



# Election of 1876: The End of Reconstruction TEACHER GUIDE

## Lesson Overview

This lesson uses primary source analysis and exploration to examine how the election of 1876 marked the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the backsliding of political, social, and economic advancements made by freed people since the end of the Civil War. It is designed for students currently studying U.S. history or government in the classroom and scaled to the 11th grade TEKS. Lessons can also be used with younger students with some modifications.

The lesson is designed to be completed in a single 45- to 60-minute-class period.

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## **Essential Question**

How did the election of 1876 solve an immediate political crisis, and did that solution indicate that the Reconstruction amendments had failed to achieve their goals?

#### Objectives

- Students will engage with primary sources to understand the impact of the end of Reconstruction on the political, social, and economic issues of the day.
- Students will use multimodal engagement strategies to develop their historical thinking skills.
- Students will analyze, organize, and use information from a variety of primary sources and communicate that analysis through writing and discussion.

## Key Vocabulary

Students will need to have an understanding of the following terms to effectively complete the lesson:

- Emancipation
- Reconstruction

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TEKS

113.41.2.A 113.51.4.B

#### **Lesson Procedure**

#### Warm-Up

There are two possible components for the lesson warm-up: an election snapshot and a primary source document for the class to analyze together. Depending on your classroom needs, you may choose to complete one or both components. The content for both the snapshot and the warm-up document analysis are available as PDF documents and a teacher slide deck.

- 1. Using the election snapshot, briefly review the main ideas, issues, and players of the election of 1876.
  - a. Be sure to remind students that while the election was important for many reasons, the main thing that you'll be focusing on today is how the election can be seen as a demonstration of the ongoing sectional tensions in the country that were not solved with the end of the Civil War.
- 2. Using the sample primary source, review with your students how to thoroughly analyze and explore primary sources.
  - a. This lesson uses a simplified version of the <u>National Archives and Records</u> <u>Administration's Document Analysis</u> strategies.
  - b. As a group, use the warm-up exercise to review "Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket!" Remind students that it is important to use close reading skills and apply historical context that they have already learned.
  - c. After analyzing the source as a whole, answer the "Checking for Understanding" questions to ensure student comprehension.

#### **Exploring Primary Sources**

The purpose of this section is to have students explore primary sources that describe the extent to which the election of 1876 represented the political problems facing a post–Civil War society and the continuation of pre-war ideologies.

There are many ways that you can choose to engage with the primary sources with your students. Depending on interest, student level, and classroom goals, you may choose to engage with any or all of the provided primary sources.

Three possible engagement models are suggested here:

#### Write

Using the worksheets provided, have your students work individually to read and examine the documents and then write their answers to the comprehension questions.

The most important takeaway for this engagement model is determining WHO is writing/speaking and WHAT each primary source is about.

#### Speak

Divide students into groups and provide one primary source to each group. After reading the source on their own, students should consider the author of the source and their perspective.

The most important takeaway for this engagement model is determining HOW the author is communicating and WHY they are saying what they are saying.

#### Draw

Have students, working individually or in pairs, design a creative, visual representation of the main argument of one primary source. They may choose to create a Venn diagram, a flow chart, or an identity map.

The most important takeaway for this engagement model is determining WHO is writing/speaking and HOW they are getting their point across.

## **Discussing Primary Sources**

In this section, students will discuss their observations, analysis, and conclusions gleaned from analyzing primary sources about the central issues of the election of 1876.

Lead a discussion of the issues at hand. Students will use the key ideas learned during the warm-up and their analyses of primary sources to answer questions.

- 1. What electoral controversy surrounded the election of 1876? How was the controversy resolved?
- 2. What issues did the political parties raise in the election?
- 3. What political problems did the United States face following the end of the Civil War? What promises did Reconstruction make?
- 4. How do the controversies surrounding the 1876 election reflect the difficulties of the Reconstruction era?

