

= Samuel J. Randall =

Samuel Jackson Randall ( October 10 , 1828 ? April 13 , 1890 ) was a Democratic member of the United States House of Representatives from Pennsylvania in the late 19th century . He served as the 29th Speaker of the House and was twice a contender for his party 's nomination for President of the United States .

Born in Philadelphia to a family active in Whig politics , Randall shifted to the Democratic Party after the Whigs ' demise . His rise in politics began in the 1850s with election to the Philadelphia Common Council and then to the Pennsylvania State Senate . Randall served in a Union cavalry unit in the American Civil War before winning a seat in the federal House of Representatives in 1862 . He was reelected every two years thereafter until his death . The representative of an industrial region , Randall became known as a staunch defender of protective tariffs designed to assist domestic producers of manufactured goods . While often siding with Republicans on tariff issues , he differed with them in his resistance to Reconstruction and the growth of federal power .

Randall 's defense of smaller , less centralized government raised his profile among House Democrats , and they elevated him to Speaker in 1876 . He held that post until the Democrats lost control of the House in 1881 , and was considered a possible nominee for President in 1880 and 1884 . Randall 's support for high tariffs began to alienate him from most Democrats , and when that party regained control of the House in 1883 , he was denied another term as Speaker . Randall continued to serve in Congress as head of the Appropriations Committee . He remained a respected party leader , but gradually lost influence as the Democrats became more firmly wedded to free trade . Worsening health also curtailed his power until his death in 1890 .

= = Early life and family = =

Randall was born on October 10 , 1828 in Philadelphia , Pennsylvania , the eldest son of Josiah and Ann Worrell Randall . Three younger brothers soon followed : William , Robert , and Henry . Josiah Randall was a leading Philadelphia lawyer who had served in the state legislature in the 1820s . Randall 's paternal grandfather , Matthew Randall , was a judge on the Pennsylvania Courts of Common Pleas and county prothonotary in that city in the early 19th century . His maternal grandfather , Joseph Worrell , was also a prominent citizen , active in politics for the Democratic Party during Thomas Jefferson 's presidency . Josiah Randall was a Whig in politics , but drifted into the Democratic fold after the Whig Party dissolved in the 1850s .

When Randall was born , the family lived at Seventh and Walnut Streets in what is now Center City Philadelphia . Randall was educated at the University Academy , a school affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania . On completing school at age 17 , he did not follow his father into the law , but instead took a job as a bookkeeper with a local silk merchant . Shortly thereafter , he started a coal delivery business and , at age 21 , became a partner in a scrap iron business named Earp and Randall .

Two years later , in 1851 , Randall married Fannie Agnes Ward , the daughter of Aaron and Mary Watson Ward of Sing Sing , New York . Randall 's new father @-@ in @-@ law was a major general in the New York militia and had served in Congress as a Jacksonian Democrat for several terms between 1825 and 1843 . Randall and Fannie went on to have three children : Ann , Susan , and Samuel Josiah .

= = Local politics and military service = =

In 1851 , Randall assisted his father in the election campaign for a local judge . The judge , a Whig , was elected despite considerable opposition from a candidate of the nativist American Party ( commonly called the " Know @-@ Nothing Party " ) . The strength of this group , combined with the Whigs ' declining fortunes , led Samuel Randall to call himself an " American Whig " when he ran for Philadelphia Common Council the following year . He was elected , holding office for four one @-@ year terms from 1852 to 1856 . The period was one of significant change in Philadelphia 's

governance , as all of Philadelphia County 's townships and boroughs were consolidated into one city in 1854 .

As the Whig Party fell apart , Randall and his family became Democrats . Josiah Randall was friendly with James Buchanan , a Pennsylvania Democrat then serving as the United States ' envoy in Great Britain . Both Randall and his father attended the Democratic National Convention in 1856 to work for Buchanan 's nomination for president , which was successful . When , in 1858 , a vacancy occurred in Randall 's state Senate district , he ran for election ( as a Democrat ) for the remainder of the term , and was elected . Still only 30 years old , Randall had risen rapidly in politics . Much of his term in the state Senate was spent dealing with the incorporation of street railway companies , which he believed would benefit his district . Randall also supported legislation to reduce the power of banks , a policy that he would continue to advocate for his entire political career . In 1860 , he ran for election to a full term in the state Senate while his brother Robert ran for a seat in the state House of Representatives . Ignoring their father 's advice that it meant " too much Randall on the ticket , " both brothers were unsuccessful .

