

The Right to Vote

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The Right to Vote



What does the Constitution say?

- The original Constitution does not have much to say about the right to vote.
- Nowhere in the text does it explicitly say that citizens have the right to vote in elections.
- It merely states that anyone eligible to vote for the largest house of a state's legislature is also eligible to vote for members of the House of Representatives from that state.

What does the Constitution say?

- However, that is not to say the Constitution says nothing about elections.
 - Through the Elections Clause, it gives Congress and the federal government the power to determine the “Times, Places, and Manner” of congressional elections.
 - Congress has used this power throughout the nation's history to, for example, establish a single national Election Day and mandate single-member congressional districts.
 - The Constitution also requires all states to have a representative form of government.

Constitutional Amendments

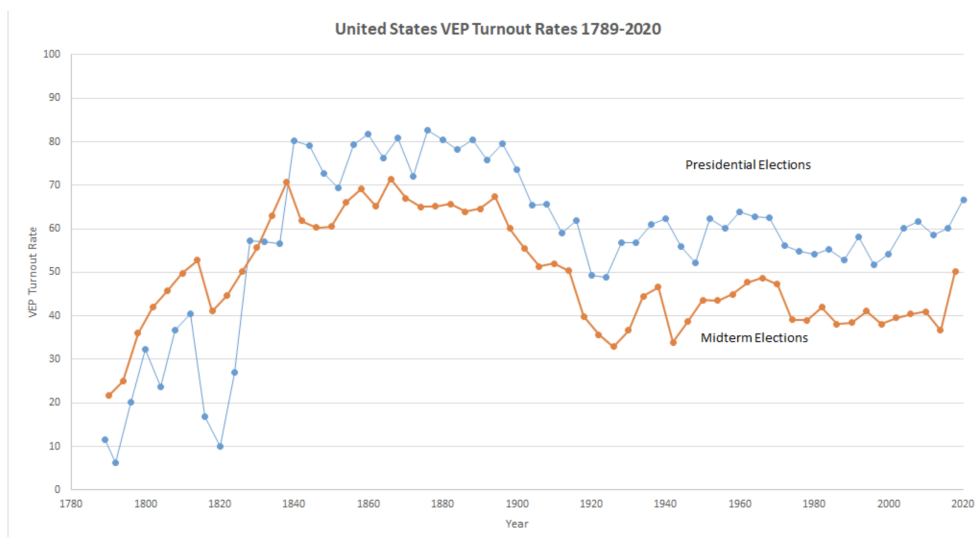
- The **14th Amendment** extends citizenship to all natural born or naturalized Americans regardless of race and guaranteed that rights of citizenship, like voting, cannot be restricted by the states.
- The **15th Amendment** prohibits restricting the right to vote due to race.
- The **17th Amendment** requires states to elect senators by popular vote.
- The **19th Amendment** extends voting rights to all women.
- The **26th Amendment** extends the right to vote to everyone 18 years of age and older.
- Additionally, the **24th Amendment** explicitly bans poll taxes, which often prevented low-income citizens of all races from voting.

Should we have this amendment?

“Every citizen of the United States, who is of legal voting age, shall have the fundamental right to vote in any public election held in the jurisdiction in which the citizen resides.”

Voting On the decline?

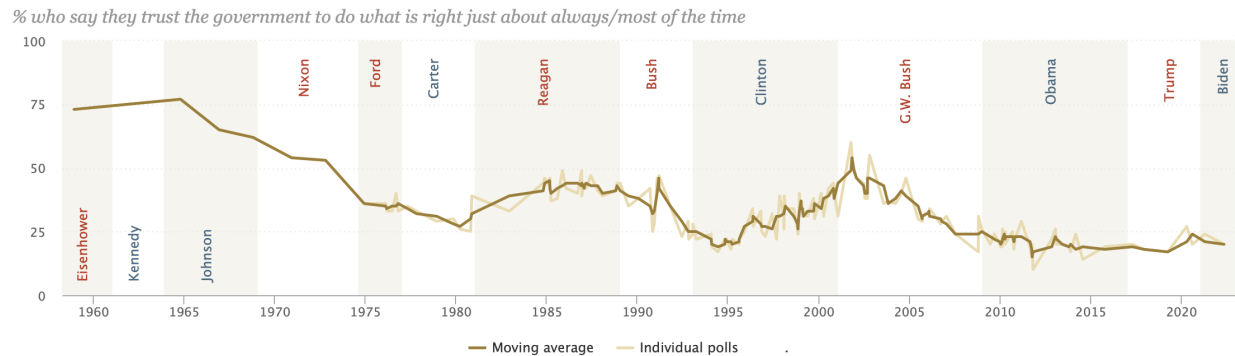
- “*Americans no longer vote as much as they once did*”
- This is the first line from “The Right to Vote”. But is it true? Let’s look at the data



Voting Rates

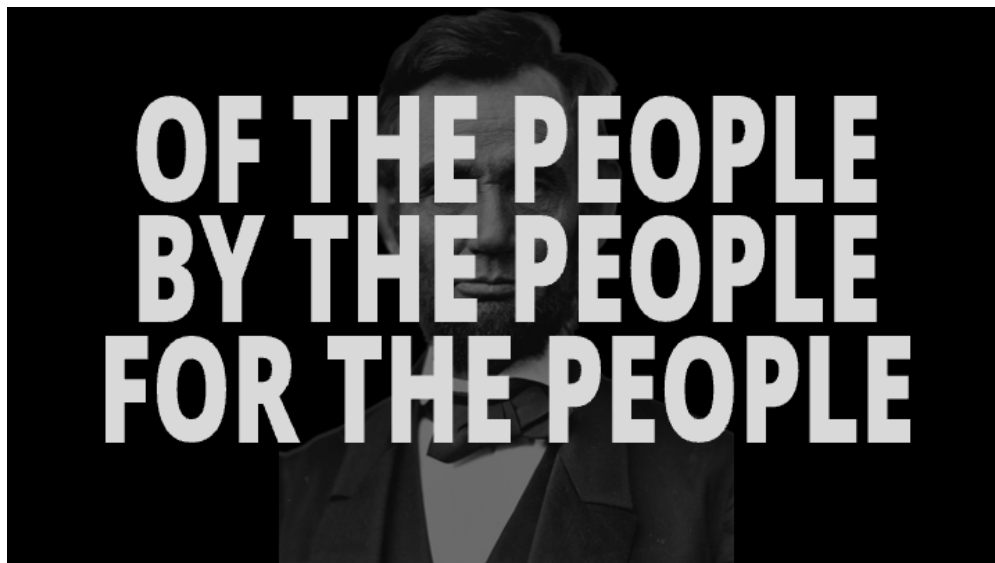
- Even in the highest participation elections in the 21st century, more than 3 in 10 eligible voters sit it out.
- Why are people not voting?
- And how do voters differ from non-voters?

Trust in Government



<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/06/06/public-trust-in-government-1958-2022/>

Of the people, By the people, For the people



- Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

OF the people

- To be of the people, it must be made up of the people.
- i.e., a representative form a government
- For Lincoln, this includes slaves, who he had emancipated less than a year earlier on September 22, 1862

BY the people

- Implicit here is that the people choose their leaders
- When Lincoln spoke these words, many people were excluded from any right to vote.
- Why was this the case?
- Why were so many Americans, in different places and at different times, denied the right to vote?

FOR the people

- Government should do the things that people want
- Government should be responsive to the people when they change their minds

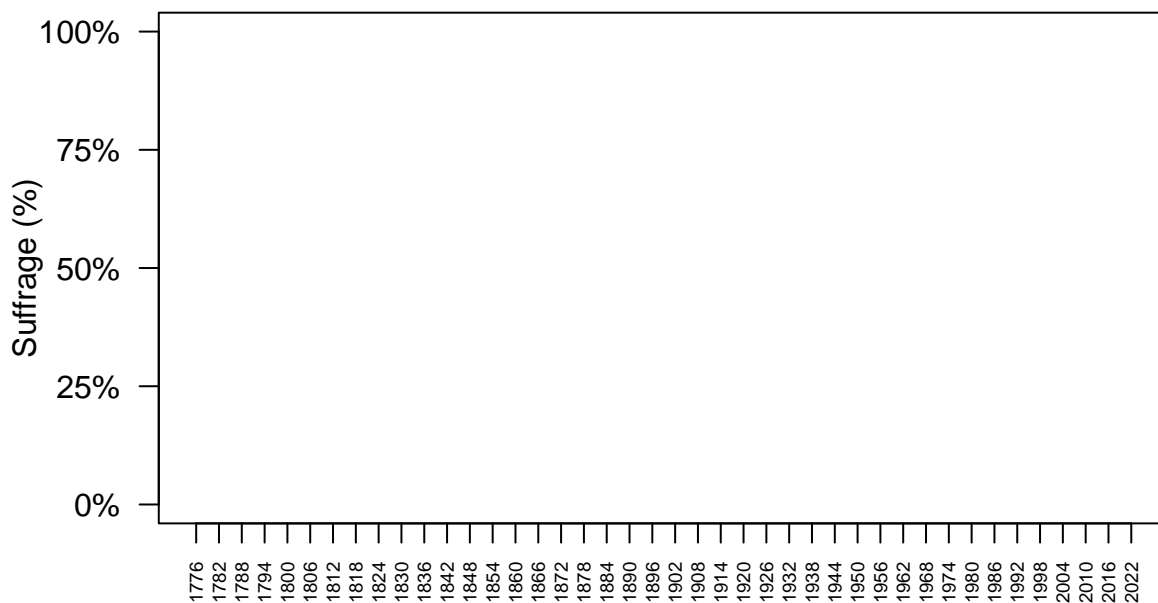
Universal Suffrage

- It is often popularly conceptualized that voting rights have steadily increased over time, so that we now have universal (or near) suffrage.

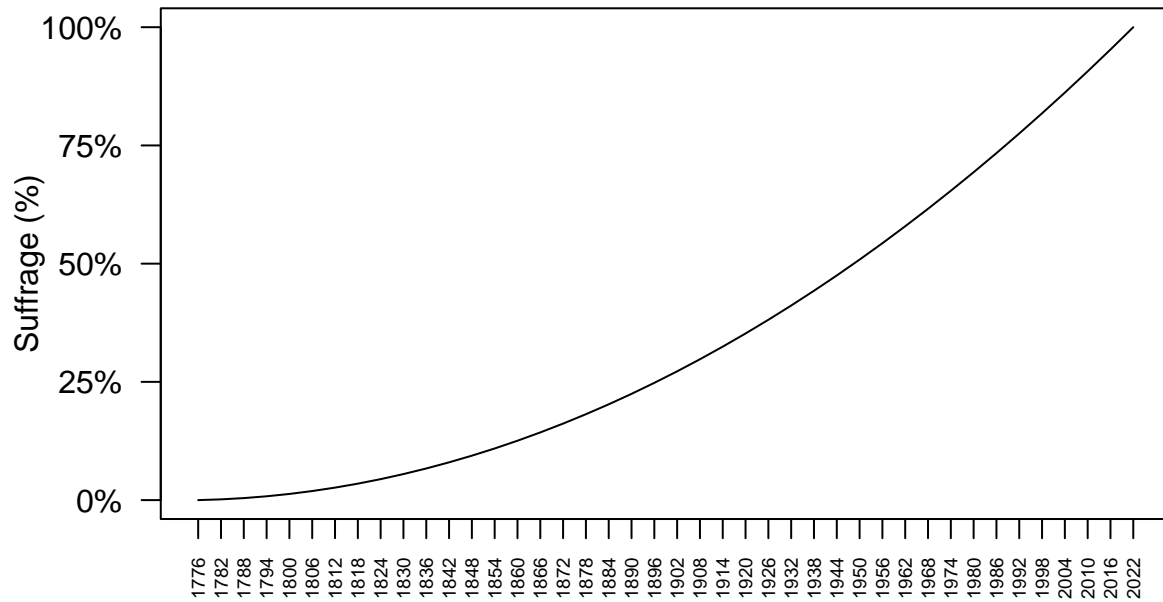
Tocqueville's rule of social behavior

- “rule of social behavior”
- Tocqueville believed that once some voting qualifications were lifted, it would lead to abolishing all qualifications.

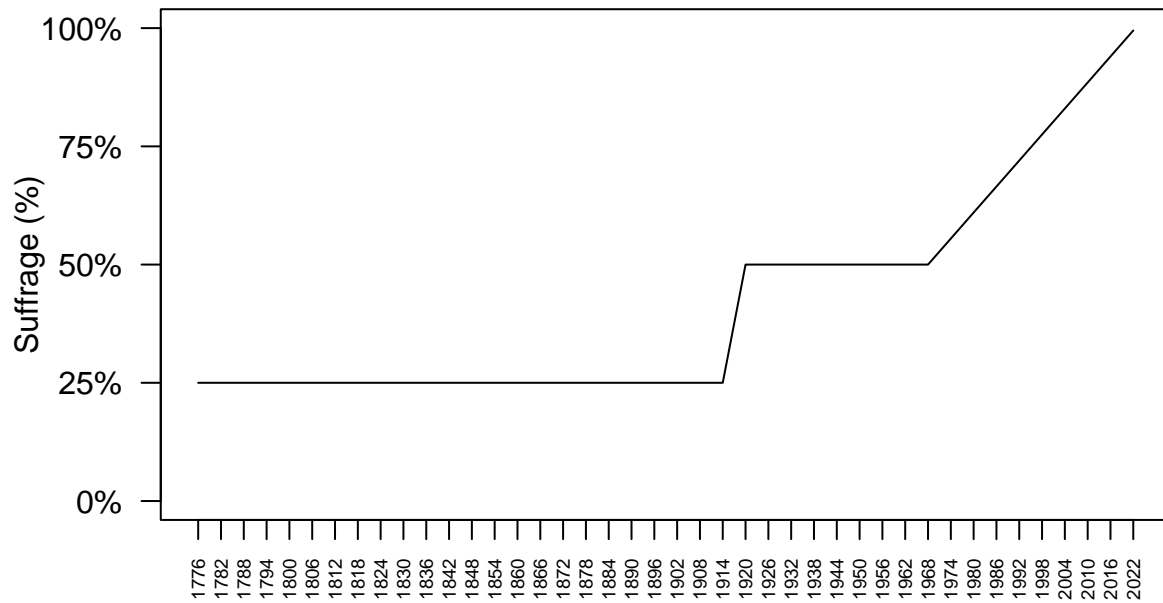
What do you imagine the trajectory of voting rights to be?



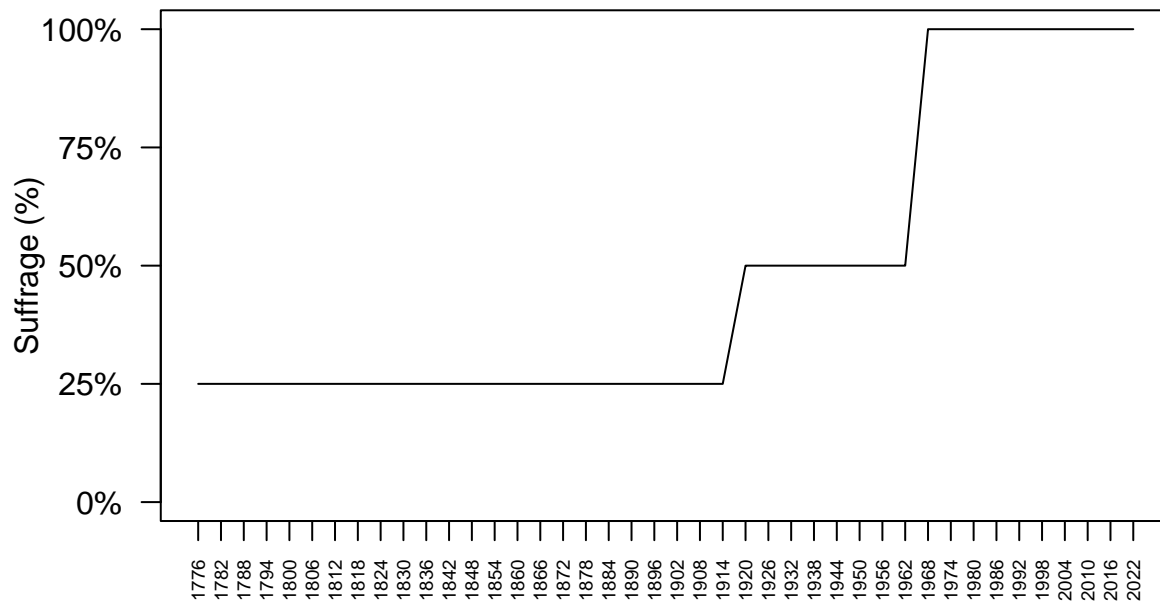
Exponential?



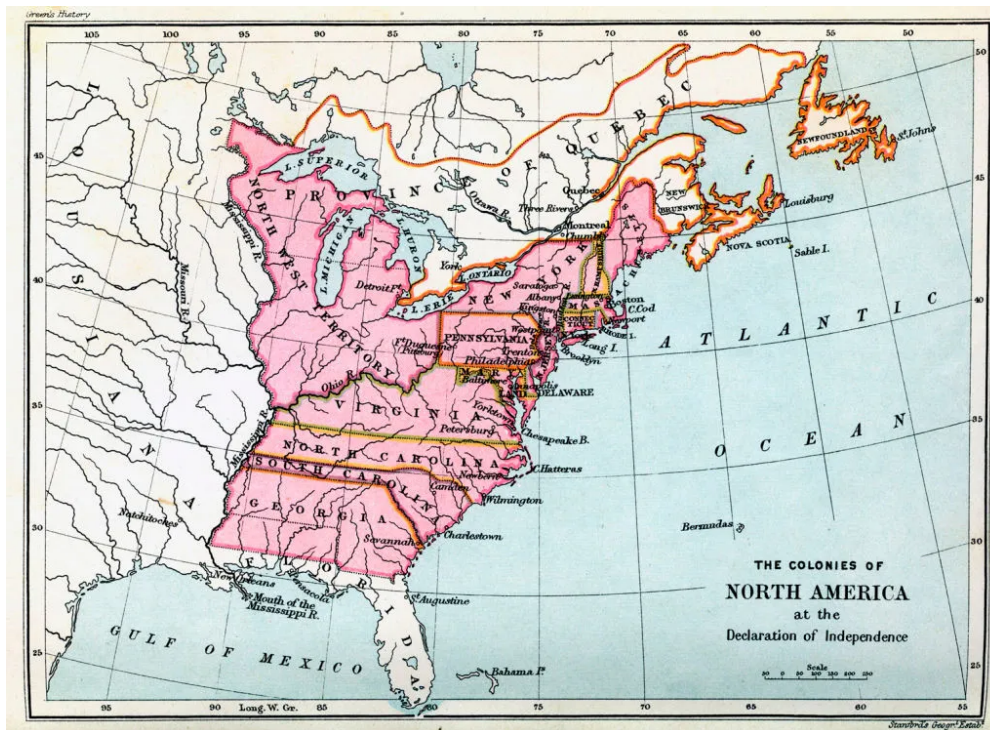
Stepped and gradual?



