

From 'Factions' to Attack Ads – A History of American Politics

Class 3

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What We Will Cover Today

- Finish up on Jacksonian Democracy and its Implications
- Major Trends impacting on Politics
 - Democratization
 - The Westward Movement
 - Innovations in Printed Media
 - Cultures Become Sections
 - Slavery and a distinct South
 - Industry and the North
 - The Transportation Revolution
 - Political Conventions

What We Will Cover Today

- The 1840 & 1844 Elections
- The Mexican War and its consequences
- Immigration and the Collapse of the Second Party System
- The Election of 1860

Jackson's Political Views

- Saw a national debt as an evil
- Saw large concentrations of power as a threat to both democracy and liberty
 - Opposed to the Bank of the United States
- Supported states rights
- Strongly opposed nullification
- Opposed federal funding of internal improvements
- Supported Indian removal
- Believed the role of the Federal government should be restricted to those specifically mentioned in the Constitution

Jackson's Political Views - 2

- Favored the spoils system
 - Reflected his belief in term limits for bureaucrats
 - Believed that an entrenched permanent bureaucracy would serve itself rather than the public
 - Believed that most federal jobs were so simple that anyone could do them

Jackson's Political Innovations

- Built up a campaign organization unlike any seen before
 - Won support of, or established, a chain of newspapers to publicize Jackson and his views
 - Established a network of financial supporters who subsidized pro-Jackson newspapers, and published campaign-related pamphlets and paraphernalia
 - Established links with Tammany Hall in New York

Key Events of Jackson's Presidency

- **The Battle of the Petticoats**
- Indian Removal
- **Veto of the Rechartering of the BUS**
- The Maysville Veto
- **Resistance to Nullification**
- Paying off the National Debt
- Appointment of 6 Supreme Court justices, including Chief Justice Roger B. Taney
- Institution of the Spoils System

The Battle of the Petticoats - 1

- Margaret “Peggy” Eaton was the well-educated, vivacious daughter of the owner of the Franklin House, a Washington boarding house
- In 1828, Peggy married Senator John Eaton, soon to be Jackson’s Secretary of War
- This and Peggy Eaton’s past led Cabinet wives and Washington socialites to snub Mrs Eaton

The Battle of the Petticoats - 2

- Jackson had lost his wife, Rachel, months before his inauguration
 - He blamed her death on the vicious attacks made upon her
 - He saw Peggy Eaton as an innocent victim of the same type of slanderous allegations
- Since Martin Van Buren, a widower and Secretary of State, was kind to Mrs Eaton, he rose in Jackson's favor

The Battle of the Petticoats - 3

- Since Floride Calhoun had led the attack on Mrs Eaton, Jackson, who felt that the Vice President gave at least tacit approval to the attacks, became alienated from his Vice President
- The controversy led Jackson to demand the resignation of his cabinet
 - He then named Van Buren as Ambassador to Britain
- The vote on Van Buren's confirmation was a tie, allowing Calhoun to cast the deciding vote against Van Buren
 - This caused Jackson to go ballistic

The Battle of the Petticoats - 4

- The break between Jackson and Calhoun led Calhoun to resign the vice presidency and seek election to the Senate from SC
 - His presidential ambitions destroyed, Calhoun began a transformation from American nationalist to Southern sectionalist
- The Peggy Eaton affair led to Jackson choosing Van Buren as his Vice Presidential nominee in 1832

Bank of the U.S.

- Bank served as the Federal Government's fiscal agent even though it was a private bank
 - Handled its deposits (including tax receipts) and payments
 - Could issue its own currency notes
 - Issued 40% of all bank notes in circulation
 - By changing its demands on state and local banks for specie, it could regulate the whole economy
 - Conducted normal commercial bank functions

Bank of the U.S. - 2

- Jackson with his strict constructionist views saw the BUS as constitutionally illegal
 - When Congress created it, it asserted a power not given to it by the Constitution
- Jackson saw the BUS as having a corrupting influence
- Jackson believed that specie constituted the only legitimate currency and that banks had no business issuing paper currency

