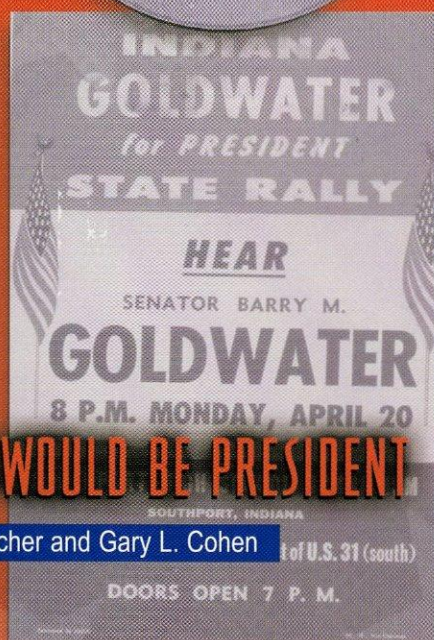
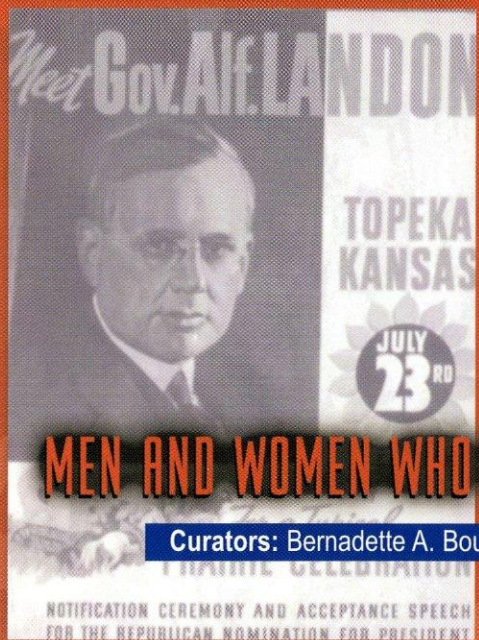
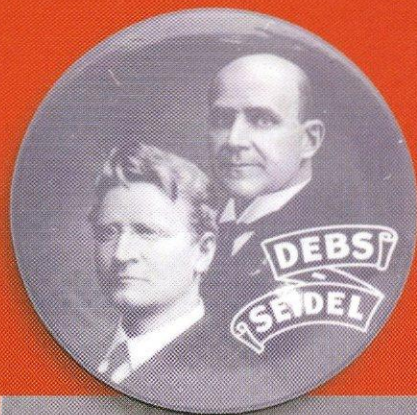
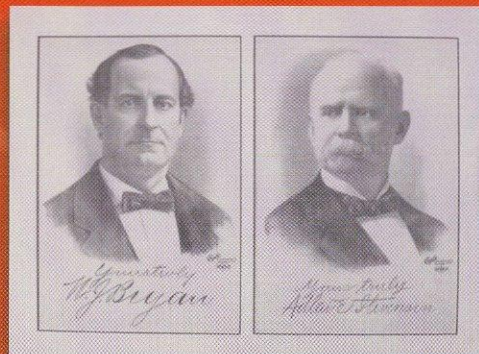


"BRIGHT STARS THROUGH THE PERILOUS FIGHT":



Curators: Bernadette A. Boucher and Gary L. Cohen

October 2, 2000—January 26, 2001

The Special Collections Department
The Gelman Library System
The George Washington University

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All memorabilia pictured in this catalog are from the Steven A. Cohen Political Campaign Collection. Memorabilia in the exhibit are also from the Cohen Collection, unless otherwise noted.

GAZING UPON "BRIGHT STARS"

Bernadette A. Boucher

One morning, in a classroom in southeastern Massachusetts, an enthusiastic History teacher snatched up a piece of chalk and wrote numbers on a blackboard: "Grant/Colfax 3,013,650" and, underneath, "Seymour/Blair 2,708,744." After double-checking the board against a scrap of paper in the palm of his hand, the teacher turned around to his class. He clapped his dusty hands together and said to the students, "alright—what do you think?"

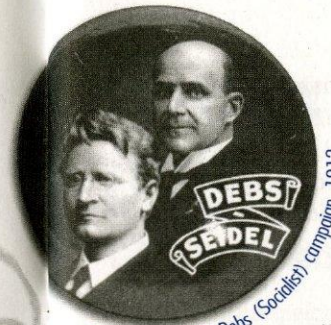
Mr. Taylor, my high school U.S. History teacher, always began class with a tally of votes from a presidential election. As the school year progressed and we covered mid- and late-20th-century elections, Mr. Taylor pulled clippings and items from his own "archives" and gingerly passed them around. His class was memorable because he encouraged us to think about, care about, and participate in our government. We gained a sense that someday, our own votes would be included in the numbers on Mr. Taylor's blackboard. We learned that voting was an important act of self-definition. In choosing a president, we would express our values, our fears, and our hopes for the future.

