

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

Class 5

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# What We Will Cover Today

- The Coming of the Civil War
- The Politics of Reconstruction
- Jim Crow and Black Disenfranchisement
- Gilded Age Politics
  - How Republicans and Democrats differed
  - Major issues of contention
- Nominating Presidents – From Congressional Caucus to Political Conventions
- Political Machines

Cultures Become Sections

# From Cultures to Sections

- What were four distinct founding cultures became two distinct sections by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> 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 what 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. Horse breeding also a major agricultural industry
- Relatively low proportion of black slaves in the population – 13%

# 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

# A Note on Slavery - 1

- During Colonial Period, slavery was legal in all 13 colonies
- American Revolution led to subsequent abolition of slavery in the North
- Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Slavery seen everywhere as a regrettable institution contrary to both Christianity and Natural Rights
  - Fear of emancipation in places with large Black populations

# A Note on Slavery -2

- By 1815, the first wave of emancipation had run its course
  - VA-MD-NC slaves were put to work growing wheat instead of tobacco
  - VA-MD began selling slaves westward or southward
  - In cities, slavery declined
    - Slaves could ‘hire their own time’ in return for a percentage of the earnings
      - By 1830, 30% of Baltimore’s Blacks were free. So were 40% of New Orleans’ Blacks.
    - Escapes were easier

# A Note on Slavery -2

- After 1815, short-staple cotton made slave labor highly profitable
  - Short-staple cotton led to the expansion of slave-plantation agriculture far beyond the areas that sustained tobacco, rice, and indigo cultivation
- After 1815, the apologetic attitude toward slavery gave way to the idea that slavery was a positive good
  - Planter paternalism toward a ‘childlike’ people
  - Without slavery, white supremacy would be at risk and Black social & political equality with whites would follow

# The Cotton Kingdom

- The Rise of the 'Cotton Kingdom'
  - Converted thousands of semi-subsistence farmers into cotton producers
  - Provided 59% of U.S. exports in 1840
  - Fostered through the manufacture of cotton textiles the Industrial Revolution in both Europe and the American North
    - Gave rise to textile mills in New England

# What the North Had Become

- Two of the regional cultures, the New England and the Middle Atlantic , had largely merged, especially in the Old Northwest
- The North had become to some extent both industrialized and urbanized
- In the urban areas, a substantial Yankee middle class and immigrant working class had developed
- Northern agriculture had remained an economy of family farms growing wheat and corn
  - Subsistence farmers were becoming entrepreneurs subsisting on the sale of their wheat and corn
- The area had been influenced by the reform movements arising out of the Second Great Awakening

# What the South Had Become

- Three of the regional cultures, the Tidewater, Deep South, and the Frontier, had largely merged in the trans-Appalachian cotton South
- The Southern economy was still overwhelmingly agricultural, dominated largely by the cotton plantation elite
- Slavery formed the basis not only of the southern economy but also of southern society and culture
- Racism served not only to justify slavery but also to dampen class conflict among whites and foster a sense of white egalitarianism.



# The Coming of the Civil War

- A Stable Democracy requires:
  - The existence of a competitive party system
  - The acceptance of opposition parties as legitimate
- Most southerners, however, did not see the Republican party as legitimate
  - Defeat in 1860 was not perceived as a temporary setback but as a fateful defeat with disastrous consequences
- Result: Secession

# The Coming of the Civil War

- In April 1861, both North and South went to war to save democracy as they understood it
  - For the South, at stake was the right of southern whites to control their own destiny and preserve their traditional society and culture
  - For the North, the war was a struggle to uphold the democratic principle of majority rule, as expressed in a free and fair election, and to preserve the Union, which northerners believed was inseparably linked to democracy

# Reconstruction

# Post-war Issues

- Victory in the Civil War presented the North in general and the Republican Party in particular with several problems and issues
  - The status of the newly-freed Blacks
  - The conditions under which the South would be reconstructed and Southern states readmitted to the Union
  - A South bitter at its defeat and a North angry at the cost of victory
  - The fear among the Republicans that the legislative achievements of the Lincoln years would be negated by a resurgent Democratic Party

