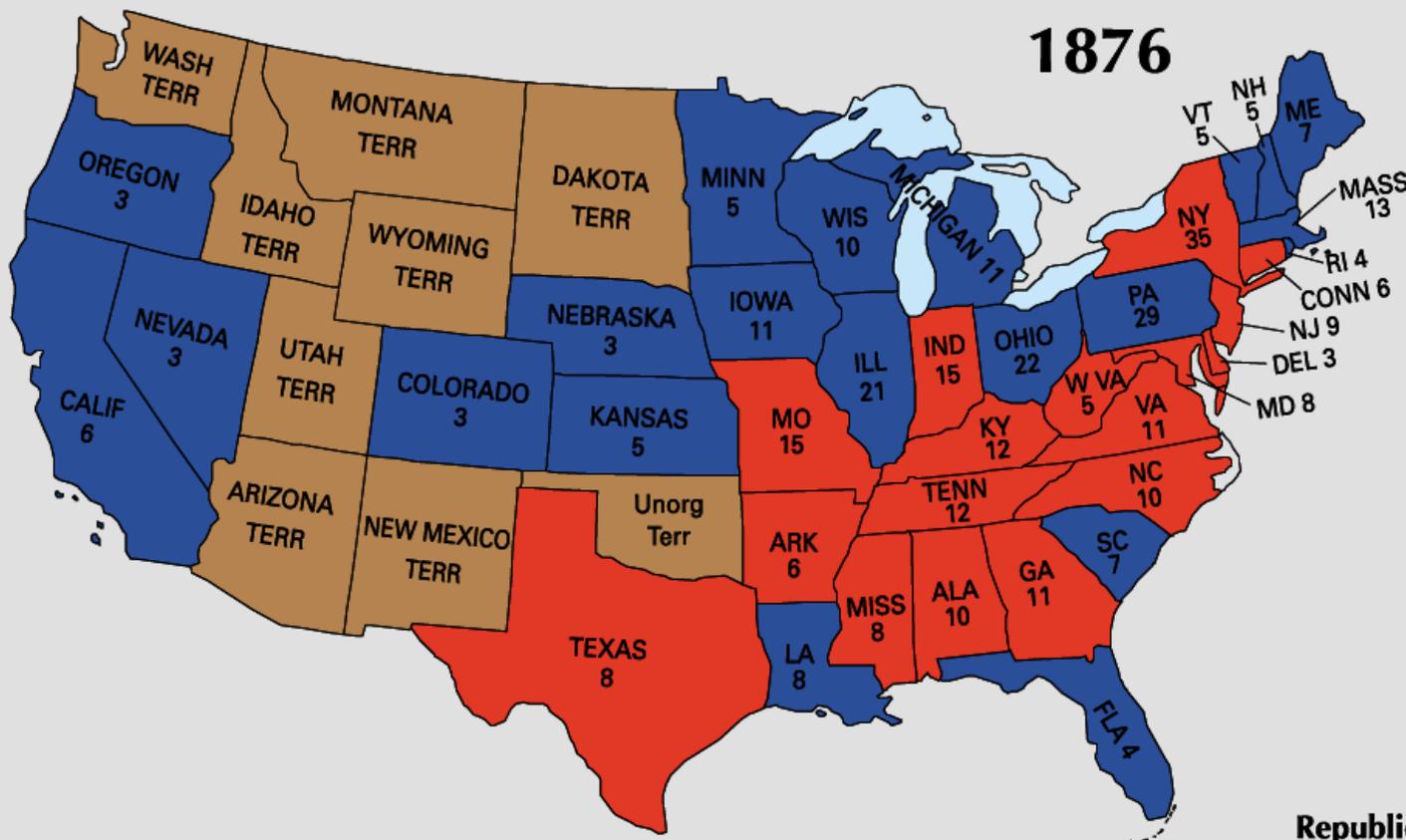
# The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction

- Both sides fought angrily for their candidate
  - Democrats especially threatened violence
- Electoral Count Act passed by Congress in early 1877
  - Set up 15-member electoral commission from Senate, House, and Supreme Court to resolve the election
  - 8 to 7 Republican majority (because Republicans controlled Senate and Supreme Court; Democrats controlled House)

# The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction

- Republicans (who controlled commission) couldn't get Hayes nominated without election being blocked in Congress by Democrats
- ***Compromise of 1877***
  - Democrats agree that Hayes can become president
  - Hayes promises that federal troops will be removed from final southern states (Louisiana and South Carolina)
  - Republicans promised to use federal aid for southern railroad through South to Pacific (not fulfilled)
  - Finally settled only 3 days before Hayes' inauguration

# The Election of 1876



Territories

Republican (Hayes)  
 Democratic (Tilden)

# The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction

- Throughout 1870s, Reconstruction wound down and Republicans abandoned blacks in South
  - ***Civil Rights Act of 1875***
    - Final law passed by radical Republicans
    - Guaranteed equal accommodations in public places; prohibited racial discrimination in jury selection
    - Passed without enforcement measures
  - **Civil Rights Cases (1883)**
    - Supreme Court declared Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional
    - 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment prohibited governmental discrimination, not individual (private) discrimination
  - With Compromise of 1877, Republicans abandoned blacks in South to fend for themselves

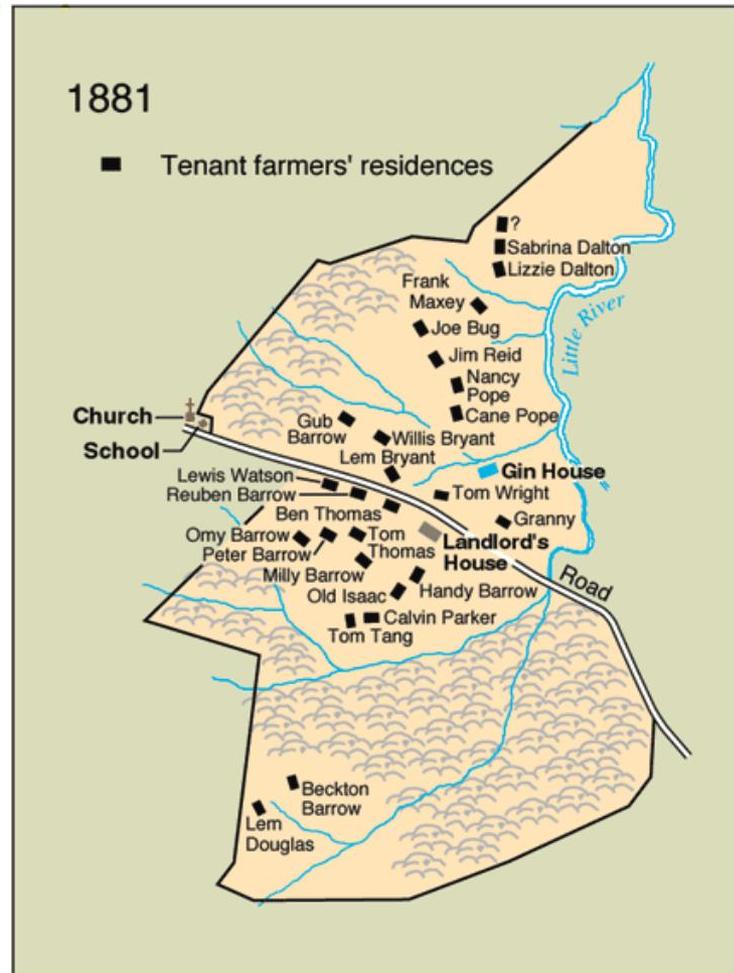
# The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