In 1861 , the Civil War began as eleven Southern states seceded from the Union to form the Confederate States of America . Randall joined the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry in May of that year as a private . The unit was stationed in central Pennsylvania and eastern Virginia during Randall 's 90 @-@ day enlistment , but saw no action during that time . In 1863 , he re @-@ joined the unit , this time being elected captain . The First Troop was sent back to central Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg campaign that summer , when Confederate forces under Robert E. Lee invaded Pennsylvania . He served as provost marshal at Gettysburg , Pennsylvania in the days before the battle there , and had the same role at Columbia , Pennsylvania during the battle , but did not see combat . As historian Albert V. House explained , " [ h ] is military career was respectable , but far from arduous , most of his duties being routine reconnoitering which seldom led him under fire . "

= = House of Representatives = =

= = = Election to the House = = =

In 1862 , before rejoining his cavalry unit , Randall was elected to the United States House of Representatives from Pennsylvania 's 1st congressional district . The city had been gerrymandered by a Republican legislature to create four solidly Republican districts , with the result that as many Democrats as possible were lumped into the 1st district . Gaining the Democratic nomination was , thus , tantamount to election ; Randall defeated former mayor Richard Vaux for their party 's endorsement and won easily over his Republican opponent , Edward G. Webb . He won with the help of William " Squire " McMullen , the Democratic boss of the fourth ward , who would remain a lifelong Randall ally .

Under the congressional calendar of the 1860s , members of the 38th United States Congress , elected in November 1862 , did not begin their work until December 1863 . Randall arrived that month , after being discharged from his cavalry unit , to join a Congress dominated by Republicans . As a member of the minority , Randall had little opportunity to author legislation , but quickly became known as a hard @-@ working and conscientious member . James G. Blaine , a Republican also first elected in 1862 , later characterized Randall as " a strong partisan , with many elements of leadership . He ... never neglects his public duties , and never forgets the interests of the Democratic Party . "

Randall was known as a friend to the manufacturers in his district , especially as it concerned protective tariffs . Despite being in the minority , Randall spoke often in defense of his constituents ' interests . As House described him ,

He had a tongue that could snap out sarcastic quips with lightning speed . His voice was pitched rather high , and in moments of excitement , its metallic ring approached a shrill screech . His countenance was usually very attractive ... but this face became a thundercloud when he was in a

defiant mood .

With his party continually in the minority , Randall gained experience in the functioning of the House , but his tenure left little evidence in the statute book . He attracted little attention , but kept his constituents happy and was repeatedly reelected .

= = = War and Reconstruction = = =

When the 38th Congress convened in December 1863 , the Civil War was approaching its end . Randall was a War Democrat , sometimes siding with his Republican colleagues to support measures in pursuit of victory over the Confederates . When a bill was proposed to allow President Abraham Lincoln to promote Ulysses S. Grant to lieutenant general , Randall voted in favor , unlike most in his party . He voted with the majority of Democrats , however , to oppose allowing black men to serve in the Union Army .

When it came to political plans for the post @-@ war nation , he was strictly opposed to most Republican @-@ proposed measures . Republicans proposed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1865 , which would abolish slavery , and Randall spoke against it . Claiming opposition to slavery , Randall said his objections stemmed instead from a belief that the amendment was " a beginning of changes in the Constitution and the forerunner of usurpation . " After Andrew Johnson became president following Lincoln 's assassination , Randall came to support Johnson 's policies for Reconstruction of the defeated South , which were more lenient than those of the Republican majority in Congress . In 1867 , the Republicans proposed requiring an ironclad oath from all Southerners wishing to vote , hold office , or practice law in federal courts , making them swear they had never borne arms against the United States . Randall led a 16 @-@ hour filibuster against the measure ; in spite of his efforts , it passed .