Stepped and Steady?



Colonial “democracy”



American colonies

- At its birth, the United States was not a *democratic* nation—far from it
 - Democracy was a pejorative – “mob rule”, “government by the unfit”, “disorder”

- But, between the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the constitutional convention, states had started writing their own suffrage laws
- The consequences of these laws would have effects that last through even today

Received Legacy



Received Legacy

- Laws regarding voting were shaped by colonial precedents and particularly traditional English thought.
 - The prerequisite of both colonial and British suffrage regulations was the restriction of voting to **adult men who owned property**.

Property and the vote

- In seven colonies, men had to own land of specified acreage or monetary value in order to participate in elections.
- Elsewhere, ownership of personal property or payment of taxes could substitute for real estate

Property Requirements

- Both in England and in the colonies
 - men who possessed property (especially “real property,” i.e., land and buildings) had a unique “*stake in society*”
 - property owners alone possessed sufficient *independence* to warrant their having a voice in governance
- The ballot was not to be entrusted to those who were economically dependent because they could too easily be controlled or manipulated by others

Franklin on Voting Rights

Today a man owns a jackass worth fifty dollars and he is entitled to vote; but before the next election the jackass dies. The man in the meantime has become more experienced, his knowledge of the principles of government, and his acquaintance with mankind, are more extensive, and he is therefore better qualified to make a proper selection of rulers—but the jackass is dead and the man cannot vote. Now gentlemen, pray inform me, in whom is the right of suffrage? In *the man* or in *the jackass*? -Benjamin Franklin

Residency Requirements

- Many colonies instituted residency requirements to exclude transients who presumably lacked the requisite stake in the colony's affairs
 - some made citizenship, of England or the province, a prerequisite for voting
 - several colonies formally barred all servants from the polls, while others expressly excluded paupers (*dependents*)

Women disenfranchisement

- Women too were prohibited from voting because they were thought to be dependent on adult men
- Their “*delicacy*” rendered them unfit for the worldly experiences necessary for engagement in politics

Social membership limitations

- In the eighteenth century, Catholics were disfranchised in **five** states and Jews in **four** states
- *Native Americans*, *free blacks*, and *non-naturalized aliens* could vote in some places and not in others
- Women were barred expressly in several colonies, including Virginia, but statutes elsewhere made no reference to gender

Qualifications by location

- Although differently configured, city and town suffrage qualifications were not uniformly stricter or more lenient than were the qualifications for voting in the countryside
- **Question:** How do voters in cities differ from those in non-urban contexts in the 18th century?

The Franchise

- The franchise was far more widespread in the colonies than it was in England
 - Unclear how many people could and did vote
- There certainly were communities, particularly newly settled communities where land was inexpensive, in which 70 or 80 percent of all white men were enfranchised
- As the revolution approached, the rate of property ownership was *falling*, and the proportion of adult white males who were eligible to vote was probably less than **60 percent**

American Revolution

- By challenging Britain's right to rule the colonies, the American Revolution sparked a far-reaching public debate about the nature and sources of legitimate governmental authority
- The issue of suffrage was always near the center of that debate:
 - if the legitimacy of a government depended on the consent of the governed (*one of the key rhetorical claims of the revolution*), then limitations on suffrage were intrinsically problematic, since voting was the primary instrument through which a populace could express or withhold consent

Self-Interest

- The planters, merchants, and prosperous farmers who wielded power and influence in late-eighteenth-century affairs had an unmistakable interest in keeping the franchise narrow:
 - a restricted suffrage would make it easier for them to retain their economic and social advantages.
- Conversely, tenant farmers, journeymen, and laborers (*not to mention African Americans and women*) had something to gain from the diffusion of political rights

Rights v. Privilege

- Throughout the ex-colonies, political leaders put forward several different arguments to justify the retention of restrictions, particularly property restrictions, on the franchise.
- Implicit in these arguments was the claim that voting was not a *right* but a *privilege*, one that the state could legitimately grant or curtail in its own interest.

Franchise and Suffrage

- In early English usage, the word *franchise* referred to a privilege, immunity, or freedom that a state could grant, while the term *suffrage* alluded to intercessory prayers.
- (Intercessory prayer is a form of prayer where one person prays on behalf of another person or a group)
- Even Pennsylvanian James Wilson, a signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and one of the more democratic of the founding fathers, described suffrage as a “darling privilege of free men” that could and should be “extended as far as considerations of safety and order will permit.”

James Wilson on Suffrage

- “*A momentous question now occurs—who shall be entitled to suffrage? This darling privilege of freemen should certainly be extended as far as considerations of safety and order will possibly admit. The correct theory and the true principles of liberty require, that every citizen, whose circumstances do not render him necessarily dependent on the will of another, should possess a vote in electing those, by whose conduct his property, his reputation, his liberty, and his life, may be all most materially affected.*”

Pennsylvania Suffrage

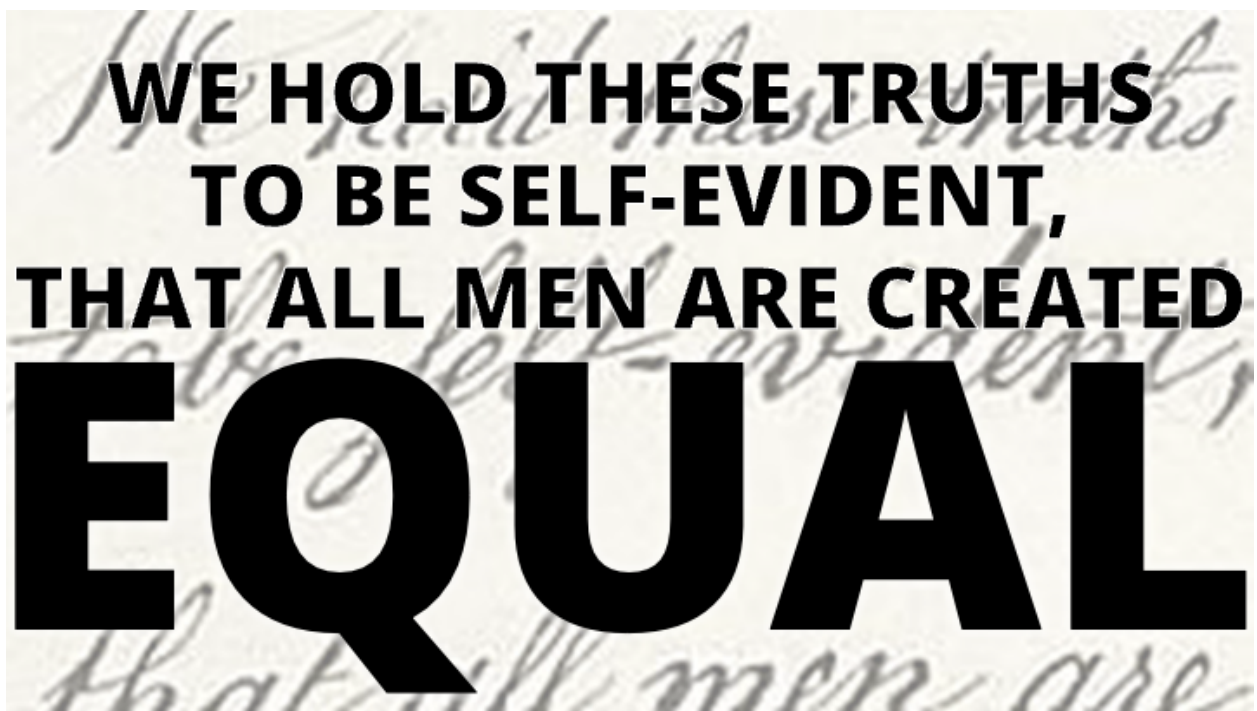
- “*In the constitution of Pennsylvania, the great principle, which animates and governs this subject, is secured by an explicit declaration, that ‘elections shall be free and equal.’ This is enumerated among the great points, which are “excepted out of the general powers of government, and shall for ever remain*

*inviolable.’ The practical operation of this great and inviolable principle is thus specified and directed: ‘In elections by the citizens, every **freeman** of the **age of twenty one** years, having **resided in the state two years** next before the election, and within that time **paid a state or county tax**, which shall have been **assessed at least six months** before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector.’”*

Earning the privilege

- Only men with property, preferably **real** property, were deemed to be sufficiently attached to the community and sufficiently affected by its laws to have earned the privilege of voting
 - The propertyless, if enfranchised, would constitute a menace to the maintenance of a well-ordered community
- The interests of the propertyless, like those of women and children, **could be represented effectively by wise, fair-minded, wealthy white men.** (Virtual Representation)
 - the poor, or the propertyless, should not vote because they would threaten the interests of property— **that is, they would have too much will of their own**

Natural Rights of [wo]men



**WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS
TO BE SELF-EVIDENT,
THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED
EQUAL**

Natural Right alternative

- – Opposing these traditional views were a series of persuasive and somewhat innovative arguments advocating for the expansion of voting rights, especially to men without property ownership.
- The most broadly framed of these arguments was simple: voting was a “*natural right*” that the state **could not suspend** except in the most extreme circumstances.

- The idea that voting was a natural right or even a right at all was rhetorically powerful:
 - it meshed well with the Lockean political theory *popular* in eighteenth-century America, it had a clear *antimonarchical* thrust, and it had the virtue of *simplicity*.

The Pandora's box

- If voting was a natural right, then everyone should possess it
- Did this mean that not just every man (including poor men) should vote, but women as well?
 - What about African Americans—and recently arrived aliens?
 - Or children?
- If there was a “right” to suffrage, was it not wrong or immoral to deprive any group or individual of that right?
- How could one justify denying anyone his or her natural —or socially acknowledged— rights?



Avoiding Pandora's Box

- The logic of “*no taxation without representation*” had a domestic as well as anticolonial application
- All those who paid taxes had the right to defend themselves against potentially unfair government policies.
- Property qualifications ought to be replaced by taxpaying requirements, because all taxpayers (not just property owners) were contributing to the government and affected by its policies

Military Exception

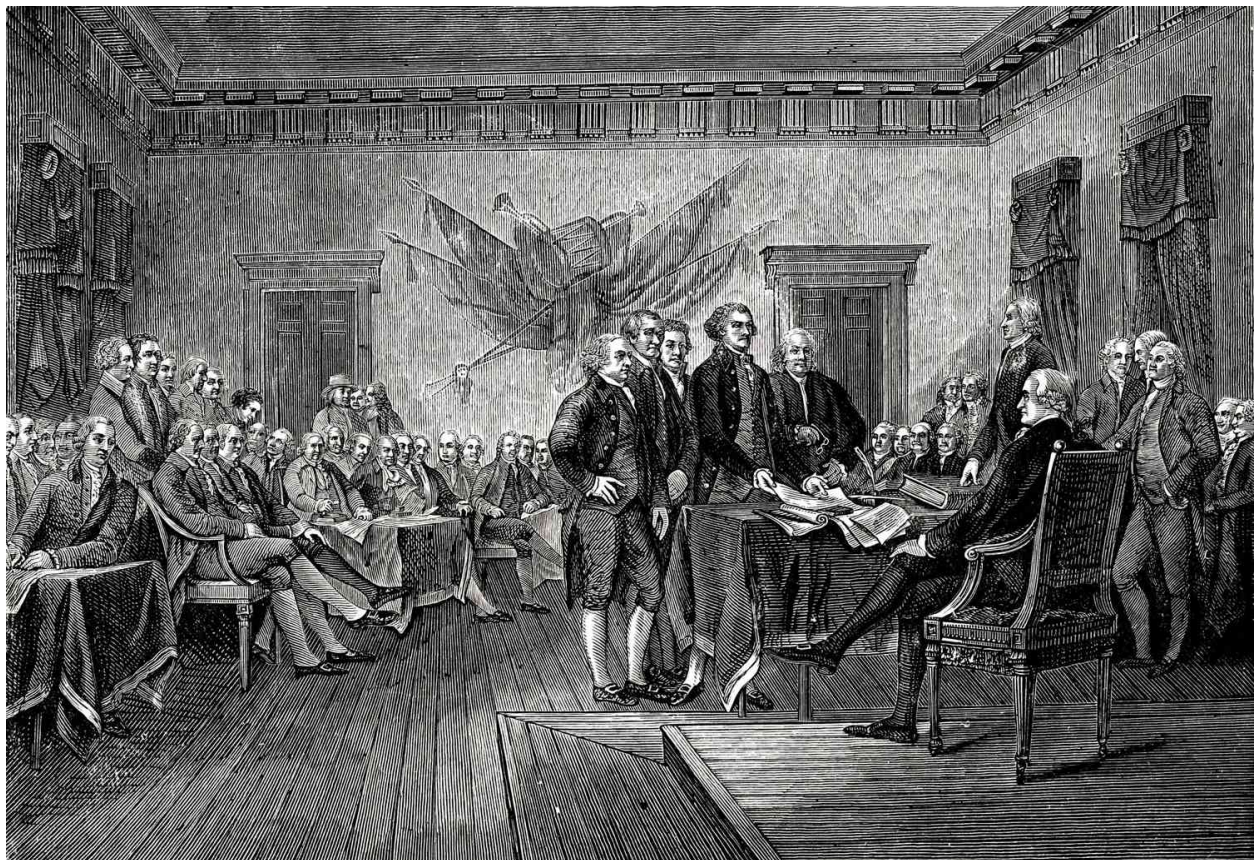
The final cluster of arguments for expanding the franchise was rather different: extending the right to vote to everyone who was serving, or had served, in the army or the militia

What about fighters?

- *“Every man in the country who manifests a disposition to venture his all for the defense of its liberty, should have a voice in its council.”*
 - Philadelphia pamphleteer, probably Thomas Young

Consent to be governed

- Arguments for and against a more democratic suffrage were voiced in newspapers, broadsides, provincial assemblies, town meetings, gatherings of militiamen, and constitutional conventions, as well as taverns, inns, city streets, and private homes
- The very act of declaring independence from Britain compelled the residents of each colony to form a new government, and the process of forming new governments inescapably brought the issue of suffrage to the fore **For a government to be legitimate, who must consent to its design and structure?**



Small Electorate at founding

- Only a small fraction of the population cast ballots in the elections that elevated George Washington and John Adams to the office of the presidency
 - George Washington received one vote from each elector (that cast a ballot). The New York legislature failed to appoint its allotted 8 Electors in time. Two Electors from Maryland did not vote. One Elector from Virginia did not vote and one Elector was not chosen because an election district failed to submit returns. (uselectionatlas.org)
- Moreover, the constitution was signed by only 39 delegates, yet its impact continues to affect our lives

Pennsylvania democracy

- The most influential and, perhaps, dramatic expansion of the franchise occurred in Pennsylvania during the first months of the revolution.
- The militiamen succeeded in electing a constitutional convention dominated not by the traditional elites but by *artisans, lesser merchants, and farmers*.
- That convention, in the fall of 1776, produced the **most democratic constitution** in the thirteen original states:
 - it abolished property requirements and enfranchised all taxpaying adult males as well as the non-taxpaying sons of freeholders.
 - Since Pennsylvania had no poll tax—meaning a “head” tax or a tax on all household heads, this effectively enfranchised the great majority of adult males.