- After Reconstruction, Democratic “Redeemers” took power in the South
  - Used fraud, intimidation, and violence to keep blacks down

# The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

- Blacks (and poor whites) forced into sharecropping
  - Land owners (former masters) let ex-slaves and whites farm on their land in exchange for part of the harvest
  - **“crop-lien” system** – storekeepers gave goods to sharecroppers on credit; in return had a lien (control over property in exchange for payment of debt) on their harvests
  - Land owners and merchants manipulated the system so sharecroppers stayed in debt
  - Sharecroppers worked in conditions barely better than slavery

# A Southern Plantation Before and After the Civil War



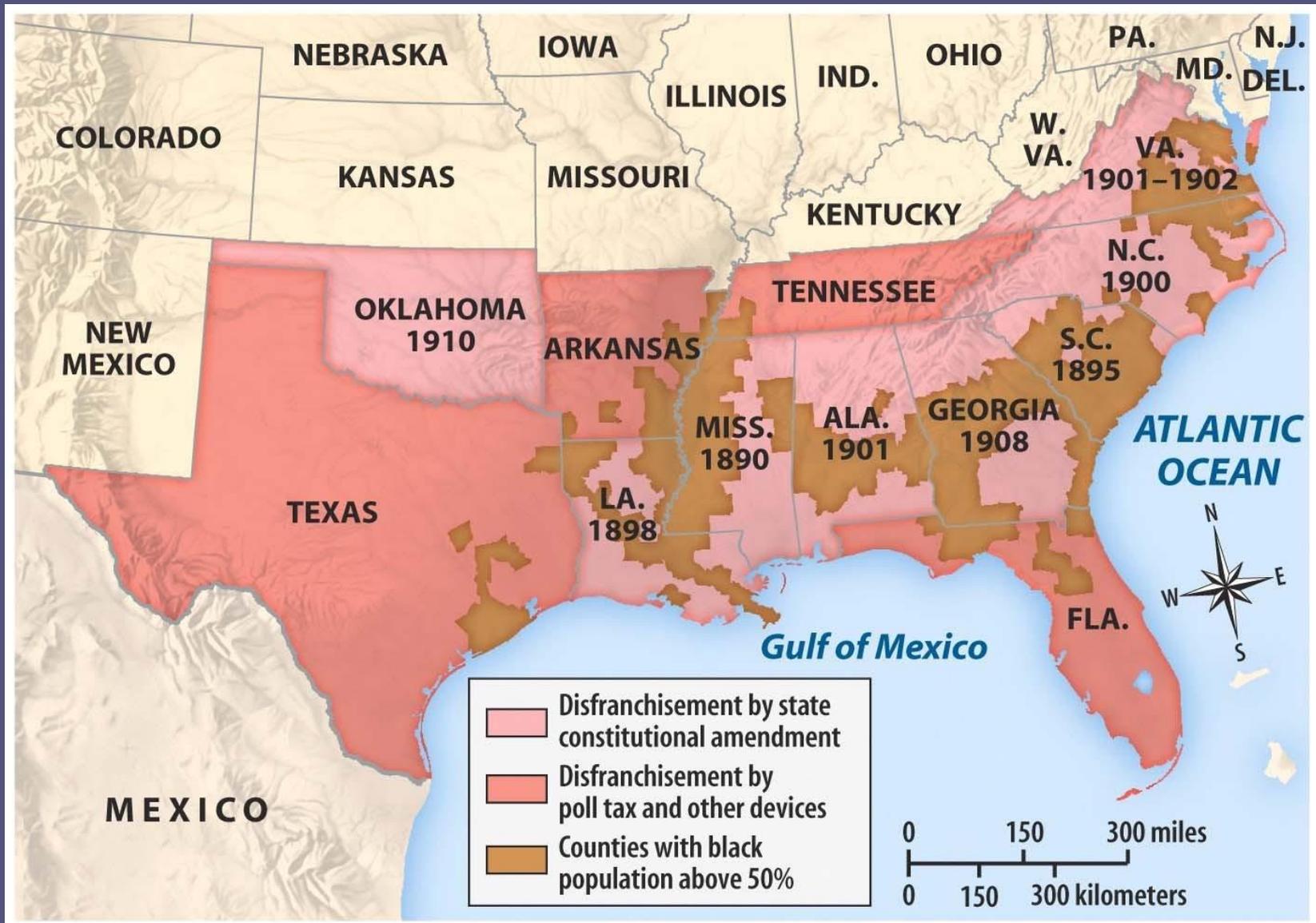
# Black Sharecroppers



# The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

- Separation between races evolved (by 1890s) to formal system of segregation
  - Legal codes of segregation called *Jim Crow laws*
  - Literacy tests, poll taxes, voter-registration laws used to prevent blacks from voting