Randall began to gain prominence in the small Democratic caucus by opposing Reconstruction measures . His delaying tactics against fellow Pennsylvanian Thaddeus Stevens 's military Reconstruction bill in February 1867 kept the bill from being considered for two weeks ? long enough to prevent it from being voted on until the next session . He likewise spoke against what would become the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution . Although he opposed the amendment , Randall did favor the idea behind part of it : section 4 , which guarantees that Congress may not repudiate the federal debt , nor may it assume debts of the Confederacy , nor debt that the individual Confederate states incurred during the rebellion . Many Republicans claimed that if the Democrats were to regain power , they would do exactly that , repudiating federal debt and assuming that of the rebels . Despite disagreement on other facets of Reconstruction , Randall stood firmly with the Republicans ( and most Northern Democrats ) on the debt .

As impeachment proceedings began against President Johnson , Randall became one of his leading defenders in the House . Once the House determined to impeach Johnson , Randall worked to direct the investigation to the Judiciary Committee , rather than a special committee convened for the purpose , which he believed would be stacked with pro @-@ impeachment members . His efforts were unsuccessful , as were his speeches in favor of the president : Johnson was impeached by a vote of 128 to 47 . Johnson was not convicted after his Senate trial , and Randall remained on good terms with him after the president left office .

= = = Financial legislation = = =

With Grant , a Republican , elected president in 1868 , and the 41st Congress as Republican @-@ dominated as its immediate predecessors , Randall faced several more years in the minority . He served on the Banking and Currency Committee and began to focus on financial matters , resuming his long @-@ standing policy against the power of banks . This placed Randall in the growing fight over the nature of the nation 's currency ? those who favored the gold @-@ backed currency were called " hard money " supporters , while the policy of encouraging inflation through coining silver or issuing dollars backed by government bonds ( " greenbacks " ) was known as " soft money " . Although he believed in a gold @-@ backed dollar , Randall was friendly to greenbacks ; in general ,

he favored allowing the amount of currency to remain constant , while replacing bank @-@ issued dollar bills with greenbacks . He also believed the federal government should sell its bonds directly to the public , rather than selling them only to large banks , which then re @-@ sold them at a profit . He was unsuccessful in convincing the Republican majority to adopt any of these measures .

Randall worked with Republicans to shift the source of federal funds from taxes to tariffs . He believed the taxation of alcohol spread the burdens of taxation unfairly , especially as concerned his constituents , who included several distillers . He also believed the income tax , first enacted during the Civil War , was being administered unfairly , with large refunds often accruing to powerful business interests . On this point , Randall was successful , and the House accepted an amendment that required all cases for refunds over \$ 500 to be tried before a federal district court . He also worked toward the elimination of taxation on tea , coffee , cigars , and matches , all of which Randall believed fell disproportionately on the poor . Relief from taxation made these items cheaper for the average American , while increasing reliance on tariffs helped the industrial owners and workers in Randall 's district , as it made foreign products more expensive .

Tariff legislation generally found favor with Randall , which put him more often in alliance with Republicans than Democrats . In the late 1860s and early 1870s , Randall worked to raise tariffs on a wide variety of imported goods . Even so , he sometimes differed with the Republicans when he believed the tariff proposed was too high ; biographer Alfred V. House describes Randall 's attitude as supporting " higher tariff rates ... largely because he believed that the benefits of such high rates were passed on to the labor population . " In 1870 , he opposed the pig iron tariff as too high , against the wishes of fellow Pennsylvanian William " Pig Iron " Kelley . Randall called his version of protectionism " incidental protection " : he believed that tariffs should be high enough to support the cost of running the government , but only applied to those industries that needed tariff protection to survive foreign competition .

= = = Appropriations and investigations = = =

While the Democrats were in the minority , Randall spent much of his time scrutinizing the Republicans ' appropriations bills . During the Grant administration , he questioned thousands of items in the appropriation bills , often gaining the support of Republicans in excising expenditures that were in excess of the departments ' needs . He proposed a bill that would end the practice , common at the time , of executive departments spending beyond what they had been appropriated , then petitioning Congress to retroactively approve the spending with a supplemental appropriation ; the legislation passed and became law . The supplemental appropriations were typically rushed through at the end of a session with little debate . Reacting to the large grants of land given to railroads , he also sought unsuccessfully to ban all land grants to private corporations .