#### Closure

If desired, use the final few minutes of the lesson to write or discuss, or assign as homework, the following prompt, which encourages students to compare the issues in the election of 1876 to contemporary election cycles:

How does the rhetoric used in describing the contested election of 1876 compare to that used in other contemporary elections with contested outcomes?





# Election of 1876: The End of Reconstruction Election Snapshot

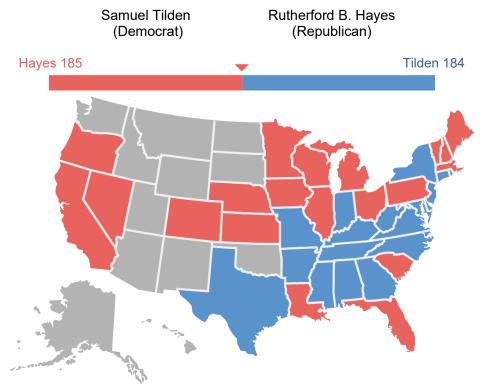
# **Essential Question**

How did the election of 1876 solve an immediate political crisis, and did that solution indicate that the Reconstruction amendments had failed to achieve their goals?

## Key Ideas

- The presidential election of 1876 resulted in a contested outcome that was not resolved for months following the election. Neither candidate met the constitutional requirements for election. That failure forced Congress to create a tribunal to determine a winner.
- The tribunal's choice of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes created enormous controversy because of the process used to select him and highlighted the fact that sectional tensions between the North and the South remained present after the Civil War.
- The controversy was resolved only by a "compromise" agreement that ended Northern military intervention in the South. Military troops were the last obstacle to Southern Democrats reassertion of racial control over the South's free Black population. Their removal effectively ended Reconstruction.
- The end of Northern intervention created new political problems as the promises of citizenship and suffrage made to the formerly enslaved by the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments were replaced by segregation and Jim Crow laws.

# Candidates and Outcome







# Election of 1876: The End of Reconstruction Primary Sources and Questions

# Warm-Up

"Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket!" [visual source], 1876 A. B. Frost, Harper's Weekly Presidential Campaigns: A Cartoon History

## **Primary Sources**

1876 Republican Campaign Song, 1876 James Nicholson

Campaign songs like this one sought to align candidates with freedom and patriotism and to reignite the voting base to support the causes they had fought for in the Civil War. Library of Congress

Speech at the Republican National Convention [excerpt], 1876 Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass was a delegate to the Republican National Convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1876.

Making of America

Population Data and Election Returns of East and West Feliciana Parishes [visual source], 1870/1877

U.S. Census of 1870 and Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1877

Election results in 1876 were contested in several states. In these two voting parishes in Louisiana, Democrats controlled the initial count, but Republican Returning Boards had the power to determine which votes were valid.

U.S. Census, Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1877

"Compromise—Indeed!" [visual source], 1877

Thomas Nast, Harper's Weekly

This political cartoon appeared almost three months after the election, when there was still no clear winner.

Harper's Weekly

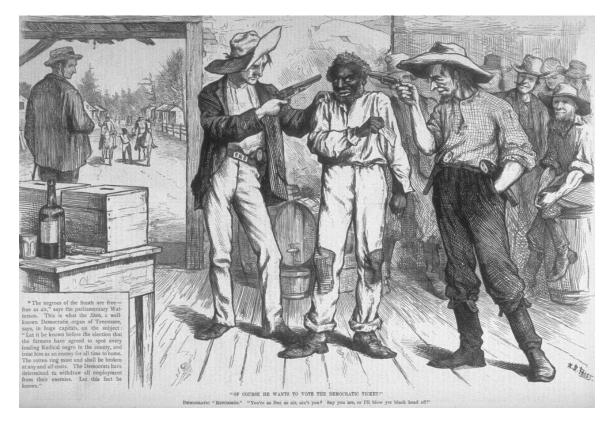
Inaugural Address [excerpt], 1877 Rutherford B. Hayes