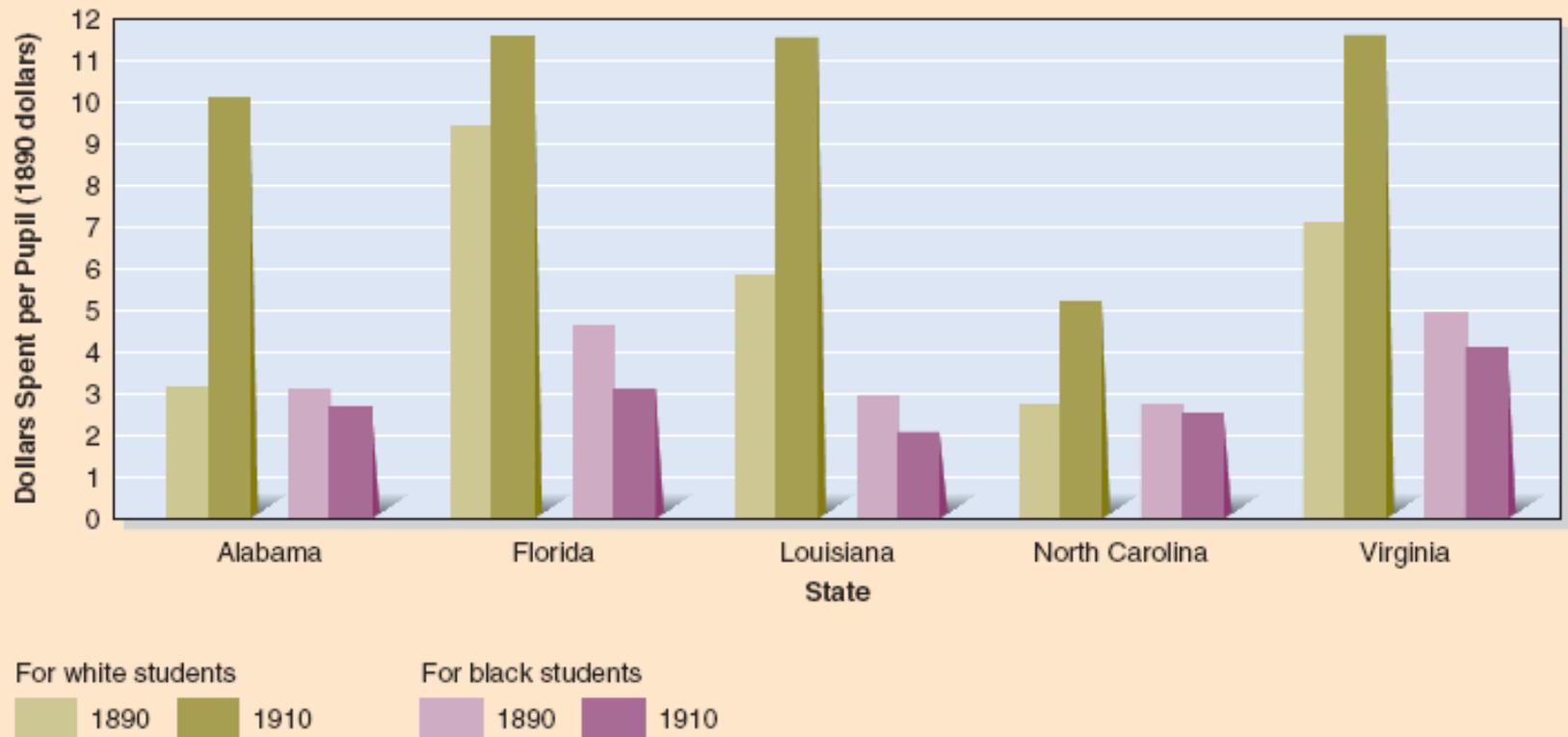
# Disenfranchisement in the New South



# The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

- Segregation upheld by Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
  - “separate but equal” laws constitutional under equal protection clause of 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment
- Reality was that blacks lived very unequally from whites
  - Inferior schools
  - Separate public accommodations

# Disenfranchisement and Educational Spending in the South, 1890 - 1910



# Plessy Removed from His Seat Because of His Race

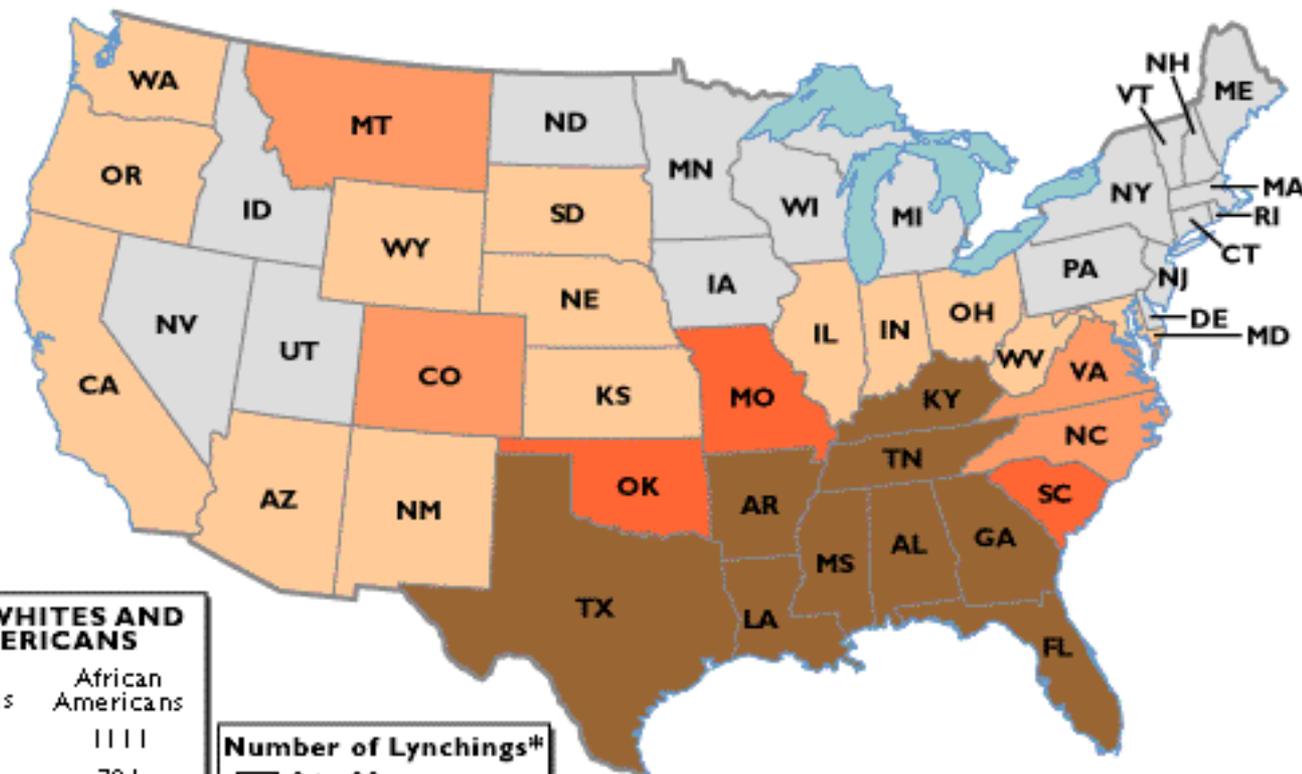


# The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

- Harsh violence used against blacks who violated codes of racial conduct
  - Lynching used to prevent blacks from asserting themselves
- Racism and Jim Crow laws not ended in South until 1960s

# Lynchings, 1890 - 1920

Lynchings, 1890-1920



## LYNCHING OF WHITES AND AFRICAN AMERICANS

Period	Whites	African Americans
1890-1899	429	1111
1900-1909	94	791
1910-1920	61	621
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>645</b>	<b>2488</b>

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

### Number of Lynchings\*

0 to 20
20 to 60
60 to 100
100 to 200
200 or more

\*Note: State figures are based on 1882-1946 statistics  
Source: *Negro Year Book, 1941-46*