Investigating appropriations led Randall to focus on financial impropriety in Congress and the Grant administration . The most famous of these was the Crédit Mobilier scandal . In this scheme , the Union Pacific Railroad bankrupted itself by overpaying its construction company , the Crédit Mobilier of America . Crédit Mobilier was owned by the railroad 's principal shareholders and , as the investigation discovered , several congressmen also owned shares that they had been allowed to purchase at discounted prices . Randall 's role in the investigation was limited , but he proposed bills to ban such frauds and sought to impeach Vice President Schuyler Colfax , who had been implicated in the scandal . Randall was involved with the investigation of several other scandals , as well , including tax fraud by private tax collection contractors ( known as the Sanborn incident ) and fraud in the awarding of postal contracts ( the star route scandal ) .

Randall was caught on the wrong side of one scandal in 1873 when Congress passed a retroactive pay increase . On the last day of the term , the 42nd Congress voted to raise its members ' pay by 50 % , including a raise made retroactive to the beginning of the term . Randall voted for the pay raise , and against the amendment that would have removed the retroactive provision . The law , later known as the Salary Grab Act , provoked outrage across the country . Randall defended the Act , saying that an increased salary would " put members of Congress beyond temptation " and reduce fraud . Seeing the unpopularity of the Salary Grab , the incoming 43rd Congress repealed it

almost immediately , with Randall voting for repeal .

= = = Rise to prominence = = =

Democrats remained in the minority when the 43rd Congress convened in 1873 . Randall continued his opposition to measures proposed by Republicans , especially those intended to increase the power of the federal government . That term saw the introduction of a new civil rights bill with farther @-@ reaching ambitions than any before it . Previous acts had seen the use of federal courts and troops to guarantee that black men and women could not be deprived of their civil rights by any state . Now Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts proposed a new bill , aimed at requiring equal rights in all public accommodations . When Sumner died in 1874 , his bill had not passed , but others from the radical wing of the Republican Party , including Representative Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts , continued to work for its enactment .

Randall stood against this measure , as he had against nearly all Reconstruction laws . A lack of consensus delayed the bill from coming to a vote until the lame @-@ duck session beginning in December 1874 . By that time , disillusionment with the Grant administration and worsening economic conditions had translated into a Democratic victory in the mid @-@ term elections . When the 44th Congress gathered in March 1875 , the House would have a Democratic majority for the first time since the Civil War . In the meantime , the outgoing Republicans made one last effort to pass Sumner 's civil rights bill ; Randall and other Democrats immediately used parliamentary maneuvers to bring action to a stand @-@ still , hoping to delay passage until the Congress ended . Randall led his caucus in filibustering the bill , at one point remaining on the floor for 72 hours . In the end , the Democrats peeled away some Republican votes , but not enough to defeat the bill , which passed by a vote of 162 to 100 . Despite the defeat , Randall 's filibuster increased his prominence in the eyes of his Democratic colleagues .

As Democrats took control of the House in 1875 , Randall was considered among the candidates for Speaker of the House . Many in the caucus hesitated , however , believing Randall to be too close to railroad interests and uncertain on the money question . His leadership in the Salary Grab may have harmed him , as well . Randall was also occupied by an intra @-@ party battle with William A. Wallace for control of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party . Wallace , who had been elected to the United States Senate in 1874 , was weakened by rumors that he had taken bribes from the railroads while a member of the State Senate . Randall wanted control of the Democratic machine statewide , and the Wallace faction 's vulnerability on the bribery rumors provided the opportunity . In January 1875 , he had friends in the state legislature begin an investigation into Wallace 's clique , which ultimately turned state Democratic leaders against the senator . At the state Democratic convention in September 1875 , Randall ( with the help of his old ally , Squire McMullen ) triumphed , putting his men in control of the state party .

In the meantime , the divisions in the state party proved ruinous for Randall 's chances at the Speaker 's chair . Instead , the Democrats decided on Michael C. Kerr of Indiana , who was elected . Randall was instead named chairman of the Appropriations Committee . In that post , he focused on reducing the government 's spending , and cut the budget by \$ 30 @,@ 000 @,@ 000 , despite opposition from the Republican Senate . Kerr 's health was fragile , and he was often absent from sessions , but Randall refused to take his place as speaker on a temporary basis , preferring to concentrate on his appropriations work . Kerr and Randall began to work more closely together through 1876 , but Kerr died in August of that year , leaving the Speakership vacant once again .