Rutherford B. Hayes used his inaugural address to put forth the principles that would guide his administration, to describe a new approach to Reconstruction in the South, and to provide his perspective on the tribunal that determined the results of the election that made him president. <u>The American Presidency Project</u>





## Warm-Up: "Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket!" A. B. Frost, *Harper's Weekly* October 21, 1876



### Warm-Up Exercise: Understanding Perspective "Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket!"

**Analyzing a Source:** Use the chart below (which is based on the National Archives and Records Administration analysis model) to examine the primary source. Remember that every document is created by a person with a specific point of view that is based on their background, beliefs, and experiences. These questions help you to understand that point of view, or perspective.

Meet the source. What type of source is it? What do you notice first? How would you describe it to someone who hasn't read it?	
<b>Observe its parts.</b> Who created it? Who is the intended audience? When was it created? Where was it created?	
<b>Try to make sense of it.</b> What is it talking about? Why did the maker create it? What was happening at the time in history when this source was created?	
Use it as historical evidence. What did you find out that you might not learn anywhere else? What evidence does the creator present that you should "fact check"? What questions do you have that this source doesn't answer?	

**Checking for Understanding:** After reviewing the source using the chart above, answer these questions as a class.

- This political cartoon appeared about two weeks before Election Day in 1876. What does it suggest about incidents of voter intimidation that Black men faced in many southern states?
- A portion of the inset text reads: "Let it be known before the election that the farmers have agreed to spot every leading Radical negro in the county, and treat him as an enemy for all time to come.... The Democrats have determined to withdraw all employment from their enemies." How might this deter Black men from voting? Explain.
- Based on this cartoon, its creator A. B. Frost likely supported which candidate for president? Explain.





#### "Republican Campaign Song" James Nicholson 1876

**Context:** Campaign songs like this one sought to align candidates with freedom and patriotism and to reignite the voting base to support the causes they had fought for in the Civil War.

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1876. Republican Campaign Song. By James Nicholson.

Respectfully Dedicated to the "Boys in Blue" throughout the United States. Tune—"John Brown."

Once more ye true Republicans, Columbia calls for you, Who in the hour of danger to the Starry Flag were true; Turn out as her defenders, all ye gallant "Boys in Blue"; Our country must be free.

CHORUS: Hurrah! hurrah for Hayes and Wheeler! Hurrah! hurrah for Hayes and Wheeler! Hurrah! hurrah for Hayes and Wheeler! Our country must be free.

Let lovers of true liberty throughout the land unite. And now, as we have done before, we'll put our foes to flight; With the ballot, not the bullet, we will battle for the right; Our country must be free.

Hurrah! hurrah, &c.

What was won upon the battle-field we will not now let go, Our liberties we must defend against the common foe, Who would our institutions in a moment overthrow. Our country must be free.

Hurrah! hurrah, &c.

With our comrades, who have fallen, we have battled side by side. When in the cause of liberty they nobly fought and died; The principles for which they bled forever shall abide. Our country must be free.

Hurrah! hurrah, &c.

Our enemies are forming line, with Tilden in command, But home and foreign rebels cannot rule this glorious land; This fact in next November all the world shall understand; Our country must be free.

Hurrah! hurrah, &c.

We'll make all foreign potentates to know it is too late To establish in America the Curse of Church and State; This infamous alliance, as Americans we hate; Our country must be free.

Hurrah! hurrah, &c.

We'll pay the debt Rebellion made, we'll guard our public schools; Our people won't consent to be dishonest dupes and fools. The men who saved the Nation still shall make its laws and rules. Our country must be free.

Hurrah! hurrah, &c.

#### **Questions for "Republican Campaign Song"**

1. The song makes several allusions to the Civil War. What image did the song hope to evoke by referencing the "boys in blue" who "fought and died"? Why might these overt references attract supporters to the Republican Party?