# A Crowd Watching a Lynching



# Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

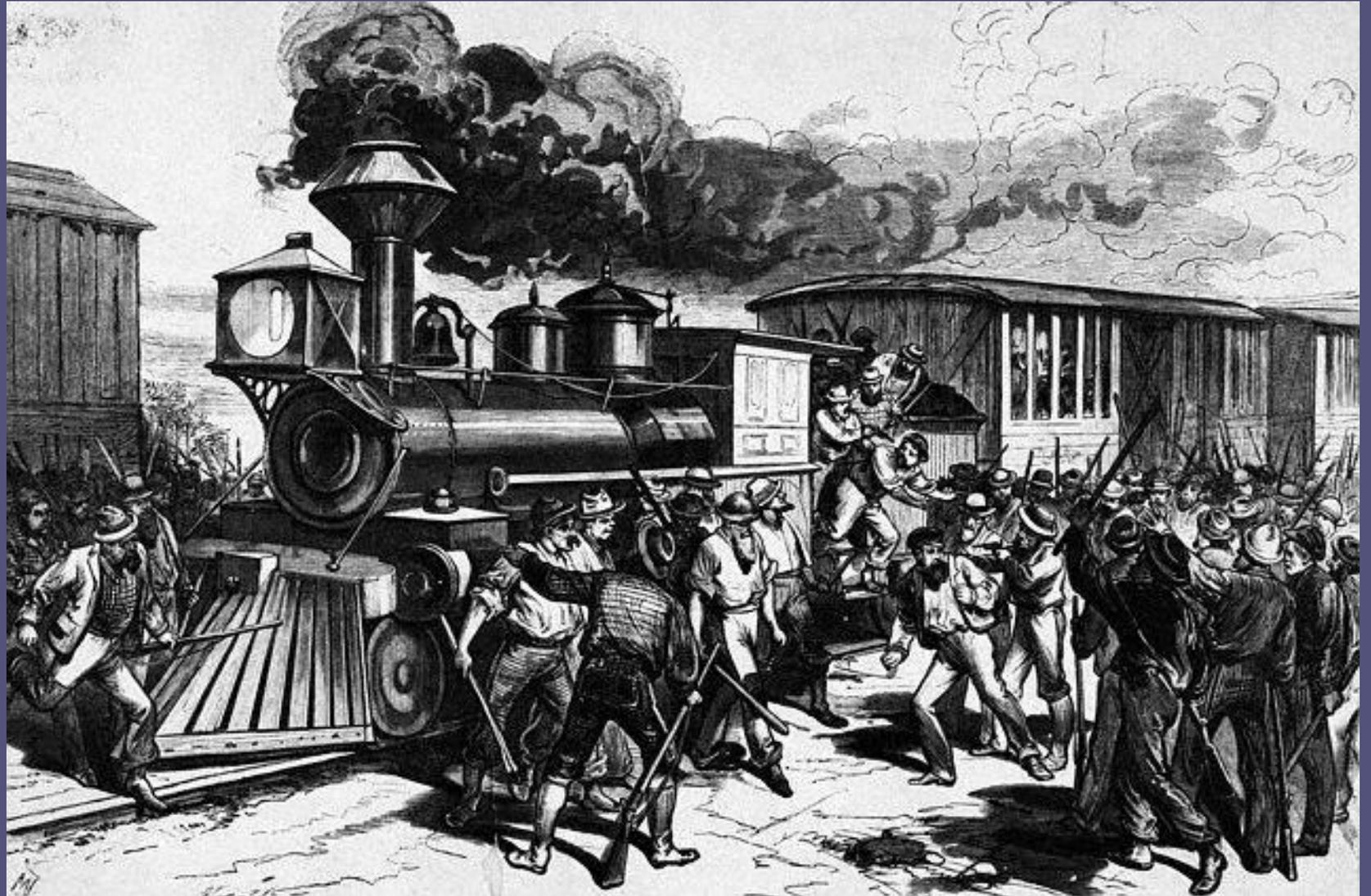
- 1877 – class warfare exploded across US
  - Caused by depression and deflation after panic of 1873

# Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

- 1877 – the Great Railroad Strike
  - 4 largest railroads cut wages by 10%
  - Railroad workers struck back
  - Hayes called out federal troops to put down the strike
  - Workers in other fields joined strikers, conducting work stoppages across industrial east
  - Strike lasted several weeks; over 100 people died
  - Failure showed weaknesses of labor, divided over race



# Workers Attack A Railroad Car During the Strike

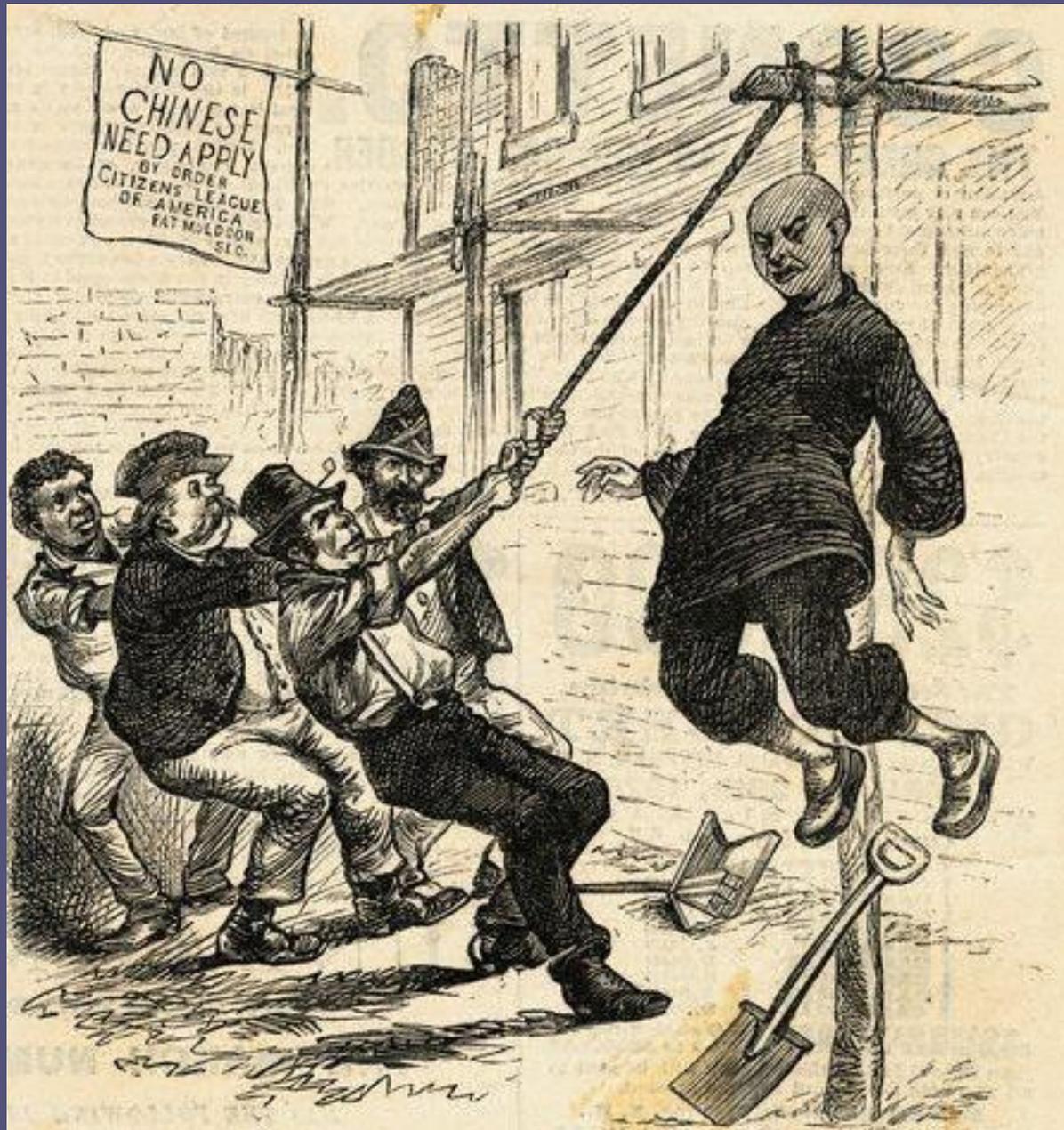


# Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

- Conflict between Irish and Chinese especially strong in California
- Chinese were mostly poor, uneducated, single males; about 75,000 in 1880 in US
  - Came to US to work in gold fields or on transcontinental railroads
    - About 1/2 returned to China after work ended

# Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

- Irish hated Chinese because they competed for same low-wage, low-prestige jobs
  - In California followed *Denis Kearney* (called Kearneyites)
  - Kearney incited Irish to acts of violence (even murder)



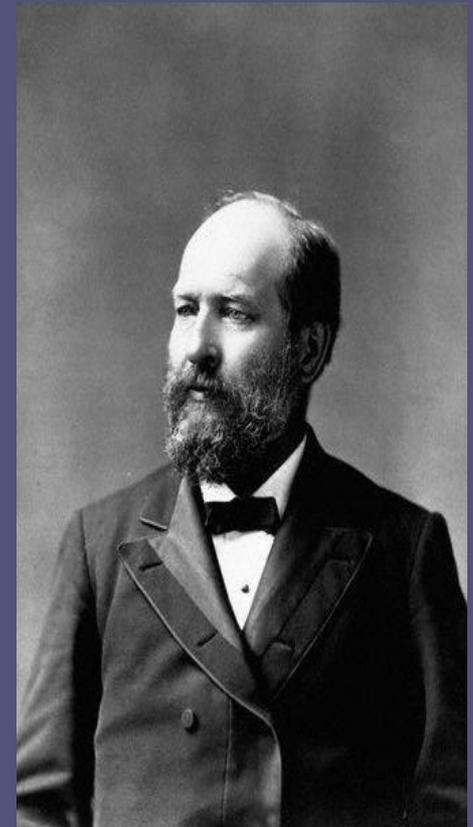
# Anti-Chinese Violence

# Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

- 1882 – ***Chinese Exclusion Act*** passed
  - Congress shut door on all Chinese immigration
  - Stayed in force until 1943
- 1898 – ***US v. Wong Kim Ark***
  - Supreme Court stopped nativists from taking citizenship from Chinese Americans (and other immigrant groups)
  - Court ruled that 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment granted citizenship to all persons born in US

# Garfield and Arthur

- Election of 1880: the Republicans
  - Hayes dropped after only 1 term
  - ***James A. Garfield*** (from important swing state of Ohio) chosen
  - ***Chester A. Arthur*** chosen as Garfield's running mate
    - Notorious "Stalwart"



# Garfield and Arthur

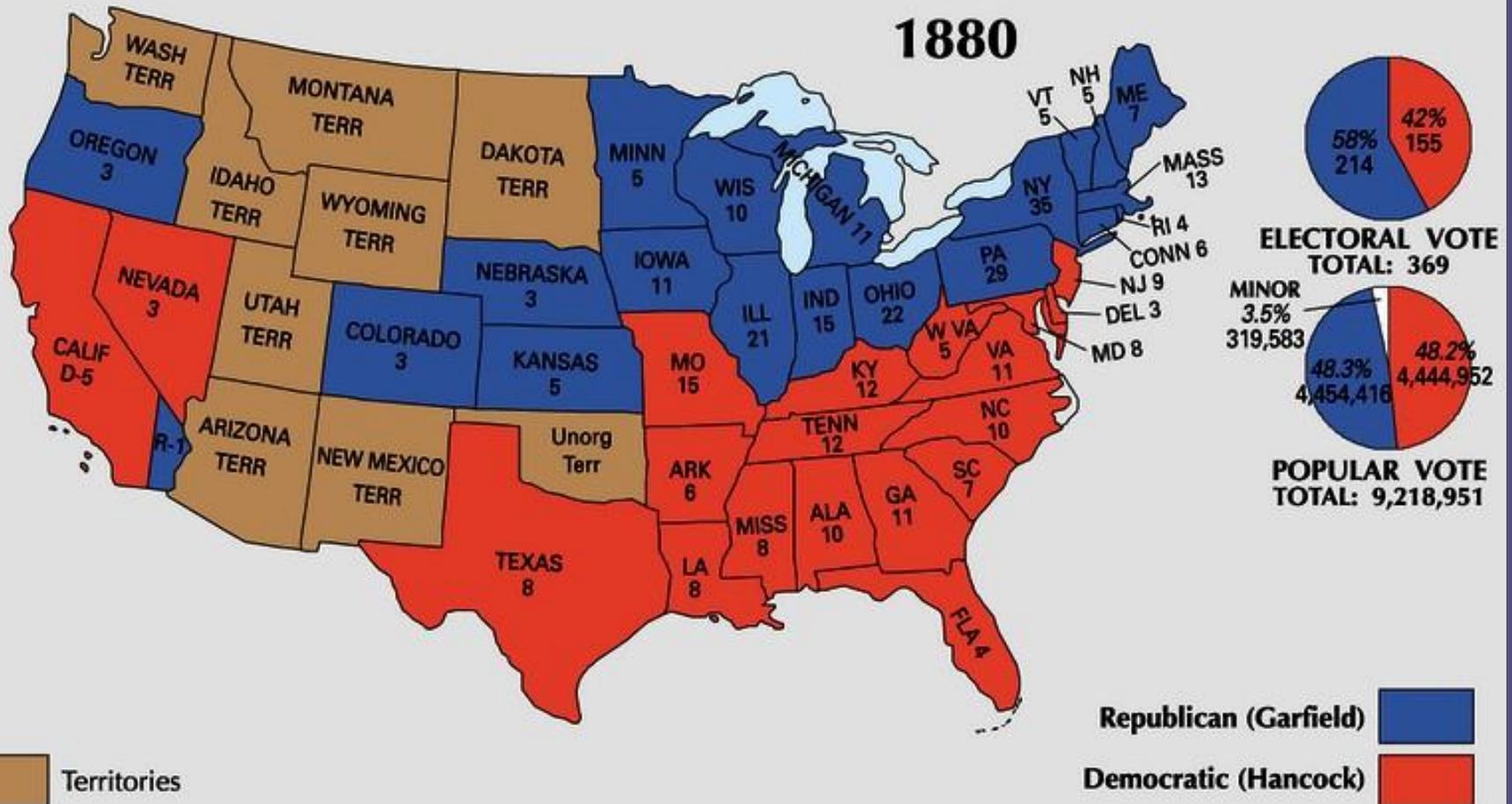
- Election of 1880: the Democrats
  - Nominated Union war hero *Winfield Scott Hancock*



# Garfield and Arthur

- Election of 1880: the results
  - Garfield waved the bloody shirt and barely won
  - Popular vote was 4.45 million to 4.41 million
  - Electoral vote was 214 to 155