The importance of political participation became part of the core of my own beliefs, so I am delighted about working with Steven and Gary Cohen and their collection of political Americana. The memorabilia within the Cohen collection—buttons, quilts, bumper stickers, and other artifacts—have a profound human element. One can easily imagine William Jennings Bryan pinning a button in our exhibit to the lapel of a turn-of-the-century Nebraska farmer. The Cohens, who are aggressively developing a vast array of campaign items, are indeed "collecting history," as Gary Cohen often says.

It is an honor and thrill for me to be working with them on our first exhibit together.

Like many museum programs opening in the Fall of an election year, the goal of "Bright Stars Through The Perilous Fight" is to spark public and scholarly interest in presidential candidates and campaigns. However, "Brights Stars" does so with a twist: it focuses on candidates who LOST their elections.

This exhibit and the accompanying catalog aim not only to be pleasing souvenirs, but also to direct would-be



Button, Eugene V. Debs (Socialist) campaign, 1912

scholars to archival resources that can assist in multifaceted study of American presidential campaigns and political history.

There is a clear need to highlight men and women who did NOT win. While some, such as Henry Clay and Eugene V. Debs, make appearances in high school textbooks, others may not be recognized outside of their home states. In fact, a person seeking information about a losing presidential candidate may well run into the difficulty of finding a recently-published, scholarly discussion. While one can locate more than 200 books about Franklin

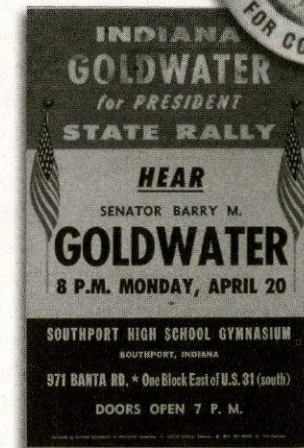
D. Roosevelt simply through searching Amazon.com®, a similar search yields only ONE book about Roosevelt's 1936 opponent, Alfred M. Landon (Donald R. McCoy's 1966 Landon of Kansas). Even a president that many Americans might want to forget, Warren G. Harding, is covered by no less than 10 biographies offered through Amazon.com® (and also by any reference book about the American presidency). Conversely, Harding's contender in the 1920 election, James M. Cox, is only covered by one 1986 book, James E. Cebula's James M. Cox: Journalist and Politician, available through the on-line book store.

The stories of losing presidential candidates point to key trends and issues in American political philosophy and history. Even major-party candidates who are said to have lost by a "landslide" (Horace Greeley in 1872, Barry M. Goldwater in 1964, and others) bespeak the dreams and fears of the millions of Americans who voted for them. Though modern, cosmopolitan Americans may want to forget the bigotry of candidates such as Millard Fillmore ("Know-Nothing" candidate, 1856), Fillmore and other unsettling candidates deserve a place as "Bright Stars" for the light that they shed on the United States' not-all-rosy past. As Leo P. Ribuffo describes in his essay, certain candidates set important precedents or raised significant issues during their campaigns. Numerous others went on to serve their states and country in vital ways. At minimum, the subjects of "Bright Stars Through The Perilous Fight" propel us to think. Perhaps, they also move us to be inspired.

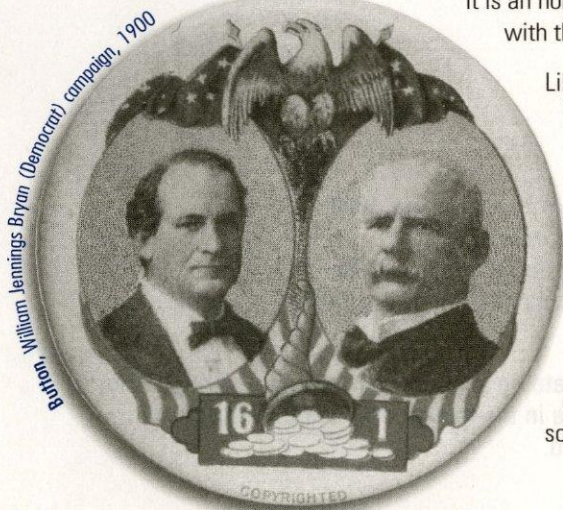
Welcome to The George Washington University, The Melvin Gelman Library, the Special Collections Department, and our exhibit!