# Reconstruction - 1

- By early 1866, each former-Confederate state had revised its laws to reflect the abolition of slavery but the resulting Black Codes severely restricted Blacks
  - Barred land ownership by Blacks
  - Limited the ability of Blacks to testify in court against Whites
- Congress in reaction passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866
  - Declared the freedmen to be U.S. citizens with all of the rights pertaining thereto

# Reconstruction – 2

- The fear of Southern whites voting en bloc for the Democrats led the Republicans to support suffrage for Blacks and disenfranchisement for those who were leaders of the Confederacy.
  - Hence the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments

# Reconstruction – 3

- The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment reflected two concerns of the Republican Congress
  - The fear that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 might be declared unconstitutional
  - The fear that the negation of the 3/5<sup>th</sup> clause due to the abolition of slavery would enhance the political power of the South after the 1870 census reapportionment
    - This would enable the Southern Democrats to regain power and possibly repeal Republican wartime legislation
    - It would probably make the Republicans a permanent minority party unlikely to either win the Presidency or Congress

# Reconstruction - 4

- There was a fundamental dispute between Andrew Johnson and the Congressional Republicans over policy toward the South
  - Republicans wanted to ensure a Republican majority and protect their wartime legislative gains
- This dispute resulted in:
  - The impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson
  - The enactment of the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments
  - The requirement that former Confederate states ratify the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment as a condition of readmission



# Reconstruction – 5

- What the North was trying to accomplish in the South was similar to what the U.S. was trying to accomplish in Iraq and Afghanistan
  - Remake the political culture of the country
- In this endeavor, the North failed due to
  - Southern racism
  - The South's resentment at its defeat
  - The poverty and lawlessness of the post-Civil War South
  - Crucial decisions of the Supreme Court

# Reconstruction - 6

- While there were Black congressmen, 2 Black senators (both from Mississippi), a Lt Governor, and numerous state legislators
  - Most Southern officials were white
  - Most Southern black officials were not former slaves, but part of the 10% of the Black population in 1860 that had been free

# Reconstruction - 7

- In the reconstructed states, revenues in an economy devastated by war were insufficient to meet the additional demands imposed by programs of education, public works, and railroad construction
  - This led to the widely-believed charge that Reconstruction governments were notoriously extravagant and corrupt and needed to be “redeemed”

# The End of Reconstruction

- The end result:
  - After the disputed election of 1876, Reconstruction was abandoned
  - The Southern “Redeemers” – the old southern elite of plantation owners together with railroad magnates, merchants, and manufacturers -- came to power
    - The Redeemers followed a low-tax ideology along with a policy of cutting taxes and reducing public services but paying off accumulated bond debt

# The New South

- By the end of the 1870s, the South still had not economically recovered from the Civil War
  - In 1880, U.S. per capita wealth was \$1,086 outside the South and only \$376 in the South
  - In 1880, the estimated value of property in the U.S. was \$47.64 billion, of which the South had only \$5.72 billion
- While the South did acquire railroads and industry (especially textiles and pig iron), its economy was still dependent on cotton in an era when prices were declining
  - The result: sharecropping

# The Rise of Jim Crow

- Under slavery, slave owners sought to extract labor from their slaves and prevent slave insurrections
  - This made segregation impractical since it made labor extraction and monitoring of Afro-American behavior difficult
  - The fact of slavery made clear the relative social status of the races

# The Rise of Jim Crow

- Emancipation and the Reconstruction Amendments overturned both slavery and the social status structure of the South
  - The fact that in the eyes of the law, blacks were now equal to whites made the reaffirming white supremacy a pressing psychological problem for many insecure lower-class whites
    - One possible answer to the problem was Jim Crow