# The Election of 1880



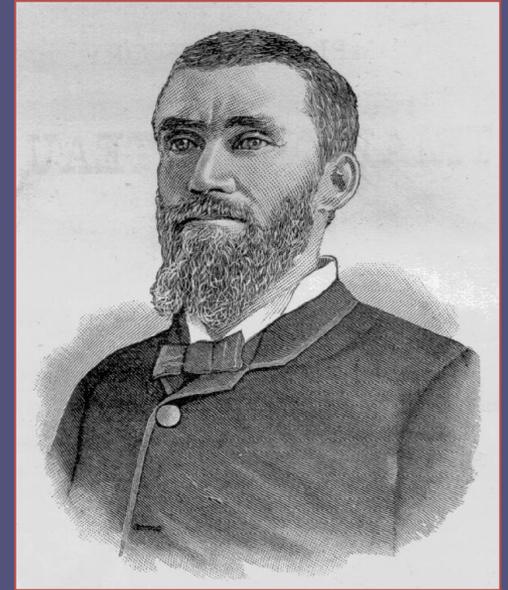
# Garfield and Arthur

- Republicans immediately split over patronage
  - *Secretary of State James G. Blaine* (Half- Breed) and *Senator Roscoe Conkling* (Stalwart)

# Garfield and Arthur

- Garfield's assassination

- *Charles J. Guiteau* shot Garfield in back at a railroad station in Washington
  - Disappointed office-seeker, and insane, who shouted “I am a Stalwart. Arthur is now President”
- Garfield lived for 11 weeks before dying (September 19, 1881)
- Guiteau argued he was innocent because of insanity; found guilty and hanged



# Garfield's Assassination, July 2, 1881



# Garfield and Arthur

- Civil service reform

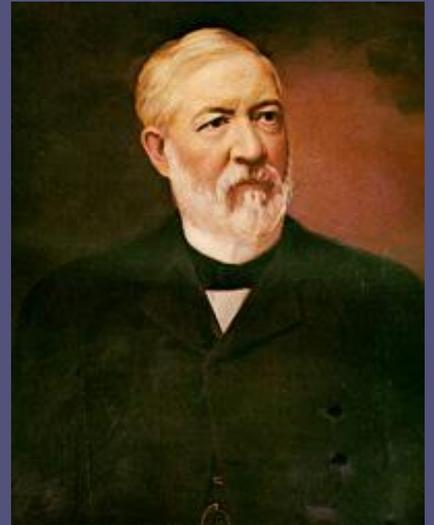
- Occurred because of the bizarre circumstances of Garfield's assassination and because President Arthur (contrary to expectations) honestly avoided giving jobs to Stalwarts
- 1883 – *Pendleton Act* passed
  - Banned compulsory political contributions from federal employees
  - Set up Civil Service Commission to give jobs to people on basis of competitive examinations
  - Only covered 10% of federal jobs at first, but was expanded
- Arthur dropped from Republican ticket in 1886 because of his integrity

# Garfield and Arthur

- Unintended consequence of civil service reform
  - Politicians couldn't use patronage to get immigrant and lower class voters' support anymore
  - Politicians (still needing money) turn to corporations for support, leading to huge amounts of influence for business leaders

# The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

- The election of 1884: the Republicans
  - *James G. Blaine* nominated
  - Blaine had a reputation for dishonesty, made worse when the “*Mulligan Letters*” came out
    - Letters from Blaine to a Boston businessman about corrupt deal for federal aid to a southern railroad
  - Blaine split the Republican party
    - “*Mugwumps*” – reform Republicans who rejected Blain’s corruption and supported the Democrats



# The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

- The election of 1884:  
the Democrats
  - Nominate *Grover Cleveland*
    - Former mayor of Buffalo and governor of New York
    - Known as “Grover the Good” for his honesty



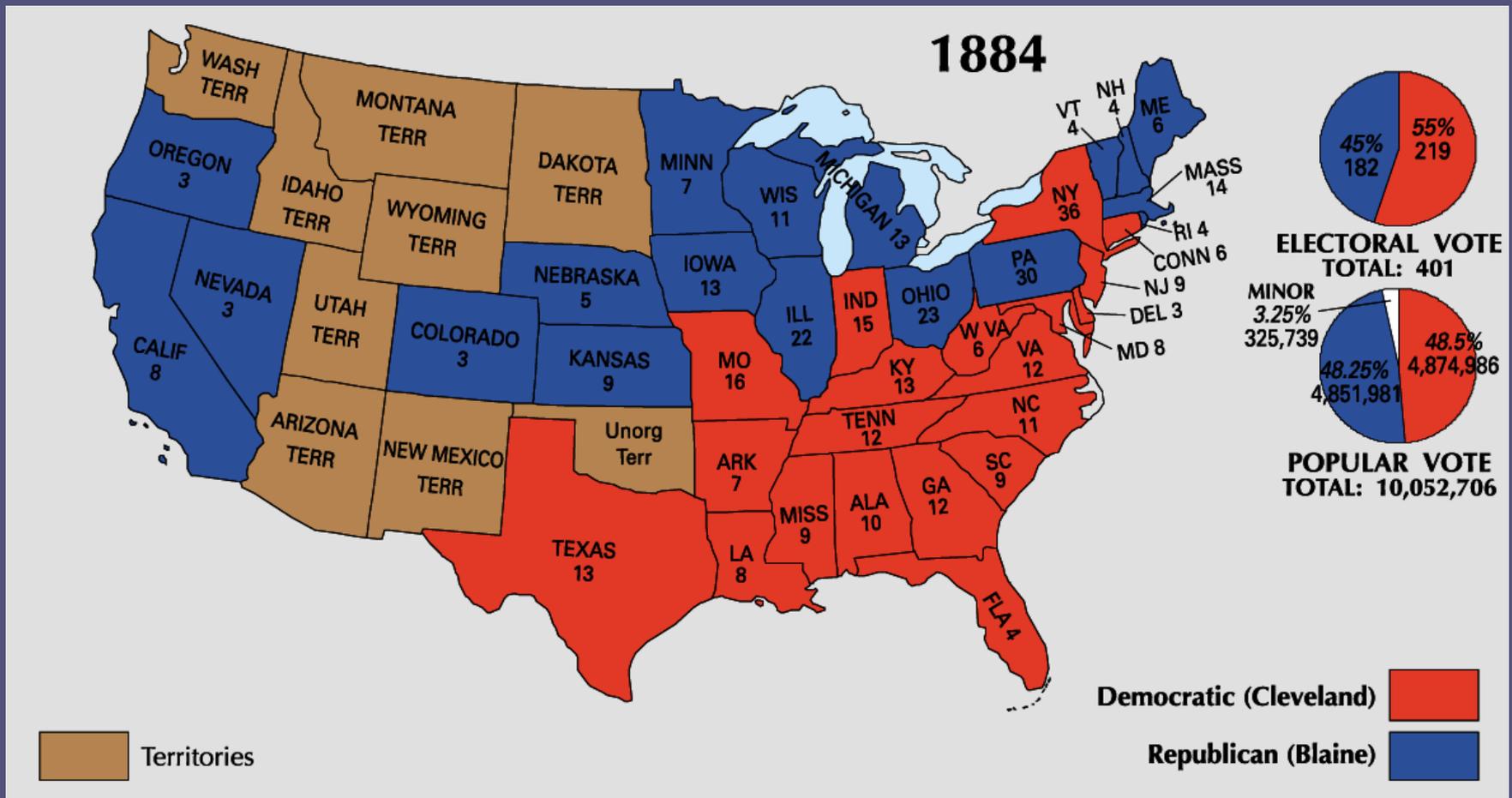
# The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