Vermont

- In only one state, Vermont, was a man’s ability to vote completely detached from his financial circumstances
- Vermont went a step further than PA, however, eliminating not only property requirements but taxpaying qualifications as well.
- Vermont was unique in not having a government when independence was declared
 - delegates to its constitutional convention were selected not by an existing state assembly but by popular elections held in the region’s townships.
- This democratically selected convention produced the first state constitution to **abolish slavery** and to institute anything **close to universal manhood suffrage**

Wrap up on Colonial America

Suffrage in state constitutions

- Suffrage was defined as a constitutional issue:
 - all the early state constitutions (except that of Delaware) treated the right to vote as a matter of fundamental —and thus constitutional— law, rather than statute law.
- Implicit in this treatment was the notion that suffrage requirements ought to be durable and difficult to change; legislatures and governors alone were not entrusted with the power to tamper with the right to vote.
- **In theory at least, the franchise could be broadened or narrowed only through constitutional revision or amendment**

Revolutionary Period

- The revolutionary period witnessed a broad range of reactions to economic restrictions on the franchise.
- Although often overshadowed by other issues (*such as taxation or the structure of future legislatures*), the breadth of the franchise mattered greatly to citizens of the thirteen original ex-colonies and the new state of Vermont.
- In every state, there was pressure for suffrage reform, as well as conservative opposition to a less class-biased, more economically inclusive franchise.
- The outcomes of these conflicts followed *no* clear regional pattern; they seem instead to have been shaped largely by the strength of local elites and by the political processes that unfolded in each state. **The overall result was a mixed bag of substantial changes, cosmetic alterations, and preservation of the status quo**

The New Nation

The State and the Nation

- Under the *Articles of Confederation*, the states had retained complete control over the franchise
- But the *Constitution of the United States* forged a link between state suffrage rules and the right to vote in national elections:
 - those who participated in elections for the “most numerous Branch of the state legislature” were automatically entitled to vote for members of the House of Representatives
- *These were the only national offices for which the Constitution demanded a popular electoral process of any kind*
- Constitutional Compromise: tie suffrage for the House of Representatives to state franchise requirements in elections to the lower house of each state legislature

Constitutional Convention

- The records of the federal convention and state constitutional conventions suggest that most members of the new nation’s political leadership did not favor a more democratic franchise
- Madison’s views were more typical of the founding fathers than were those of Jefferson or Franklin
- The well-to-do Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts (whose name would be immortalized in the word **gerrymander**), speaking at the end of the convention, described “*Democracy*” as “*the worst . . . of all political evils*”
- **This conservative consensus also was expressed in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787* (*an act reaffirmed by the first Congress in 1789*), which instituted a freehold requirement in the territories northwest of the Ohio River**
 - Freehold: permanent and absolute tenure of land or property with freedom to dispose of it at will

Compromise on Suffrage

- The decision made by the Constitutional Convention, however, stemmed at least as much from *practical politics* as from *ideology*.
- The convention accepted the committee of detail’s formulation, with slight revisions, largely because of its desire to *avoid jeopardizing the ratification of the new constitution*.
- Any national suffrage requirement was likely to generate opposition in one state or another, and a narrow national suffrage, such as a freehold qualification, seemed *capable of derailing the Constitution altogether*

- By making the franchise in national elections dependent on state suffrage laws, the authors of the Constitution compromised their substantive disagreements to solve a potentially explosive political problem

Federal lack of Voting Rights

- The Constitution adopted in 1787 left the federal government without any clear power or mechanism, other than through constitutional amendment, to institute a national conception of voting rights, to express a national vision of democracy
- Although the Constitution was promulgated in the name of “*We, the people of the United States*”, the *individual states* retained the power to define just who “*the people*” were

The Presidency

- Also problematic was the Constitution’s failure to guarantee to any Americans the right to vote for the highest office in the land, the presidency of the United States.
- Presidents were to be chosen through a complex mechanism that later came to be known as the “*Electoral College*”
- “*Electors*” in each state were to meet and cast ballots for two persons, and those ballots were to be transmitted to Congress, where they would be opened and counted: the person receiving the largest number of votes would be elected president and the runner-up would become vice president

The Presidency

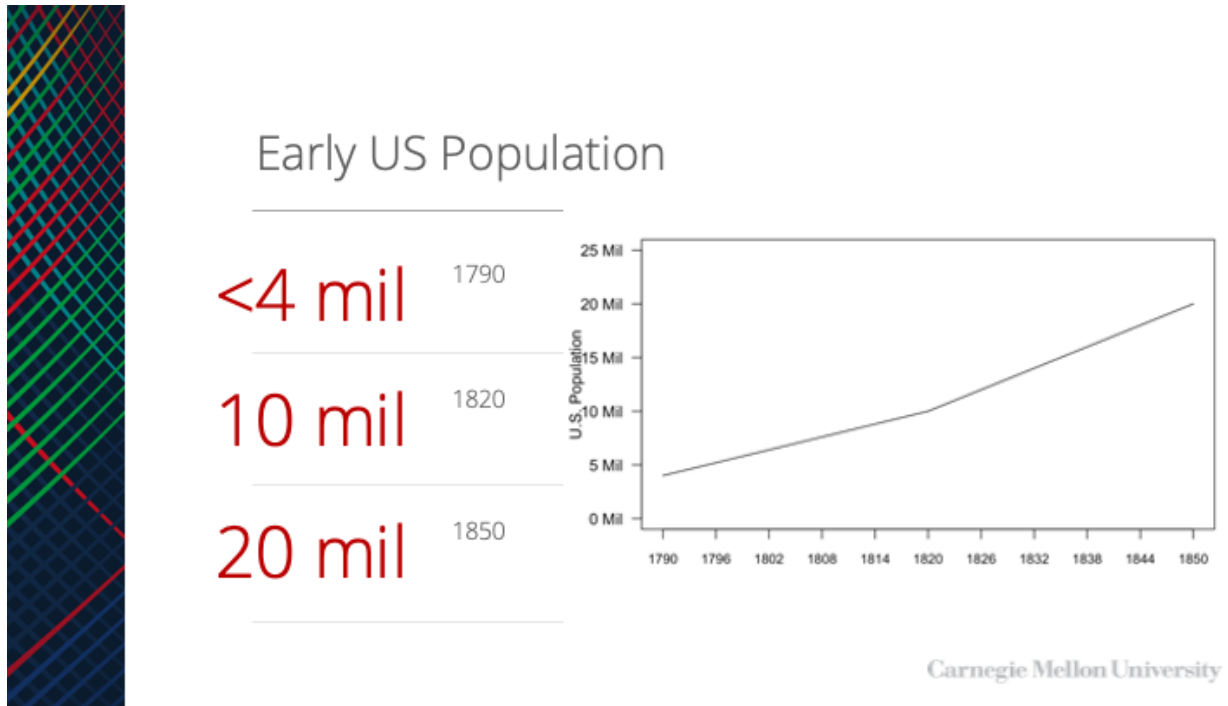
- The Constitution left entirely to state legislatures the question of how the electors themselves would be chosen.
- Article 2, section 1 specified that “*each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress*”.
- The states were not required to hold popular elections to choose presidential electors, and state legislatures could, whenever they wished, change the “*manner*” of appointing electors.
- Not surprisingly, during the early years of the republic, some state legislatures chose presidential electors by themselves, leaving the people of their states no role whatsoever in determining who would wield the executive power of the new federal government

The American Revolution

- The American Revolution produced modest, but only modest, gains in the formal democratization of politics.
- By 1790, according to most estimates, roughly 60 to 70 percent of adult white men (and very few others) could vote. (3.9 million people in US, 700k who were enslaved)
- The notion that a legitimate government required the “consent” of the governed became a staple of political thought; and a new, contagious language of rights and equality was widely heard

Democracy Ascendant

Early US Population



State Expansion of Franchise

- **Post-Revolution Governance Revisions:**
 - After the Revolution, states needed to revise their governance structures.
- **Emergence of a New Political Era:**
 - Arrival of new political leaders with innovative ideas and responses to contemporary challenges.
- **Constitutional Conventions (1790-1850s):**
 - All 31 states by 1855 held at least one constitutional convention, some multiple.
- **Motivations Behind Conventions:**
 - Debates over political authority, citizen rights, and power distribution.
 - Focus on voting rights and state legislative representation.

Expanding Rights: Evolution of Voting Laws

- **Major Changes (1790-1850s):**
 - Significant elaboration and transformation in U.S. voting laws.
- **Voting Procedures:**
 - *Procedures for voting* varied widely from state to state and even from town to towns
- **Oral and Public Voting in the South:**
 - Voters announced their choice before election judges.
 - In Virginia, voters inscribed names in a poll book under their preferred candidate.

Expanding Rights: Shift to Written Ballots

- **Transition to Written Ballot:**
 - State constitutions and statutes increasingly mandated written ballots to prevent intimidation.
- **Mid-19th Century Standardization:**
 - Predominance of written ballots, either placed in a box or handed to an official.
- **Emergence of Printed Ballots:**
 - Transition from handwritten to printed ballots as number of elected offices grew.
 - Political parties began preparing printed ballots to *assist* and *****monitor**** their voters.

Key Legal Developments in Election Administration

- **Administrative Developments:** Transformation of broad legal principles into detailed electoral rules.
- **Defining Residency:** States clarified criteria for residency or inhabitant status for voter eligibility.
- **Voter Registration Processes:**
 - Criteria for assembling eligible voter lists.
 - Required documentation for citizenship proof.
 - Procedures for challenging voter eligibility.
- **Race Definition in Voting:**
 - Legal guidelines on racial qualifications for voting rights.
 - Specific legal thresholds (e.g., one-half, three-quarters white) defined in an expanding legal framework.

Evolution of Property Requirements in Suffrage

- **Post-Revolution Shift (Post-1790):** Gradual elimination of property qualifications for suffrage, a trend initiated during the revolution.
- **New States' Stance:**
 - No new state entering the Union post-1790 imposed mandatory property requirements in their original constitutions.
- **Inconsistency with Republican Ideals:**
 - Exclusive political rights for property owners conflicted with the revolution's quasi-egalitarian ethos.
- **Residual Requirements (By 1850s):**
 - Only two property-based voting restrictions remained:
 - * Foreign-born residents in Rhode Island.
 - * African Americans in New York.

Rise of Taxpayer Requirements

- **Beyond Property Requirements:**
 - Demise of property requirements did not equate to the removal of all economic qualifications for voting.

- **Taxpaying Requirements (1790 Onwards):**
 - Prevalent in several states since 1790.
 - Adopted by others upon abolishing property qualifications.
 - New western states, such as Ohio and Louisiana, mandated voter taxpayer status.
- **Conceptual Distinction and Continuity:**
 - Taxpaying, indicating community membership, differed conceptually from property ownership.
 - Yet, it maintained the connection between financial status and voting rights.

Eroding Economic Barriers

- **Modification of Property Qualifications (1808-1811):**
 - 1808: Congress altered property qualifications in the Northwest Ordinance.
 - 1811: Enfranchisement of all *free white males* who paid taxes and resided in the territory.
- **Abolishing Taxpaying Requirements (1830-1855):**
 - Six states eliminated voter tax requirements, reducing the total to six states with minimal tax-paying clauses.
- **Opposition to Taxpaying Provisions:**
 - Criticized by Whigs and Democrats for enforcement difficulties and fraud risks.
 - Challenges in translating broad tax requirements into coherent policies.
- **Decline of Explicit Economic Barriers (By 1855):**
 - Few formal or explicit economic barriers to voting remained.

Convergence of State and Local Eligibility Requirements

- **Alignment of State and Municipal Laws (1790-1850s):**
 - State and municipal suffrage laws became nearly identical across most regions.
- **Shift in Municipal Charter Perception:**
 - Transition from viewing municipal charters as unalterable to recognizing state supremacy.
- **State Supremacy Concept:**
 - Municipalities increasingly seen as administrative entities under state control, not separate sovereignties.
- **Standardization of Suffrage Regulations:**
 - By the 1850s, a prevailing assumption that state suffrage regulations applied universally to all elections.

Residency Requirements

- **Adjustments Across States:**
 - Post-elimination of property qualifications, states extensively modified their residency rules.
- **Reduced Residency Requirements:**
 - States like Delaware, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Indiana, and Michigan shortened their residency requirements.
 - This change enfranchised a significant number of previously ineligible migrants.

Immigrant Non-Citizen Voting

- **Extension to Immigrants:**
 - A dramatic, albeit non-unidirectional, historical trend was granting voting rights to immigrants.
- **Ambiguous Citizen-Alien Distinction (End of 18th Century):**
 - The distinction between citizens and aliens was not clearly defined in law or practice.
- **Federal Policy in Northwest Territories:**
 - To promote settlement, the federal government allowed aliens to vote in the Northwest Territories.

Constitutionality of Alien Suffrage

- **Debate and Court Decisions:**
 - Mid-nineteenth century debates on alien suffrage.
 - State courts consistently upheld alien suffrage provisions.
- **Opposition Arguments:**
 - Claims that states were overstepping federal authority by granting franchise to non-naturalized individuals.

Citizenship and Naturalization

- **Federal Naturalization Policies:**
 - Changes in naturalization procedures until 1802.
 - 1802 Law: Foreign-born white males could become citizens after five years of residency and three years post declaration of intent.
- **Constitutional Revisions in States:**
 - States like New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Maryland, and Virginia shifted from “*inhabitant*” to “*citizen*” in their constitutions.
- **Trend in New States (1800-1840):**
 - New states predominantly granted voting rights exclusively to citizens.
- **Jacksonian Era Shift (Post-1828):**
 - Aliens increasingly barred from voting across various states.

Party-Competition

- **Influence of Second-Party System:**
 - Dynamics of partisan politics under the second-party system intensified the push for broader suffrage.
- **Democratic Mantle and Accusations:**
 - Parties competed to adopt the mantle of democracy.
 - Simultaneously, they accused each other of manipulating laws for personal gain.
- **Campaigns Against Taxpaying Provisions:**
 - Initiatives to end taxpaying requirements typically spearheaded by Democrats.
 - Whigs quickly followed suit to reinforce their democratic image.

Sources of Expansion of the Franchise

- Key factors contributing to the expansion varied by state.

Broadening of the Suffrage

- **Convergence of Factors (first half of the 1800s):**
 1. Significant shifts in social structure and composition.
 2. Emergence or growth of situations where expanding the franchise benefited the enfranchised's material interests.
 3. Establishment of broad-based political parties vying for votes.

Changing Social Statuses

- **Rising Ineligibility Under Property Requirements:**
 - Growth in the number of adult males unable to meet property requirements in states with such mandates.
- **Urban Population Growth:**
 - Rapid increase in urban dwellers, many owning no real or any property.
- **Discrepancy in Social and Political Participation:**
 - Emergence of large groups actively engaged in economic and social life but lacking political rights.

How Change Happens

- **Role of the Disfranchised:**
 - Unable to initiate change independently.
- **Support from the Enfranchised:**
 - Expansion of voting rights often backed by those already having suffrage.
- **Motivations for Sharing Political Power:**
 - Enfranchised individuals perceived direct benefits from broadening the electorate.

War, What is it Good For?

- **Post-Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Impacts:**
 - Middle-class citizens supported extending suffrage to lower classes, believing it would:
 - * Enhance their own security.
 - * Ensure continued service in the army and militias, preserving their way of life.
- **Lessons from the War of 1812:**
 - Struggles with military recruitment and retention highlighted the need for a committed militia.
- **Specific Context in the South:**
 - Enfranchisement of all white Southerners aimed to secure poor whites' participation in militia patrols against slave rebellions.

New Territories

- **Adoption of White Manhood Suffrage in Forming States:**
 - Inhabitants of emerging states from sparsely populated territories favored broadening the franchise.
- **Motivations Behind Broad Franchise:**
 - Belief that an extensive franchise would:
 - * Encourage settlement, boosting land values.
 - * Stimulate economic growth.
 - * Increase tax revenues.

Political Competition

- **Link Between Suffrage Reform and Political Parties:**
 - Political parties and electoral competition significantly influenced suffrage expansion.
 - Both *party loyalty* and *party identification* became prominent elements of public life
- **Electoral Strategy and Voter Enfranchisement:**
 - In competitive elections, parties keenly evaluated the impact of enfranchising new voters.
 - Electoral outcomes often hinged on the size and composition of the electorate.
- **Strategic Expansion of the Franchise:**
 - Parties aimed to broaden suffrage primarily to gain electoral advantages, irrespective of democratization views.
- **They wanted to win elections**

(Summary) Sources of Expansion of the Franchise

- **Progress Towards Universal White Male Suffrage (Mid-19th Century):**
 - Significant strides made in expanding voting rights.
- **Key Drivers of Suffrage Expansion:**
 - Economic development.
 - Changes in social structure.
 - Party politics dynamics.
 - Spread of democratic ideals.
 - War experiences.
 - Necessity of maintaining militias.
- **Role of Government Entities:**
 - States, federal government, and municipalities removed major barriers to male electoral participation.
- **Impact on Political Participation:**
 - Surge in political engagement during the 1830s and 1840s, with some areas seeing 80% turnout among adult white male citizens.

Backsliding and Sideslipping

Trajectory of Voting Laws

- **Increasing Voters vs. Tightening Requirements:**
 - While the legal trend favored increasing voter numbers, some laws introduced stricter voting criteria.
- **Administrative Specifications:**
 - New regulations clarified vague constitutional mandates, adding specificity.
- **Post-Abolition Adjustments:**
 - Laws designed in the aftermath of eliminating property and taxpaying requirements.
- **Response to National Transformations:**
 - Economic, social, and political shifts prompted adjustments in voting laws.
 - Emerging challenges: industrialism, sectional conflicts, immigration, westward expansion.
 - Signs of an anti-democratic reaction appeared in response to these challenges.

Gender and Voting Rights

- **Early Inclusion in New Jersey:**
 - 1776 constitution and 1790 election law allowed all “*inhabitants*” voting rights.
 - Interpretation permitted property-owning women to vote.
- **Shift in Political Dynamics:**
 - Changes in political power and rampant voting fraud allegations.
 - Federalists and Republicans reassessed the broad electorate’s benefits.
- **Exclusion of Women (1807):**
 - Decision to narrow the electorate led to the disenfranchisement of women, along with aliens and African Americans.
 - Women in New Jersey lost voting rights in 1807.

Gender and Electoral Exclusion

- **Rationale Behind Retrenchment:**
 - Supporters of disenfranchising women did not cite lack of capacity as a reason.
 - Emphasis was on combating corruption and rectifying constitutional “defects.”
- **Legislative Justifications:**
 - Aimed to resolve “doubts” regarding the electorate’s composition by amending the constitution.
- **Nationwide Impact:**
 - Following the constitutional amendment, women were universally barred from voting across the nation.

African-American Voting Rights

- **Early State Policies:**
 - Initially, only a few states formally excluded free African Americans from voting.
- **Increasing Exclusions (1790-1850):**
 - Steady rise in the number of states disallowing black voting rights during this period.
- **Reversal in Early States:**
 - NJ, MD, and CT, which allowed black voting post-independence, banned it by 1820.
- **Post-1819 State Policies:**
 - All states joining the union after 1819 explicitly prohibited black voting.

Pennsylvania: Shift in Voting Rights

- **Revolutionary Era Liberalism:**
 - Initially, Pennsylvania had one of the most liberal constitutions regarding voting rights.
- **Constitutional Amendment in 1838:**
 - Added the word “white” to voting requirements, explicitly restricting black suffrage.
- **Supreme Court Ruling (1836):**
 - Two years prior to the amendment, the state’s supreme court ruled that blacks could not vote as they were not considered “freemen.”

Federal Stance on African-American Voting Rights

- **Federal Restrictions:**
 - The federal government barred Blacks from voting in territories under its control.
- **State-Level Discrimination by 1855:**
 - Only five states (Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island) allowed African-American suffrage.
 - These states comprised only 4% of the nation’s free black population.
- **Supreme Court Ruling (1857):**
 - in 1857, the Supreme Court ruled that Blacks, free or slave, could not be citizens of the United States
 - *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

Voting Rights and Slavery

- **Ineligibility of Slaves:**
 - Slaves were universally denied the right to vote.
- **Barriers for Free Blacks:**
 - Most free Blacks were unable to meet property and taxpaying criteria for voting.
- **Impact of Abolishing Property Requirements:**

- Elimination of property qualifications enabled poor, uneducated free Blacks to vote.
- **Northern States' Concerns:**
 - Growing apprehension in northern states about becoming a destination for Black migrants from the South.

Growing Racism and Political Dynamics

- **Rising Hostility Towards Blacks:**
 - Increase in antagonistic and fearful attitudes towards Blacks, notably in the North, despite growing abolitionist sentiments.
- **Republican Factions and Black Voting (1810-1820):**
 - Resistance to Black suffrage partly due to fears of Blacks aligning with Federalists.
 - Black voters in the North leaned towards Federalists, who opposed slavery.
- **Democratic Stance in Later Decades:**
 - Democratic opposition to African-American voting rights stemmed from the belief that Blacks would predominantly support Whigs.