Button, James M. Cox (Democrat) campaign, 1920



Poster, Barry M. Goldwater (Republican) campaign, 1964



Button, William Jennings Bryan (Democrat) campaign, 1900

Bernadette A. Boucher is Manuscripts/Collection Development Librarian for the Special Collections Department of The Gelman Library System. She is a 1997 graduate of the Columbian School of Arts and Sciences of The George Washington University (BA, History/English), and a 1999 graduate of the School of Communication, Information and Library Studies of Rutgers University (MLS). Her academic interests include the history of medicine, science and technology, particularly during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

"Bright Stars Through The Perilous Fight" is her first exhibit.

In addition to thanking the regular staff of the Special Collections Department and the Gelman Library System, Bernadette would like to recognize the extraordinary efforts of: Brendan Banks, Huiya (Jack) Xiao, Edward Keller II, Lyle Slovick and Jordan Zarembo. Without their research skills, attention to detail, and thoughtful commentary, this exhibit would not have come into being. Bernadette also commends Lina Alattar for the graphic design of this catalog.

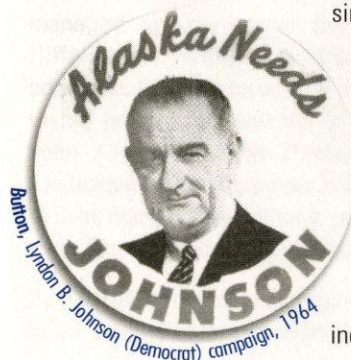
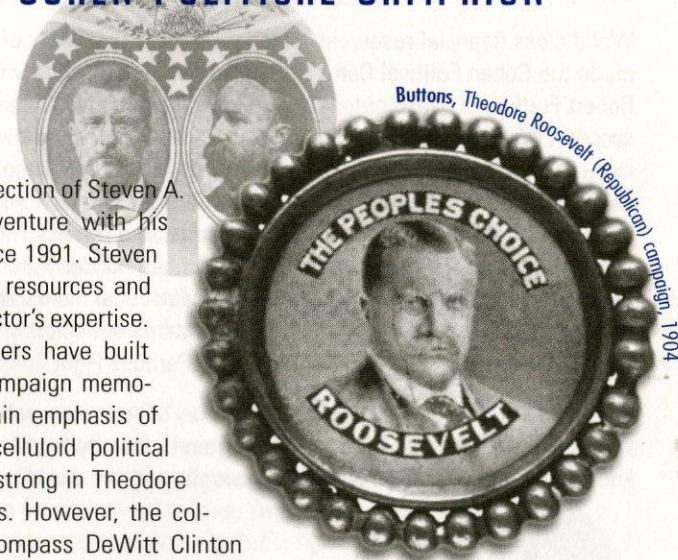
THE STEVEN A. COHEN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COLLECTION

Gary L. Cohen

The political campaign collection of Steven A. Cohen has been a joint venture with his brother, Gary L. Cohen, since 1991. Steven has provided the financial resources and Gary has provided the collector's expertise. Together, the Cohen brothers have built one of America's finest campaign memorabilia collections. The main emphasis of the collection has been celluloid political buttons, and it is notably strong in Theodore Roosevelt-related materials. However, the collection has grown to encompass DeWitt Clinton (1820) through Al Gore and George W. Bush (2000). Posters and textiles have been another favorite area of the Cohen brothers because of the ability to display them in Steven's office in Stamford, Connecticut.

Steven and Gary Cohen are natives of Great Neck, New York. Steven Cohen followed his grandparents' amateur interest in stocks, and became a professional stock trader. After graduating from the Wharton School of Business of the University of Pennsylvania in 1978, he went to work at Gruntal and Company. Steven's own firm, S.A.C. Capital Management, Inc. has been wildly successful, to the joy of Steven's wife Alex, their six children, and fans of the Cohen Collection!

Collecting campaign memorabilia has been Gary's passion since 1964, when the Great Neck Lyndon Johnson Headquarters chased after him after he grabbed a few buttons. Realizing that the buttons must be valuable, a life-long interest was ignited. Throughout his educational career at Great Neck North High School (class of 1973) and S.U.C. of New York at Brockport (BA, Political Science, 1976), collecting political buttons was a way of life for Gary. This avid pursuit continued through Gary's professional careers in the garment trade, and real estate and mortgage sales industries. Gary is married to the former Lisa Black of Far



Rockaway, New York, and they have one child, Jeffrey—not collecting political items yet, but he still has time!