- The election of 1884: the campaign
  - Probably the dirtiest campaign in US history
  - Republicans publicized fact that Cleveland had fathered an illegitimate child 8 years before and was paying for the child's care
  - Neither candidate had served in Civil War (negating Republicans' advantage of waving the bloody shirt)

# The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

- The election of 1884: the results
  - Contest came down to New York, where Blaine made a huge mistake
    - A Protestant minister attacked Democrats as party of “Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion”; statement not repudiated by Blaine
    - Attacking culture, faith, and patriotism of the many Irish Americans in New York drove these voters to turn out for Cleveland
  - Cleveland won by only 1,000 votes in New York, and won the election
    - 4.879 million to 4.850 million popular votes
    - 219 to 182 electoral votes

# The Election of 1884



# “Old Grover” Takes Over

- Cleveland first Democratic president since Buchanan (1856)
  - Could the party who had led the Civil War rebellion be trusted to govern?
  - Would Democrats destroy the civil service system by handing out patronage jobs to their supporters?
  - Could Cleveland restore power and respect to presidency?

# “Old Grover” Takes Over

- Cleveland was firmly pro-businesses; believed government should keep its hands off business affairs (laissez-faire)
  - “Though the people support the government, the government should not support the people.” (Cleveland)

# “Old Grover” Takes Over

- Cleveland and civil service
  - At first stuck to merit system
  - Eventually fired 2/3 of the 120,000 federal employees to put in Democrats
- Cleveland and military pensions
  - Republican Union veterans lobbied for hundreds of bills to increase pensions
    - Many abused the pension system, taking benefits even though they had never served, were disabled by post-war events, etc.
  - Congress almost always passed the pension bills

# Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

- The tariff issue

- During Civil War, tariffs had been increased to help pay for the war
- After the war, businesses got Republicans to keep tariffs high, to protect business from foreign goods
- Treasury ran a surplus because of the high tariff (since tariff was primary revenue generator for government before income tax)
- Republicans usually wasted money from the surplus on larger pensions or “pork-barrel” (wasteful) projects to gain electoral support

# Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

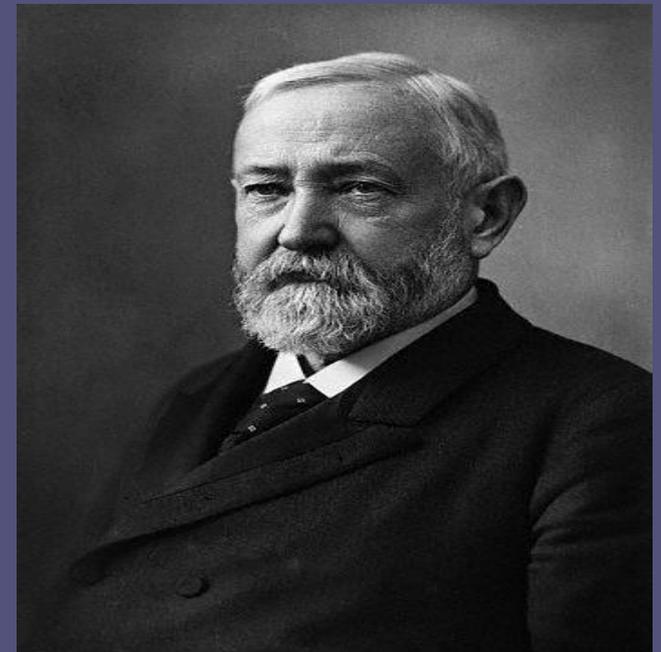
- Cleveland decided that tariffs should be lowered
  - Lowered tariffs would mean lower prices for consumers, less protection for monopolies, and an end to the surplus
  - Strongly opposed by big industrialists
  - Cleveland went too far in pushing for lowered tariffs and pushed businesses to oppose him

# **Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff**

- **Election of 1888: the Democrats**
  - Re-nominated Cleveland
  - Weakened because of Cleveland's strong (obstinate) support of lowered tariffs

# Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

- Election of 1888: the Republicans
  - Nominated *Benjamin Harrison*, grandson of President William Henry Harrison (elected 1841)



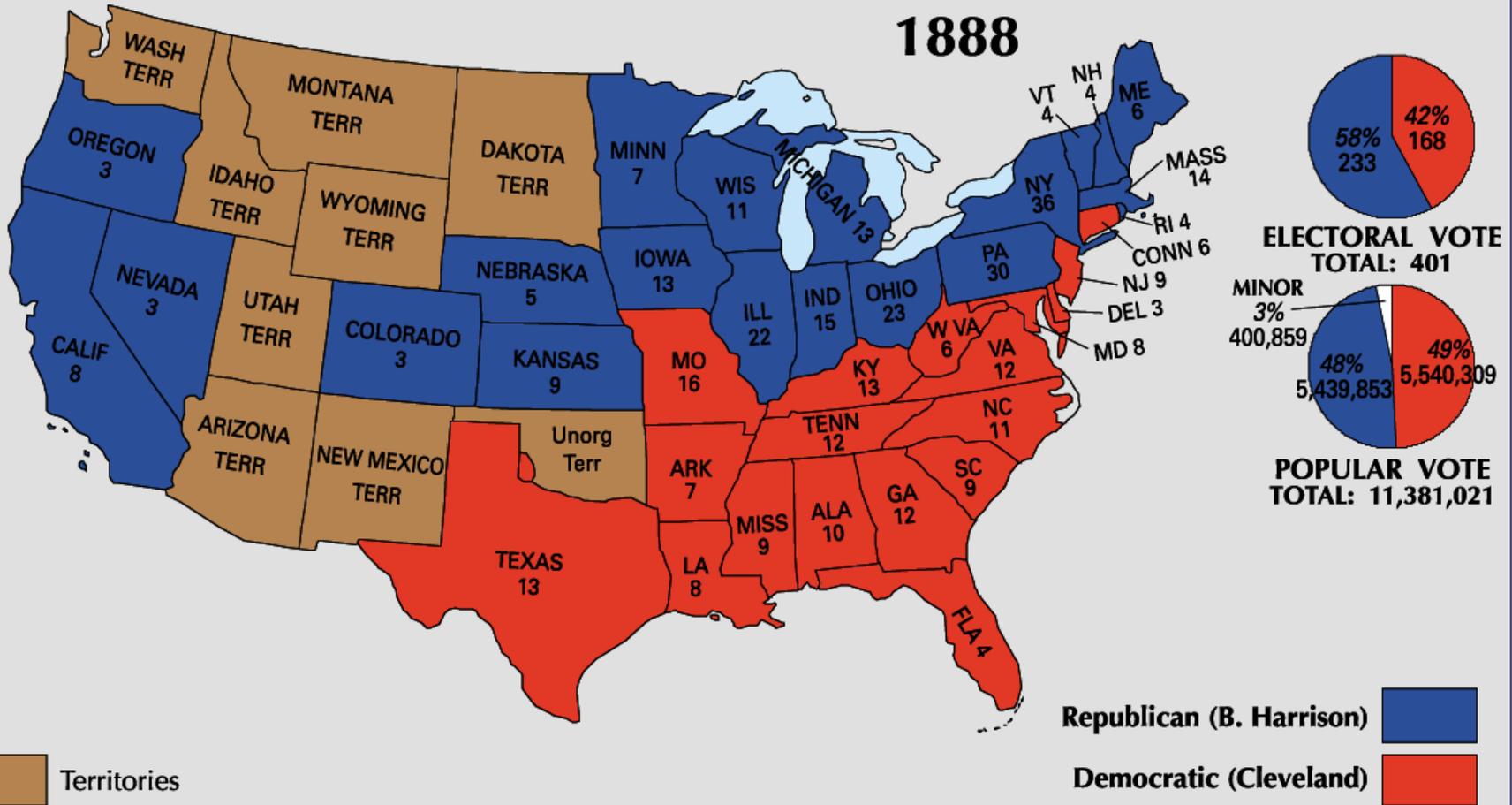
# Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