African-Americans in the North: Population and Voting Rights

- **Black Population in 1850:**
 - In the North, only New Jersey had a Black population exceeding 2%.
 - States with intense debates like Ohio and Indiana had less than 1% Black population.
- **Impact of Black Vote in Pennsylvania:**
 - A county election influenced by the Black vote in the 1830s led to racial exclusion in the 1838 Pennsylvania constitution.
- **Fear of Black Migration:**
 - Concerns that enfranchising Blacks would attract freedmen and runaway slaves to states like Pennsylvania, New York, and Wisconsin.
 - This fear contributed significantly to the push for Black disfranchisement.

19th Century Perspectives on Black Suffrage

- **Emotional and Irrational Responses:**
 - Rational arguments and nuanced distinctions struggled to address the emotionally charged issue of Black suffrage.
- **Prevalent Beliefs and Fears:**
 - Widespread belief in Black inferiority and fear of their presence, especially outside slave states.
- **Concerns Over Voting Rights:**
 - Granting African Americans the right to vote was feared to encourage migration and “amalgamation.”
 - This was perceived as a threat to the value of whiteness and the essence of citizenship.

Early Legal Ambiguity for Native Americans

- **Constitutional Provision:**
 - “Indians not taxed” excluded from census counts for legislative apportionment, reflecting ambiguous citizenship status.
- **Constitutional Debates:**
 - Deliberations on whether Native Americans were considered “white” in various constitutional conventions.
- **General National Consensus:**
 - A broad agreement that Native Americans should not be excluded from voting on racial grounds if “civilized” and taxpaying.

Legal Status and Voting Rights of Native Americans

- **Narrowing Political Participation (1790-1850s):**
 - Gradual legal clarification of Native American status, generally in a restrictive manner.
- **Key Legal Interpretations:**
 - Marshall’s designation of Indian tribes as “domestic, dependent nations.”
 - *Dred Scott* decision’s implications for Native American citizenship and potential paths toward it.

Congressional and State Actions on Native American Suffrage

- **Congressional Naturalization Efforts:**
 - Some tribes naturalized in exchange for land allotments, affecting a minority of Native Americans.
- **State-Level Disfranchisement:**
 - Various states explicitly disfranchised Native Americans, particularly those “not taxed” or affiliated with tribes.
- **Limited Voting Participation:**
 - While legally *potential* voters, few Native Americans managed to exercise this right in the antebellum period.

Exclusions Beyond Property Requirements

- **Pauper Exclusions:**
 - New constitutional provisions introduced to exclude paupers, often accompanying the abolition of property requirements.
 - Direct contradiction to the notion of universal suffrage for all adult white males.
- **Economic Self-Sufficiency and Political Rights:**
 - Economic independence seen as a prerequisite for political participation.
 - Dependence on public assistance equated to a loss of citizenry rights.

Disfranchisement for Criminal Convictions

- **Historical Precedents:**
 - Denial of voting rights for serious offenses rooted in English, European, and Roman legal traditions.
- **American Legal Adoption:**
 - Embedded in American law as both a punitive measure and a deterrent.

Felons and Voting Rights in State Constitutions

- **Constitutional Provisions (1776-1821):**
 - Eleven states explicitly restricted voting rights for men with criminal convictions or authorized legislatures to do so.
- **Expansion of Disfranchisement Pre-Civil War:**
 - By the Civil War era, over two dozen states had laws excluding individuals convicted of serious crimes, many enacted post-abolition of economic requirements.

Residency Requirements for Voting

- **Variation Across States:**
 - Some states increased residency requirements, while others reduced them.
- **Rationale for Residency Requirements:**
 - Aimed to ensure voters were familiar with local conditions and had a vested interest in election outcomes.
- **Typical Requirements:**
 - Average state residency requirement was one year.
 - Township or county residency tended to be three to six months.

Political Influences on Residency Requirements

- **Advocacy for Different Residency Periods:**
 - Reports in 1820 of men from New Hampshire moving to Massachusetts to vote highlighted concerns over short residency periods.
- **Party Preferences:**
 - Federalists and Whigs favored longer residency requirements, concerned about the influence of transients and the poor.
 - Democrats advocated for shorter periods, aiming to enfranchise more supporters.

Origins of Voter Registration

- **Concerns Over Transients:**
 - Growing worries about transient voters, especially foreign-born, led to calls for formal voter registration systems.
- **Pre-1830s Practices:**
 - Lack of official voter lists or pre-election registration requirements in most states.
- **Shift in the 1830s:**
 - Whigs championed registration to curb votes from ineligible transients and foreigners perceived to support Democrats.

Legal Foundation and Early Implementation

- **Capen v. Foster (1832):**
 - Affirmed that registry laws were constitutional, aimed at regulating election conduct rather than imposing new voting qualifications.
- **Pennsylvania's Registration Law (1836):**
 - First registration law requiring voter lists in Philadelphia, barring anyone not listed from voting.
- **Controversy Over Law's Intent:**
 - Official goal was to reduce fraud, but critics argued it aimed to disenfranchise the poor, who might miss assessors' visits or lack prominent identifiers like "big brass" nameplates.

Literacy Tests in Voting

- **Justification for Literacy Tests:**
 - Advocates for literacy tests in voting often framed them as minimal standards for ensuring voter intelligence.
 - Quote: "The least we can require is this very simple manifestation of intelligence."
- **Underlying Assumptions:**
 - The implementation of literacy tests was predicated on the belief that the ability to read and write was a fundamental prerequisite for informed voting.

Literacy Tests and Immigrant Voting

- **1840s Proposals:**
 - Rising apprehensions about immigrant voting led to proposals for literacy and English language tests for prospective voters.
- **Counterarguments:**
 - Opposition highlighted that many competent citizens were illiterate or had minimal literacy but could responsibly vote.
 - Anecdote: Andrew Jackson's reputed difficulty with spelling.
- **Concerns Over Equity:**
 - Without universal education, literacy tests were seen as discriminatory against the poor.
- **Introduction of Restrictions:**
 - Literacy and "waiting period" restrictions on voting were not enacted until the 1850s.

Working Class Enfranchisement and Socialism

- **Early and Uncontested Enfranchisement:**
 - The American working class was enfranchised early in the industrialization process, without the need for collective organization for franchise rights.
- **Impact on Labor Movements:**
 - Access to the electoral process reduced the impetus to form labor parties, leading to partisan attachments to existing political organizations.
- **Absence of Strong Socialist Movement:**
 - The unique path of working-class enfranchisement contributed to the notable lack of a strong socialist movement in American politics.

Absence of Class as a Political Wedge

- **Limited Role of Class in Politics:**
 - Class has historically played a small role in shaping American social and political life.
- **Unintended Consequences of Suffrage Laws:**
 - The broad enfranchisement of the working class during the antebellum era was largely an accidental outcome of changes in suffrage laws.
 - It's important to acknowledge the exclusion of women, free blacks, and recent immigrants from this enfranchisement.

Industrial Revolution and Suffrage Expansion

- **Pre-Industrial Suffrage Reforms:**
 - Franchise expansion occurred before the full onset of the Industrial Revolution and its societal impacts were fully realized.
- **Early Industrial Workforce:**
 - Northern states had few manufacturing workers when property qualifications were removed or new constitutions enacted.
- **Shift in Labor Demographics:**
 - Dramatic change in the ratio of farmers to industrial workers evident by 1850, with industrial significance rising significantly post-suffrage reforms.
- **Lack of Deliberate Decision:**
 - No conscious policy choice to enfranchise the emerging industrial working class at the time of suffrage reforms.

Class Dynamics and Voting Rights

- **Beyond Democratic Ideals:**
 - Early franchise broadening was not solely due to a unique commitment to democracy or the perceived irrelevance of class.
- **Context of Suffrage Reforms:**

- Extension of voting rights took place in a context where the working class's rights and power were not central concerns.
- **Exclusion of Subaltern Classes:**
 - Enfranchisement of the “American peasantry” was not considered, as they were enslaved.
 - Few industrial workers existed to challenge the social order when suffrage reforms were implemented.

Trends Against Suffrage

- **Broadening Followed by Barriers:**
 - While suffrage had expanded, new barriers were erected, targeting smaller and specific populations.
- **Regional Contrasts:**
 - Concerns about immigrant voters in the Northeast coincided with Midwestern states extending the franchise to non-declarant aliens.
- **Loss of Political Rights:**
 - By the early 1850s, various groups of men and one group of women had lost the political rights they once possessed.
- **Limitations to Universal Suffrage:**
 - These barriers reflected the nation's reluctance to fully embrace universal suffrage, highlighting the limits of democratic impulses in that era.

Part II

- **Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth Century**

Changing Country

- **Heightened Conflict Over Voting Rights:**
 - After 1850, there was a significant increase in conflict over the right to vote, with a shift in temper towards restricting voting rights.
 - Freedmen were enfranchised during Reconstruction as political rights were seen as essential to true freedom.
- **Evolution of the Electorate:**
 - The potential electorate in 1880 or 1900 was significantly different from that of 1840.
 - Optimism about popular participation in the 1830s and 1840s gave way to apprehension and fear by the late 1870s and 1880s.
 - The country was increasingly diverse racially, ethnically, and culturally.

High Point of Democracy

- “The democratic principle... reached its culmination about 1850.”
 - *Atlantic Monthly*
- The high tide of faith in democracy in the United States was reached at mid-century in the 1800s; thereafter it ebbed.

Immigrants in the 1850s

- **First Targets of Shifting Political Mood:**
 - In the 1850s, working-class immigrants, especially from Ireland, became the first targets of the nation's shifting political mood.
- **Surge in Immigration:**
 - Between 1845 and 1854, nearly three million foreigners arrived, equal to roughly 15 percent of the population in 1845.
 - In 1854 alone, immigration reached a record high of 427,833.
- **Irish Population in Boston and New York:**
 - By the mid-1850s, more than one-fifth of all residents of Boston and New York were Irish-born.

Immigrant Settlers

- **Encouragement of Foreign-Born Settlers:**
 - In the 1850s, foreign-born settlers were welcomed in the U.S. and encouraged to participate in politics.
- **Voting Laws for Non-Citizens:**
 - Laws permitting declarant non-citizens to vote after a limited residence period were passed in several states and territories between 1848 and 1859.
 - These states were predominantly agricultural, thinly populated, and hoping to encourage settlement.
 - their immigrant populations, actual and prospective, consisted primarily of farmers

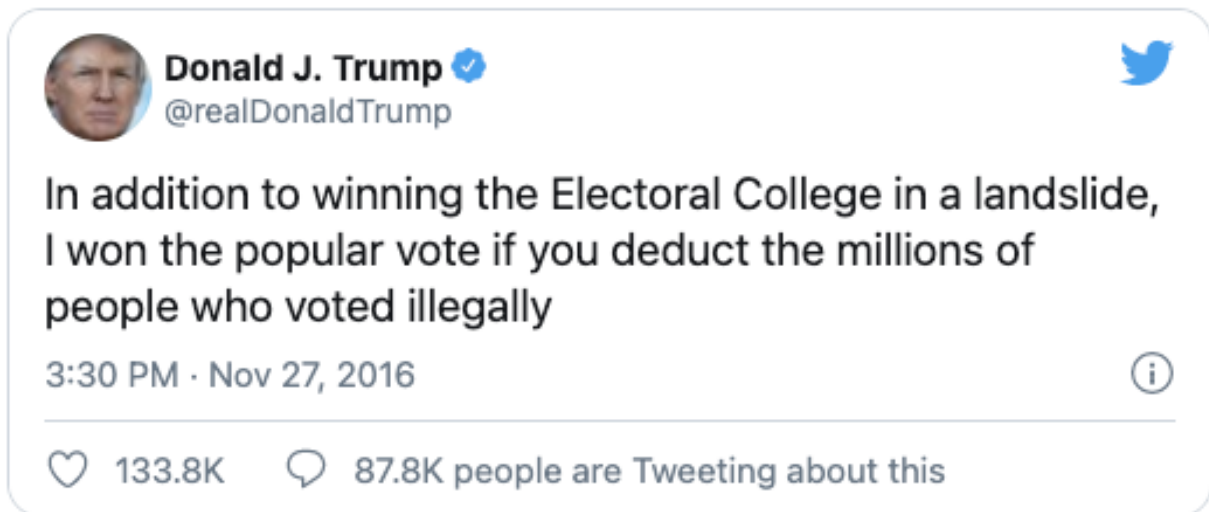
Immigrant Workers

- **Challenges Faced by Workers:**
 - Workers, however, faced different challenges.
 - They were generally poor, crowded into densely populated urban neighborhoods, and often depicted as rowdy.
 - Most were Irish Catholic.
- **Doubts About Desirability:**
 - Despite their welcome labor, doubts about their desirability as members of the polity arose due to their religion, ethnicity, and class.

Nativism

- **Suspicion of Immigrants:**
 - Some native-born Americans regarded recently arrived immigrants, *even citizens*, as insufficiently tutored in American values and democracy.
- **Anti-Catholic Sentiment:**
 - Concerns included fears that Catholics were controlled by the Pope and would undermine Protestant society.
- **Corruption Allegations:**
 - Charges of immigrants corrupting elections through illegal voting and vote-selling were common.
 - Mass naturalizations before elections were also reported.

Trump equivlent (there's always one it seems)



Objections

- Whig and then Republican objections were strengthened by the tendency of many immigrants to drink alcohol and vote Democratic
- Abolitionists came to regard immigrants as a pro-slavery voting bloc that would help to keep the planter aristocracy in power in the South
- **Political nativism moved to the foreground of the political stage, however, when the Know-Nothings burst onto the scene in 1853–1854**

Know-Nothings

- **Domination of Political Landscape:**
 - The Know-Nothings dominated political life in the Northeast, parts of the Midwest, and even southern states with sizable immigrant populations.
 - By 1854, they had a million members and chapters in all northern states.
 - Order of the Star Spangled Banner became known as “know-nothings” because they would deny knowing anything about the order
- **Platform and Reforms:**
 - They opposed the existing party system, opposed slavery extension, and endorsed progressive reforms.
 - Reforms included strengthening lien laws, property rights for married women, and expanding public schools.
- **Religious Bigotry:**
 - The Know-Nothings expressed ethnic and religious bigotry, particularly against immigrants and Catholics.
- **Membership Criteria:**
 - To join the “Order of the Star Spangled Banner” (Know-Nothings), one had to be native-born, white, male, and have no connection to Catholicism.

- **Concerns:**
 - They feared that immigrants, especially Catholics, had too much electoral power and could subvert American values.

Know-Nothing Political Success

- **Electoral Victories:**
 - The Know-Nothings achieved surprising electoral successes between 1854 and 1856.
 - They won gubernatorial elections in nine states and controlled legislative branches in several.
- **Stronghold in Immigrant Populated Areas:**
 - Their support was particularly strong in states and cities with sizable immigrant populations.
 - Notable states included Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, and parts of Ohio.

Massachusetts Know-Nothings

- **Example in Massachusetts:**
 - In Massachusetts, Know-Nothings elected a governor and gained legislative control in 1854.
 - Most support came from the eastern half of the state, which had a large Irish immigrant population.
 - In 1857, Massachusetts passed a law requiring voters to demonstrate literacy.
- **Literacy Requirement:**
 - Such laws, according to the Know-Nothings, would keep the “ignorant, imbruted Irish” from the polls.

End of the Know-Nothings

- **Decline of the Know-Nothings:**
 - The Know-Nothings faded from view after the mid-1850s, as nativism gave way to sectional politics.
 - The Republican Party attracted many former Know-Nothing supporters.
- **Republican Shift:**
 - Although the Republicans succeeded in part by embracing some of the nativist agenda, they quickly turned their attention to other issues.
 - They were increasingly sensitive to the political risks they ran, particularly in the Midwest, by associating themselves too closely with anti-immigrant politics.

Black Voting Rights

- **Civil War and Reconstruction:**
 - Four years of armed conflict and the challenge of reconstructing the nation after the war brought the question of Black voting rights to the forefront of national politics.
 - Critical questions arose about the role of the federal government in determining the breadth of the franchise.

War and Veteran Rights

- **Voting Rights at the Outset of Civil War:**

- At the beginning of the Civil War, only a few states, primarily in New England, allowed Blacks to vote on the same basis as whites.
- Abolition of slavery transformed four million newly freed citizens into individuals with a new claim to political rights.
- African Americans, loyal supporters of the Union and the Republican Party, saw their role change significantly.
- By 1865, more than 180,000 Blacks could argue that the traditional argument of men who bore arms should wield the ballot was applicable to them.

Becoming American

- **Enfranchisement for African Americans:**

- For African Americans, enfranchisement was not only a means of self-protection but also a critical symbol of their standing in American society.
- Between 1864 and 1868, the more militant and egalitarian Radical wing of the Republican Party advocated for “impartial” or “universal” suffrage.

Beecher’s Sentiments

- **Henry Ward Beecher’s Perspective:**

- “The broad and radical democratic doctrine of the natural rights of men shall be applied to all men, without regard to race, or color, or condition. [Suffrage] is not a privilege or a prerogative but a right.
- Every man has a right to have a voice in the laws, the magistracies, and the policies that take care of him. That is an inherent right; it is not a privilege conferred.”
- * Henry Ward Beecher, New York’s influential Protestant minister

Black Franchise

- **Mixed Attitudes Toward Black Franchise:**

- Most white Americans did not share the views of proponents of Black suffrage.
- In the South, the prospect of Black enfranchisement threatened established racism and the white goal of regaining control over the Black population.
- Ongoing hostility was present in the North as well, intensified by emancipation.
- Proposals to enfranchise Blacks were defeated in more than fifteen northern states and territories between 1863 and 1870.

Defeat of Universal Manhood Suffrage

- **Limited Progress Toward Black Suffrage:**

- Prior to the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, only Iowa and Minnesota adopted impartial suffrage in 1868.
- Minnesota’s vote was facilitated by wording that masked the subject of the referendum.
- Most northern Republicans supported Black suffrage, but Democrats opposed it, and there were enough Republican dissenters to ensure the defeat of reform proposals.