# The Rise of Jim Crow

- Segregation developed as part of an ongoing struggle between radical racists who hated Blacks and Southern conservatives
  - Both agreed that Blacks were inferior but disagreed over how Whites should respond
    - While the racist radicals had no qualms about tormenting Blacks, conservatives were appalled by the radicals' hatred and propensity toward violence
    - For conservatives, the remedy was segregation. It permitted Whites to avoid contact with Blacks while allowing Blacks some social space



# The Rise of Jim Crow

- During the late-1880s and 1890s, several Southern states passed segregation laws
- The first segregation laws pertained mostly to transportation, especially train travel
  - Train travel involved close contact for many hours and often overnight among passengers, a number of whom were women.
  - Trains had multiple cars so that railroad companies could easily segregate passengers

# The Rise of Jim Crow

- There were two opponents of Jim Crow laws:
  - Private businesses, such as railroad and streetcar companies, since they saw segregation laws as expensive and difficult to administer
  - Blacks, who saw segregation as degrading.
- The South reacted against Black protest against segregation by disenfranchising Blacks
  - This was done by the use of cumulative poll taxes, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses

# The Rise of Jim Crow

- The end results:
  - Virtually all Blacks and a large number of poor whites were disenfranchised
    - In the 1890s, an average of 73% of men voted. Only 30% did so in the 1900s
  - The South became a one-party entity, with the Democratic party exercising unchallenged dominance.
    - The party was dominated by a business-planter elite, committed to low taxes and preservation of the status quo
  - Segregation became institutionalized throughout the South

# Politics in the Gilded Age

# A Note About Politics

- In the 44 years from 1868 to 1912, the Republicans held the presidency for 36 years and the Democrats for only 8 years
  - The Grant Administration and some of its Gilded Age Republican successors often experienced episodes of corruption
- Thus Democratic presidential campaigns often revolved around “Let’s throw the rascals out”
- Republican political campaigns revolved around “waving the bloody shirt”
- From 1868 to 1900, all Republican presidential nominees except one were Union civil war veterans. Of these, all except McKinley were Civil War generals.
- In contrast, only one Democratic presidential nominee was a Union civil war veteran – Winfield Scott Hancock in 1880

# A Note About Politics - 2

- Presidential Elections from 1868 through 1892, except for 1872, were fairly close
  - Whoever won New York won the election
- After the end of Reconstruction, the South became solidly Democratic while most of the North and West was solidly Republican
  - “Bloody shirt” and “Vote as you shot” politics characterized statewide politics in both the North and the South

# Democrats

- The Democrats appealed to those who favored limited government, free trade, a soft currency, and white supremacy
  - These people who saw themselves as ‘outsiders’ -- suspicious that an activist government would infringe on their lifestyles
  - The solid White South
  - Catholic immigrants
  - Businessmen whose dependency on exports or on imported raw materials committed them to free trade

# Republicans

- The Republicans appealed to those who favored a strong Federal Government, railroad subsidies, high tariffs, a hard currency, and laissez-faire capitalism
  - The Republicans drew their support from:
    - Northern Civil War veterans
    - Farmers and town/city dwellers that had benefitted from railroads
    - Former Whigs and Know-Nothings
    - Northern Native Protestant Middle Class
    - Protestant German and Scandinavian immigrants



# Political Issues of the Gilded Age

- Corruption
- Railroads
- Currency
  - Specie vs Greenbacks
  - Gold Standard
- Tariff
- Prohibition
- Imperialism

# Corruption

- Corruption was a major problem in the Gilded Age and it affected both government and business
  - Business corruption stemmed from the combination of a new social invention – the corporation – interlocking directorates, and greed
  - Contributing to this was both a lack of conflict-of-interest laws and a laissez-faire attitude toward government regulation of business

# Corruption - 2

- Governmental corruption existed on the national, state, and local political level
- Contributing factors included
  - The lack of conflict-of-interest and ethics laws
  - The spoils system
  - The desire of businesses for favors and subsidies and of politicians and political organizations for money and votes
    - One major source of corruption was the awarding of municipal franchises – gas, water, public transportation, and electricity