The End of the BUS - 1

- While the BUS charter did not expire until 1836, Henry Clay in 1832 had Congress pass a bill to recharter the Bank
 - Clay saw it as a win-win issue
 - If Jackson approved the bill, the BUS's future was secure
 - If Jackson unexpectedly vetoed the bill, Clay would have an issue he could use against Jackson in the 1832 election
- Jackson vetoed the bill
 - Claimed that it was unconstitutional
 - Denounced the BUS as an instrument of special privilege that favored rich at the expense of the “humble members of society – the farmers, mechanics, and laborers”

The End of the BUS - 2

- After the veto
 - Jackson withdrew Federal deposits from the BUS and deposited them in pet state banks
 - Biddle worked to defeat Jackson
 - Subsidized anti-Jackson newspapers
 - Distributed anti-Jackson pamphlets, tracts, and journals
 - Made loans to pro-Bank congressmen
- The BUS veto became a major point of political polarization in the electorate
 - Broke the Republican party into two distinct factions – the Jacksonian Democrats and the anti-Jacksonian National Republicans (soon to be Whigs)

Effects of the BUS veto

- Ensured the reelection of Jackson in 1832 and of his chosen successor, Van Buren, in 1836
- Led to a lending bubble on the part of the pet state banks
- When the bubble burst, the result was the Panic of 1837
- By destroying the BUS without providing a substitute for it, the veto left the U.S. banking system in a chaotic state
 - It was not until the creation of the Federal Reserve system in 1913, that the U.S. had an entity that could do what the BUS could do

Tariffs - 1

- Apart from slavery, the tariff was the most heated political issue in the 19th Century
 - Manufacturers in New England and the mid-Atlantic states favored tariffs to shield themselves from foreign competition
 - Westerners favored tariffs as a source of funds for internal improvements that would link the West to the rest of the nation
 - Southern farmers and planters saw tariffs as punitive legislation that forced them to subsidize Northern manufacturers

Tariffs - 2

- In 1789, Congress enacted a tariff law to raise revenue for the new government
 - Rate of 15% on iron, nails, hemp & glass and 5% on everything else
 - Hamilton saw tariffs as way to enable American manufacturers to undersell their foreign competitors
- In 1816, Congress enacted the first protective tariff – with the goal not only of raising revenue but also protecting American manufacturers from foreign competition
 - The average tariff rate was raised to 20%

Tariffs - 3

- In 1828, in the so-called “Tariff of Abominations,” the average rate was raised to over 60%
 - This was higher than even the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930
- Its enactment was the result of a political ploy by Jackson’s supporters that backfired

Nullification - 1

- The Tariff of Abominations led to the Nullification controversy
 - This raised the issue of where sovereignty lay
- Nullification provoked by
 - Jackson's proposed tariff bill of 1832
 - Calhoun's change of view
 - Calhoun's break with Jackson as a result of the Peggy Eaton affair

Nullification - 2

- SC legislature
 - Declared the tariffs unconstitutional and thus null and void
 - Barred collection of the tariff in SC
 - Threatened secession if the Federal government attempted to intervene
- Jackson responded vigorously
 - Dispatched warships to Charleston harbor
 - Issued a proclamation stating that no state has a power to annul a law of the United States
 - Asked Congress to enact a “force bill” authorizing use of the military to enforce the tariff law in SC

Nullification - 3

- While Jackson believed in states rights, he also believed that the Federal government had legitimate constitutional powers
 - This included the right to enact a tariff
- Thus any attempt by a state to nullify a Federal law was both unconstitutional and incompatible with the existence of the Union
- Jackson also believed that in a democracy the majority had a right to govern

Effects of the Nullification Episode

- The Nullification episode was a portent of eventual disunion and civil war
- It provided a precedent for Lincoln's actions in the Secession Crisis of 1861
- It led many Southern planters and states rights advocates to abandon the Jacksonian Democrats in favor of the Whigs
 - This led to a Whig Party with two very disparate wings that had little in common except opposition to Jackson and the economic linkage of Southern cotton producers and Northern textile manufacturers