Reconstruction

- **Reconstruction Era:**

- The political dynamics of Reconstruction led to significant federal government intervention to override state control of the franchise and grant political rights to Black men.
- President Johnson initially offered lenient terms to Southern states for a quick restoration to the Union, with few reforms and the maintenance of power in the hands of whites.
- Concerned about this, the Republican-controlled Congress began to develop its own program in 1866.
- They aimed to guarantee civil rights for Blacks and promote greater racial equality in Southern society, but Black enfranchisement was not yet a part of their agenda.

XIV Amendment

Fourteenth Amendment

- The moderate majority of Republicans in Congress negotiated the passage of the *Fourteenth Amendment* in June 1866.
- A compromise measure, the amendment was designed to
 - punish Confederate political leaders (by preventing them from holding office)
 - to affirm the South's responsibility for a share of the national debt,
 - to protect southern Blacks without arousing the racial fears of northern whites

XIV Amendment

Fourteenth Amendment:

- Section 1
- **All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.**

XIV Amendment

Fourteenth Amendment:

- Section 2
- **Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.**

XIV Amendment

Fourteenth Amendment:

- Section 3
- No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

XIV Amendment

Fourteenth Amendment:

- Section 4
- The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

XIV Amendment

Fourteenth Amendment:

- Section 5
- The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Impact of the 14th Amendment

- **National Definition of Citizenship:**
 - The 14th Amendment declared that “all persons born or naturalized in the United States” were citizens, offering a national definition of citizenship.
 - It confirmed that Black individuals were citizens of the United States.
- **Oblique Approach to Enfranchisement:**
 - Recognizing the challenge of enfranchising Blacks directly, the amendment took an indirect approach.
 - It stipulated that any state denying the vote to a portion of its male citizens would face a reduction in Congressional representation.

What Was Left Out of the 14th Amendment

- **State Authority for Racial Barriers:**
 - The amendment tacitly acknowledged the right of individual states to create racial barriers.
- **Exclusion of Women:**
 - The use of the word “male” in the amendment implicitly recognized the legitimacy of excluding women from electoral politics.
- **Fierce Opposition:**
 - The 14th Amendment faced strong opposition from President Johnson, white Southerners, and northern Democrats.

New Appetite for Black Enfranchisement

- **To more and more Republicans, many of whom were changing their views in the cauldron of circumstance, Black enfranchisement appeared:**
 - **Essential to protect the freedmen**
 - **Provide the Republican Party with an electoral base in the South**
 - **Make it possible for loyal governments to be elected in the once-rebellious states**

Federal Intervention

- **Congress first signaled its shift in perspective by:**
 - Passing a law ending racial qualifications for voting in the District of Columbia.
- **President Johnson’s response:**
 - Vetoed the legislation, maintaining that it was wrong to enfranchise “a new class, wholly unprepared” for democracy “by previous habits and opportunities.”
- **Congressional actions following the veto:**
 - Overrode the veto and passed a bill prohibiting racial bars in any existing or future federal territories.
 - Insisted that Nebraska and Colorado adopt impartial suffrage as a prerequisite for admission to statehood.

Reconstruction

- **Culmination of activities:**
 - The surge of activity, fed by continued southern intransigence, culminated in the passage of the Reconstruction Act of March 1867.
- **The legal centerpiece of Radical Reconstruction:**
 - **Denied recognition to the existing state governments of the South** and authorized **continued military rule** of the region under the control of Congress.
 - Required each southern state to ratify the **Fourteenth Amendment** and to approve, by manhood suffrage, a state constitution that permitted Blacks to vote on the same terms as whites.
- **President Johnson’s opposition:**
 - Vetoed the bill, but his veto was quickly overridden.

- **Requirement for rejoining the political nation:**
 - To rejoin the political nation, the states of the Confederacy were now compelled to permit Blacks to vote. ## Black Voting
- **Elections and Constitutions:**
 - In 1867 and 1868, African Americans, working with white Unionists and Republicans in the South, elected new state governments, wrote progressive constitutions that included manhood suffrage provisions, and ratified the *Fourteenth Amendment*.
- **Political Participation:**
 - Black enthusiasm for political participation was so great that freedmen often put down their tools and ceased working when elections or conventions were being held.
- **Re-admission to the Union:**
 - By June 1868, seven states, with manhood suffrage, had been readmitted to the Union, and the process was well under way elsewhere.
- **Opposition:**
 - All this was achieved despite fierce opposition from upper-class whites, who feared that a biracial alliance of Blacks and non-elite whites would bring about a new and inhospitable economic and political order.

Backlash

- **Violence:**
 - Anti-Black and anti-Republican violence flared up throughout the region, often spearheaded by the rapidly growing Ku Klux Klan.
- **Electoral Defeats:**
 - Republican achievements in the South were accompanied by a succession of electoral defeats in the North, where the Democrats gained ground from the Atlantic to the Pacific.
- **Moderation in Response:**
 - Interpreted by both parties as the consequence of Republican support for Black suffrage, this electoral swing led the Republicans to seek more moderate ground — in part out of fear that they could lose the 1868 presidential election and thereby bring a premature end to Reconstruction.
 - The party nominated the uncontroversial General Ulysses Grant for the presidency and adopted a platform that supported Black suffrage for the South while advocating state control of electoral rules in the North.

1868 Election

- **Election Results:**
 - The Republicans did not fare well in the 1868 elections: Grant was victorious, but the winning margin was surprisingly slim, and the Democrats continued to gain ground in Republican strongholds.
- **Constitutional Amendment:**
 - Within days of the 1868 election, the Republicans shifted course, as Radicals, in and out of Congress, announced that they would press forward with a constitutional amendment to enfranchise African Americans. ## Fading Support

- **Decline in Support:**

- The decline in support for the Republican Party, as well as the referenda outcomes in 1867 and 1868, underscored the strength and breadth of opposition to Black enfranchisement.

- **Implications for Control:**

- Republicans sensed that control of the national government might be slipping from their grasp:
 - + White Southerners were intensifying their opposition to Black equality.
 - + Something had to be done soon to guarantee Black political rights, particularly in the event that the Democrats returned to power in the South or nationally.
 - + Election results also indicated that Black voters might be important to the fortunes of the Republican Party in northern as well as southern states.

Amendment XV Debate

- **Historical Significance:**

- Debate on the *Fifteenth Amendment* was the first time since the constitutional convention in Philadelphia that the national government of the United States had grappled directly and extensively with the issue of voting rights.

- **Broadening of Debate:**

- The debate began with a strategic focus on the rights of African Americans, particularly in the South, but it soon broadened into a far-reaching consideration of the **meaning of democracy and the power of the national government**.

15th Proposals

- **Shellabarger's Proposal:**

- Samuel Shellabarger's amendment prohibited the states from denying or abridging the voting rights of any adult male of "sound mind," except those who had engaged in rebellion against the United States or committed other "infamous" crimes. + it implicitly would have ended not only racial discrimination but also property, tax, nativity, and literacy requirements.

- **Boutwell's Proposal:**

- George Boutwell's proposal guaranteed "the right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of race, color, or previous condition of slavery of any citizens or class of citizens of the United States."

- **Wilson's Proposal:**

- Massachusetts Senator Henry Wilson, a shoemaker by trade, a long-time foe of slavery, and later vice president of the United States: + Prohibited discrimination "among the citizens of the United States in the exercise of the elective franchise or in the right to hold office in any State on account of race, color, nativity, property, education or creed." + Tacitly permitted suffrage qualifications based on age and residence.

Sen. Henry Wilson

- **Advocacy for Broad Phrasing:**

- Wilson and his allies, many from the Midwest, mounted a powerful array of arguments in favor of a broadly phrased amendment. + They voiced a prescient fear (as had Shellabarger) that a watered-down amendment such as Boutwell's would end up being circumvented by southern states that could disfranchise Blacks through literacy, tax, or property requirements. + Wilson

maintained shrewdly that his proposal might have the best chance of being ratified by the states because it effectively would enfranchise everyone (including many immigrant supporters of the Democrats) and not appear to be granting special privileges to African Americans.

“Rights” Argument

- **Pandora’s Box:**

- The “rights” arguments in behalf of any particular suffrage extension opened up a Pandora’s box, because the same arguments could justify anyone’s enfranchisement.
 - * Enfranchising Blacks on the grounds that voting was a right or natural right carried the implication that all adult male citizens should be enfranchised.
 - * Some argued to be consistent and to set the matter to rest, once and for all, the franchise indeed should be further extended rather than limited.
 - * Most Republicans remained reluctant to let women out of the Pandora’s box, but these advocates of a broad constitutional amendment nonetheless were staking out new ground in public debate for the cause of universal suffrage.

Pushback

- **Opposition to Wilson Amendment:**

- That the Wilson amendment sanctioned Black office-holding, as well as suffrage, only intensified the opposition. + Senators from the West were apprehensive that it would enfranchise the Chinese. + Several northeastern Republicans wanted states to retain the power to circumscribe the voting rights of immigrants. + Others argued that municipalities and states ought to be able to impose property requirements in elections dealing with taxes and financial matters.

“Republican Guarantee”

- **Federal vs. State Power:**

- The most frequently voiced reason for opposing universal manhood suffrage was not that it would empower an “inferior” people but rather that it would produce a “radical and revolutionary” **transformation of the relationship between the federal government and the states**. + The Wilson amendment would vest that power in the federal government and in so doing alter the Constitution while undermining the autonomy and authority of the states. + Radicals replied that the “republican guarantee” clause of article 4 already gave the federal government the power to regulate the franchise.

Federalism

- **Balance of Authority:**

- Democrats, of course, were broadly committed to preserving the power of the states, but even moderate Republicans, in the Senate and the House, worried that the Wilson amendment would upset the balance of state and federal authority enshrined in the Constitution. + Such arguments offered critics of the amendment a convenient, apparently principled means of opposing franchise extension without sounding undemocratic or racist. + They also reflected a desire to shore up federalism in an era when the exigencies of war and the economic program of the Republican Party were shifting power toward Washington. + Faced with a choice between a narrowly phrased amendment and the possibility of no amendment at all, advocates of broad-gauged democratization surrendered.

Opposition on Other Grounds to the 15th

- **Widespread Intensity:**

- Opposition to the amendment was widespread and intense. + It was passed easily only in New England, where Blacks already voted, and in the South, where the federal government had already intervened to compel Black enfranchisement. + Elsewhere, battles over ratification were closely fought and heavily partisan.

- **West Coast Opposition:**

- On the West Coast, especially in California, opposition to the *Fifteenth Amendment* was fueled by the anti-Chinese furor that would sour the region's politics for decades.
- Whites, including many working-class whites, feared that the amendment would: + Enfranchise the Chinese. + Encourage further Chinese immigration. + Lower the wages and living standards of white workers.
- State legislatures in the western states (excepting Nevada) refused to ratify the amendment, despite the tiny African-American presence in the region.

(Un)remarkable

- **Opposition to Broad Amendment:**

- What opponents of a broad amendment rejected in the end was the abolition of discrimination based on nativity, religion, property, and education. + They wanted to retain the power to limit the political participation of the Irish and Chinese, Native Americans, and the increasingly visible clusters of illiterate and semi-literate workers massing in the nation's cities.

- **Henry Adams's Observation:**

- As Henry Adams astutely observed, the *Fifteenth Amendment* was “more remarkable for what it does not than for what it does contain.”

- **Landmark in Voting Rights:**

- The *Fifteenth Amendment* was certainly a landmark in the history of the right to vote, enfranchising more than a million men who only a decade earlier had been slaves.

Amendment XV

- **Section 1:**

- **The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.**

- **Section 2:**

- **The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.**

So close...

- **Near Passage of Wilson Amendment:**

- It is a remarkable fact that the Wilson amendment (or some variant thereof) came so close to passage. + The Civil War and Reconstruction invigorated and extended (in some quarters, at least) the democratic convictions that had flourished at mid-century. + The extraordinary circumstances surrounding the war propelled many Americans to support Black suffrage, and as happened repeatedly in American history, contending with the issue of race provoked new thinking about democratic rights in general.

- **Universal Male Suffrage:**
 - By the late 1860s, large segments of the nation’s citizenry and political leadership were prepared to embrace universal male suffrage, and some men were even ready to endorse women’s suffrage.

The Right to Vote in the Constitution

- **Legislative Changes:**
 - Congress and state legislatures had created laws that would have been unthinkable in 1860 or even 1865.
- **Inclusion in the Constitution:**
 - The words *right to vote* were penned into the nation’s Constitution for the first time, announcing a new, active role for the federal government in defining democracy.
- **Premature Celebrations:**
 - The celebrations of the Black community would soon prove to be premature, and the unresolved tension between federal and state authorities would vibrate for another century.

Voting Rights under attack

- **Early Attacks:**
 - Even before Reconstruction came to a quasi-formal end in 1877, Black voting rights were under attack.
- **Tactics to Limit Participation:**
 - Elections were hotly contested, and white Southerners, seeking to “redeem” the region from Republican rule, engaged in both legal and extralegal efforts to limit the political influence of freedmen. + In the early 1870s, both in the South and in the border states, districts were gerrymandered, precincts reorganized, and polling places closed to hinder Black political participation. + Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan mounted violent campaigns against Blacks who sought to vote or hold office, as well as their white Republican allies.

Enforcement & KKK Acts

- **Enforcement Act of 1870:**
 - In May 1870, stretching the limits of its constitutional powers, Congress passed an Enforcement Act that made **interference with voting a federal offense, punishable in federal courts**. + Federal courts were presumed to be more reliable than state courts.
- **Ku Klux Klan Act:**
 - It also passed the Ku Klux Klan Act, which, among its provisions, authorized the president to **deploy the army to protect the electoral process**.

Losing enthusiasm

- **Northern Republicans’ Waning Interest:**
 - By the mid-1870s, many northern Republicans, including President Grant, had lost their enthusiasm for policing the South.

- **Shift to a “Let Alone” Policy:**
 - Preoccupied with an economic depression and labor conflict in the North, they wearily drifted toward a “let alone policy”.
- **Amendments Considered “Dead Letters”:**
 - In September 1875, one Republican newspaper referred to the *Fourteenth* and *Fifteenth Amendments* as “dead letters”.

Southern Redeemers

- **Goals of Redeemers:**
 - The Redeemers who were gaining power throughout the South in the 1870s had goals that were at once political, social, and economic.
- **Immediate Objectives:**
 - Most immediately they sought to drive the Republicans from power and elect Democrats, an objective hard to attain in a fully enfranchised South. + Limiting Black voting therefore was a means to an end.
- **Social and Economic Motivations:**
 - Keeping freedmen from the polls was also a means of rebuffing broader claims to equality, a way of returning Blacks to “their place”, and making clear that whatever the *Fourteenth Amendment* said, Blacks did not enjoy full citizenship.

Rising Redeemers

- **Quickened Pace of Redemption:**
 - The pace of Redemption was quickened by the presidential election of 1876 and the subsequent removal of the last federal troops from the South.
- **Democratic Control of Congress:**
 - In 1878, Democrats won control of both houses of Congress for the first time in twenty years.
- **Continued Efforts to Limit Electorate:**
 - The Redeemers, who controlled most state legislatures, continued to try to shrink the Black (and opposition white) electorate through gerrymandering, registration systems, complicated ballot configurations, and the secret ballot (which served as a de facto literacy test).

Shifting partisan winds

- **Election Dynamics:**
 - National elections were extremely close and fiercely contested in the late 1870s and 1880s. + Congressional majorities were unstable. + In 1884 Grover Cleveland became the first Democratic president since before the Civil War.
- **Republican Perspective:**
 - In the eyes of many Republicans, the Democrats’ success, their ability to wield national power, was illegitimate, dependent on wholesale violations of the *Fifteenth Amendment* in the South.

Illegitimate power

- **Republican Charges in 1888:**

- In its 1888 platform, the Republicans charged “*that the present Administration and the Democratic majority owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.*”

- **Post-Election Actions:**

- After they were victorious in that year’s elections, the Republicans had a chance to do something about it: they had won the presidency and control of both houses of Congress. + They proposed the *Federal Elections Bill*. + A small number of petitions to federal circuit courts could lead to the appointment of federal supervisors were entrusted with: + Attending elections, inspecting registration lists, verifying information given by doubtful voters, administering oaths to challenged voters, preventing illegal immigrants from voting, and certifying the count. + The bill gave federal officials and courts the power to overturn election results that had been declared and certified by state officials.

Federal Elections Bill

- **Republican Interests:**

- The Republicans certainly stood to gain from fair elections in the South and from less corrupt elections in some Democratically run northern cities.

- **Enforcement Act Legacy:**

- Those who voted for the enforcement acts of the 1870s (which were scaled back by the Courts), were enraged that the hard-won victories of war and Reconstruction were being undermined by fraud and violence.

- **Democratic Opposition:**

- The Democrats, of course, fiercely opposed the bill, denouncing it as “a scheme to rob the people of the States of the dearest right of American citizenship.”

- **Bill’s Defeat:**

- Losing 35 to 24 with 19 abstentions, the federal government backed away from a significant expansion of its role in shaping electoral law and guaranteeing democratic rights. + This occurred not only because the nation and the Congress were divided, but also because of back-door political dealing and accidents of timing.

Federal Involvement

- **Signal to the South:**

- This signaled to the South that the federal government was not prepared to act energetically to guarantee the voting rights of Blacks.

- **State Control:**

- Whatever the *Fourteenth* and *Fifteenth Amendments* said on paper, the right to vote was back in the hands of the states.

- **Future Federal Action:**

- Not until the 1960s, when the Lodge Force Bill was reincarnated as Lyndon Johnson’s *Voting Rights Act*, did Congress again seriously consider federal intervention in southern politics.

Rollback

- **Beginning of Disfranchisement:**
 - The year 1890 also marked the beginning of systematic efforts by southern states to disfranchise Black voters legally.
- **Democrats' Strategy:**
 - Democrats chose to solidify their hold on the South by modifying the voting laws in ways that would exclude African Americans without overtly violating the *Fifteenth Amendment*.
- **Era of Legal Strategies:**
 - Experiments with these legal strategies had occurred in the 1870s and 1880s, but it was between 1890 and 1905 that they became the primary weapon in enforcing and institutionalizing Redeemer rule.
- **Reversal of Progress:**
 - White Democrats turned back the clock on the broadly progressive franchise provisions that had been etched into most Reconstruction-era state constitutions.