2. Who is the "common foe" referred to in the third stanza?

3. The sixth stanza references an "infamous alliance" described as the "*Curse* of *Church* and *State*." What do you think this means and why might it encourage some people to vote Republican?

4. Each stanza ends with "Our country must be free," thus aligning Republican supporters with popular notions of liberty and freedom. What is the song implying will happen if Republicans do not win the election?

## **Questions for "Republican Campaign Song"**

1. The song makes several allusions to the Civil War. What image did the song hope to evoke by referencing the "boys in blue" who "fought and died"? Why might these overt references attract supporters to the Republican Party?

The song is invoking Union soldiers. The song is playing on patriotic sentiments to bring people together in a cause, as they did during the war.

2. Who is the "common foe" referred to in the third stanza?

The common foe is anyone who would fight against freedom and equality.

3. The sixth stanza references an "infamous alliance" described as the "*Curse* of *Church* and *State*." What do you think this means and why might it encourage some people to vote Republican?

The stanza refers to freedom of religion guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the separation of religion from government power.

Student must state a claim and support it with evidence from the text. Answers should point toward the ongoing discussions during this period of the role of religion "in the public square" and debate about what separation of church and state meant.

4. Each stanza ends with "Our country must be free," thus aligning Republican supporters with popular notions of liberty and freedom. What is the song implying will happen if Republicans do not win the election?

Student must state a claim and support it with evidence from the text. Answers should address why Republicans are saying freedom will be curtailed with a Democratic victory.



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#### Excerpt from Speech at the Republican National Convention Frederick Douglass June 14, 1876

**Context:** Frederick Douglass was a delegate to the Republican National Convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1876.

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You say you have emancipated us. You have; and I thank you for it. You say you have enfranchised us. You have; and I thank you for it. But what is your emancipation?—what is your enfranchisement? What does it all amount to, if the black man, after having been made free by the letter of your law, is unable to exercise that freedom, and, after having been freed from the slaveholder's lash, he is to be subject to the slaveholder's shot-gun? Oh! you freed us! You emancipated us! I thank you for it. But under what circumstances did you emancipate us? Under what circumstances have we obtained our freedom? Sir, ours is the most extraordinary case of any people ever emancipated on the globe.

The question now is, Do you mean to make good to us the promises in your constitution? Talk not to me of finance. Talk not of mere reform in your administration. I believe there is honesty in the American people; honesty in the men whom you will elect; wisdom in the men to manage those affairs,—but tell me, if your heart be as my heart, that the liberty which you have asserted for the black man in this country shall be maintained? You say, some of you, that you can get along without the vote of the black man of the South. Yes, that may be, possibly; but I doubt it. At any rate, in order to insure our protection hereafter, we feel the need, in the candidate whom you will place before the country, of the assurance that, if it be necessary, the black man shall walk to the ballot-box in safety, even if we have to bring a bayonet behind us. And I have this this [*sic*] feeling, that, if we bring forth either of the gentlemen named here, the government of the United States and the moral feeling of the country will surround the black voter as by a wall of fire; and, instead of electing your President without the black vote, you may count in the number of your victorious Republican states five or six, at least, of the old master states of the South. But I have no voice to address you longer; and you may now move, down there, for an adjournment.

# Questions for Excerpt from Speech at the Republican National Convention

1. For Frederick Douglass, why were freedom and emancipation incomplete?

2. According to Douglass, what was the most important question before the convention?

3. What assurance did Douglass and the community he represented need from the candidate nominated by the convention before pledging their support?

4. What do you think Douglass meant when he stated, "I have this feeling, that, if we bring forth either of the gentlemen named here, the government of the United States and the moral feeling of the country will surround the black voter as by a wall of fire"?

## Questions for Excerpt from Speech at the Republican National Convention

1. For Frederick Douglass, why were freedom and emancipation incomplete?

Freedom and emancipation were only the letter of the law and are not being fully enforced or supported. He also worried whether they would truly be maintained.