Trends that Worked for Jackson

- Jackson's election was in part the consequence of three interlinked long-trend trends
 - Westward movement
 - Democratization
 - Printed Media revolution
- These trends continued long after Jackson

Starting Trends

- The Jacksonian era also saw the beginnings of two new interlinked developments (which we will discuss later)
 - The Transportation Revolution
 - Political Conventions as the means of selecting presidential candidates

Westward Movement

Westward Movement - 1

- Westward migration was a constant due to both native population growth and immigration
 - Surplus rural population migrated westward in search of farms and livelihood
 - Without fertilizer, farmland often lost its productivity leading landowners to sell or abandon farms and move west
 - Unemployment in the East often led workers to seek employment in the West

Westward Movement - 2

- The new demand for short-staple cotton plus exhaustion of old cotton- and tobacco-growing lands promoted movement to the Old Southwest
 - Led to the expansion of both the Virginia/Tidewater South culture and the Frontier culture and their eventual merger into a Southern sectional culture
 - Converted semi-subsistence farmers from the Piedmont into cash-crop cotton producers

Westward Movement - 3

- The Old Northwest developed differently from the Old Southwest due to the following factors:
 - The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery
 - The Erie Canal and the railroads linked the Old Northwest economically to the Mid-Atlantic states and New England
 - Settlement patterns differed

Westward Movement - 4

- Settlement patterns of the Old Northwest
 - The southern parts of Ohio, Indiana & Illinois were largely settled by southerners and became corn & hog country
 - The northern areas of those same states plus Michigan, Wisconsin, & Minnesota were largely settled by New Englanders who grew wheat, cattle, and orchard fruit
 - In between the Yankees and the southerners were settlers from the Middle Atlantic states.
 - Cincinnati was a Middle State enclave in an Upland South area

Westward Movement - 5

- The Westward Movement
 - Led to the spreading of the four founding cultures
 - Each culture brought to its new westward environment its own characteristic values, lifestyles, settlement patterns, religious affiliations, political orientations, and even their housing & cooking
 - To some extent, it mingled two or more of the founding cultures
 - Fostered democratization
 - Western territories and states saw liberalized voting as a means of attracting settlers

Democratization and its Consequences

Democratization - 1

- Most of the colonies had established either a property or taxpaying qualification for voting
 - Actual enfranchisement, however, was fairly high.
- During and soon after the Revolution, two factors extended the franchise
 - The shift in a number of states from a property qualification to a taxpaying qualification
 - Inflation which imposed ‘bracket creep’ on statutory qualifications

Democratization - 2

- States also enacted other reforms in the 1780s and 1790s which increased the number of voters
 - Increasing the number of polling places – one in each township as opposed as few as one in each county.
 - More frequent elections
 - More offices being elective rather than appointive
 - Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and state senators became elective offices

Democratization - 3

- In the 1820s, the states abolished the remaining property qualifications for voting
 - No state admitted after 1815 had a property requirement for voting
 - Territories seeking statehood saw voting liberalization as a means of increasing population to qualify for statehood
 - New territories and states saw increased settlement as a means of raising land values, increasing the tax base, and promoting economic development

Democratization - 4

- By 1824, 18 of the 24 states had decided that presidential electors should be chosen by the voters rather than by state legislators
- By 1828, 22 of the 24 states had their presidential electors chosen by the voters

Effects of Democratization - 1

- Democratization of the electorate had several consequences
 - Vastly expanded the number of voters
 - This made the political party a necessary intermediary between the voters and the candidates for public office
 - Along with immigration, gave rise to the political machine
 - Along with the political party, gave rise to the political convention as the means and forum for selecting presidential candidates

Effects of Democratization - 2

- In the American electoral system
 - There was a strong push toward a national two-party system
 - This meant that American politics would not see a number of ideologically-united or ethnically-based parties as was common in Europe
 - With democratization, this meant that each party contained several factions
 - While these factions might share common values (or common dislikes), they often differed on ideological, policy, issue, and candidate grounds.
 - While third parties would have little impact unless they had a strong geographic base