= = Speaker of the House = =

= = = Hayes and Tilden = = =

After Kerr 's death , Randall was the consensus choice of the Democratic caucus , and was elected to the Speakership when Congress returned to Washington on December 2 , 1876 . He assumed

the chair at a tumultuous time , as the presidential election had just concluded the previous month with no clear winner . The Democratic candidate , Samuel J. Tilden of New York , had 184 electoral votes , just shy of the 185 needed for victory . Rutherford B. Hayes , the Republican , had 163 ; the remaining 22 votes were in doubt .

Randall spent early December in conference with Tilden while committees examined the votes from the disputed states . The counts of the disputed ballots were inconclusive , with each of the states in question producing two sets of returns : one signed by Democratic officials , the other by Republicans , each claiming victory for their man . By January 1877 , with the question still unresolved , Congress and President Grant agreed to submit the matter to a bipartisan Electoral Commission , which would be authorized to determine the fate of the disputed electoral votes .

Randall supported the idea , believing it the best solution to an intractable problem . The bill passed , providing for a commission of five representatives , five senators , and five Supreme Court justices . To ensure partisan balance , there would be seven Democrats and seven Republicans ; the fifteenth member was to be a Supreme Court justice chosen by the other four on the commission ( themselves two Republicans and two Democrats ) . Justice David Davis , an independent respected by both parties , was expected to be their choice , but he upset the careful planning by accepting election to the Senate by the state of Illinois and refusing to serve on the commission . The remaining Supreme Court justices were all Republicans and , with the addition of Justice Joseph P. Bradley to the place intended for Davis , the commission had an 8 ? 7 Republican majority . Randall nevertheless favored the compromise , even voting in favor of it in the roll call vote ( the Speaker usually does not vote ) . The commission met and awarded all of the disputed ballots to Hayes by an 8 ? 7 party @-@ line vote .

Democrats were outraged , and many demanded that they filibuster the final count in the House . Randall did not commit , but permitted the House to take recesses several times , delaying the decision . As the March 4 inauguration day approached , leaders of both parties met at Wormley 's Hotel in Washington to negotiate a compromise . Republicans promised that , in exchange for Democratic acquiescence in the Commission 's decision , Hayes would order federal troops to withdraw from the South and accept the election of Democratic governments in the remaining " unredeemed " states there . The Democratic leadership , including Randall , agreed and the filibuster ended .

= = = Monetary disputes = = =

Randall returned to Washington in March 1877 at the start of the 45th Congress and was reelected Speaker . As the session began , many in the Democratic caucus were determined to repeal the Specie Payment Resumption Act of 1875 . That Act , passed when Republicans last controlled the House , was intended to gradually withdraw all greenbacks from circulation , replacing them with dollars backed in specie ( i.e. , gold or silver ) . With the elimination of the silver dollar in 1873 , this would effectively return the United States to the gold standard for the first time since before the Civil War . Randall , who had voted against the act in 1875 , agreed to let the House vote on its repeal , which narrowly passed . The Senate , still controlled by Republicans , declined to act on the bill .

The attempt at repeal did not end the controversy over silver . Democratic Representative Richard P. Bland of Missouri proposed a bill that would require the United States to buy as much silver as miners could sell the government and strike it into coins , a system that would increase the money supply and aid debtors . In short , silver miners would sell the government metal worth fifty to seventy cents , and receive back a silver dollar . Randall allowed the bill to come to the floor for an up @-@ or @-@ down vote during a special session in November 1877 : the result was its passage by a vote of 163 to 34 ( with 94 members absent ) . The pro @-@ silver idea cut across party lines , and William B. Allison , a Republican from Iowa led the effort in the Senate . Allison offered an amendment in the Senate requiring the purchase of two to four million dollars per month of silver , but not allowing private deposit of silver at the mints . Thus , the seignorage , or difference between the face value of the coin and the worth of the metal contained within it accrued to the government 's credit , not private citizens . President Hayes vetoed the bill , but Congress overrode the veto , and

the Bland ? Allison Act became law .

