

### Turning Points of American Politics: 5 Conventions

Introduction and the nominations for the 1832 presidential election



### Course outline

Date	Topic	Readings
10/31	Introduction Presidential nominating conventions for the 1832 election	Genesis of the First National Political Convention:  A Case Study in the Development of an American  Institution  How Political Conventions Began—And Changed.
11/7	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1860 election	Five Conventions, Four Candidates, and Three Parties: Chaos before the Election of 1860
11/14	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1948 election	Sweat, steak, five o'clock shadows: How TV transformed political conventions in 1948
11/21	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1968 election	Revisiting The 1968 Republican Convention; The rise and fall of the televised political convention
12/5	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1980 election Conclusions	Narratives of the Presidential Nominating Conventions: Branding The Parties And Candidates



"Times are bad. Children no longer obey their parents and everyone is writing a book" Cicero, 43 BCE



### About yours truly





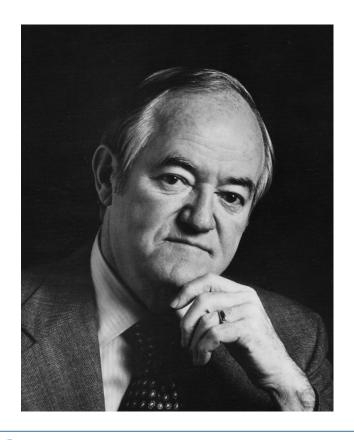
### Look for the daffodils on the WISE home page



For there is something about a national convention that makes it as fascinating as a revival or a hanging. It is vulgar, it is ugly, it is stupid, it is tedious, it is hard upon both the higher cerebral centers and the gluteus maximus, and yet it is somehow charming. One sits through long sessions wishing heartily that all the delegates and alternates were dead and in hell—and then suddenly there comes a show so gaudy and hilarious, so melodramatic and obscene, unimaginably exhilarating and preposterous that one lives a gorgeous year in an hour.

### H. L. Mencken, *Baltimore Evening Sun*, July 1924





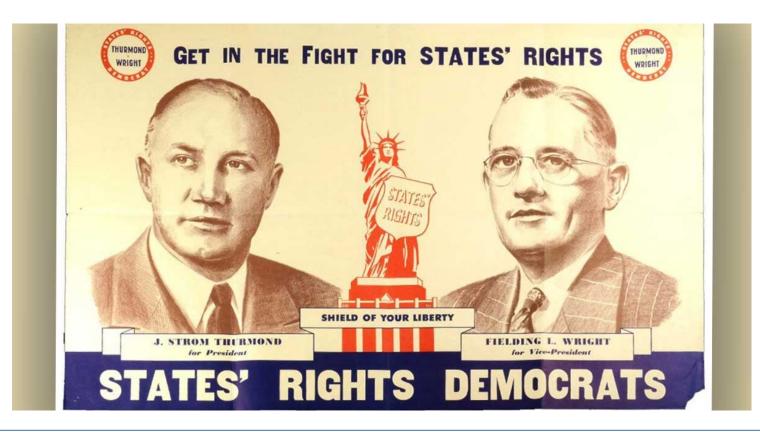
Questions to keep in mind





Why did we get from where we were then to where we were now?





Are the conventions we study addressing the problems that were present in 1832 or addressing the problems for that time?

Their object was to find the mode of election which would best express the choice of the people with the least possible excitement and suspense.

### Democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville



## How Political Conventions Began —And Changed

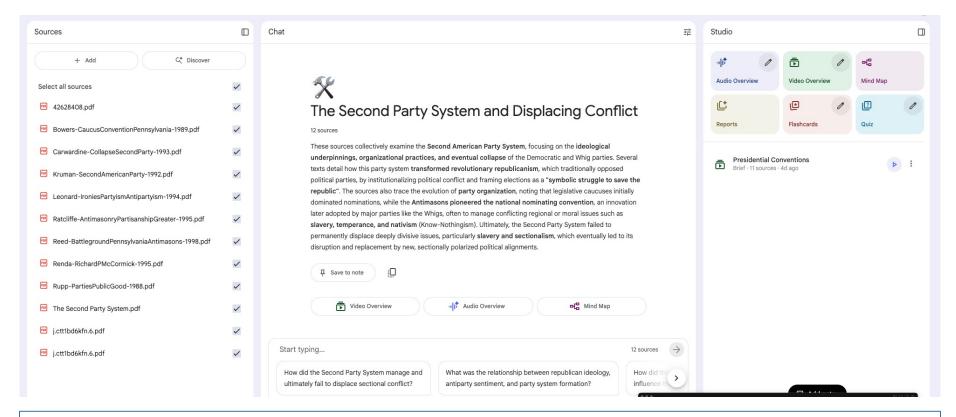
In the 19th century there were no primaries—candidates were selected during each party's convention.





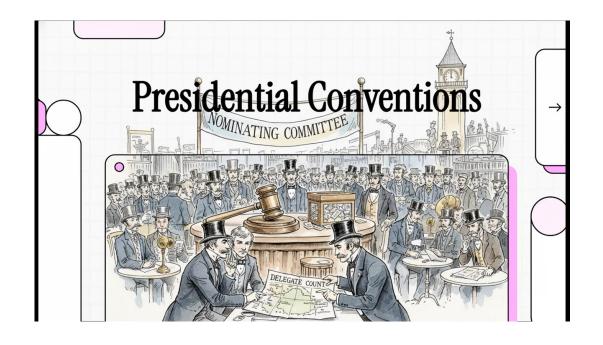
### How Political Conventions Began—And Changed





### Creating a video overview





### Political conventions in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century



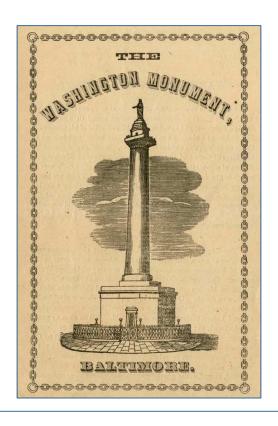
### 1832





### The Birth of the U.S. Political Convention in 1831





### **Baltimore**

### **Washington Monument**



#### GENESIS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTION: A CASE STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

JAMES S. CHASE University of Arkansas

HEN THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS MET in 1968 to nominate candidates for President and Vice-president they followed a behavioral pattern created 137 years ago. For, in spite of rival claims, the "honor" of sponsoring the first convention which is clearly the prototype of those held in the summer of 1968 rightfully belongs to the Antimasonic delegates who nominated William Wirt, a former Attorney-General, for the nation's highest office in September 1831 at Baltimore.

Why and how the Antimasons pioneered the device has never been adequately explained even though the origin and development of the party is familiar enough to historians. While all agree that it began with the hue and cry over the kidnapping and presumed murder of a shiftless stone-cutter, the intimate connection between this felony and the calling of a national convention has been overlooked. In some measure, it was the crime that predetermined the holding of the convention: the chain of events culminating in Balitmore can be comprehended only in the light of the circumstances surrounding the victim's disappearance. The investigation of those circumstances, hopefully, will lead to a greater understanding of the national convention's initial role in American politics and also provide insight into the process of institutional creation which lies behind the meeting.

PARTY ORIGINS: THE MORGAN CASE

Nothing about the life of William Morgan suggested a martyr's death.