Mississippi

- **Mississippi's Provisions:**
 - Passed provisions that would remove Blacks from Mississippi political life while technically adhering to the *Fifteenth Amendment*.
- **Specific Measures:**
 - These provisions included a sharp increase in the *residency* requirement (“the negro is...a nomadic tribe,” opined the state’s attorney general), the institution of a two-dollar *poll tax*, and the imposition of a *literacy test* that required potential voters to demonstrate that they could understand and interpret the Constitution.
- **Widespread Adoption:**
 - Other states quickly followed suit.

Suppression

- **Aim of Restrictions:**
 - The overarching aim of such restrictions, usually undisguised, was to keep poor and illiterate Blacks—and in Texas, Mexican Americans—from the polls.
- **Effectiveness of Literacy Tests:**
 - Literacy tests served that goal well, since 50 percent of all Black men (as well as 15 percent of all whites) were illiterate, and even small tax requirements were a deterrent to the poor.
- **Poll Tax Redefined:**
 - It was during this period that the meaning of poll tax shifted: where it once had referred to a head tax that every man had to pay and that sometimes could be used to satisfy a taxpaying requirement for voting, it came to be understood as a *tax that one had to pay in order to vote*.

Uneven enforcement

- **Arbitrary Procedures:**
 - Small errors in registration procedures or marking ballots might or might not be ignored *at the whim* of election officials; taxes might be paid easily or only with difficulty.
- **Built-in Discrimination:**
 - Discrimination also was built into literacy tests, with their “*understanding*” clauses: officials administering the test could, and did, judge whether a prospective voter’s “*understanding*” was adequate.
- **Carter Glass’s Intent:**
 - *That, exactly, is what this Convention was elected for—to discriminate to the very extremity of permissible action under the limitations of the Federal Constitution, with a view to the elimination of every negro voter who can be gotten rid of, legally, without materially impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate.* - future Senator Carter Glass.

Grandfather Clause

- **Purpose of Grandfather Clauses:**
 - Discrimination, as well as circumvention of the *Fifteenth Amendment*, was also the aim of the well-known grandfather clauses.
- **Exemptions Provided:**
 - Exempted men from literacy, tax, residency, or property requirements if they had performed military service or if their ancestors had voted in the 1860s.
- **Origin and Irony:**
 - The first southern grandfather clause was adopted in South Carolina in 1890; with exquisite regional irony, it was modeled on the anti-immigrant Massachusetts law of 1857.

Anti-white-opposition

- **White Opposition:**
 - Contrary to twentieth-century images of a monolithic solid South, there was substantial white opposition to new restrictions on the franchise.
- **Opposition Groups:**
 - Many upcountry whites, small farmers, Populists, and Republicans viewed such laws as a means of suppressing dissent, a self-interested and partisan grab for power by dominant, elite, often Black-belt Democrats.
- **Debates on Reform:**
 - This resulted in prolonged and bitter debates about the dangers of “*reform*.”

Effect of new suppression laws

- **Effectiveness of Laws:**
 - The laws, of course, worked.
- **Mississippi's Impact:**
 - In Mississippi after 1890, less than 9,000 out of 147,000 voting-age Blacks were registered to vote.
- **Louisiana's Decline:**
 - In Louisiana, where more than 130,000 Blacks had been registered to vote in 1896, the figure dropped to an astonishing 1,342 by 1904.

Voting Rates

- **Barriers to Voting:**
 - Just how many persons were barred from the polls is impossible to determine, but what is known is that both registration and turnout (calculated as the percentage of votes cast divided by the number of men of voting age) dropped precipitously after the electoral laws were reconfigured.
- **Georgia and Mississippi Rates:**
 - By 1910, in Georgia, only 4 percent of all Black males were registered to vote.
 - In Mississippi, electoral turnout had exceeded 70 percent in the 1870s and approached 50 percent in the decade after the Redeemers came to power: by the early twentieth century, it had plummeted to 15 percent and remained at that level for decades.
- **Southern Turnout:**
 - In the South as a whole, post-Reconstruction turnout levels of 60 to 85 percent fell to 50 percent for whites and single digits for Blacks.
- **Restoration of Pre-Civil War Electorate:**
 - **The achievements of Reconstruction had been reversed, and the rollback had restored the southern electorate to *at best* pre-Civil War proportions.**

What this all meant

- **Long-term Disfranchisement:**
 - The African-American population remained largely disfranchised until the 1960s, electoral participation remained low, and one-party rule by conservative Democrats became the norm.
- **Reversal of Democratization:**
 - The nineteenth-century trend toward democratization had been not only checked, but reversed.
- **Undermining Egalitarianism:**
 - The increasingly egalitarian institutions and convictions forged before the Civil War were undermined, while class barriers to electoral participation were strengthened or resurrected.

The North stood by

- **Northern Response:**
 - All of which took place *without* great protest from the North. + Although Republican politicians and newspapers routinely criticized the disfranchising laws, scattered efforts to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment by reducing the congressional representation of southern states generated little support.
- **Supreme Court Rulings:**
 - The Supreme Court upheld the legality of all of the major techniques of disfranchisement.
- **1898 Supreme Court Decision:**
 - In 1898 it ruled that Mississippi's literacy test did not violate the *Fifteenth Amendment* because the law creating the test was not, *on its face*, designed to discriminate against Blacks.
- **Northern Tolerance:**
 - The North tolerated disfranchisement in the South **in part from weariness, in part due to the partisan interests of the Democratic Party, and in part because Northerners too had been losing faith in democracy.**

The Redemption of the North

Elections in the 1870s-80s

- National elections were closely contested
- Control of Congress changed hands frequently
- Presidents were elected by razor-thin margins
 - sometimes with less than a majority of the popular vote

Third Parties

- Party identifications were strong, but third parties frequently cropped up
- They often gained substantial influence in state and local governments
- They did not last long as their issues were absorbed by the major parties

Issues that were important

- The issues animating political life were high stakes
 - The rapid spread of industrialization and class and interest-group conflict
 - The tariff and the money supply (which affected prices and the availability of credit) were issues in every national election
- Railroad rates and regulation often dominated state political contests
- City dwellers fought over the development and financing of increasingly necessary water, sewer, and transport systems

Corporate interests v. workers and farmers

- There remained uncertainty about the proper role of the state
- Corporations became more powerful in light of industrialization
 - Workers sought legislation to shorten the hours of labor
 - Small businesses cried out against monopolies
- Railroads controlled access to markets
 - Farmers and shippers pressed the states and DC to protect them against the predatory railroads

Economic and Cultural issues

- Urban consumers demanded regulation of utility companies
- The sale of liquor was a life-and-death issue in many elections
- **Politics revolved around the myriad consequences of the increasingly evident triumph of industrial capitalism**

Fate of the South

- Critical election of 1896 yielded a new and long-lasting partisan alignment
 - The tone of political life shifted, although the dominant issues (industrialization) remained the same
- The fate of the South was settled (removing one key contentious issue from the political arena), the Republican Party securely dominated much of the North-east and Midwest
 - third-party rebellions became infrequent
 - Electoral turnout fell, North and South
 - Political parties experienced a decline in enthusiasm and loyalty

Changing country

- Between 1865 and 1900, the United States became the leading manufacturing nation in the world
 - its industrial output eclipsed that of agriculture
 - the population more than doubled from 35 million to 75 million
- Non-farm employment tripled
 - More than 10,000,000 people worked in manufacturing, mining, construction, and transportation

Older Americans

- For older Americans, what America looked like post-Civil War was disturbing
 - new industries
 - large and impersonal workplaces
 - private corporations wielding enormous economic and political power
 - economic panics that created new problems such as mass unemployment
 - They saw abandoned farms, railroads crisscrossing vast stretches of country, and—distressingly—cities of unprecedented size and complexity.

Growing American Cities

- In 1870, only New York and Philadelphia had populations greater than 500,000;
- By 1910, there were eight, three of which contained more than a million people
 - these cities increasingly were governed by political organizations (political machines)
 - the traditional elites could not control or even understand

Immigrants and labor

- What these Americans most feared was the extremely rapid growth of an immigrant working class
- The flow of immigrants that had begun in the 1840s resumed quickly after the Civil War
 - the nation's expanding industries needed labor
 - most came from Europe and to a far lesser extent Asia and Mexico

Immigrants

- Between 1865 and World War I, nearly twenty-five million immigrants journeyed to the United States
 - 25% of the 1917 (WWI) population was immigrant
- The vast majority of these immigrants were propertyless workers rather than settlers
- The Irish and Germans continued to arrive
- A growing numbers of southern and eastern Europeans came. They:
 - did not speak English
 - cultures were alien
 - most were Catholic or Jewish
- **By 1910, most urban residents were immigrants or the children of immigrants, and the nation's huge working class was predominantly foreign-born, native-born of foreign parents, or Black**

Immigrant electoral behavior

- To many old-stock Americans, the mass of immigrant workers was an unwelcome addition to the electorate
 - immigrants were seen as being:
 - * poor
 - * uneducated
 - * ignorant of (American) traditions
 - * lacked judgment, knowledge, and commitment to American values
- They were also radicals (socialist in later decades) who:
 - struck or rioted against the railroads and corporations
- They also supported political machines
 - ethnic loyalty in exchange for favors for votes

More objections to immigrant voting

- They purportedly were prone to voting illegally, irresponsibly, and against the interests of their betters
- Charges of corruption and naturalization fraud were repeated endlessly
 - electoral outcomes were twisted by “naturalization mills” that, with the aid of “professional perjurers and political manipulators,” transformed thousands of immigrants into citizens in the weeks before elections
 - even if their votes were legal, they were inappropriately cast, bartered for jobs or favors from a boss

Decline of democracy

- Within a few years of passage of the **Fifteenth Amendment**, a significant segment of the intellectual community was announcing its distrust of democracy and rejecting the claim that suffrage was a right
- The breadth of the franchise –particularly extension of the franchise to the poor, uneducated, and foreign-born– was once again a live issue
- The terms of public discussion were being set by men who believed that *universal suffrage* had failed, and that it was neither viable nor desirable in the socially heterogeneous, industrial world of the late nineteenth century

Reforms against suffrage

- Proposals for reducing the electorate found their way onto the public agenda in the 1870s and remained there for decades
- Proposals included:
 - less frequent elections
 - at-large rather than district voting
 - increased public accountability for office holders
 - state control over key arenas of municipal administration
 - remove public offices from the electoral sphere and make them appointive
 - * It was “absurd” to involve the electorate in “the selection of judges and sheriffs, and district attorneys, of state treasurers and attorney-generals, of school commissioners and civil engineers.”
 - * **In other words, democracy could be salvaged by circumscribing its domain**

Reforms to strength democracy

- Other critics were more optimistic about the possibilities of changing the size and shape of the electorate
- Some advocated reinstituting property and tax qualifications or imposing literacy tests on prospective voters
- More subtle approaches also were proposed, including
 - longer residence periods
 - stricter naturalization laws
 - waiting periods before new citizens could vote
 - complex ballot laws
 - elaborate systems of voter registration

Purifying the Electorate

Revising the rules

- The laws governing elections in most states were revised often between the Civil War and World War I
- States held constitutional conventions that defined or redefined the shape of the electorate and outlined of the electoral process
- State legislatures drew up increasingly detailed statutes that spelled out electoral procedures of all types
 - timing of elections
 - location of polling places
 - hours that polls would be open
 - configuration of ballots
 - counting of votes
- Many of these laws were straightforwardly administrative, while other laws were more controversial, inspired by partisan interests, enacted to influence the outcome of elections

Institutional reforms

- The apportionment of state legislative as well as congressional seats was a key issue
 - generated recurrent conflicts, particularly between urban and rural areas
- Linked to apportionment was the location of district boundaries in states and within cities
 - gerrymandering was a routine form of political combat
 - it was practiced by both major parties against one another and against any upstart political organizations
- Technical rules governing the presence of parties and candidates on the ballot also were subjects of contention
 - they could encourage, or discourage, third parties and fusion slates

The electorate

- The most critical laws remained those that determined the size and contours of the electorate
- These were of two types.
 - First and most important were those that set out the fundamental qualifications that a man (or woman) had to meet in order to become an eligible voter
 - The second, of increasing significance, established the procedures that a potential voter had to follow in order to participate in elections
- **The Constitution and federal courts had little to say about suffrage (outside of race), and therefore the rules remained under *state control***

Money and the Vote

Economic qualifications

- Economic requirements for voting were not a dead issue after 1850

- Economic qualifications continued to offer opponents of universal suffrage a direct and potentially efficient means of winnowing out undesirable voters
- The tax requirement had served two purposes:
 - as an obstacle to poor people’s voting
 - as a drain on the treasuries of both political parties
 - * for example, by the late 1880s, the Massachusetts Democratic Party –with more working-class supporters and thus greater financial exposure– reportedly was spending \$50,000 in each election to pay the poll taxes of its supporters
- In the North, a poll tax was used by the Republicans to disenfranchise the poor, often immigrants, who more often than not supported Democrats
 - combined with apportionment schemes and bans on foreign-born voting, Republican elites in the countryside kept power from those in cities

Court on economic constraints

- The U.S. Supreme Court made clear that it too did not see anything unconstitutional about taxpaying or property requirements (*Myers v. Anderson*, 1915)
 - The Court found the law to be racially discriminatory in violation of the *Fifteenth Amendment*
 - however, it noted that economic discrimination in the form of a property requirement was presumed to be “free from constitutional objection”
 - * the *Twenty-fourth Amendment*, ratified in 1964, abolishes any poll tax

Class motivation

- Overtly class-based economic restrictions were accompanied by legal changes expressly designed to reduce the number of “undesirable” immigrants who could vote
- Beginning in the 1890s, the nation witnessed the growth of a significant movement to **restrict immigration altogether**
 - widespread middle-class anxiety about the impact of the foreign-born on politics, particularly urban politics
- The effort to keep immigrants from the polls was distinct from the movement for outright restriction
 - it bore fruit long before Congress passed the pathbreaking restriction and quota acts of 1921 and 1924
- As the ratio of immigrant workers to settlers soared and the need to encourage settlement diminished, granting the franchise to non-citizens seemed increasingly undesirable and risky.

Alien suffrage

- Most states rejected alien suffrage proposals in the late nineteenth century
 - beginning with Idaho territory in 1874, states that had permitted non-citizens to vote began to repeal their declarant alien provisions
 - picked up steam in the wake of the depression of the 1890s and the assassination of President McKinley by an immigrant in 1901
 - it accelerated again during and after World War I, when concerns about the loyalty of the foreign-born contributed to a rare instance of wartime contraction of the franchise.
 - The last state to permit non-citizens to vote was Arkansas, which abolished the practice in 1926

Immigrant Voters

New Obstacles for Immigrant Voters

- Numerous states placed new obstacles in the path of immigrant voters
 - Most were supported by some Republicans, opposed by Democrats, and justified on the grounds that they would reduce fraud
 - Required naturalized citizens to present their naturalization papers to election officials before registering or voting
 - Although not unreasonable on its face, this requirement, as lawmakers knew, was a significant procedural hurdle for many immigrants, who might easily have lost their papers or been unaware of the requirement
 - when coupled with provisions that permitted anyone present at the polls to challenge the credentials of immigrant voters, these laws placed substantial discretionary power in the hands of local officials

Reducing immigrant voting

- The concerns that prompted such efforts to keep immigrants from the polls also contributed to the tightening of federal immigration and naturalization laws between 1880 and the 1920s
- Beginning in 1882, Congress began to narrow the channels through which the flow of European immigrants passed
- Between 1906 and 1910, Congress codified the naturalization laws
 - prohibited many “undesirable” foreign-born residents from becoming citizens
 - set a time limit on the validity of declarations of intent
 - required candidates for naturalization to write their own names and present ample proof (including witnesses) of their eligibility and continuous residence in the United States for five years

Purpose of the laws

- These laws were unabashedly aimed at making it more difficult for men and women to become citizens, and by all accounts they succeeded, reducing the proportion of immigrants who could vote
- The most controversial reform of the immigration laws was the imposition of a literacy or education test for admission to the United States
 - support of a unique coalition of northern professionals, many Republicans, southern Democrats, anti-Catholics, anti-Semites, and the American Federation of Labor
 - * the bill’s target was the “new” immigrant population, eastern and southern Europeans who had high rates of illiteracy (more than 20 percent in 1914) and who generally were regarded as less desirable than their English, German, Scandinavian, and even Irish predecessors

Asian immigrants

- Intense as apprehensions about poor European immigrants may have been, they paled in comparison to American attitudes toward the Chinese and other east Asians
- By the final quarter of the nineteenth century, most Americans (and especially those on the West Coast) wanted not only to keep the Chinese from voting but to halt Chinese immigration and even deport those who were already here
 - feared because of their willingness to work for low wages
 - despised for racial and cultural reasons

- The Chinese had never been a significant political presence because they had almost always been treated as nonwhite and therefore ineligible for citizenship
- California Constitutional Convention of 1878–1879: “no native of China” (the wording was aimed at circumventing the *Fifteenth Amendment*’s ban on racial barriers) “shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this State”
 - The suffrage provision of the 1879 constitution remained in force until 1926

Educated Voters

A knowledge of the language of our laws and the faculty of informing oneself without aid of their provisions, would in itself constitute a test, if rigorously enforced, incompatible with the existence of a proletariat.

