March 6, 1987

"The Origins of America's Traditional Party Organizations," at Department of Politics, Princeton University

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Dear David,

This note is formal confirmation of our invitation to you to speak to the faculty seminar on American Politics and Law at Princeton University. As we discussed several weeks ago, you will be speaking on March 6, 1987, at noon in Corwin Lounge, on the subject of "Constitutional Instruments: the American Case." We would like you to talk for 30 to 40 minutes (or 20 to 30 minutes if you circulate a paper in advance), then engage in general discussion with the audience. The listeners will consist mainly of faculty and Ph.D. students studying American politics, public law, and/or political theory. These seminars are intended to be casual, nonjudgmental discussions of work in progress, so you need not prepare a formal, polished presentation. If you would like to circulate a paper in advance, please send it to me as soon as possible so I can distribute it.

After the seminar is over, around 2:00, we will adjourn to our house for dinner. We plan to invite several other people to join us; who (either in the Department or in the Princeton community at large) would you like us to invite? Please let me know as soon as possible, so we can make appropriate arrangements. Finally, would you please send me your curriculum vitae so we can make appropriate introductions.

A graduate student helping to organize the series will be in touch with you soon to discuss travel arrangements, paper and dinner plans, whether you would like to meet with anyone while you are here, and so on. Of course, call me ([o] 609-452-5634; [h] 201-874-6588) if you want to discuss any part of these arrangements.

For your information, I am enclosing a list of the other speakers in the series. Would you like to join us for any of the other talks and/or dinners?

We are delighted that you are joining us, and I very much look forward to your talk, and to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Hochschild
Professor of Politics and Public Affairs
Subject: frankly historical: origins of GC

- origins of a pattern of TPs in 1960s
- subject of a recent book, following Jel, 63?
  - though you don't need to have read it to follow
  - bit or so supplied

See map.

TP4 =
- Let's say, Jacksonian period
- pattern =
  - N, NE, NW, not in S, S, or W

It's clear that patterns go way back in history.

Next time that Jacksonian patterns were once equally everywhere,
  + have declined just in some places.
  - with gradual decline, the same 1960s pattern goes way back.

It needs 19c, it turns drier, 18c.

Hence today, largely 19c.

I can't claim closure.

Scientifically I suppose all I have is secondary,
  and I have got to try make mistakes - very early.

Organize under 3 rubrics? (roughly chronological)
  (spent most time on the list)
"Domestic political class"...

- whether a party/state had a dominant upper SES colonial... whose members prevailed in the 18th... hungary well in the 19th...

- overall...
  - import a particular ethos (republican - idealism, conflict, anti-slavery)
  - same at times equivalent to a sort of tribalism, anti-imperialism
  - undermined others (30s)

Colonies/states lacking each domestic class... evidently the ones that...

- Richard Nixon: exceptionally prudenone, beligerent, aggressive, turbulent
- (N, NY, PA) no dominant 1st塞尔
- = "factual situation"...
- "In exchange, motivate, join us"...
- "act of P4 west"

R1 in expansionist factors...
- "the most of large scale election campaigns held anywhere...
- in early presidency took place"...
- in... 1950s...

- Jersey: campaigns beyond the local level, developed in NY (as R, NJ, Md)...
- "inevitable," "party campaign rhetoric"...
- "ticket" states...
-...Biden...Pennsylvania...
- MAA: county party big in 1960s...
- NJ:...most highly developed election methods

- early 19c (the Jackson)...
  - blawwww into classic stalemate... (spoils...class)
  - in NY, NJ, Pa...
    - long legacy...
    - mere social bond (50's, 60's)
    - NJ now will matter, if don't...