World class financial resources joined with thirty-five years of collecting expertise has made the Cohen Political Campaign Collection a reality. Early on, Gary sought a mentor, Robert Fratkin, of Washington, D.C., whose insights have been vital to the collection's success. Waking up at 4:00 a.m. for visits to flea markets all over the United States, trading with hundreds of collectors, and other hard work has been critical toward building the collection. Networking with major dealers such as Tom Slater of Indianapolis, Indiana, Rex Stark of Gardner, Massachusetts, and David and Janice Frent of Belmar, New Jersey has also been important. The Cohen brothers are also committed to promoting history and education through the use of political memorabilia, by participating in APIC (the 4,000-member American Political Items Collectors group), and by lending items for this exhibit, "Brights Stars Through The Perilous Fight."

The Cohen brothers are collecting the history of American political campaigns, and would like to thank The George Washington University for the opportunity to share their knowledge and collection with the University and the world.

WINNING WASN'T THE ONLY THING

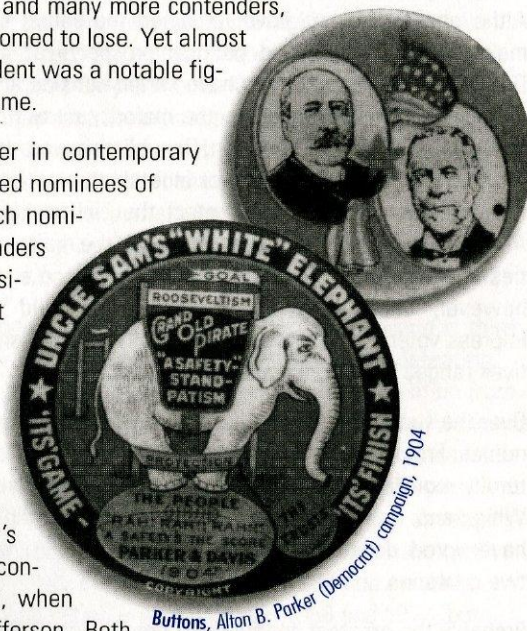
Leo P. Ribuffo

Experts on success from self-improvement author Dale Carnegie to football coach Vince Lombardi testify to the American love of winners. As Lombardi famously observed, "Winning isn't everything. It's the ONLY thing." Nowhere is this national trait more evident than in our treatment of unsuccessful presidential candidates. Candidates who look like "losers" during a campaign risk public ridicule and condescending media coverage that can turn this "losing" image into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Even presidents defeated for re-election are viewed in the immediate aftermath with such scorn and pity that we tend to forget their earlier triumphs.

Although few Americans remember the Rufus Kings, James G. Birneys and Alton Parkers of our political history, this focus on winners is misleading as well as harsh. Since there have been only forty-one presidents and many more contenders, most aspirants for the office were doomed to lose. Yet almost everyone who seriously ran for president was a notable figure in his (or occasionally) her own time.

The candidates most likely to linger in contemporary memory were at minimum the honored nominees of major political parties. Ironically, such nominations would have worried the founders of the republic, who expected presidents to stand above political tumult and often denounced parties as dangerously divisive "factions." But even George Washington, who had been chosen unanimously by the electoral college in 1789, barely managed to stay above the fray. Differences within Washington's administration produced the first contested presidential election in 1796, when John Adams defeated Thomas Jefferson. Both candidates built rudimentary political parties. Adams' Federalists, terminally afflicted with elitism, disappeared within a generation. Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans still survive, much transformed, as the Democratic party.

By the 1840s, personal ambitions, disputes over government policy, and social divisions in the country at large had produced a second two-party system. Spirited rivalry between



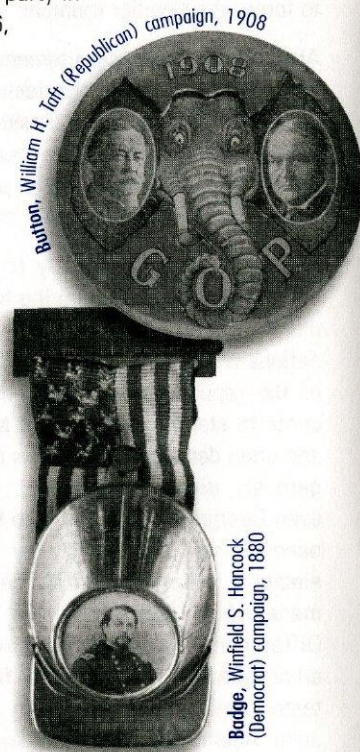
Buttons, Alton B. Parker (Democrat) campaign, 1904

the political parties generated the colorful ribbons, broadsides, and buttons that are the focus of this exhibit. The Democrats, led by Andrew Jackson and his ideological heirs, favored both a strong presidency and frugal, limited government. The Whigs, a coalition of “King Andrew’s” opponents, advocated federal spending to build the national infrastructure as well as local laws to enforce personal morality. Particularly from an international perspective, the differences were not stark. With the adoption of universal white manhood suffrage and a direct vote for presidential electors in state after state, all office seekers began to celebrate democracy and the “self-made man.” Furthermore, turning on its head the founders’ fear of factions, both Democratic and Whig leaders celebrated a vigorous two party system as the best mechanism for energizing democracy. Perhaps most important, both sides implicitly agreed to evade the foremost national issue—slavery. That irrepressible issue nonetheless soon destroyed the Whigs and joined with dissident Democrats to found the Republican party in principled opposition to the spread of slavery. Since 1856, only Republican and Democratic nominees have stood a real chance of election.