– Charles Francis Adams, Jr. “Protection of the Ballot” (1869)

Literacy tests

- Perhaps the most popular method of constricting the electorate was the literacy or education test
 - Massachusetts and Connecticut adopted tests in the 1850s
- Requiring voters to be literate, particularly in English, had a number of apparent virtues
 - it would reduce the “ignorance” of the electorate and weed out sizable numbers of poor immigrant voters (outside of the South, the native-born population was almost entirely literate)
 - it was more palatable than taxpaying restrictions or waiting periods for the foreign-born
 - literacy tests did not overtly discriminate against particular classes or ethnic groups, and illiteracy itself was a remediable shortcoming

Justifications for literacy tests

1. illiterate men lacked the intelligence or knowledge necessary to be wise or even adequate voters
2. English-language literacy was essential for the foreign-born to become properly acquainted with American values and institutions (aimed at new immigrants)
3. tying voting to literacy would encourage assimilation and education, which would benefit American society as well as immigrants themselves

Australian ballot

- The adoption of the secret or Australian ballot was an indirect and limited means of promoting a literate electorate
- Australian Ballot first appeared in Australia in 1856 and then was implemented in England in 1872
- For much of the nineteenth century, voters had obtained their ballots from political parties
 - since the ballots generally contained only the names of an individual party’s candidates, literacy was not required
 - all that a man had to do was drop a ballot in a box
 - since ballots tended to be of different sizes, shapes, and colors, a man’s vote was hardly a secret
 - * to election officials, party bosses, employers, or anyone else watching the polls

Australian ballot

- The Australian ballot was an effort to allow people to freely support whoever they wanted and from corruption and intimidation
 - It was a standard ballot, usually printed by the city or state, containing the names of all candidates for office
- The voter (often in private) placed a mark by the names of the candidates or parties for whom he wished to vote
 - The democratic virtues of secret voting were widely apparent
- The Australian ballot was an obstacle to participation by many illiterate foreign-born voters in the North, as well as uneducated Black voters in the South
 - In some states, this problem was remedied by expressly permitting illiterate voters to be assisted or by attaching party emblems to the names of candidates

Increasing literacy tests in the North

- Opposition to literacy test was strong (outside of the South)
 - Northern Democrats, who counted the urban poor among their constituents, generally voted against education requirements
 - So too did politically organized ethnic groups, regardless of their party affiliation, which helps to explain why no English-language literacy tests were imposed in the Midwest
 - * the German and Scandinavian communities of the Midwest, though often allied with the Republicans, vehemently opposed education requirements
- Even so, by the mid-1920s, thirteen states in the North and West were disfranchising illiterate citizens who met all other eligibility requirements
- In all of these states, the Republican Party was strong
 - several had large immigrant populations that played important roles in party competition
 - a handful of others were predominantly rural states with small but visible clusters of poor foreign-born voters
 - several had significant Native-American populations

Literacy test effects

- The potential impact of these literacy laws—all of which were sanctioned by the courts—was enormous.
- According to the census (which relied on self-reporting), there were nearly five million illiterate men and women in the nation in 1920
 - this was roughly 8 percent of the voting-age population
- Other sources suggest that in fact the figure was much higher
 - Twenty-five percent of men who took an army literacy test during World War I were judged to be illiterate and another 5 percent semiliterate
- **A reasonable estimate is that a minimum of several hundred thousand voters –and likely more than a million– were barred by literacy tests outside of the South**

Residency

Migrants and Residents

- The difficulty of defining or establishing residence was becoming more complex
 - in Boston, only 64% of residents who lived there in 1880 still lived there in 1890
- There was an increasingly accepted legal notion that sheer physical presence in a community for a specified length of time was not sufficient for a person to be considered a resident
 - Physical presence thus had to be accompanied by the intention of remaining in a community for what the courts came to describe as “an indefinite period”
 - Although the concept was reasonable, intention could be difficult to ascertain or prove
- Courts found themselves evolving criteria to gauge the intentions of both individuals and groups (such as ministers and railway workers, who were often on the move) as they tried to apply broadly stated laws to extremely varied situations.
- The insistence on intention tended to make legal residence harder to establish, especially for men whose occupations demanded mobility

Residency

- No jurisdiction questioned the legitimacy of statutes or constitutional amendments establishing residence qualifications (even lengthy residence qualifications) for voting
- The U.S. Supreme Court in *Pope v. Williams* (1904) affirmed the constitutionality of residency qualifications and state efforts to enforce them
- While the courts debated the *definition* of residence, constitutional conventions, and sometimes legislatures, determined the appropriate length of residency requirements
- In much of the nation, there was a broad consensus that a year’s residence in the state was necessary and sufficient for a man to responsibly exercise the franchise
 - in many midwestern states the consensus period was six months

Education and residency

- The most difficult case proved to be students at colleges, seminaries, and other institutions of higher learning
- In many states, there was substantial sentiment in favor of prohibiting students from gaining residence in the communities where they attended college:
 - claiming that students were not truly members of the community, political leaders cited anecdotes of:
 - * students being paraded to the polls to vote en masse
 - * of unscrupulous politicians enlisting students to cast their ballots
 - * of students (who did not pay taxes) voting to impose tax increases on permanent residents
- There was a notable degree of resistance to such laws grounded in a reluctance to keep respectable, middle-class, native-born men from voting

Physical presence

- The notion that legal residence was tied as much to intention as physical presence inexorably led states to consider mechanisms for absentee voting

- for men and women who were temporarily away from home but intended to return
- The Civil War and the desire to permit soldiers to vote during the war severed the link between voting and physical presence in a community
- World War I added a new urgency to the issue, since nearly three million men were inducted into the army
- By 1918, nearly all states had made provisions for men serving in the military to cast their ballots, at least in time of war

Absentee voting (i.e., mail-in ballots)

Absentee voting (i.e., mail-in ballots)

- By the end of World War I, more than twenty states had provided for absentee voting on the part of anyone who could demonstrate a work-related reason (and in a few cases, any reason) for being absent on election day.
- Concerns about fraud generally were alleviated by tight procedural rules and requirements that absentee ballots be identical to conventional ones
- A conservative estimate would be that 5–10 percent of the nation's adult population failed to meet the residency requirements at each election which was high enough to have potentially changed the outcomes of innumerable elections

voter Registration

Keeping Track of Voters

- Before the 1870s in most states, there were no official preprepared lists of eligible voters
- Men who sought to vote were not obliged to take any steps to establish their eligibility prior to election day
- Between the 1870s and World War I the majority of states adopted formal registration procedures, particularly for their larger cities
- The rationale for requiring voters to register and have their eligibility certified in advance of elections was straightforward:
 - it would help to eliminate fraud and also bring an end to disruptive election-day conflicts at the polls

Rules for eligibility

- The devil is in the details:
 - How far in advance of elections did a man or woman have to register?
 - When would registration offices be open?
 - Did one register in the county, the district, the precinct?
 - What documents had to be presented and issued?
 - How often did one have to register?
- **All such questions had to be decided, and since the answers inescapably had implications for the composition of the electorate, they were a frequent source of contention**

Political fights over the rules

- The two parties also feuded over the hours that the polls would be open
 - when the Republicans were able to, they passed laws closing the polls at sunset on the grounds that illegal voting was most likely to occur after dark
 - the Democrats protested that “sunset laws” kept workers from voting, and when in power, they extended the hours into the evening
- Things that were subject to dispute, change, and partisan jockeying:
 - the length of the registration period
 - its proximity to the date of an election
 - the size of registration districts
 - the frequency of reregistration
 - the necessity of documentary evidence of eligibility
 - the location of the burden of proof

Early Nineteenth Century Democracy

- By WWI, large slices of the middle and upper classes, as well as portions of the working class, had ceased to believe in universal suffrage—and had acted on their beliefs
- In the South, blacks and many poor whites had been evicted wholesale from electoral politics
- In the North and West, exclusions were on a smaller scale, but still numerous:
 - depending on the state or city in which he lived, a man could be kept from the polls because:
 - * he was an alien
 - * a pauper
 - * a lumberman
 - * an anarchist
 - * did not pay taxes or own property
 - * could not read or write
 - * had moved from one state to another in the past year
 - * had recently moved from one neighborhood to another
 - * did not possess his naturalization papers
 - * was unable to register on the third or fourth Tuesday before an election
 - * could not prove that he had canceled a prior registration
 - * been convicted of a felony, or been born in China or on an Indian reservation
- It can be no surprise, in light of this legal history, that turnout at elections dropped during the latter half of this period
- **Voting was not for everyone**

Root Causes of regression

- Those who wielded economic and social power in the rapidly changing late nineteenth century found it difficult to control the state (which they increasingly needed) under conditions of full democratization
- In the South, the abolition of slavery, coupled with the beginnings of industrialization and the compelling need for a docile, agricultural labor force, created pressures that overwhelmed fledgling democratic institutions

- In the North and West, the explosive growth of manufacturing and of labor-intensive extractive industries generated class conflict on a scale that the nation had never known
- As Max Weber noted long ago, it is during periods of rapid economic and technological change that class becomes most salient and class issues most prominent
- **The United States was not the only country whose political institutions were profoundly shaken by the stresses of industrialism**

Racial Hostility

- Equally critical was the fact that the threatening lower orders consisted largely of men who were racially different or came from different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds
- What transpired in the South seems unimaginable in the absence of racial hostility and prejudice
- The changes in voting laws in the North and the West were made possible, and shaped, by the presence of millions of immigrants and their children, indeed by the very foreignness of Jews and Chinese, of the Irish and Italian Catholics, of Indians and Mexicans
- **It was the convergence of racial and ethnic diversity with class tension that fueled the movement to “reform” suffrage**
- Note: The wartime conditions that commonly spawned pressures for franchise expansion simply were not present

North and South Differences

- The parallels between North and South, of course, ought not be overdrawn
 - What transpired in the southern states was far more draconian, sweeping, and violent
 - The disfranchisement was massive rather than segmented, the laws were enforced brutally, and they were always administered with overtly discriminatory intent
 - * In New York and Massachusetts, an illiterate immigrant could gain the franchise by learning to read; for a black man in Alabama, education was beside the point, whatever the law said
- The transgressions of the North was far milder than the parallel movement in the South
 - testimony not only to the significance of race but also to differences in the regions’ social structures and political organizations
 - * Northern society was too fluid, heterogeneous, and urban to permit the successful imposition of a project as sweeping as the Mississippi plan
 - * The existence a competitive party system, with elite and middle-class elements supporting each party, meant that efforts at wholesale disfranchisement were certain to encounter fierce resistance and likely to meet defeat
 - * Dominant parties integrated and incorporated many working-class and immigrant voters making disfranchisement less necessary: the Democratic Party in the North (unlike the heavily Black Republican Party in the South) did not threaten the established order

Legal Restrictions had an effect

- Both North and South, however, the legal contraction of the franchise made a difference
- Millions of people (most of them working class and poor) were deprived of the right to vote in municipal, state, and national elections
 - Their exclusion from the electorate meant that the outcomes of innumerable political contests were altered
 - different policies were put into place
 - different judges appointed

- different taxes imposed
- **Many of the core institutions of the modern American state—institutions built and solidified between Reconstruction and World War I were shaped and accepted by a polity that was far from democratic**

Skipped pages 127-136

Women's Suffrage

- As half the population, women constituted the largest group of adults excluded from the franchise at the nation's birth and throughout the nineteenth century
 - efforts to gain the right to vote persisted for more than seventy years
 - eventually gave rise to the nation's largest mass movement for suffrage, as well as a singular countermovement of citizens opposed to their own enfranchisement
- Women possessed a different, more intimate relationships with the men who could enfranchise them than did other excluded groups, such as African Americans, aliens, or the or the propertyless
- The broad antebellum impulse toward democratization helped to fuel the movement for women's rights
- decades later, the reaction against universal suffrage retarded its progress
- Black suffrage and women's suffrage were closely linked issues everywhere in the 1860s and in the South well into the twentieth century
- the voting rights of immigrants and the poor pressed repeatedly against the claims of women in the North and West
- Women were not a socially segregated group:
 - they were black and white
 - rich and poor
 - foreign-born
 - native

From Seneca Falls to the Fifteenth Amendment

- The movement to enfranchise women in the United States had its legendary beginnings at a convention held in July 1848, in the small town of Seneca Falls, New York
- The convention was held in a local church
 - attracted nearly three hundred people, including many men
 - After two days of discussion, one hundred of the participants approved and signed a set of resolutions calling for equal rights for women, including "*their sacred right to the elective franchise*"
- Declaration of Sentiments
 - declared "that all men *and women* are created equal"
 - "this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation" and "oppressed on all sides"
- Laws made only by men, the declaration detailed, relegated women to an inferior place in the social, civil, and economic order

Why no female franchise?

- Although women were regarded as intelligent adults, they were viewed as having capacities different from those of men
 - capacities appropriate to private life and the domestic sphere rather than the public world of politics
- Women were treated in law as members of families rather than as autonomous individuals
 - were excluded for the same reason that the poor and propertyless were disfranchised in the late 1900s: they “lacked the independence” necessary for participation in electoral politics
- Women did not seem (to men) to be endangered by their inability to vote
 - women were not believed to need the franchise because their interests were defended by the men in their families, presumably husbands and fathers (“*virtual representation*”)
- Nowhere did the enfranchisement of women seem likely to vest Republicans or Democrats with any discernible partisan advantage

The timing of Seneca Falls and the Rise of Suffrage

- Women remained outside the polity throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and efforts to promote their inclusion were rare
- The decades preceding Seneca Falls had witnessed:
 - the expansion of an urban and quasi-urban middle class in much of the North who valued and embraced an expansion of civil, economic, and political rights
 - the number of women in the paid labor force increased sharply
 - the antislavery movement that proved to be a breeding ground for advocates of women’s rights
 - spillover effects of the era’s broader democratizing current
- **The termination of property and taxpaying restrictions on voting and debates about the enfranchisement of aliens and African Americans, threw open the logical and rhetorical doors to the further expansion of suffrage.**

After the Civil War

- As the war ended and Reconstruction began, leaders of the suffrage movement were optimistic
- The public embrace of democracy was as broad as it ever had been
 - the war and the plight of former slaves had energized the language of universal rights
 - the Republican Party, home of the staunchest advocates of civil and political rights, was firmly in power
 - also felt that their claim to the franchise had been strengthened by the energetic support women had lent to the war effort
 - * such activities presumably had neutralized the oft-repeated argument that women should not vote because they did not bear arms

Pushback happens immediately

- Within months of the war’s end, Republican leaders and male abolitionists began to signal their lack of enthusiasm for coupling women’s rights to black rights
- “One question at a time. This hour belongs to the negro.” - Wendell Phillips

- The Fourteenth Amendment disheartened suffragists and made clear that the Republican Party could not be counted on to promote suffrage for women
 - the amendment undercut the claims of women by adding the word *male* to its pathbreaking guarantee of political rights
- the number of Republicans committed to enfranchising the former slaves was growing rapidly, but many of these men, whatever their personal convictions, feared that this goal would be jeopardized by simultaneously pursuing the controversial cause of women's suffrage
 - some abolitionists and African Americans actively opposed the drive for woman suffrage, while many feminists denigrated the abilities and qualifications of African Americans

The Fifteenth Amendment's Crushing Blow

- With the passage and ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1869 and 1870, the causes of black (male) and women's suffrage were decisively severed
- the national drive for suffrage expansion, beginning with Seneca Falls, came to a close
 - the status of women at best unchanged;
 - arguably, women were worse off, because the Fifteenth Amendment appeared to implicitly condone political discrimination based on sex

Legal structure

- Some suffragists turned briefly to a legal strategy for gaining the right to vote
- The *Fourteenth Amendment*, which declared that “all persons” born or naturalized in the United States were citizens of the nation and the state in which they resided
 - Women, as “persons,” were unquestionably citizens
 - the franchise was an intrinsic feature of citizenship: the Constitution, therefore, already guaranteed women the right to vote in federal elections
- Various dictionaries, including Webster's, actually defined an American citizen as someone entitled to vote and hold office

Minor v. Happersett (1875)

- In 1872, Virginia Minor sued a St. Louis registrar who prevented her from registering to vote. She Claimed: + they infringed on Virginia Minor's right of free speech, which was protected by the First Amendment + they violated the *Fourteenth Amendment's* command that states not abridge the “privileges or immunities” of citizens of the United States.
- Voting, the Minors claimed, was one of those privileges
- Although the argument was a coherent one, the justices of the Supreme Court unanimously disagreed
- **Upholding a lower court decision, they ruled in 1875 that suffrage was not coextensive with citizenship and thus that states possessed the authority to decide which citizens could and could not vote**

Another Legal Challenge

- Suffragists took another legal tack as well: they promoted tax rebellions among female property owners in the late 1860s and early 1870s

- women refused to pay their taxes as long as they were prevented from voting, insisting that it was unconstitutional to impose the obligations of citizenship on them while they were deprived of political rights
- “No taxation without representation” remained a resonant slogan
 - activists showed research demonstrating that women in fact paid a sizable portion of the taxes in many municipalities

Suffrage Convictions

- Supporters of women’s suffrage sincerely and deeply believed not only in the rightness of their cause but in the power of their simple egalitarian arguments: women were capable adult citizens and as such ought to be able to choose the lawmakers and laws that governed them
- Suffragists lived in an era when a righteous cause –the abolition of slavery– that had triumphed over ferocious, entrenched opposition
- They had witnessed not only the end of slavery but also an extraordinary transformation of popular views and laws regarding Black suffrage
 - within a decade, an idea supported only by those on the fringes of politics had acquired the backing of the Republican Party and then been embedded in the Constitution
- **If one accepted the premise that voting was a right, natural or otherwise, it was not a long leap from black to women’s suffrage**
- Black suffrage triumphed (albeit temporarily) not because the polity had become convinced of the virtues of equal rights or universal suffrage but due to the unique political exigencies of Reconstruction and the political goals of the Republican Party

NWSA



"It was we, the people; not we, the white male citizens; nor yet we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed the Union."