# Post-Civil War Railroads

Year	1860	1865	1870	1880	1890
Mileage	30,000	35,000	53,000	93,000	164,000

# Political Impact of Railroads - 1

- Railroads found it difficult to make a profit due to high capital costs, high operating costs, and competition along major routes
  - This led to price gouging
- Price gouging in turn led to political protest
  - Farmers and railroads would battle over rates
- Protest eventually led to creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC)

# Political Impact of Railroads - 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 especially the state level
  - They were major campaign contributors
  - There was a revolving door between railroads and government

# Southern Pacific RR

- In California, the Southern Pacific came to dominate the California legislature
- The RR used its influence to block the completion of a RR line from San Francisco to San Diego (instead stopping in Los Angeles)
- This dominance provoked the rise of Progressivism in California
  - Led to the California recall, referendum, and initiative

# Currency

- During the Civil War, the Federal Government had issued
  - Bonds which had been purchased with greenback paper currency which had the nominal value of specie currency but which in reality was worth only 40 cents on the dollar
- The political controversy was whether to pay the bonds off in greenbacks or in gold
- Complicating the issue was the fact of deflation



# Down on the Farm

- Wheat production greatly increased
  - 1866 – 152 million bushels
  - 1898 – 675 million bushels
- Labor to produce 15 bushels of wheat
  - 1840: 35 hours
  - 1900: 15 hours
- Wheat exports
  - 1867: 6 million bushels
  - 1900: 102 million bushels

# Down on the Farm - 2

- Effects of Large-Scale Production
  - American farmers now in a world economy
  - Farmers went into debt to buy farm machinery and land
  - The combination of lower prices and more onerous debts was Populism
    - Directed at the railroads and grain elevators
    - Expressions of Nativist feelings
      - And in the South, anti-Black feelings

# Tariff

- Until the adoption of the income tax in 1913, tariffs provided the major source of Federal Government revenues
  - In 1880, for example, tariffs provided 50.5% of all Federal income
  - In 1890, tariffs provided 57.0% of all Federal income
- In 1900, pensions to 999,446 Civil War veterans, their widows, and children constituted 41% of all Federal expenditures

# 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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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 and caucuses, 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

# Political Machines



# Political Machine

- A political machine is a party organization, headed by a single boss or small group, that commands enough votes to maintain political control of a city, county, or state
  - It recruited its members by the use of tangible incentives – money, political jobs
  - It won votes by providing tangible services and help to the voters (and their families) of the community

# Effects of Immigration

- Led the White Middle- and Working-classes to focus on religious-ethnic and lifestyle differences rather than class differences
  - This made Prohibition a major bone of contention
- Gave rise to the political machine
  - In exchange for a vote, the machine provided needed aid and services in an era where government did little
  - The machine provided both jobs and an avenue of upward mobility

# Political Machine

- A consequence of both rapid urbanization and massive immigration
  - Newcomers needed help in navigating the urban landscape – Who do I go to get something done? Who do I go to for help?
  - The machine in the form of the precinct captain provided the help and knew how to get things done

# Political Machine

- The heyday of the political machine was from the 1850s to the 1930s
  - Most of the urban machines were dominated by the Irish because
    - Until the 1890s, the Irish constituted the largest proportion of poor immigrants
    - They spoke English
    - They knew how democratic governance was supposed to work

# Political Machine

- Tammany Hall formed the model for the Democratic machines that arose in other eastern and midwest cities
  - Democratic political machines turned many formerly Whig or Republican urban strongholds into Democratic ones
- In the 1870s, the Republicans under the leadership of U.S. senators created statewide machines based on federal patronage
  - Republican machines were especially strong in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and upstate New York

# Political Machine

- Was an alternative to formal government
- Met the needs of three groups
  - To immigrants and urban poor, it offered help, patronage, and a chance for economic improvement
  - To legitimate businesses, it offered contracts
  - To illegitimate businesses and commercial vice establishments, it offered profitable order and de facto toleration