Effects of Democratization - 3

- Left American politics with a two-party system of ritual politics
 - Parties existed primarily to win elections and enjoy the spoils of office and only secondarily to enact specific policies
 - Avoided commitments on specific policies
 - Focused on issues of high emotional content
 - Stressed personalities rather than issues
 - Engaged in “negative campaigning” and mudslinging

Effects of Democratization - 4

- Helped turn political campaigns into forms of mass entertainment
 - By 1840, campaigns featured giant barbecues, parades, torchlight processions, sing-alongs, posters, and rallies
- Led to political campaigns designed to foster a spirit of group loyalty in voters rather than voters' rational evaluation of the candidates and issues

Notes About Democratization

- The change from the 18th century to the 19th century represented:
 - A shift from the concept that property qualifications were necessary for a voter to exercise independent political judgment to the concept that voting was a right of all adult white males
 - A shift from the personal authority of gentlemen to the impersonal authority of party
 - From a voter's personal knowledge of the candidate to a knowledge of the opinions of the party and its most active partisans

A Key Point About Democratization -1

- In the U.S., democratization occurred before large numbers of either white, male wage workers or immigrants appeared
 - This meant that the white working class had the right to vote so that they:
 - Joined existing political parties and saw politics through the prism of ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural differences rather than class differences

A Key Point About Democratization - 2

- In Europe, the working classes did not gain the right to vote until after an industrial proletariat had been created
 - This meant that European workers had to struggle to gain the right to vote
 - This struggle created a strong sense of class consciousness and a consequent propensity to vote for Socialist and/or politically radical parties

A Key Point About Democratization - 3

- In Europe:
 - Socialist parties became major factors in late-19th and 20th century politics in Great Britain (under the name of the Labor party), France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere
 - In some countries, even a Communist party became a major factor in electoral politics
- In the U.S.:
 - Socialist parties were only marginal factors in politics
 - They elected a few mayors, state legislators, and a handful of Congressmen

Summary Notes About Jacksonian Era Voting

- Political leaders, except for some local offices, were not personally known by the voter. You voted for a candidate because you supported his political party
- Elections were the culmination of a months' long campaign involving banners, torchlight parades, and election hoopla
- The voter's connection to a party was based less on its stand on public policies and more on a strong sense of partisan loyalty
- The act of voting was an act of solidarity motivated by cultural loyalty and a dislike of groups associated with the other party

Newspaper & Printed Media Innovations

News and Newspapers

- Some Notes About Newspapers
 - Until the 19th century, almost all newspapers were weeklies whose content consisted largely of advertisements and news from outside the community. This was so for two reasons
 - Until the 19th century, printing remained a handicraft process
 - In small communities, local news could travel via the grapevine far quicker than by newspaper. Thus newspapers focused on news originating elsewhere

Innovations

- In the 19th Century, printing and the newspaper saw many innovations. Among those that had an impact in the Jacksonian and pre-Civil War eras were:
 - Steam-powered presses
 - Penny press
 - Stereotyping
 - Pornography as a political weapon
 - Reporters
 - News wire services (Associated Press & Reuters)
 - Investigative reporting

19th Century Printing Innovations

- Use of steam power in printing
 - 1810 – Friedrich Koenig uses steam power to run a press
 - Could print 1,100 sheets an hour (4X that of hand presses), later improved to 4,000 sheets an hour
 - 1846 – Richard Hoe invents the Rotary press. This allowed
 - Printing on both sides of a sheet of paper simultaneously
 - Automated printing on continuous rolls of paper

Impact of Mass Printing - 1

- Made possible the rise of the “penny” press
 - Depended on advertising revenues and newspaper sales rather than upon subsidies and printing contracts from political parties
 - This led to:
 - “Sensationalism”,
 - A focus on local news and especially crime news and human interest stories ,
 - Less of a focus on political and business news

Impact of Mass Printing - 2

- Made possible the mass printing of relatively cheap books and pamphlets
 - Pamphlets were an ideal print medium for circulating opinions, sermons, and pornographic writings and images
 - Abolitionist mailings of anti-slavery pamphlets to the South led to riots, bans on sending abolitionist through the mail, and civil libertarian protests against such bans
 - This helped widen the growing breach between North and South