Although their names have remained the same, the makeup, worldviews, and political prospects of the Democrats and Republicans have varied considerably during the last 144 years. As the majority party from 1860 until the Great Depression, Republicans were more inclined than Democrats to favor federal intervention to stabilize the economy and protect the civil rights of African-Americans. Since the New Deal, the major parties have switched sides on these issues. Once again, however, the magnitude of difference would not impress voters in countries whose elected representatives ranged from Communists to monarchists.

Over the years, there have also been noteworthy continuities. From the outset, the Democrats have been culturally more diverse and secular than their Federalist, Whig, and Republican adversaries. Roman Catholics have voted disproportionately Democratic for almost two centuries.

Probably the greatest continuity in presidential politics has been the ingenuity displayed by candidates and their supporters. Until the early 1900s, open campaigning by nominees was usually regarded as slightly undignified. Even so, behind-the-scenes machinations and covert electioneering were never absent. John Adams, unsuccessfully seeking a second term in 1800, conducted the first “apolitical” campaign tour, highlighted by a call on the recently widowed Martha Washington.



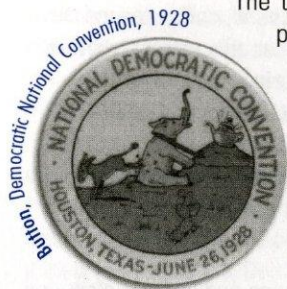
Pundits who marvel in this election year that Al Gore, George Bush, Ralph Nader and Pat Buchanan have established web sites should restrain their surprise. Presidential candidates quickly applied and adapted a steady supply of technological innovations that we now too casually forget were groundbreaking for the time: the railroad, telegraph, telephone, phonograph, radio, movies, television, and statistically sound, computerized polling. Although no Pullman car or old-fashioned IBM card graces this exhibit, visitors can glean some sense of the changing technology of electioneering. Button materials evolve from ribbon through tin and celluloid through Bakelite to plastic. Campaign posters reflect improving graphics technology as well as shifts in bed rock American expectations of their leaders. Whereas the images of earliest candidates recall classical heroes, their successors look increasingly human and, in recent times, buoyantly optimistic rather than earnest.

The significant men and women who lost presidential nominations and general elections (despite their energy and ingenuity) fall into four categories. The first consists of ex-winners: presidents defeated for re-election. Jimmy Carter is now routinely hailed as the “best ex-president” in recognition of his nonpartisan humanitarianism. Yet nonpartisan service has been the exception rather than the rule, and some highly partisan former presidents were historically more significant than Carter. Indeed, several tried to convince their parties to nominate them again. Only Democrat Grover Cleveland, who was defeated for re-election in 1888, got this shot at vindication and he won a second term in 1892. Other candidates served their country outside of the Executive Office. Following his defeat in 1828, John Quincy Adams served with distinction in the House of Representatives and died a national symbol of anti-slavery sentiment. After his loss in 1912, William Howard Taft maneuvered for an appointment as Chief Justice of the United States, a position he achieved when the Republicans returned to power in 1921.

The next group consists of losing candidates who became winners on a second or third try. This category includes four of our most consequential presidents. After defeating John Adams in 1800, Thomas Jefferson presided over the first peaceful transition from one party to another—much to the relief and somewhat to the surprise of his fellow citizens. Andrew Jackson, who especially savored his victory over John Quincy Adams in 1828, permanently strengthened the executive office. Jackson proclaimed the president the only direct representative of all the people and assumed the prerogative of vetoing any legislation he considered unwise even if other branches of government thought it constitutional. Although Republicans Richard Nixon (defeated in 1960 and elected in 1968 and 1972) and Ronald Reagan (failed to win nomination in 1968 and 1976, but elected in 1980) remain as controversial as the tumultuous times that propelled them to the White House, no one can deny their historical importance. On the one hand, critics emphasize Nixon’s unnecessary continuation of the Vietnam War during his first term and the Watergate scandal that prematurely ended his second. On the other, Nixon’s advocates stress his realistic grasp of superpower relations as well as his willingness to ride the tide of domestic reform that began during the early 1960s. Reagan, too, was more complicated than friends and foes recognized. While reorienting domestic politics

Poster, Richard Nixon (Republican) campaign, n.d.

away from expansion of the welfare state, he nevertheless left most of the New Deal legacy intact. Similarly, though Reagan began his presidency as an avid anti-Communist, his flexible diplomacy with the Soviet Union helped to end the Cold War peacefully.