## Genesis Of The First National Political Convention: A Case Study in the Development of An American Institution



OUTRAGE ON WILLIAM MORGAN Public attention is yet so extensively devoted to this unhappy affair, that to pass it over unnoticed, even for one week, would be to disappoint a great majority of our ind readers. We therefore pursue the course we adopted when every other press, with but one exception, was silent on the subject, and publish such circumstances and remarks as we think ought to come before the public, avoiding as much as possible "intemperate matter" and such as goes to "implicate the whole masonic fraternity in the fate of Morgan." We have repeatedly dissented from an indiscriminate denunciation of the innocent with the guilty; but while any are disposed to make light of, or connive at the "unparalleled outrage," less effervescence in feeling or more forbearance in conduct cannot be expected from a people jealous of their rights. If the Editor of the Bath Advocate will

oring, in a prominent point of the

### Can moral outrage sustain a durable political movement?

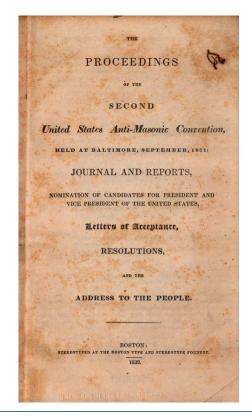
The Geneva Gazette, and General Advertiser, 14 March 1827



The anti-masons in their recent convention at Baltimore, have been compelled to nominate for the office of President, an adhering mason. After their parade and bluster, we had reason to suppose they would have been able to select from their own respectable body, a suitable candidate for that high and important office.-At the anti-masonic convention, which set in Philadelphia in September 1830, Mr. Ellmaker, the same man we presume now nominated for Vice President of the United States, made a report on "the subject of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, in which, it is stated, that, "anti-masonry would be defeated in its efforts to free the land of masonic rule and pollution, unless an able and decided opponent of masonry be placed in the Presidential chair." For that purpose was the late convention called, and failing to procure such a candidate, it has nominated Mr. Wirt for President, who, although unquestionably an able man does not, for ought that appears in his letter, coincide with the professions and practices of the political anti-masons, that have created the excitement in our country, on a subject more proper for "farce" than for tragedy.

## To what extent do today's conventions still reflect their populist, moralistic, or conspiratorial roots?

Manufacturers' & Farmers' Journal Oct 6, 1831



The proceedings of the second United States anti-masonic convention, held at Baltimore, September 1831

The result is, that although the members of the institution do not form, probably, more than one tenth of the voters in the United States, they hold about two-thirds of the offices of trust, profit, and honour, in the general and state governments.

If masonry be thus fortified behind the political patronage and power of the government, where is it to be sought and attacked by those who desire to destroy its baneful influence on morality and religion, and its usurpation of the rights and privileges of the people? It is to be sought where alone it is to be found,—in its intrenchments. Anti-masonry, therefore, is necessarily political.

### The Proceedings of the United States Anti-Masonic Convention



were then pronounced forgeries, and no evidence to the contrary was ever produced, while Washington's letter has no date. Admitting, however, that they were not, (though an institution that has murdered and bribed to perjury, might be supposed to consider forgery not a very criminal act) what does Washington say in favour of Masonry? Nothing There is not a sentence, or a part of a sentence, in the letter, favourable to masonry. It is evidently written with studied evasion. Washinton's opinion, as favourable to masory, cannot, therefore, be gathered from his letters to the brethren.  These letters to and from the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, & c. although they do not produce evidence that Washington approved of the masonic institution, contained evidence of another description, equally important to the public, and highly favourable to the cause of antimasonry. Washington's farewell address was delivered on the first Wednesday of December, 1796, in which he denounced 'all secret associations,' stitutic stitution.	mation.	mention
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### **Antimasons**

Wilmington Expositor (Wilmington, Del.), September 30, 1831



#### ALEXANDRIA, D.C.

FRIDAY MONNING, DEC. 16, 18:1.

Extract of a letter from the Editor, dated Barryseans, Dec. 14, 1831.