# Political Machine

- The political machine was hierarchical with the ward boss and the precinct captains doing the work – getting the voters to the polls and providing the favors and help
  - Ward bosses were key figures in local clubs and often saloon owners
- Saloons provided a stage at the ward and precinct level for politicians and a base for organizing and getting out the vote
  - Saloons also provided an all-male refuge from the world of women and the demands of family where one could socialize with friends and co-workers

# Political Machine

- Machine bosses and their underlings expected to be paid for their services
- Such rewards came in the forms of
  - Patronage in the form of government jobs
    - This included Federal government jobs in the local post offices and customhouses
  - Campaign contributions from holders of patronage jobs and government contracts
  - Exploitation of insider knowledge
  - Bribes in exchange for favors



# Political Machine

- To understand machine ethics, one needs to understand that machine bosses had certain ethical standards when it came to graft
  - Honest graft – exploiting insider knowledge for economic gain at no expense to the government
  - Simple graft – accepting kickbacks from contractors to whom you have let contracts or franchises
  - Dishonest graft – profiting from crime or vice or embezzling public funds

# Political Machine

- While political machines performed valuable social services, they often were guilty of corruption and other offenses
- Political machines aroused the ire of Progressive reformers
  - Saw the machines as having a corrosive influence on urban life
  - Viewed them as obstacles to rational reform

# Political Machine

- The Progressives enacted various reforms designed to both weaken the machines and lessen their voting power. These included:
  - Voter registration
  - Australian or secret ballot
  - Literacy tests
  - Civil Service reform
  - Prohibition of electioneering close to the voting booth
  - Initiative, referendum, and recall
  - Primary

# Political Machine

- While the political machines fought some Progressive legislation
  - Civil Service reform
  - Replacing nominating by caucus or convention with the direct primary
  - Restrictions on fundraising
- Many of the machines supported socio-economic reform legislation that benefited their working class constituents

# Political Machine

- Several factors combined to bring about the demise of the machine
  - Progressive era reforms
  - The New Deal and the rise of the Welfare State
    - Governments now took over the social welfare functions of the machine
  - Social mobility
    - The children of the ethnic immigrant poor became members of the middle class and moved from the city to the suburbs
  - New mass media (radio & TV) took over the political communication function of the machine

# Some Notes About the Political Machine - 1

- It existed to secure and perpetuate power in the hands of a known political organization
- That power was primarily used to benefit those who controlled and were members of the machine
- It retained power by controlling votes
- It controlled votes by providing services and favors for voters who in turn gave the machine candidates their votes out of gratitude (and sometimes, hope of a patronage job)

# Some Notes About the Political Machine - 2

- Political machines were much more focused on local rather than national issues
- The machines often supported socio-economic reforms desired by their poor and working class constituents
- There were rural as well as urban machines
  - Pennsylvania before the 1930s
  - Several southern states (especially Virginia with the Byrd Machine)

# Some Notes About the Political Machine - 3

- What differentiated the rural machines from the urban machines was:
  - The urban boss's political power came from control of the political machine, not from any public office.
    - In fact many noted bosses (Richard Croker & Charles Murphy of Tammany Hall) did not hold public office
  - The rural boss's political power normally resulted from the fact that he had other sources of power
    - Thus rural bosses were often either large landowners, agents for the railroad, bankers, or merchants with local monopolies



# Changes in Voting Over Time

# Changes in Voting - 1

- Voter in Colonial America
  - Voter is an adult white male who owns property
  - Political leaders are personally known to the voter and members of locally prominent and well-established families
  - Voting done *viva voce* in public