= = = Potter committee = = =

As the 1880 presidential elections approached , many Democrats remained convinced Tilden had been robbed of the presidency in 1876 . In the House , Tilden supporter Clarkson Nott Potter of New York sought an investigation into the 1876 election in Florida and Louisiana , hoping that evidence of Republican malfeasance would harm that party 's candidate in 1880 . The Democratic caucus , including Randall , unanimously endorsed the idea , and the committee convened in May 1878 . Some in the caucus wished to investigate the entire election , but Randall and the more moderate members worked to limit the committee 's reach to the two disputed states .

Randall left no doubt about his sympathies when he assigned members to the committee , stacking it with Hayes 's enemies from both parties . The committee 's investigation had the opposite of the Democrats ' intended effect , uncovering telegrams from Tilden 's nephew , William Tilden Pelton , offering bribes to Southern Republicans in the disputed states to help Tilden claim their votes . The Pelton telegrams were in code , which the committee was able to decode ; Republicans had also sent ciphered dispatches , but the committee was unable to decode them . The ensuing excitement fizzled out by June 1878 as the Congress went into recess .

= = = Reelected Speaker = = =

As the 46th Congress convened in 1879 , the Democratic caucus was reduced , but they still held a plurality of seats . The new House contained 152 Democrats , 139 Republicans , and 20 independents , most of whom were affiliated with the Greenback Party . Many of Randall 's fellow Democrats differed with him over protectionism and his lack of support for Southern railroad subsidies , and considered choosing Joseph Clay Stiles Blackburn of Kentucky as their nominee for Speaker , instead . Several other Southerners ' names were floated , too , as anti @-@ Randall Democrats tried to coalesce around a single candidate ; in the end , none could be found and the caucus chose Randall as their nominee with 107 votes out of 152 . With some Democrats not yet present , however , the Democrats began to fear that the Republicans and Greenbackers would strike a deal to combine their votes to elect James A. Garfield of Ohio as Speaker . When the time for the vote came , however , Garfield refused to make any compromises with the third @-@ party men , and Randall and the Democrats were able to organize the House once more .

= = = Civil rights and the army = = =

Randall 's determination to cut spending , combined with Southern Democrats ' desire to reduce federal power in their home states , led the House to pass an army appropriation bill with a rider that repealed the Enforcement Acts , which had been used to suppress the Ku Klux Klan . The Enforcement Acts , passed during Reconstruction over Democratic opposition , made it a crime to prevent someone from voting because of his race . Hayes was determined to preserve the law protecting black voters , and he vetoed the appropriation . The Democrats did not have enough votes to override the veto , but they passed a new bill with the same rider . Hayes vetoed this as well , and the process was repeated three times more . Finally , Hayes signed an appropriation without the rider , but Congress refused to pass another bill to fund federal marshals , who were vital to the enforcement of the Enforcement Acts . The election laws remained in effect , but the funds to enforce them were curtailed . Randall 's role in the process was limited , but the Democrats ' failure to force Hayes 's acquiescence weakened his appeal as a potential presidential candidate in 1880 .

= = = 1880 presidential election = = =

As the 1880 elections approached , Randall had two goals : to increase his control of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party , and to nominate Tilden for president . His efforts at the former in

1875 had been successful , but Senator William Wallace 's faction was again growing powerful . If he wanted to hold the Speakership , as well as to wield influence in the next presidential canvass , Randall believed he must have a united state party behind him . To that end , Randall spent much of his time outside of Congress travelling around his home state to line up support at the state convention in 1880 . Some of his allies ' enthusiasm backfired against him , however , after McMullen and some supporters broke up an anti @-@ Randall meeting in Philadelphia 's 5th ward with such violence that one man was left dead .

When the state convention gathered in April 1880 , Randall was confident of victory , but soon found that the Wallace faction outnumbered his . Wallace 's majority scrambled the party 's organization in Philadelphia and , although some Randall supporters received seats , the majority owed allegiance to the senator . Despite the defeat , Randall pressed on for Tilden , both in Pennsylvania and elsewhere . As rumors circulated that Tilden 's health would keep him from running again , Randall remained a loyal Tilden man up to the national convention that June . After the first ballot , the New York delegation released a letter from Tilden in which he withdrew from consideration . Randall hoped for the ex @-@ Tilden delegates to rally to him . Many did so , and Randall surged to second place on the second ballot , but the momentum had shifted to another candidate , Major General Winfield Scott Hancock . Nearly all of the delegates shifted to Hancock , and he was nominated .