Impact of Mass Printing - 3

- Facilitated the rise of a print pornography industry
 - In the 19th century, Pornography was a profitable means for authors to attack and discredit Catholics, Slave owners, Mormons, and other groups
 - Anti-Catholics wrote numerous pornographic works describing in very graphic detail the alleged sexual misdeeds of priests and nuns
 - Abolitionists wrote extensively about slave masters allegedly raping their slaves

19th Century Newspaper Innovations

- Reporters
 - Early newspapers did not have reporters
 - Local News was acquired by conversations at the print shop or local tavern
 - National and Foreign News acquired from letters to the newspaper and from other newspapers
 - Reporting -- going into the field in search of news -- was a consequence of:
 - Newspaper competition
 - Faster and better means of communication (which encouraged the use of out-of-town and overseas correspondents)
 - Growth of cities (which created an appetite for local news that word-of-mouth could not meet).

19th Century Newspaper Innovations

- Telegraph
 - Revolutionized the newspaper business
 - Made feasible the use of out-of-town and foreign correspondents
 - Led to the creation of news wire services, such as the Associated Press and Reuters
 - Led to the inverted pyramid style of newspaper writing
 - Meant that political speeches and campaign events could be reported nationwide

19th Century Newspaper Innovations

- Investigative Journalism
 - Pioneered by the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times*
 - *Tribune's* investigation of the 1836 murder of Ellen Jewett
 - *Times'* expose of the Tweed Ring in 1870

Political Implications of Print & Newspaper Innovations - 1

- Vastly increased newspaper circulation
 - A political endorsement by a newspaper could swing an election
- Enabled obscure and unknown politicians to become known
 - Turned politicians into celebrities whose name was recognized far and wide
- Gave rise to political media events
 - Publicized parades, outings, picnics, speeches, etc

Political Implications of Print & Newspaper Innovations - 2

- Promoted the use of slander as a campaign technique
- Gave rise to the campaign poster, pamphlet, and campaign biography
- Turned newspaper publishers into persons with major political influence

Political Implications of Print & Newspaper Innovations - 3

- Investigative reporting led to the revelation of major political scandals
 - The Tweed Ring of Tammany Hall
- Because most newspapers were affiliated with, or subsidized by, a political party, newspapers give rise to raucous political debate and widespread participation by the voting populace

The Transportation Revolution and American Politics

The Transportation Revolution - 1

- Starting in the early-1800s, states had built turnpikes and canals
 - Travel was slow
 - Stagecoaches went 6 to 8 mph & were better at moving people than goods
 - Canals while good at moving bulk items were also slow and often not usable in the winter
 - River traffic was often one-way downstream

The Transportation Revolution - 2

- Steamboats, starting with Robert Fulton in 1807:
 - Enhanced the comparative advantage of water transportation
 - Permitted travel up-stream on rivers with powerful currents. E.g. the Mississippi
 - In 1817, a steamboat went from New Orleans to Louisville in 26 days. By 1826, the same voyage was down to 8 days
 - Reduced sailing times in the coastal trade

The Transportation Revolution - 3

- Railroads
 - Increased Volume of Passenger Traffic
 - Before the Charleston & Hamburg RR began operating between these two locations in 1833:
 - Passenger traffic was handled by a stagecoach 3 times a week
 - In 1835, railroad passenger traffic was 30,000 passengers a year
 - Increased Speed of Travel
 - In comparison with canal/river boats, the railroad cut travel time from Boston to Concord NH from 5 days upstream and 4 days downstream to 4 hours each way
 - It took Thomas Jefferson 10 days to travel from Monticello to Philadelphia. In 1850, it took the railroad 1 day

Railroads - 1

- In comparison with previous business enterprises, the railroad had some unique features
 - It was a public service enterprise that required enormous up-front outlays of capital
 - It was a geographically spread-out entity that required extensive coordination to operate
 - Once built, railroads were expensive to run and maintain – i.e. they were both capital-intensive and labor-intensive enterprises
 - The profitability of railroads required both the power of eminent domain and limited liability