- Election of 1888: the campaign
  - Both parties focused on the tariff issue, the only issue that separated them
  - Republicans (allied with big business) raised huge sum of money (\$3 million)
    - Businesses supported Republicans to stop tariff from being lowered
    - Money used to buy votes (“repeaters” or “floaters”) who voted several times

# Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

- Election of 1888: the results
  - Harrison won the election
    - 233 to 168 electoral votes
    - Switch of only 7,000 votes in New York would have given the election to Cleveland
  - Harrison lost the popular vote
    - 5.53 million (Harrison) to 5.44 million (Cleveland)

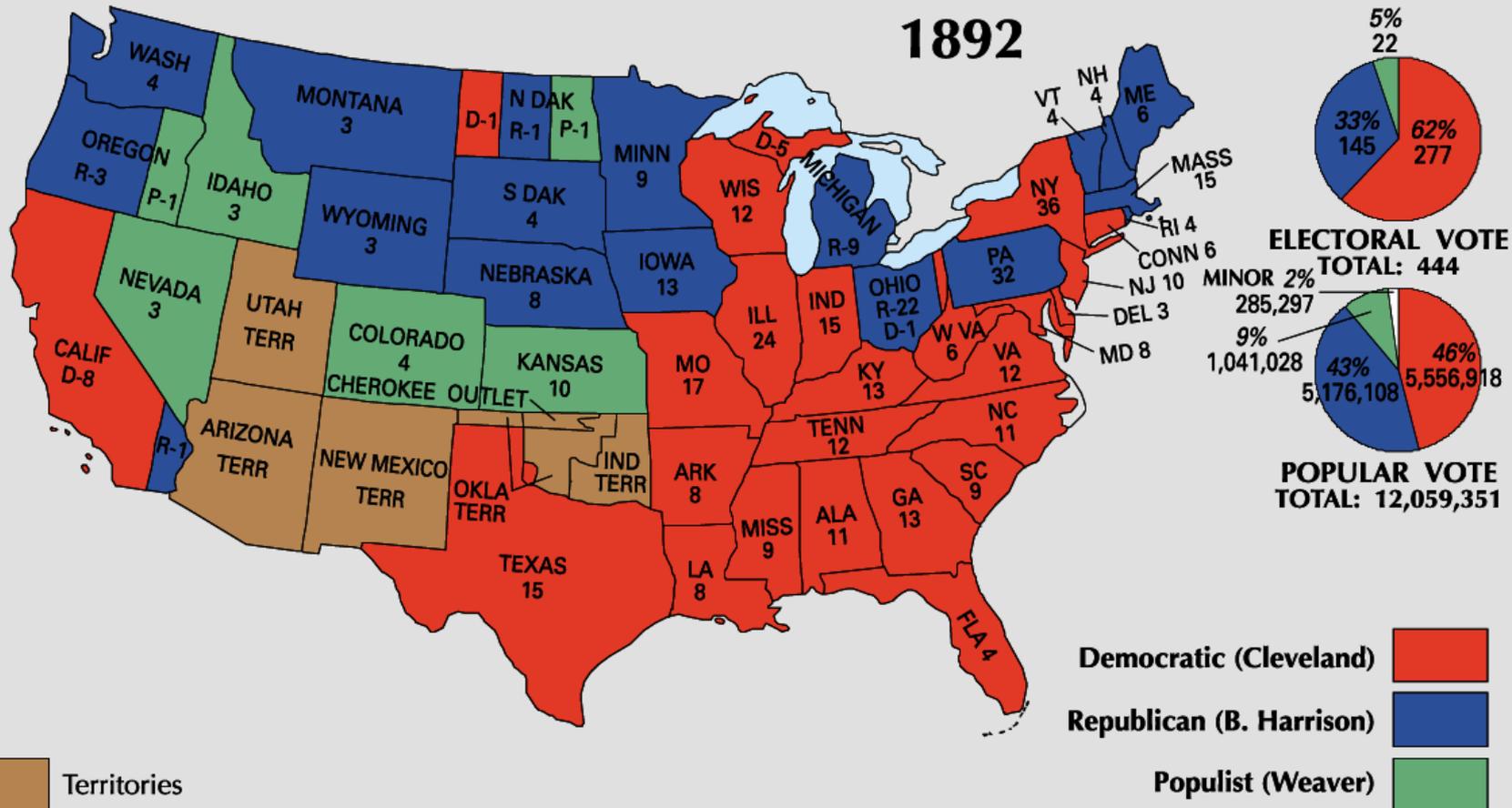
# The Election of 1888



# The Drumbeat of Discontent

- The election of 1892
  - **Republicans**
    - Re-nominate Harrison
  - **Democrats**
    - Nominate *Grover Cleveland*
    - Now more conservative than in 1884
  - Cleveland won

# The Election of 1892



# Cleveland and Depression

- Cleveland was only president to be reelected after defeat
  - Same Cleveland (although more conservative)
  - US was different a country than before
    - Debtor farmers, angry workers, beginning of a depression

# Cleveland and Depression

- Depression of 1893
  - Lasted for 4 years
  - Worst depression of 1800s
  - Causes
    - Overbuilding and speculation
    - Problems with workers and strikes
    - Agricultural depression
    - European banks called in US loans

# Cleveland and Depression

- Effects of the depression
  - 8,000 businesses collapsed
  - Railroad lines went bankrupt
  - People forced to live off charity (soup kitchens)
  - Gangs of hoboes wandered the country on rail lines

# Cleveland and Depression

- Government responses to the depression
  - Laissez-faire (hands-off) ideology did not allow government to help suffering people

# Cleveland Breeds a Backlash

- Cleveland and the other “forgettable presidents, from Hayes to Cleveland did little to fix the problems America faced in the late 1800s
  - Tied down by the philosophy of laissez-faire