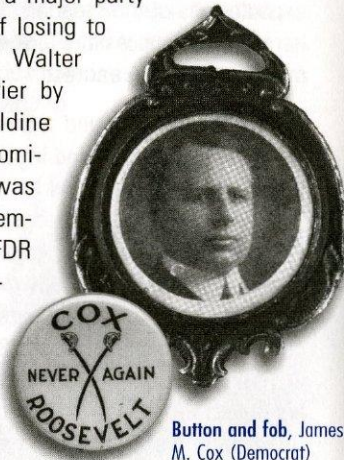


The third group includes major party nominees who set important precedents or raised significant issues during their unsuccessful campaigns and/or served in major positions afterwards. Al Smith never again held high office after losing to Republican Herbert Hoover in 1928. Smith nonetheless showed that a Catholic could win at least a major party nomination. In the course of losing to President Reagan in 1984, Walter Mondale broke another barrier by choosing a woman, Geraldine Ferraro, as the vice presidential nominee. Democrat James Cox, who was

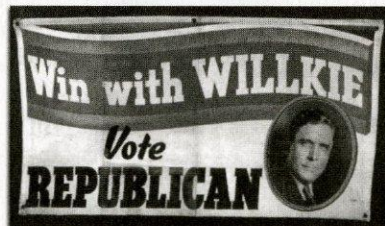
swamped by Warren Harding in 1920, also should be remembered for his running mate, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Young FDR used this opportunity to assemble a national political network that put him in the White House thirteen years later.

Three losers substantially re-directed the ideological course of their respective parties and thus, indirectly, the whole nation. Between 1896 and 1908, while losing twice to William McKinley and once to William Howard Taft, William Jennings Bryan acted as harbinger of many Progressive Era reforms. Running unsuccessfully against FDR in 1940, Wendell Willkie set a precedent for bipartisan foreign policy in times of great crisis and nudged the Republicans toward internationalism. In 1964 Republican Barry Goldwater became the first major party candidate propelled to the nomination by a grassroots insurgency. Although Goldwater lost overwhelmingly to President Lyndon Johnson, the movement he led ultimately moved the Republicans rightward. George McGovern, who lost to President Nixon in 1972, was as unsuccessful as Goldwater on election day and ideologically less influential in the long run. Even so, he raised insightful questions about the abuse of presidential power and excessive American commitments abroad.

Four of the greatest senators in U. S. history failed repeatedly to win the White House. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster lost as Whigs during the nineteenth century; Robert LaFollette and Robert Taft fell short of Republican nominations in the twentieth. After being overwhelmed by Calvin Coolidge in 1924, Democrat John W. Davis resumed his career as the country's fore-



Button and fob, James M. Cox (Democrat) campaign, 1920



Poster, Wendell L. Willkie (Republican) campaign, 1940

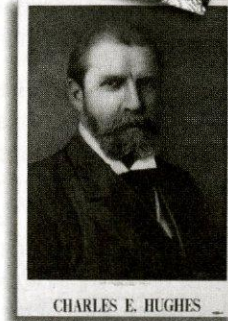
most constitutional lawyer. Four New York governors have won the presidency, but many more have tried and failed. Three of the latter contingent remained particularly important public figures. DeWitt Clinton, an apostate Jeffersonian who lost to James Madison in 1812, became the moving force behind the Erie Canal, an economic boon and technological wonder of the early nineteenth century. Republican Charles Evans Hughes, who almost defeated President Woodrow Wilson in 1916, was subsequently appointed secretary of state and Chief Justice. Thomas Dewey deserves better than his lingering reputation as an inept campaigner overtaken by President Harry Truman in 1948. Dewey not only served another six years as governor of New York, but also helped to nominate Dwight D Eisenhower in 1952.

The final group consists of third and fourth party nominees whose chances of winning were negligible. These candidates still deserve a place in this exhibit and in our memories. They show that American voters have never fully accepted what major party politicians since the 1840s have called "our great two party system." Indeed, the system has been challenged at least once each generation by a significant third party or independent candidate. Frequently the parties themselves were ephemeral creations of charismatic leaders. Sometimes, however, they were genuine popular movements with an organizational base. In either case, third party candidates occasionally affected the election results. More often, they addressed volatile issues, whether for good or for ill, that the two major parties were trying to ignore or tame.