Regrouping

- National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)
 - Founded by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton
- NWSA's strategy was to pressure the federal government to offer women the same constitutional protections given to freedmen in the Fifteenth Amendment
- Proposed Amendment: "the right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship" and that "all citizens...shall enjoy this right equally without any distinction or discrimination whatever founded on sex"
 - made little headway due to its similarities to the Wilson amendment
- "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex"
 - the amendment was finally brought to a vote on the Senate floor where it was decisively defeated in January 1887 by a margin of thirty-four to sixteen (with twenty-six abstentions)
 - * a far cry from the two-thirds positive vote required for passage
 - * no southern senator voted in favor of the amendment, while twenty-two voted against it
- **After 1893, no congressional committee reported it favorably until late in the Progressive era**

State action

- Although the issue was debated in numerous constitutional conventions, and referendum were held in eleven states (eight of them west of the Mississippi) between 1870 and 1910, concrete gains were few
- The territory of Wyoming enfranchised women in 1869, a policy affirmed at statehood in 1889
- Utah did the same in 1870 and 1896 (interrupted by a brief period when the federal government stripped Utah's women of the suffrage as a curious step in its effort to rid the territory of polygamy)
- Idaho and Colorado granted suffrage to women in the mid-1890s
- **Everywhere else referendum failed and the writers of new constitutions chose not to present the proposition to voters for ratification**

Partial enfranchisement

- A significant number of locales (states, counties, and municipalities) where partial suffrage was adopted
 - permitted women to vote in
 - * municipal elections
 - * on liquor licensing matters
 - * for local school boards and on issues affecting education
- The most common form of partial enfranchisement involved schools
 - recognizing women's responsibility for childrearing, as well as their education experience, legislatures responded to pressure from the suffrage movement by permitting women to vote on matters affecting schooling
 - Nearly all state legislatures considered adopting laws of this type, and by 1890, more than twenty states had done
- In the 1880s and 1890s, women in a few states were granted the right to vote in municipal elections, or if they were taxpayers, to vote on tax and bond issues

- there was a conservative twist to this expansion of the franchise, since it appealed to those who believed that voting should be restricted to property owners and taxpayers

Essentialist argument

- A more essentialist strand of argument: that women possessed particular qualities or virtues that would improve the character of politics and governance
 - were embraced by many male politicians who seemed more comfortable stressing women’s unique virtues rather than their similarity to men
 - women would elevate the tone of politics
 - would be less corruptible and more likely to promote policies favoring social justice, peace, and sobriety
- This argument became preeminent by the end of the 1870s
 - women ought to be enfranchised not because they were identical to men but precisely because they were different
 - the qualities that made them different would be a boon to American political life
- Has a conservative thrust as well: the virtues of women could be counted on to preserve the traditional social order, to protect property, order, and stability, particularly against the vices of the urban working class

Less noble reasons for suffrage

- At times in the 1870s and 1880s, this rationale went a giant step beyond fairness and acquired a more overtly politicized, racist edge
 - female suffrage would benefit society because white native-born women outnumbered—and would outvote—blacks, the Chinese, aliens, or transients
 - the political dominance of “Americans,” therefore, would be insured by the enfranchisement of women
- Proponents of expansion rarely argued that women lacked the intelligence to participate in politics or that their enfranchisement would damage the political order
 - they insisted that women themselves would be degraded by participating in politics
 - some maintained that the prospect of being dragged down “into the very filth and mire of degradation and human infamy” would mean that only the “worst” women actually would vote
 - others (including anti-suffrage women) claimed that most women in fact did not want to be enfranchised
- Also invoked repeatedly the notion that voting ought to be linked to military service

Other reasons not to franchise females

- Opponents further insisted that voting was not a natural right and that women did not need to vote because their civil rights already were amply protected
- There was anxiety that enfranchising women would deform natural gender roles and destroy family life
 - admitting women into the public arena would encourage promiscuity, undermine the purity of women, and expose them to the irresistible predations of men
 - the sexual charms and seductiveness of women would distort the ways in which men voted
 - would create dissension within families, that inescapably there would be arguments between husband and wife that would fracture the family

Suffragists rebuking critics

- Many women themselves were either opposed indifferent to their own enfranchisement
- The demand for suffrage was most resonant among middle-class women, women from families engaged in the professions, trade or commerce, and educated women who lived in cities and developing towns
- These were the women whose experiences and desires clashed most directly with traditional norms and who were most likely to seek the independence, autonomy, and equality that enfranchisement represented
- Though there numbers were growing, they were far from a majority in 1880

Upper-class anti-suffragists

- Farm women, living in greater isolation and in more traditional social structures, were less responsive to calls for suffrage as well as more difficult to mobilize into collective action
- Upper-class women often became the leaders of formally organized anti-suffrage campaigns
 - already had access to power and could wield influence through their wealth
- The political pressure that suffragists could exert thus was limited by their numbers
 - too limited to overcome the entrenched ideological and psychological resistance of many male voters and politicians
 - the campaigns for suffrage generated organized opposition from some interest groups (identification of suffrage with temperance and prohibition)
 - * antisuffrage reaction among brewers and liquor retailers
 - * some immigrants who felt culturally assaulted by the attack on alcohol

Additional challenges

- Machine politicians also were dubious about women's suffrage
 - in part for cultural reasons and in part because they always sought to keep the electorate as manageable as possible
- Equally skeptical were conservative members of the economic elite who took seriously the proposition that women would promote egalitarian social reforms
- Reinforcing these diverse sources of antagonism was the generally declining faith in democracy

The South

- The South was particularly resistant to enfranchising women
- The movement was slow to gather steam in the South
 - suffrage organizations were far smaller and less visible than in the North
- The lag had two critical sources:
 1. South's predominantly rural, agricultural social structure
 - The social strata most receptive to woman suffrage (urban, professional, educated, middle-class) emerged belatedly and slowly in the South
 2. Race
 - white male Southerners believed that women's suffrage meant opening the door to a large new constituency of black voters
- The movement for a national suffrage amendment was repellent to southern Democrats, who perceived such an amendment as yet another federal threat to **states' rights**

The West

- The West was unusually receptive
 - All of the states that fully enfranchised women in the 1800s were west of the Mississippi, as were most states that held suffrage referendum
- What seems to have tipped the balance in a handful of western states was a combination of several additional ingredients:
 - the egalitarian influences of frontier life and western Populism
 - the desire to encourage settlement
 - opportunities presented by the convening of constitutional conventions at statehood
 - a more fluid pattern of party competition
 - a highly visible number of working-class transients who labored in mining, railroading, and agriculture
 - * overwhelmingly of single males; female enfranchisement offered political benefits to the settler population
- Most western states between 1850 and the 1890s did not experience the massive growth of an industrial working class that triggered such an antidemocratic reaction in the East and Midwest
 - The region's swing against democracy was more mild and emotionally focused on the largely male Chinese population

Doldrums and Democracy

- In October 1893, the *New York Times* declared in an editorial that “the cause of woman suffrage does not seem to have made the least progress in this part of the country in the last quarter of a century, if indeed it has not lost ground”
 - *Note:* The NYTs would editorialize against women's suffrage well into the twentieth century
 - only a tiny portion of the nation's women was fully enfranchised
 - interest was flagging in many states
 - most of the women who were entitled to vote in school board elections did *not* show up at the polls

Organization

- National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) – combination of two organizations in 1890
 - By the end of the 1890s, NAWSA had created branches in every state, founded hundreds of local clubs, generated large quantities of literature, and was pressuring politicians everywhere
- NAWSA also began to target and raise funds from wealthy, upper-class women, some of whom for the first time were lending their support to the movement

Shifts in ideology

- If not shifts in ideology, at least by shifts in the emphases placed on various arguments
 - Mirroring the broader middle-and upper-class disenchantment with democracy, suffragists placed less weight on equal rights arguments, which implied that everyone, male and female, should possess the right to vote
 - They stressed instead the more palatable essentialist theme that feminine qualities would be a welcome addition to the polity

- Essentialist emphasis was reinforced by the increasingly common claim that women had distinct economic and social interests that could only be protected by possession of the right to vote
- White middle-class suffragists placed new weight on the argument that the enfranchisement of women would compensate for, and counterbalance, the votes of the ignorant and undesirable
 - this conservative notion, with its unmistakable class and racial edge, had been voiced since the late 1860s, but only in the late 1880s and 1890s did it become commonplace

Changing strategies

- In the South the American Republic was thought to be threatened not by immigrants but by Blacks
- “A Solution to the Southern Question” (1890 publication)
 - it was argued that “the medium through which to retain the supremacy of the white race over the African” (Belle Kearney)
- The relationship between women’s suffrage and black enfranchisement in the South was complicated
 - Many white suffragists declined to play the race card, and even some who did were motivated less by a commitment to white supremacy than by the search for a potent line of attack
 - One of the principal arguments against female enfranchisement from 1890 to 1920 was that it would open an additional door to black voting and possibly to federal intervention in election laws
- The NAWSA executive board formally affirmed its recognition of “states’ rights” effectively permitting southern chapters to bar blacks from membership
- In both the North and South, the notion that women were the antidote to undesirable voters led many suffragists, including Stanton, to join the conservative chorus calling for literacy tests as a means of shaping the electorate
- **Suffragists effectively abandoned the principle of universal suffrage in favor of increasingly popular class-based limitations on electoral participation**

“the doldrums”

- The period from 1896 to 1910 came to be known among suffragists as “the doldrums”
 - few concrete gains
 - Although the issue was raised repeatedly in state legislatures and constitutional conventions, there were no new additions to the suffrage column
 - * Massachusetts even underwent the demoralizing spectacle of nonbinding referendum on municipal suffrage that was overwhelmingly defeated and for which only 23,000 women (out of a possible 600,000) turned out to vote
- In the South, the statistical argument was simply no match for the frenzied political circus that was disfranchising Blacks and poor whites in one state after another
- In the North, the parallel push for suffrage for educated women collided head-on with the powerful middle-and upper-class desire to shrink the electorate

Internal contradictions

- Whatever its statistical validity, the anti-Black, anti-immigrant, and anti-working class argument in favor of women’s suffrage was inescapably weakened by its own *internal contradictions*
- An **antidemocratic** argument in favor of enlarging the franchise could neither overwhelm nor outflank the simpler, more consistent conservative view that the polity should be as *narrowly circumscribed* as possible

A Mass Movement

- Shifts were under way that would soon change the movement's direction and fortunes;
- The first decade of the twentieth century proved to be less a period of failure than of fruitful stock-taking and coalition building
- The movement became socially and ideologically more diverse, attracting both elite and working-class supporters to complement its middle-class base Female workers
- By 1900, roughly one fifth of the labor force was female, and many of these women held poorly paid, semiskilled jobs
 - in 1905, there were 50,000 women in New York's garment industry alone
- New emphasis on working women had both ideological and pragmatic attractions for suffragists
 - Female workers were described as "exemplars of independent womanhood"
 - They were also vulnerable and exploited victims of industrial capitalism whose plight readily tapped the broad impulses of Progressive-era social reform
 - To stress the needs of working women was to treat them tacitly as an interest group, an ideological reconfiguration that fused essentialist and egalitarian claims

Class and gender

- Some believed that suffrage would never be achieved until it had gained the electoral support of working-class men
 - that meant emphasizing *class* as well as *gender* issues
- Working women as well as their activist leaders displayed new interest in acquiring the right to vote
 - This arose in part because of their difficulty unionizing and winning workplace conflicts
- **They were convinced that state intervention could ameliorate their working conditions and that such intervention would be forthcoming only if they were enfranchised**

State-level Victories

- Thanks in part to this convergence of working-class interest in suffrage with the suffragists' interest in the working class, the campaign for women's suffrage became a mass movement for the first time in its history after 1910
- The movement also began to win some new victories
 - Washington permitted women to vote in 1910, followed by California in 1911, and Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon the following year; Illinois, in 1913, decided to allow women to vote in presidential elections and for all state and local offices not provided for in its constitution; and the next year, Montana and Nevada adopted full suffrage.
- In 1912, Congress expressly authorized the territory of Alaska to enfranchise women if its legislature so chose

New allies

- After 1910, Socialists began to campaign vigorously for the ballot
- In 1910, President William H. Taft agreed to address the annual convention of NAWSA
- Also in 1910, a petition favoring a federal amendment was signed by more than 400,000 women and was presented to Congress
- In 1912, the Progressive Party endorsed women's right to vote

- In March 1913, Woodrow Wilson's inauguration was partially eclipsed by a suffrage parade of 5,000 women in Washington
- In 1914 a Senate committee reported favorably on a federal amendment, and for the first time in decades a draft amendment was brought to the floor of Congress for a vote
 - opposition remained strong, particularly in the eastern half of the country

Southern resistance

- Although no referendum were held in the South during this period, the suffrage movement there also gained strength
 - A new surge of organizing began in 1910, rooted in an urban and quasi-urban middle class that had grown rapidly in preceding decades
 - By 1913, every southern state had a suffrage organization allied with NAWSA
 - but the middle class relatively small and the rural world was large and difficult to reach
 - moreover, anti-suffrage forces were strong and well organized
- By the latter years of the Progressive era, African Americans had been successfully disfranchised throughout the South, and most whites were intent on keeping it that way

Southern resistance

- Politicians were loath to tinker at all with electoral laws
 - they feared that *Black women might prove to be more difficult to keep from the polls than Black men*
 - Black women were believed to be more literate than men and *more aggressive about asserting their rights*
- Many Southerners remained convinced that a federal amendment would open the doors to federal intervention in elections and to enforcement of the *Fifteenth Amendment* and any subsequent amendment that might appear to *guarantee the voting rights of Black women*
- Moreover, a one-party political system that left little room for dissent

The Nineteenth Amendment

- In 1914 and 1915, the suffrage movement stood at a crossroads
 - Women were fully enfranchised in some states and had partial suffrage in many
 - Still, the movement for political equality still faced an uphill, obstacle-laden struggle
 - Victories had been won, but defeats were more numerous, and none of the heavily populated states of the Northeast and Midwest had granted women the right to vote
- President Woodrow Wilson declined to endorse women's suffrage, evasively reiterating his view that suffrage was a state issue
 - The national Democratic Party was similarly unresponsive
 - The Republican platform of 1916, in contrast, endorsed the cause, albeit in watered-down language

1916 election

- The 1916 elections set in motion two distinctive partisan dynamics that had surfaced periodically in suffrage struggles since the 1840s

1. the partial enfranchisement of women: **some women already could vote in all elections, and many could vote in some elections**
 - such circumstances gave women leverage to reward or punish politicians because of their (or their party's) stance on the *Nineteenth Amendment*
2. the dynamic of possible or impending victory
 - **once it seemed likely or even possible that women's suffrage eventually would be achieved**, either nationally or in an individual state, **the potential political cost of a vote against enfranchisement rose dramatically**

World War I

- In 1917, the United States entered World War I
- The most critical impact of the war was the opportunity it gave suffragists to contribute to the mobilization
 - The age-old argument that women should not vote because they did not bear arms was no longer applicable
- NAWSA converted its local chapters into volunteer groups that provided Americanization classes, distributed food, and cooperated with the Red Cross
- The leadership of NAWSA also offered its political support (always especially valued during wartime) to the Wilson administration

Woodrow Wilson

- The suffragists' able handling of the war crisis, coupled with continuing political pressure on Congress and the president, was rewarded in January 1918
- The president, in an extraordinary address, announced his support of a federal suffrage amendment "as a war measure"
- The next day, the House of Representatives voted in favor of the *Nineteenth Amendment*
 - the victory was won by one vote, with the Democrats splitting almost evenly while more than 80% of Republicans voted favorably
 - Importantly, most of the congressmen who changed their position in those few years came from states that recently had adopted some form of women's suffrage

Convincing the Senate

- The Senate, where anti-suffragist southern Democrats constituted a proportionally larger bloc, took an additional year and a half to endorse the amendment
- After months of relentless political pressure and careful targeting of Republican and Democratic hold-outs, the Senate (by a large Republican majority and a small Democratic one) finally came on board in the summer of 1919
- "essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which are engaged. . . We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toll and not to a partnership of privilege and of right? This war could not have been fought. . . if it had not been for the services of women." - *Woodrow Wilson*

State Ratification

- Ratification depended on winning virtually every state outside of the South and the border states

- they also believed it essential to move quickly, before the aura of wartime faded
- Anti-suffragists geared up for battle, denouncing the Nineteenth Amendment as a violation of states' rights and a giant step toward socialism and free love
 - To no one's surprise, the South remained recalcitrant
- In the end, it was approved only by the four border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, and Arkansas
- **On August 18, 1920, Tennessee, by a margin of one vote, became the thirty-sixth state to vote positively on the amendment; a week later, after ratification had been formally certified, the Nineteenth Amendment was law**

The Nineteenth Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment Section 1: **The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex** Section 2: **Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation**

After ratification

- It is a well-known irony in American history that politics did not change very dramatically after women were enfranchised
- The electorate nearly doubled in size between 1910 and 1920, but voting patterns and partisan alignments were little affected
- **Women, moreover, did not rush out to vote in huge numbers: electoral turnout was even lower among women than among men**

How things changed

- Political life in the 1920s was not nearly as vibrant or energetic as it had been in the 1890s or the latter years of the Progressive era
 - despite the identification of women with social reform, reforms were few during the first decade that women could vote
- The issue agenda did change, though
 - those affecting women and children were injected into the political arena even if concrete reforms were slow to materialize
 - The social welfare programs of the 1930s were colored by the concerns of the female electorate and often promoted by women who had cut their political and organizational teeth in the suffrage movement
 - Franklin Roosevelt's appointment of Frances Perkins as secretary of labor (and as the first woman to hold a cabinet position) would not have happened without the *Nineteenth Amendment*

Southern power

- The suffragists' prediction that the enfranchisement of women would not jeopardize white supremacy in the South proved to be on the mark
- Although some (but not many) Black women were able to register to vote
 - the Democratic Party remained firmly in power
 - segregation and Black disfranchisement persisted
 - the federal government steered clear of voting rights issues for another four decades

- **Sex, thus, did not prove to be a significant dividing line in the American electorate**
 - some gender gaps in voting did occur in the early years (as well as more recently), but they were not large, and few issues sharply divided men and women.

How life (did not) changed

- Women were empowered by enfranchisement, and their lives consequently (if gradually) may have changed in a host of different ways, but they tended to vote for the same parties and candidates that their husbands, fathers, and brothers supported
- Class, race, ethnicity, and religion remained the more salient predictors of a person's voting behavior
- So, why was there opposition?
 - The very absence of dramatic change after 1920 inescapably leaves one wondering what the adamant resistance was all about
 - Why, given the rather placid outcome, did so many men oppose women's suffrage for so long?
 - Why did it take women seventy years after Seneca Falls to become enfranchised?

Three Overarching Factors

- three overarching factors
 1. The fear of the unknown
 - no one knew, especially in the nineteenth century, exactly what would happen if women voted
 2. The persistence of deeply ingrained standards of femininity and masculinity that appeared to be threatened by the prospect of women voting
 - Grounded in culture, social patterns, and the division of labor, these standards led men (and some women as well) to believe that suffrage would genuinely be a pernicious heresy, a violation of divine law, a threat to the family, or a source of promiscuity and debasement
 - The right to vote was an expression of masculine power, exercised in the male sphere of public life
 - for women to claim such power was to rob men of a piece of their identities, alter their social roles, and threaten their legal dominance over women
 3. The coincidence of historical timing that brought the issue of women's suffrage to the fore just as faith in broadly distributed political rights was beginning to diminish
 - By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the celebratory democratic rhetoric of the 1830s and 1840s had receded into almost-dim memory
 - To many, voting once again had become a privilege rather than a right, and the size of the electorate a matter of expediency rather than principle
 - To grant that women had a *right* to vote could only undercut the rationale for laws designed to restrict a male electorate that already seemed too large and unmanageable
- **Electoral majorities in favor of suffrage were mustered only when divisions between and within the major political parties could be exploited by a single-issue movement**