Railroads - 2

- Railroads were corporations – only corporations could raise the enormous amounts of capital needed and had limited liability
- In addition to capital from stockholders and bondholders, railroads required subsidies initially from state governments and later from the Federal government
 - These subsidies took the form of state and municipal purchases of stock and Federal government land grants

Railroads - 3

- The railroads had a host of socio-economic effects
- Effects with political implications
 - The railroad created a national market for goods by destroying the transportation cost barrier that had protected local manufacturing monopolies from competition
 - This worked to the economic detriment of the South

Railroads - 4

- Effects with political implications (cont)
 - The railroad linked the agricultural Midwest to the industrial Northeast
 - The railroad deemphasized the economic ties that formerly bound the Midwest to the South via the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers
 - Linked the Upper South slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri economically to the North
 - This played a role in keeping these states in the Union during the Secession Crisis of 1861

Railroads - 5

- Effects with political implications (cont)
 - The railroads permitted performers, speakers, and politicians to tour much of the country and become well-known
 - Made it feasible for political parties to hold conventions to nominate candidates
 - The railroad facilitated the emergence of a national market for books and other publications

Railroads – Later Political Effects -

1

- Precipitated the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act - a major step on the road to war. This Act:
 - Led to the fracturing of the Democratic Party,
 - Was a major factor in the collapse of the Whig Party,
 - Led to the formation of the Republican Party
 - Led to “Bloody Kansas”

Railroad – Later Political Effects - 2

- As major corporate and economic entities with fixed in-place facilities and high sensitivity to governmental policies
 - Governments could effect railroad profitability via taxation, fare & safety regulation, subsidies (or lack thereof)
 - Governments could also affect profitability by exerting political pressure on railroad route selection
- Railroads became major political players on both the Federal and state level
 - They were major campaign contributors

Political Conventions and the Nominating of Presidential Candidates

Selecting Presidential Candidates

- The means of choosing presidential candidates has gone through stages
 - Congressional caucus/State legislature nominations
 - National political party convention selection of the presidential candidate
 - Presidential primary selection of the presidential candidate with the convention becoming a coronation

Congressional Caucus

- Presidential candidates nominated by their party's congressional caucus
- This system lasted from 1796 to 1824
- This system worked well as long as
 - The generation of leaders that fought the Revolution and wrote the Constitution was still around
 - Potential candidates were known to congressional leaders
 - There was an obvious line of presidential succession

State Legislatures & Conventions

- In 1824, the Congressional Caucus system broke down since its nominee, Crawford, was challenged by others
- In 1824, Adams, Clay, and Jackson persuaded their respective state legislatures to pass resolutions placing their names in nomination
- In 1825, the Tennessee legislature nominated Jackson as its candidate for the 1828 election

Conventions - 1

- The Anti-Masonic party was the first party to have a convention of party leaders choose the nominee
 - This was done in 1831
- Both the Democrats and the Whigs adopted the convention in 1832 since it was a way to involve state and local party leaders in the selection of the candidate and do away with the congressional caucus system.

Conventions - 2

- Conventions were made possible by the steamboat and railroad which made it possible to have gatherings in a distant city far from where many of the attendees lived
- They allowed state and local party leaders as well as elected officials to participate in the selection of a presidential nominee
- The primary purposes of the convention was to select the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and to write a platform

Conventions - 3

- Since the purpose of the party was to win elections:
 - Presidential nominees were selected largely on the basis of either high public visibility or acceptability to all of the major party factions
 - Vice-presidential nominees were often an afterthought, chosen to placate a faction of the party whose candidate for nominee had lost
 - Platforms tended to affirm universally-held beliefs and opinions, avoid controversial subjects, and lambaste the opposition

Conventions - 4

- Political conventions developed a set of traditions
 - Keynote speeches
 - Nominating speeches
 - Primary nominating speech
 - Mention all the great attributes of the candidate with his name not mentioned until the end of the speech
 - Demonstration
 - Seconding speeches
 - A delegation or a letter sent to inform the nominee of his nomination