- a particular...some dynamics of vote-bought Red emerged...
- Century...in R1 + NJ...
- give the winning 9th + NJ (not 9th coming)
- later, Ohio + Ind...
The Jacksonian party system came into
- 1824+
such fl. built on existing M&A electoral precedents + institutions
- 2 innovations (both associated with M&N)
  a) ideological - a justification of the Monroe legacy
     the party system - "the party system"
  b) expansion of national power
     the party system - "the party system" - Texas, "why, then God (GREAT)
     - 1830s-80s - one theme - expansion of this new dominant
     - political party into the west of the country, N. & S. W.
     (candidate) - "why" via Reconstruction in both

Where such parties did not take hold:
The most extensive & best documented cases = Mass., Va., SC,
- the English answer: "or some of-
- "in all 3 cases, the dominant classes prevailed pretty well
- through most of the 19c
  - Massachusetts: Brahminism (you can see them in operation)
    - early 1820
    - Butler (not his incautious) (1820 Scent)
    - no machines

  - South Carolina in general - "traditional party"
    - Federalist system, distinct, 1st. (early N. & N.)
    - NC in 1830s - "squatter party"
    - useful & able types

  - SC - regimented = reluctantly by 1) Penn. 2) Tillman

  - Va. - "monarchy" in the 1850s
    - reformed in 1861 - 1865
    - caught in anarchy - "mourned peace (1865)

  - Mass.+N. & N. - "weak & fickle, South,
    - start of "Jacksonian" regularities+
    - when it was highly critical, premier
a new idea
I'm creating a probability, I didn't come by the basic
The idea: v. intensive potential conflict between forces might

provide the building of very strong organizations, for insurprise reasons
which might take the form of
whether they depend on earth

This can actually occur needing hierarchy

look at the map
math but also british + so on

- NvS = peace and - partly unaff. red up at war- on birth issues
- also, use an G08-21 of a modified black vote

which => create org.
= done elections at time + map

any good info to feed the oil?
- scattered but actually

best place in McKeesport - (Ky, TN, Tex, SW, NV, WY)

1874 => org absolute power

of enemies - military trade in candy, goods in general
- spread of 10. ind. companies, clay weapons
- strong mobility forms
- oil weapons

also, how's Adams Co.

we may be seeing the destruction
through collapse in California outside Texas
3) The new states (Very briefly - I have little to say)
   - TVOs not generally inflated everywhere in post-1820 state
     (sound, NM + Tex)
     (holding state = old)
     (SF, machine, 1880)
     - This includes huck, Wi, Fl, Ca, Cali
     - Why:
       1) Yiddish cellars (mass also) (Me, NH, VT)
       2) burgeoning - Nash

Now, close with reflections on Poland in 2 kinds of states: in July 19c - early 20c.

- Was it even possible that TVOs will get inflated successfully
  all over the place?
- a national machine?

- Grant, 1880 cement
  - National = So, buri, + Ill, NY, Pa (Organs, Guty, Samson)
  - Knick of Italy?
  - But this was highly too
    a) Rome
    b) even in states (Scott)
      - Congress in Washing to WV, PA, MI, AR
    c) Congress in city (LA, Detroit)

These areas' progresses are (the anticipated left in) 1920s
b) my states:
- Congress, in spite of yes,
- but much accompanied by\textsuperscript{w} machine\textsuperscript{w} mills.
\textsuperscript{w} New York, Ohio, Illinois, etc.

c) old Kunden states:
- a fast, late sort with locomotives (century later)
- 1880s - 1930s
- This is the time of the demagogues in the factory and mill as well as in Massachusetts.

1. not away from
2. attack the doc/prefs elegantly (blacks too)

- SC: Tillman > Clemson
- Mass: Bulfin > Cranley
- demagogue, etc. from 1880
- from before in these places at these times.

This is the/demagogue (A party committed in 18)

- 25 systems, 17 from, didn’t take.
- The ng, also the devotion to persistent competition
- Mass: caliades into our city/ism
- not just demagogie
- lack of /1921 and only in 20c
- Fruits, John Hancock etc.
- Not just a result of code
- a form of present/ism, Roosevelt’s success judges.
- But goes way back.

Democracy in these states is weak—no response.