The Convention met to-day at 12 o'clock .--It was opened by prayer. The names of sereral delegates who had not arrived yesterday were called by the Secretary, and requested to give in their rules for a Caudidate for the Presidency. They each answered Hauny Cany. The committee appointed, yesterday, to inform Mr. Clay of his nomination, appointed a sub-committee, who immediately proceeded to Washington.-They waited on Mr. Clay last night, and received his answer: and taking an early stage back again, arrived in time to report to-day. Their letter to Mr. Clay, and his reply accepting the nomination of the Convention, were read and recrived with anonimous and brarty applaces. The Convention then preceded to nominate a candidate for the office of Vice President. Dr. Bond McNairy, of Tennesses, proposed the name of Jone Sunganer, of Pennsylvania. This proposal was seconded in an elequent speech by Gen. Jones of the District. The vote was then taken in the manner pursued yesterday; each member rising to his place, and having his favorite. Upon the roll being called, and the vate taken, the Chair presonneed that John Sergrant had been unanimously nominated. This anmeancement was also seceived with hearty ap-

The ticket, therefore, of the National Republican party, and is fact of the opposents of Gen. Jackon's re-election, is—

For President,
HENRY CLAY, OF KENTUCKY.
For For President,
JOHN SERGEANT, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

## National Republicans Phenix Gazette (Alexandria [D.C.]), December 16, 1831



initowing correspondences Battimore, Dec. 13, 1831. Hon. Henry Clay: Sin,-The undersigned have been appointed a committee, by the convention of national republican delegates now assembled in this city, to announce that you were this day unanimously nominated as a candidate for the office of president of the United States. Entertaining the most exalted opinion of your eminent tulents, enlarged patriotism, and distinguished public services, we have the fullest confidence that you will receive the united, cordial, and zealous support of every friend to the constitution, the integrity of the union, all the great branches of national industry, and the prosperity of the general weal; and we pledge to you, in behalf of the convention, the assurance of an ardent determination to use all honorable means to insure your elevation to the chair of chief magistrate of this republic. With the highest consideration, we have the holor to be, sir, your most chedient servants, PETER R LIVINGSTON, of New York. HENRY WARREN, Maine. LEONARD JARVIS, New Hampshire. WILLIAM JARVIS, Vermont. HENRY A. S. DEARBORN, Massachusetts. CHRIST'R E. ROBBINS, Juny A. ROCKWELL, Rhode Island. Connecticut. JOB S. HALSTED, New Jersey. THOMAS BURNSIDE, Pennsylvania. E. I. DUPONT, Delaware. WILLIAM PHICE, Maryland. JAMES BRECKENRIDGE, Virginia. J. SLUANE, Ohio. DANIEL BRECK. Kentucky. FREDERICK II. SHUMAN, N. Carulma. Joun J. NEELY, Indiana. H. A. BULLARD, Louisiana. RICHARD S. COXE, D. Columbia. Committee.

### Henry Clay nominated



Washington, 13th Dec. 1831.

Gentlemen—I have the honor to acknowledge the recript of the note which, as a committee of the convention of national republican delegates now assembled in Baltimore, you addressed to me, stating that I had been this day unanimously nominated by the convention as a gandidate for the office of president of the United States.

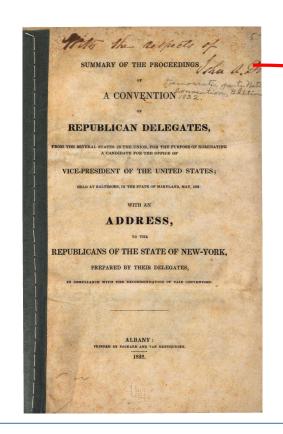
This manifestation of the confidence of a body so distinguished, is received, gentlemen, with lively sensibility and profound gratitude. Although I should have been glad if the convention had designated some citizen of the U. States more competent than myself to be the instrument of accomplishing the patriotic objects which they have in view, I do not leel myself at liberty to deeline their nomination. With my respectful and cordial jaknowledgments, you will be pleased to communicate to the convention my acceptance of their nomination, with the assurance that, whatever may be the event of it, our common country shall ever find me faithful to the union, and the constitution, to the principles of pubhe liberty, and to those great measures of national pobey which have made us a people, prosperous, respected, and powerful.