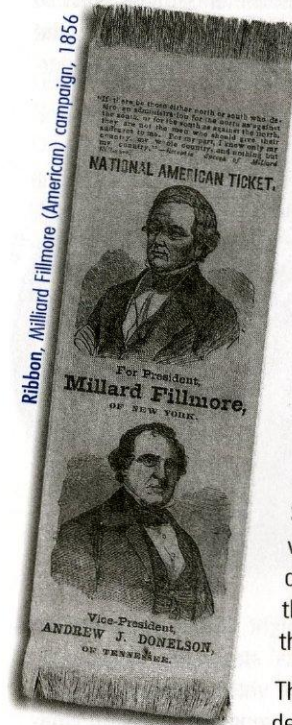
The roster of minor party nominees includes three former presidents. Democrat Martin Van Buren, who had been defeated for re-election in 1840, led the Free Soil ticket in 1848 to oppose the expansion of slavery. In 1856, Millard Fillmore accepted the nomination of the American (or Know-Nothing) party. Fillmore tried to encourage national unity as the United States slid toward civil war but also placed the imprimatur of a former president on anti-Catholic bigotry while doing so. Theodore Roosevelt retired from the presidency undefeated in 1909, but disappointed with his hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft, ran as the nominee of his own ephemeral Progressive party in 1912. Roosevelt beat Taft and still holds the record for a third party nominee with 27.5% of the vote. By splitting the Republicans, however, he brought about the election of Woodrow Wilson.



Quilt, Henry Clay (Whig) campaign, 1844



Portrait, Charles E. Hughes (Republican) campaign, 1916



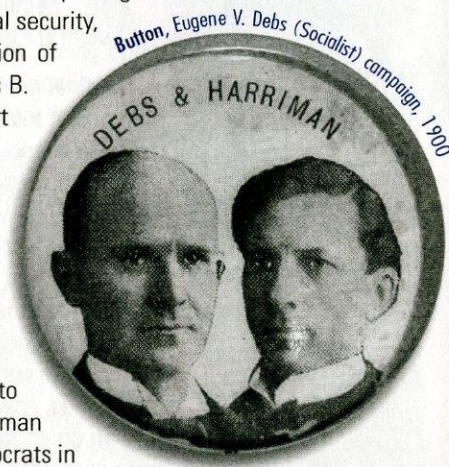
Ribbon, Millard Fillmore (American) campaign, 1856

Nineteen twelve was the last time a third party nominee affected the outcome. However, it was not the first time. In 1844, James G. Birney of the militantly anti-slavery Liberty party won sufficient support from "conscience Whigs" to upset Henry Clay's last run for the presidency. In 1884, Prohibition nominee John Pierce St. John drew enough votes from Republican James G. Blaine to elect Democrat Grover Cleveland. Opposition to alcohol was only part of St. John's appeal. The Prohibitionists were a broad reform party committed, among other issues, to voting rights for African-Americans and women. Even further ahead of the times on these matters, feminist Victoria Woodhull in 1872 became the first woman presidential candidate and chose the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass as her running mate.

From the 1870s to the 1930s, particularly during the frequent economic slumps, nominees of third parties with an organizational base thought that their movements might grow to supplant the Democrats or Republicans, much as the Republicans had superceded the Whigs. These crusaders turned out to be wrong. They also endured much ridicule and persecution for advocating "unAmerican" ideas. Yet passage of measures now taken for granted, including social security, unemployment insurance, and the direct election of senators, owed much to the agitation of James B. Weaver, the Populist candidate in 1892; Robert LaFollette, the Republican turned Progressive in 1924; and Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas, the frequent Socialist nominees.

Since the 1940s, third and fourth party nominees have run primarily to highlight issues or divert the course of the major parties, but several of them hoped at the same time to win enough electoral votes to throw the decision into the House of Representatives. President Truman faced two such challenges from defecting Democrats in 1948. To Truman's left, a new Progressive party nominated Henry Wallace, the first prominent Cold War dove. To Truman's right, Strom Thurmond led the States Rights (or "Dixiecrat") party to protest the Democrats' strong civil rights platform. Although both minor parties received roughly 2.4% of the vote, Thurmond carried four southern states and could claim a victory of sorts. Fearing a renewed Dixiecrat challenge, the Democratic nominees distanced themselves from the civil rights movement during the next three elections. Conversely, Henry Wallace's skeptical questions about Cold War foreign policy were driven from mainstream debate until the 1960s.

When President Johnson unambiguously supported civil rights legislation, George Wallace emerged as the personification of the white "backlash," challenged LBJ in the 1964 Democratic primaries, and then ran on his own American Independent party line in 1968.