2. According to Douglass, what was the most important question before the convention?

The most important question before the convention was whether they would truly support the amendments made to the Constitution related to freedom, citizenship, and enfranchisement.

3. What assurance did Douglass and the community he represented need from the candidate nominated by the convention before pledging their support?

They needed assurance that Black men would be protected by any means necessary to enable them to vote.

4. What do you think Douglass meant when he stated, "I have this feeling, that, if we bring forth either of the gentlemen named here, the government of the United States and the moral feeling of the country will surround the black voter as by a wall of fire"?

Student must state a claim and support their answer with evidence from the text.





#### Population Data and Election Returns of East and West Feliciana Parishes U.S. Census Bureau/*Tribune Almanac and Political Register* 1870/1876

**Context:** Election results in 1876 were contested in several states. In these two voting parishes in Louisiana, Democrats controlled the initial count, but Republican Returning Boards had the power to determine which votes were valid.

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## Population of East and West Feliciana Parishes, by race in 1870

	African American	White
East Feliciana Parish	9393	4106
West Feliciana Parish	8018	1583

#### Disputed election returns from East and West Feliciana Parishes, election of 1876

LOUISIANA.									
RET.B	D DEM.C	OM.	Hayes	Tilden I	Hayes	Tilden	Hayes	Tilden Haye	Tilden
COUNT	T. COUN	Τ.	Claiborne. 432	1302	432	1576	Ouachita 745	349 793	1865
1876.	PRESIDENT	Г.	De Soto 717	613		1304	Orleans14971	2391815131	24963
Parish. Rep. D	em. Rep. 1	Dem.	Felic'a, E —				Plaquem's 1754		
(58) Hayes 1 il	den Hayes'l	ilden	Felic'na,W 621	238	778		P'te Coup. 1987		
Ascension.2071 1				716	129		Rapides1756		1619
Assumpt'n 1691 1					395	518	Red River. 833	412. 832	413
Avoyelles. 1504 1				925	1452	1247	Richland., 120	194. 277	903
Baton R.E.1466				954	2297	954	Sabine 23	906. 23	
			Jackson 23	462	23	460	St. Bern'd. 691	336 691	336
Bienville 227	956. 227	953	Jeff'n, L.B 687	141	1761†	t785	St. Charles 1229		203
	603. 1703	883	Jeff'n, R.B1074	641			St. Helena. 520		o 648
	656. 2687		Lafavette . 654	633	661		St. James . 1989		
	252. 84		Lafourche 1867	1688	2013		St. J. Bapt. 1288		
	481 285	631	Lincoln 331	1070	331		St. Landry.2394		: 3746
Cameron. 52	246. 52		Livingston 121	391	121	769	St. Martin. 1099	1023 1097	1023
Carroll2432	592. 2410		Madison 2584	328	2528	332	St. Mary 2405	1459 2405	
Catahoula 802	839. 820		Morehouse 427	394	782	1377	St. Tamm'y 551	649. 551	649
Concordia2523	309 2523*	*307	Natchito's.2092	1418/.	2099	1701	Tangipah'a 505	855 565	

	Returning Board counted)	d Count (votes	Original Democratic Count		
	Hayes (R)	Tilden (D)	Hayes (R)	Tilden (D)	
East Feliciana Parish	0	0	0	1736	
West Feliciana Parish	624	238	778	1248	

U.S. Census Bureau. "1870 Census: A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)." From Census.gov. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/compendium/1870e-04.pdf.

"Louisiana." In *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register For 1877,* 128. From HathiTrust. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435054392345.

## **Questions for Population Data and Election Returns**

1. According to the 1870 Federal U.S. Census, which group composed the majority of the population of both East and West Feliciana Parishes?

2. During Reconstruction, African American men in the South voted overwhelmingly for Republican candidates. Given this fact, what is inconsistent about the results as shown in the Original Democratic Count for East Feliciana Parish?