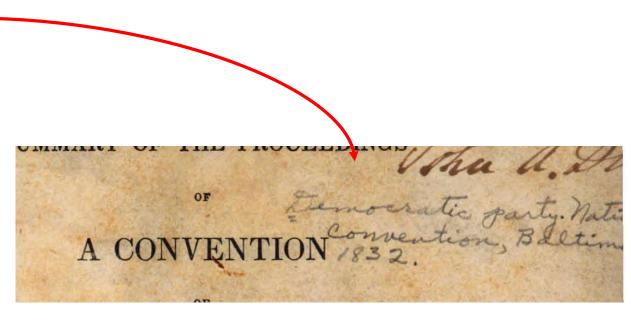
Accept, gentlemen, of my thanks for the friendly manner in which you have conveyed the act and screpments of the convention. I am, with high respect, your abedient servant,

11. CLAY.

### Clay accepts

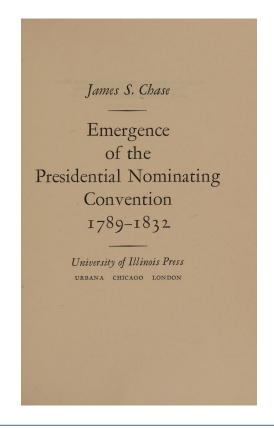






### **Democrats**





### Emergence of the presidential nominating convention, 1789-1832



# The Presidential Election of 1832



Henry Clay



Andrew Jackson



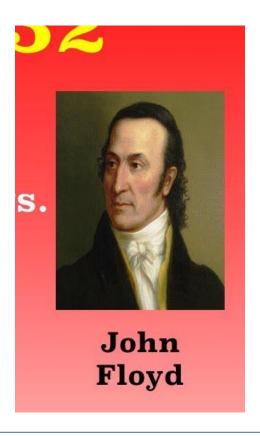
William Wirt



John Floyd

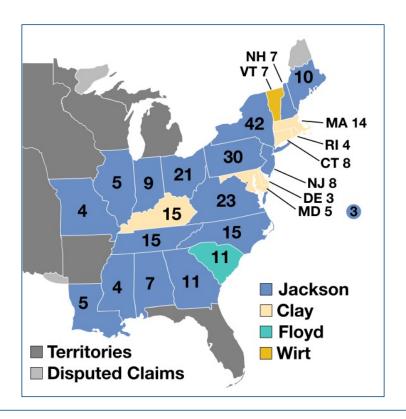
### 1832 candidates





### Wait, who was John Floyd?





### John Floyd represented the **State Rights and Free Trade Party**

aka the "Nullifier Party"



Election of 1832 513

Our stocks, as they would be in prohibiting the sale of their goods to us."

Despite the strength of the Bank and "foreign influence" questions, the Democrats did not rely on issues to win the election. As professional politicians in an age of rising professionalism they knew the importance of exciting the voter, entertaining him, and turning him out at the polls on election day. This was best accomplished with parades and barbecues—especially parades,

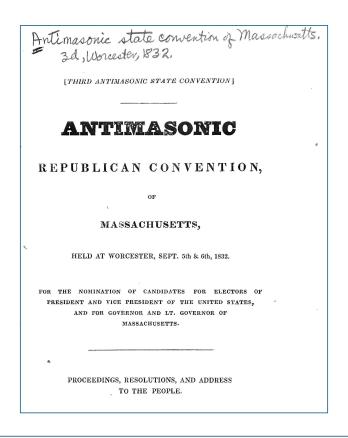
In addition to parades, the Democrats believed in barbecues as an important technique in winning the voter's favor. Even when they lost local elections, as they did in Kentucky, the Democrats seemed to think a barbecue was in order—or so the Louisville Journal reported. "There seems to be no way of convincing these fellows that they are fairly beaten. They have one sort of answering for every thing. If we show them that we have elected our Lieutenant Governor by a majority of nearly 30,000, they reply by swallowing a pig. If we show them that we have gained great strength in the Senate, and added to our superiority, they reply by devouring a turkey. If we show them that we have obtained a majority of two-thirds in the House of Representa-

tives, they reply by pouring off a pint of whiskey or apple-toddy. There is no

withstanding such arguments. We give it up."