Presidential Primaries

- Presidential primaries originated with the 1912 election
 - The importance of primaries lay not in their relatively few delegates, but in their ability to demonstrate vote-getting appeal to the party leaders
 - But winners of the primaries did not necessarily get the nomination
- After 1968, the McGovern Commission recommended that delegates be chosen in primaries and open party caucuses

Presidential Primaries - 2

- As more states added primaries, the party bosses and the convention ceased to select the presidential nominee
 - The convention turned into a televised coronation of the nominee
- The only substantive function of the Convention was to adopt the platform and select the Vice-Presidential nominee
 - Typically, the platform would be drafted by the aides and early supporters of the nominee
 - Typically, the Convention would simply ratify the nominee's vice-presidential selection

Impact of Primaries - 1

- One thing that primaries did was to make campaigning for president much more expensive
- Since primaries usually attracted few voters (especially in non-presidential election years), it was sometimes possible at the state level for candidates, unappealing to the party as a whole and often unelectable, to win the nomination for governor, senator, or congressman
 - E.g. Christine O’Donnell of “I am not a witch” fame & Sharron Angle in the 2010 elections

Impact of Primaries - 2

- The expenses of running in a primary (magnified in an age of television) heightened the influence of the early caucus and primary states
 - It give Iowa (the first caucus state) and New Hampshire and South Carolina (the first two primary states) an inordinate influence in winnowing out the candidate field and even determining the eventual nominee

Cultures Become Sections

From Cultures to Sections

- What were four distinct founding cultures became two distinct sections by the mid-19th century together with a region (the West) that was slowly being incorporated into either the North or the South
- This process was the consequence of the following trends
 - The Westward Movement
 - The mingling of founding cultures in the West
 - The development of different economies in the South, North, and West with the economies of the North and West becoming closely interlinked due to the railroad

From Cultures to Sections

- Given both the cultural predilections, and their differential economies, North, South, and West had different political wants
 - South wanted a minimal Federal government
 - Favored states rights and minimal tariffs
 - North wanted a strong Federal government
 - Favored internal improvements (roads, dredged harbors, subsidies for RR construction) and high tariffs
 - West wanted a strong Federal government to protect against Indians and facilitate development
 - Favored internal improvements to get its agricultural products and minerals to market

A Note About the South - 1

- Over time, the North (New England, Mid-Atlantic, and the Old Northwest) became somewhat more culturally homogeneous
- The South tended to split into three distinct regional subsections differentiated by
 - Type of agricultural economy
 - Degree to which the subsection economy was linked to the Northern economy
 - The relative proportion of the population that consisted of black slaves

A Note About the South - 2

- The Three Souths
 - The Lower South
 - States that bordered the Gulf of Mexico plus Georgia and South Carolina
 - Economy dominated by plantation cash-crop agriculture (mostly cotton but also rice and sugar)
 - A large proportion of the population consisted of black slaves – 47%
 - Economic links were primarily with Great Britain
 - Links with the North mostly in the form of the North being a market for their cotton exports

A Note About the South - 3

– The Middle South

- North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas
- Economy consisting mostly of family farms with relatively few plantations
 - Major cash crop is tobacco. Some cotton is grown
- Smaller proportion of black slaves in the population than the Deep South but more than in the Upper South
 - 32% vs 47% for the Lower South and 13% for the Border South

A Note About the South - 4

– The Upper South

- Consisted of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, and that portion of Virginia that is now West Virginia
- Stronger economic links to the North than to either the Middle or Lower South
- Economy consists mostly of family farms with some industry, especially in the growing cities
 - Major cash crops are tobacco and grain. Horsebreeding also a major agricultural industry
- Relatively low proportion of black slaves in the population – 13%
 - Significant proportion of the black population consists of free blacks (21% in the Upper South vs 7% in the Middle South and 1.5% in the Lower South)

Impact of the Fact of 3 Souths

- The three Souths acted very differently in the Secession Crisis of 1861
 - The Lower South seceded prior to Lincoln's inauguration
 - The Middle South seceded only after Ft Sumter and Lincoln's decision to use force to fight secession
 - The Border South remained loyal to the Union