3. Refer to Frederick Douglass's speech at the Republican National Convention and his comments about protecting the African American vote. What evidence in these tables might support Douglass's concerns?

4. Write a thesis statement supported by the evidence in these two tables.

## **Questions for Population Data and Election Returns**

1. According to the 1870 Federal U.S. Census, which group composed the majority of the population of both East and West Feliciana Parishes?

#### African Americans made up the majority of both parishes.

2. During Reconstruction, African American men in the South voted overwhelmingly for Republican candidates. Given this fact, what is inconsistent about the results as shown in the Original Democratic Count for East Feliciana Parish?

It is inconsistent that there would be no votes counted for Republican candidates.

3. Refer to Frederick Douglass's speech at the Republican National Convention and his comments about protecting the African American vote. What evidence in these tables might support Douglass's concerns?

The large disparity between African American population numbers and votes for Republican candidates could support Douglass's concerns that not all eligible voters are being allowed to vote, or, if they are, that their votes are not being counted.

4. Write a thesis statement supported by the evidence in these two tables.

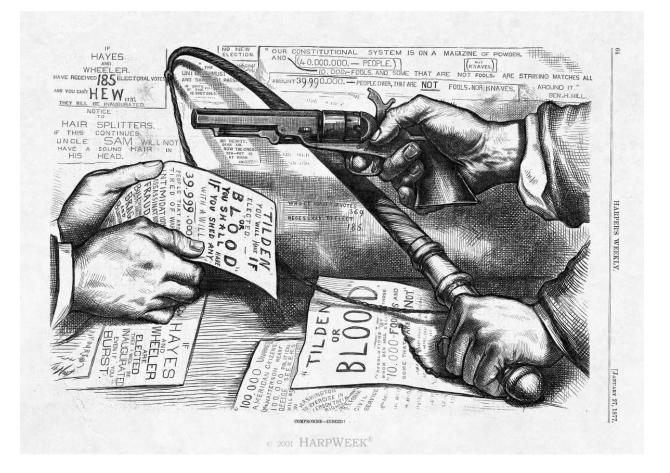
Student must state a claim and support their answer with evidence from the text.





### "Compromise—Indeed!" Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly* January 27, 1877

**Context:** This political cartoon appeared almost three months after the election, when there was still no clear winner.



## Questions for "Compromise—Indeed!"

1. What is the subject of this political cartoon?

2. How does the imagery of the cocked pistol and bullwhip support the message of "Tilden or Blood"?

3. On the upper edge of the paper in the background, this statement appears: "Our Constitutional system is on a magazine of powder, 10,000 fools and some that are not fools, are striking matches all around it." What do you think this means?

4. Based on the title, what do you think the artist, Thomas Nast, thought about the proposed plan to determine the election's outcome? Explain.

## Questions for "Compromise—Indeed!"

1. What is the subject of this political cartoon?

This political cartoon illustrates the controversial compromise that led to the selection of Rutherford B. Hayes as president.

2. How does the imagery of the cocked pistol and bullwhip support the message of "Tilden or Blood"?

The pistol and whip are very violent imagery, supporting the idea that blood could be shed if Tilden doesn't receive support.

3. On the upper edge of the paper in the background, this statement appears: "Our Constitutional system is on a magazine of powder, 10,000 fools and some that are not fools, are striking matches all around it." What do you think this means?

Student must make a claim and support their answer with evidence from the cartoon. Answers should point toward the idea that the cartoon indicates the political system is fragile and rests in the hands of a fairly small number of people compared to the population of the country.

4. Based on the title, what do you think the artist, Thomas Nast, thought about the proposed plan to determine the election's outcome? Explain.

Student must make a claim and support their answer with evidence from the cartoon. Answers should indicate Nast's skepticism about the fairness of the system put in place to decide the election.





#### Excerpt from Inaugural Address Rutherford B. Hayes March 5, 1877

**Context:** Rutherford B. Hayes used his inaugural address to put forth the principles that would guide his administration, to describe a new approach to Reconstruction in the South, and to provide his perspective on the tribunal that determined the results of the election that made him president.



