I. Introduction: Contrast between public and scholars on
   A. Value of parties to democracy (E. E. Schattschneider)
   B. Utility of divided government (split-ticket voting)

II. The pre-party era
   A. Puritan revolution (Tories vs. Whigs as ‘proto-parties’)
   B. The colonial experience (loyalists vs. patriots)
   C. Independence and confederal government (federalists vs. antifederalists)

III. Nascent parties under the new Constitution: Federalists (monocrats) vs. Republicans (democrats)
   A. Divisive issues
      1. Domestic-economy issues
         a. Assumption by the federal government of the Revolutionary-War debts of the state governments
         b. Excise taxes on distilled spirits
         c. Federally chartered bank
         d. Behind-the-scenes deal with Jefferson – new capital district on border with South
      2. Relations with France and Britain (Jay Treaty 1795)
   B. Party coalitions
      1. Federalists: business/commercial, northeast
      2. Republicans: small farmers in mid-Atlantic and South

IV. Party Rule: 1824-1912
   A. Issues
      1. Midnight appointments
      2. Judicial review: *Marbury vs. Madison* (1803)
      3. War of 1812
   B. Federalist decline (1800-16) & the ‘Era of Good Feeling’ (1816-24)
      1. Death of Hamilton
      2. Expansion of electorate
   C. Breakdown and renewal: the election of 1824
      1. Division over nomination
         a. Congressional caucus nominated Crawford & Calhoun
         b. Jackson, J. Q. Adams, & Clay boycotted
      2. General election
         a. Popular vote: Jackson > Adams & Crawford
         b. Electoral vote: no majority
      3. Runoff in House: Clay backed Adams (13) > Jackson (7) & Crawford (4)
   D. The Jackson-Van Buren alliance
      1. Factors in victory in 1828
         a. Van Buren (from the NY political machine) was the first to understand mass-based campaigning
            at the presidential level
         b. Anti-Masonic movements opposed elite politicians’ king-maker role
         c. Divisive issue of nation-building: who would pay for internal improvements to national
            infrastructure
      2. Consequences
         a. Party name change to Democratic Party
         b. Emergence of Whig Party opposition under Clay (west), Calhoun (south), & Webster (northeast)
         c. Development of national-state-local party organizations
   E. The rise of mass-based politics and the emergence of the spoils system (‘Jacksonian Democracy’) 1830s-90s
      1. More sharing of power by elites with the masses
a. Tripling of voter turnout: from 26% in 1824 to 79% in 1848
b. State & national party conventions replaced legislative party caucuses
c. Huge influx of immigrants – largely from Ireland
d. Beginnings of machine politics and patronage (for both rich and poor)
   (1) Northern model: urban machines based on providing services to both labor & business
   (2) Southern model: rural machines based on maintaining the economic supremacy of the
       landed gentry and racial (but not economic) supremacy of poor whites

2. Contentious and hard-fought national elections between evenly balanced parties and straight-ticket partisan voters

F. The interregnum: parties and the Civil War
   1. Aggravation of North/South rivalry present since colonial times
      a. Urban vs. rural
      b. Industrial vs. agrarian
      c. Immigration: religious & ethnic diversity
      d. Tariffs
      e. Slavery

2. Internal division in both parties
   a. Issues
      (1) Wilmot Proviso (1846) would have prohibited slavery in any territory acquired from
          Mexican War
      (2) Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) annulled provisions of the Missouri Compromise of 1820
   b. Results: abolitionist vs. pro-slavery wings in both parties
      (1) Conscience vs. cotton Whigs
      (2) Copperhead vs. loyal Democrats

3. Rise of third parties that largely merged in 1860:
   a. Free Soil
   b. American (Know-Nothings): Millard Fillmore (1856)
   c. Republican: John C. Freemont (1856)

4. Consequences for two-party system
   a. 1860-76: Republican dominance
   b. 1876-96: competitive balance nationally (solidly Democratic South vs. solidly Republican
              North)
   c. 1896: realignment of urban/industrial labor from independent swing voting to loyal Republican
         voters

G. The ‘coming’ of the (political) machine | Box 2.2, p. 59; Box 2.3, p. 60
   1. Actually, they were around
      a. Long before the Civil War (at least by the 1830s)
      b. In the rural South as well as the urban North (see section VII.A.4. above)
      c. Run by both Republican and Democratic party bosses

V. Parties “American Style”