Randall believed he had been betrayed by many he had thought would support him , but carried on regardless in support of his party 's nominee . Hancock ( who remained on active duty ) and the Republican nominee , James A. Garfield , did not campaign directly , in keeping with the customs of that time , but campaigns were conducted by other party members , including Randall . Speaking in Pennsylvania and around the Midwest , Randall did his best to rally the people to Hancock against Garfield , but without success . Garfield was elected with 214 electoral votes ? including those of Pennsylvania . Worse still for Randall , Garfield 's victory had swept the Republicans back into a majority in the House , meaning Randall 's time as Speaker was at an end .

= = Later House service = =

= = = Tariffs = = =

When Randall returned to Washington in 1881 to begin his term in the 47th Congress , the legislature was controlled by Republicans . After Garfield 's assassination later that year , Vice President Chester A. Arthur assumed the presidency . Arthur , like most Republicans , favored high tariffs , but he sought to simplify the tariff structure and to reduce excise taxes . Randall , who had returned to his seat on the Appropriations Committee , favored the president 's plan , and was among the few Democrats in the House to support the it . The bill that emerged from the Ways and Means Committee , dominated by protectionists , provided for only a 10 percent reduction . After conference with the Senate , the resulting bill had an even smaller effect , reducing tariffs by an average of 1 @.@ 47 percent . It passed both houses narrowly on March 3 , 1883 , the last full day of the 47th Congress ; Arthur signed the measure into law . Toward the end , Randall took less part in the debate , feeling the tension between his supporters in the House , who wanted more reductions , and his constituents at home , who wanted less .

The Democrats recaptured the House after the 1882 elections , but the incoming majority in the 48th Congress was divided on tariffs , with Randall 's protectionist faction in the minority . The new Democratic caucus was more Southern and Western than in previous Congresses , and contained many new members who were unfamiliar with Randall . This led many to propose selecting a Speaker more in line with their own views , rather than returning Randall to the office . Randall 's attempt to canvass the incoming representatives was further hampered by an attack of the gout . In the end , John G. Carlisle of Kentucky , an advocate of tariff reform , bested Randall in a poll of the Democratic caucus by a vote of 104 to 53 .

Carlisle selected William Ralls Morrison , another tariff reformer , to lead the Ways and Means



committee , but allowed Randall to take charge of Appropriations . Morrison 's committee produced a bill proposing tariff reductions of 20 % ; Randall opposed the idea from the start , as did the Republicans . Another bout of illness kept Randall away from Congress at a crucial time in April 1884 , and the tariff bill passed a procedural hurdle by just two votes . Two days later , Randall 's Appropriations committee reported several funding bills with his support . Many Democrats who had voted for Morrison 's tariff were thereby reminded that Randall had the power to defeat spending that was important to them ; when the final vote came , enough switched sides to join with Republicans in defeating the reform 156 to 151 .

= = = Presidential election of 1884 = = =

As in 1880 , the contest for the Democratic nomination for president in 1884 began under the shadow of Tilden . Declining health forced Tilden 's withdrawal by June 1884 , and Randall felt free to pursue his own chance at the presidency . He gathered some of the Pennsylvania delegates to his cause , but by the time the convention assembled in July , most of the former Tilden adherents had gathered around New York governor Grover Cleveland . Early in the convention , Randall met with Daniel Manning , Cleveland 's campaign manager , and soon thereafter Randall 's delegates were instructed to cast their votes for Cleveland . As his biographer , House , wrote , the " actual bargain struck between Randall and Manning is not known , but ... events would seem to show that Randall was promised control of federal patronage in Pennsylvania . "

Cleveland 's campaign made extensive use of Randall , as he made speeches for Cleveland in New England , Pennsylvania , Ohio , Virginia , New York , and Connecticut , mainly in places where potential voters needed to be reassured that the Democrats did not want to lower the tariff so much that they would lose their jobs . In a close election , Cleveland was elected over his Republican opponent , James G. Blaine . Randall also took two tours of the South in 1884 after the election . Although , he claimed the trips to be of a personal nature , they generated speculation that Randall was gathering support for another run at the Speakership in 1885 .