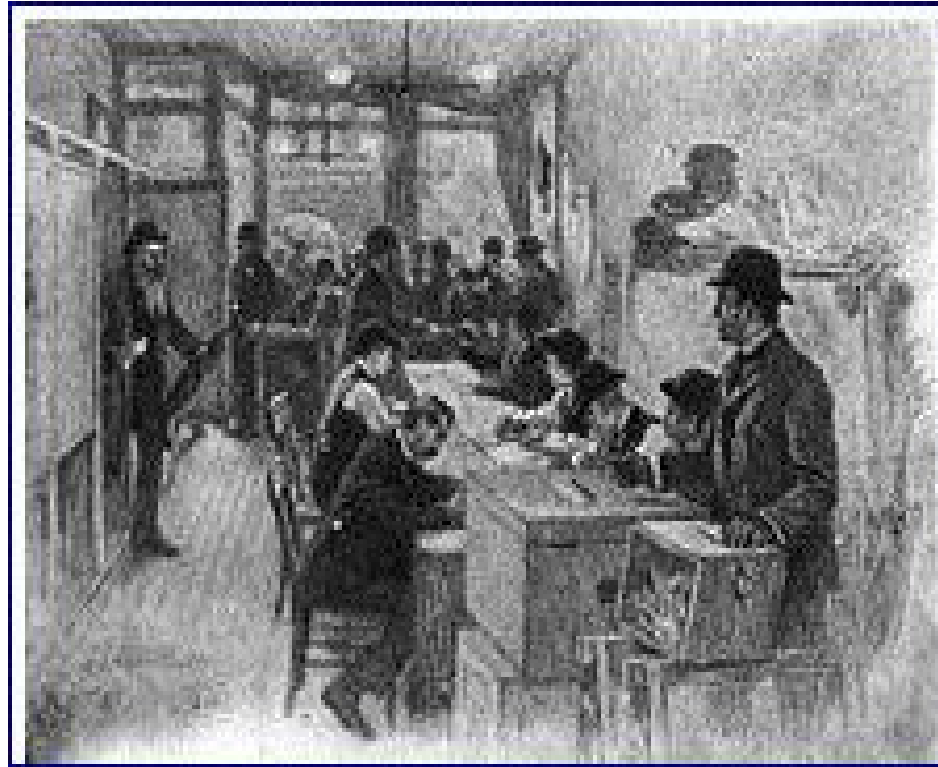
# Early *Viva Voce* Voting



# Changes in Voting - 2

- Voter in Jacksonian America
  - Voter is an adult white male who owns property
  - Voting done via printed ballots
    - Printing done by the political party or candidate
    - Since each party used different color ballots, a voter's vote was not secret

# Australian Ballot Voting



# Changes in Voting - 3

- In 1888, Massachusetts introduced the Australian or secret ballot.
- By 1891, all states had adopted it
- Characteristics of the Australian ballot:
  - Official ballot printed at public expense
  - Had the names of all the parties and candidates
  - Distributed only at the polling place
  - Marked by the voter in secret and deposited into a ballot box

# Changes in Voting - 4

- Mechanical (or Lever) Voting Machines
  - Invented in 1881 by Anthony Beranek of Chicago
    - 1892 - First used in Lockport NY
    - 1894 – Sylvanus Davis added a straight-party lever and simplified the interlock mechanism
  - In 1899, Alfred Gillespie introduced three major innovations
    - Linked the cast-vote lever to a curtain
    - Introduced the lever by each candidate's name
    - Made the machine programmable so that it could support races in which voters were allowed to vote for more than one candidate in a field.

# Lever Voting Machine





# Lever Voting Machine Closeup



# Punched-Card Voting

- Punched-card voting systems came on the scene after 1965
  - By 1996, they were used by 37.3% of all voters
  - Achieved notoriety in Florida in 2000

# Votomatic Punched Card Voting Machine



# Direct-recording Electronic Voting System

- An example of this system are the touchscreen voting system used in Northern Virginia
  - Tabulate data in a removable memory component and can produce a printed copy
  - Can also transmit individual ballots or vote totals from the voting precinct to a central location
- These systems were first used in 1996
- By 2004, 28.9% of voters used such a system

# Touchscreen Voting Machine