. . .

Many of the calamitous efforts of the tremendous revolution which has passed over the Southern States still remain. The immeasurable benefits which will surely follow, sooner or later, the hearty and generous acceptance of the legitimate results of that revolution have not yet been realized. Difficult and embarrassing questions meet us at the threshold of this subject. The people of those States are still impoverished, and the inestimable blessing of wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government is not fully enjoyed. . .

With respect to the two distinct races whose peculiar relations to each other have brought upon us the deplorable complications and perplexities which exist in those States, it must be a government which guards the interests of both races carefully and equally. It must be a government which submits loyally and heartily to the Constitution and the laws – the laws of the nation and the laws of the States themselves – accepting and obeying faithfully the whole Constitution as it is.

. . .

... I am sincerely anxious to use every legitimate influence in favor of honest and efficient local "self"-government as the true resource of those States for the promotion of the contentment and prosperity of their citizens. In the effort I shall make to accomplish this purpose I ask the cordial cooperation of all who cherish an interest in the welfare of the country, trusting that party ties and the prejudice of race will be freely surrendered in behalf of the great purpose to be accomplished....

. . .

Fellow-citizens, we have reached the close of a political contest marked by the excitement which usually attends the contests between great political parties whose members espouse and advocate with earnest faith their respective creeds. The circumstances were, perhaps, in no respect extraordinary save in the closeness and the consequent uncertainty of the result.

For the first time in the history of the country it has been deemed best, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the case, that the objections and questions in dispute with reference to the counting of the electoral votes should be referred to the decision of a tribunal appointed for this purpose.

...For the present, opinion will widely vary as to the wisdom of the several conclusions announced by that tribunal. This is to be anticipated in every instance where matters of dispute are made the subject of arbitration under the forms of law. Human judgment is never unerring, and is rarely regarded as otherwise than wrong by the unsuccessful party in the contest.

. . .

Upon one point there is entire unanimity in public sentiment—that conflicting claims to the Presidency must be amicably and peaceably adjusted, and that when so adjusted the general acquiescence of the nation ought surely to follow.

## **Questions for Inaugural Address**

1. What did Hayes mean by "the hearty and generous acceptance of the legitimate results of that revolution"?

2. Hayes argued that "self-government" by the southern states would be the best way forward. What are the requirements of that self-government?

3. Hayes asked for "cordial cooperation" from the southern states, requesting that they put aside racial prejudice and political party affiliation. What problems might arise from his relatively hands-off approach?

4. The election of 1876 was ultimately decided by a tribunal. Hayes acknowledged that there might be differing opinions about the tribunal results but claimed there was "entire unanimity" on one point. What was that point?

## **Questions for Inaugural Address**

1. What did Hayes mean by "the hearty and generous acceptance of the legitimate results of that revolution"?

Hayes is referring to the promises made at the end of the Civil War related to freedom and equality for all races.

2. Hayes argued that "self-government" by the southern states would be the best way forward. What are the requirements of that self-government?

They must guard "the interests of both races carefully and equally" and obey the "whole Constitution as it is." With this phrase, Hayes references the Reconstruction amendments that guarantee freedom and citizenship to African Americans.

3. Hayes asked for "cordial cooperation" from the southern states, requesting that they put aside racial prejudice and political party affiliation. What problems might arise from his relatively hands-off approach?

Student must make a claim and support it with evidence. Student answers may point to what they think will happen when the military is removed from the South or to what economic or political circumstances may result from individual state control.

4. The election of 1876 was ultimately decided by a tribunal. Hayes acknowledged that there might be differing opinions about the tribunal results but claimed there was "entire unanimity" on one point. What was that point?

Hayes said that all agree that disagreement over conflicting claims to the presidency must be peacefully decided and, once decided, the nation should move forward.