= = = Resisting tariff reform = = =

As the 49th Congress gathered in 1885 , Cleveland 's position on the tariff was still largely unknown . Randall declined to challenge Carlisle for Speaker , busying himself instead with the federal patronage in Pennsylvania and continued leadership of the Appropriations committee . In February 1886 , Morrison , still the chairman of Ways and Means , proposed a bill to decrease the surplus by buying and cancelling \$ 10 million worth of federal bonds each month . Cleveland opposed the plan , and Randall joined 13 Democrats and most Republicans in defeating it . Later that year , however , Cleveland supported Morrison 's attempt to reduce the tariff . Again , Republicans and Randall 's protectionist bloc combined to sink the measure . In the lame @-@ duck session of 1887 , Randall attempted a compromise tariff that would eliminate duties on some raw materials while also dispensing with excises on tobacco and some liquors . The bill attracted some support from Southern Democrats and Randall 's protectionists , but Republicans and the rest of the Democratic caucus rejected it .

= = = Declining influence = = =

The tariff fight continued into the 50th Congress , which opened in 1887 , in which Democrats retained control of the House , with a reduced majority . By that time , Cleveland had openly sided with the tariff reformers and backed the proposals introduced in 1888 by Representative Roger Q. Mills of Texas . Mills had replaced Morrison at Ways and Means after the latter 's defeat for reelection , and was as much in favor of tariff reform as the Illinoisan had been . Mills 's bill would make small cuts to tariffs on raw materials , but relatively deeper cuts to those on manufactured goods ; Randall , representing a manufacturing district , opposed it immediately . Randall was again ill and absent from the House when the Mills tariff passed by a 162 to 149 vote . The Senate , now

Republican @-@ controlled , refused to consider the bill , and it died with the 50th Congress in 1889

Mills 's and Cleveland 's defeat on the tariff bill could be considered a victory for Randall , but the vote showed how isolated the former Speaker 's protectionist ideas now made him in his party : only four Democrats voted against the tariff reductions . The state party likewise turned against Randall and toward free trade , adopting a pro @-@ tariff revision platform at the 1888 state Democratic convention . At the same time , Randall seemingly reversed his long @-@ standing commitment to fiscal economy by voting with the Republicans to override Cleveland 's veto of the Dependent and Disability Pension Act . The Act would have given a pension to every Union veteran ( or their widows ) who claimed he could no longer perform physical labor , regardless of whether his disability was war @-@ related . Cleveland 's veto was in line with his record of small @-@ government cost @-@ cutting , with which Randall would normally have sympathized . Randall , perhaps in an effort to gain favor with veterans in his district , joined the Republicans in an unsuccessful attempt to override Cleveland 's veto . Another possibility proposed by biographer House is that Randall saw the federal budget surplus as reason to cut tariffs ; by increasing federal spending , he hoped to decrease the surplus and maintain the need for high tariffs . Whatever the reason , the attempt failed and left Randall further alienated from his fellow Democrats .

= = = Death = = =

Randall 's positions on tariffs and pensions had made him , according to The New York Times , " a practical Republican " by 1888 . Voting with the opposing party so frequently was an effective tactic , as he faced only token Republican opposition for reelection that year . Randall 's health continued to decline . When the new congress began in 1889 , he received special permission to be sworn into office from his bed , where he was confined . The new Speaker , Republican Thomas Brackett Reed of Maine , appointed Randall to the Rules and Appropriations committees , but he had no impact during that term .

On April 12 , 1890 , Randall died of colon cancer in his Washington home . He had recently joined the First Presbyterian Church in the capital , and his funeral was held there . He was buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia . Elected every two years from 1862 to 1888 , Randall was the only prominent Democrat continuously on the national scene between those years . In an obituary , the Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association described the congressman who had consistently protected their industry : " Not a great scholar , nor a great orator , nor a great writer , Samuel J. Randall was nevertheless a man of sterling common sense , quick perceptions , great courage , broad views and extraordinary capacity for work . " The only scholarly works on his life are a master 's thesis by Sidney I. Pomerantz , written in 1932 , and a doctoral dissertation by Albert V. House , from 1934 ; both are unpublished . His papers were collected by the University of Pennsylvania library in the 1950s and he has been the subject of several journal articles ( many by House ) , but , as of 2015 , awaits a full scholarly biography .

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