"The have one sort of answering for every thing...they reply by swallowing a pig."





### Worcester convention of Antimasons (1932)



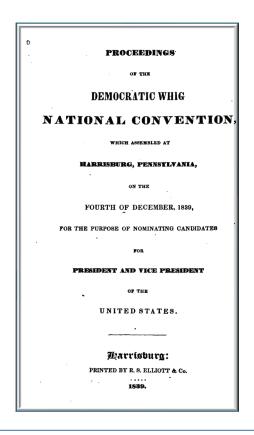
#### [General Resolutions.]

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the rites, ceremonies, mysteries, principles, and obligations of Freemasonry, have been disclosed; that these principles may now be thoroughly known and understood by all who will faithfully inquire for themselves; that these disclosures clearly demonstrate the Institution to be false in its boastful pretensions to antiquity and science, selfish in its objects, dangerous in its character, and in all respects unworthy to be permitted longer to price among us; that it ought to be opposed with the single dropose of its utter extirpation; that in doing so, no political alliance ought to be formed with any men, party, or set of men who support it; that we will continue to oppose it at the ballot box, and charge our children and our children's children to oppose it, until our country shall be freed from the dishonor and danger of its existence.

Resolved, That in the present crisis of public cours, the vigor energies, the sound principles, the weight of personal and political financiac of every cruzen who values his country above considerations of personal parties, ought to be exerted in preserving the project of course outliers in the project of the project of

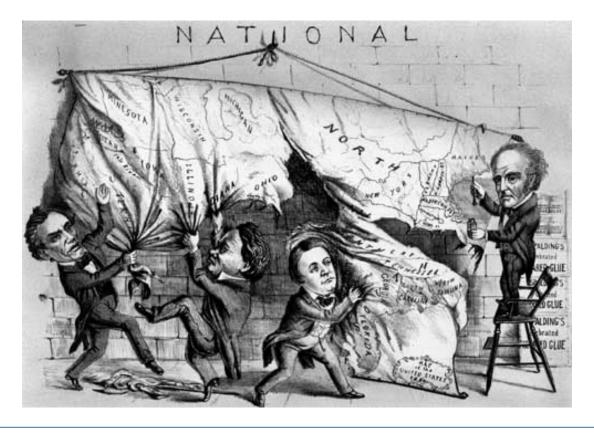
### Worcester Resolution





### We wouldn't get our first "working" convention until 1839





### Next week



### Discussion





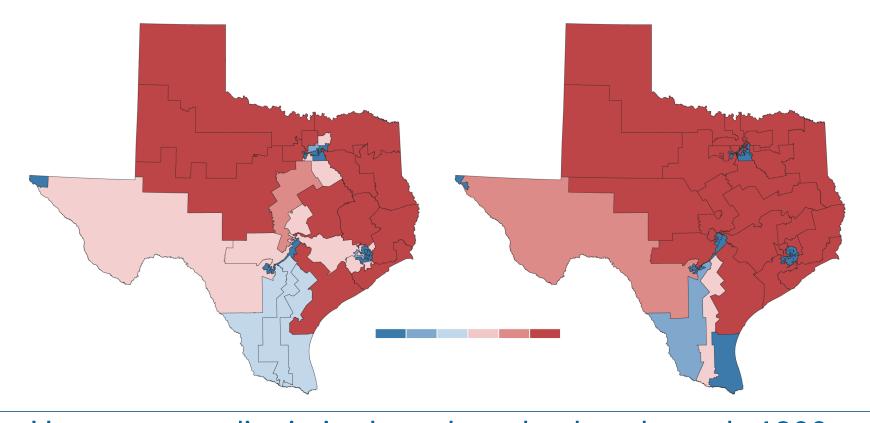
### And this differs from modern conventions how?





The irony that antiparty sentiments led to the establishment of political parties.





Has current redistricting brought us back to the early 1800s where politicians chose the candidates?