Wallace's 39 electoral votes in 1968 were insufficient to throw the election into the House, where he had hoped to play the role of king maker, but they had an impact. Much of the dark side of the Nixon administration derived from Nixon's efforts to win over Wallace's constituency. In calmer times Ross Perot's strong candidacy on the Reform party line affected government policy too. During the 1992 campaign, Perot presented the federal budget deficit as an extraordinary national problem. Seeking to capture Perot's constituency, President Bill Clinton shifted his economic focus from relieving unemployment to balancing the budget.

At this point, we cannot predict the winner of the current presidential campaign, the future prospects of the losers, or the role of the minor parties in the results. Yet one prophecy seems irrefutable. Despite the story told here, the losing major-party nominee will derive little immediate comfort from coming up short at the ballot box. "Bright Stars Through The Perilous Fight" shows that winning WASN'T, and ISN'T, the only thing.

LEO P. RIBUFFO (A. B. Rutgers, 1966; Ph. D. Yale, 1976) is Society of the Cincinnati George Washington Distinguished Professor of History at The George Washington University. His publications include Right Center Left: Essays in American History (1992) and The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War (1983), which won the Organization of American Historians Merle Curti Prize as the best book in American intellectual history for 1983-84. Ribuffo has contributed reviews and essays to many newspapers and magazines, including Dissent, Christian Century, New York Newsday, and the Philadelphia Inquirer.

Outside of the world of print, he has commented on the presidency and contemporary politics for the History Channel, CNN, CSPAN, MSNBC, CNBC, and CBS radio and television.

SOME UNITED STATES ELECTION AND PRESIDENTIAL MILESTONES, 1789-1996

1796 John Adams, the Federalist candidate of 1796, is the first candidate to win a two-party election, defeating Democratic-Republican candidate Thomas Jefferson. According to the provisions of the Constitution, Jefferson is thus elected vice-president.

With George Washington's famous "Farewell Address," the tradition of the two-term president is begun. Franklin D. Roosevelt is the only American president to break this tradition, winning four consecutive presidential elections (1932/1936/1940/1944). In 1951, the 22nd Constitutional Amendment limits U.S. presidents to two full terms in office.

1800 Congressional party caucuses are used for the first time to nominate presidential candidates. "King Caucus" dominates the nomination of presidential candidates until the 1820s.

Presidential campaign songs are first used to excite and sway voters.

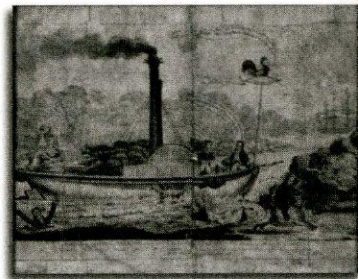
Thomas Jefferson writes the first (unofficial) party platform, for the Democratic-Republican party.

The inauguration of John Adams is the first to be held in the new federal capital, Washington, D.C..

1804 As a result of the passage of the 12th Amendment, the president and vice-president are chosen separately by electors. In previous elections, there was no distinction between presidential and vice-presidential candidates: the candidate receiving the most votes simply became president, and the candidate receiving the second most votes became vice-president.

1808 The first inaugural ball is held, welcoming President James Madison to the White House.

1824 Records of the popular vote are kept for the first time. 108,740 Americans vote for John Quincy Adams; 153,544 vote for Andrew Jackson; 47,136 vote for Henry Clay; and 46,618 vote for William H. Crawford.



Cartoon Depicting Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams, 1824 or 1828

John Quincy Adams is made president by the vote of the electoral college, despite the fact that Andrew Jackson received more popular votes. As a result, Andrew Jackson and the Democratic-Republican party launch the first real election "campaign," trying to influence voters on a mass scale. The earliest presidential campaign-related memorabilia date from this period. The United States presidential campaign begins to become a form of entertainment, with music, rallies and parades.

1828 The first political lithographs (printed images) of presidential candidates appear.

1832 The first party nominating conventions are held in Baltimore. In September 1831, the Anti-Mason party nominates William Wirt for president, and in December, the National Republicans nominate Henry Clay. The Democrats nominate President Andrew Jackson for re-election.

1840 The first campaign newspapers with nation-wide circulation appear: The Log Cabin (Whig) and the Extra Globe (Democratic).

1844 The first "dark horse" (politically unknown) candidate, James K. Polk, runs for and wins the presidential election. Previously, all presidential candidates had been well-known statesmen.

1848 "Stump-speaking" (standing upon a tree stump and delivering a political speech) begins to become very popular.

1856 The Republican Party (formed in Ripon, Wisconsin in 1854) adopts its first national platform and candidates. The Republicans nominate John C. Frémont for president and William L. Dayton for vice-president.

1860 The presidential election of 1860 is the last election in which a state (South Carolina) has no popular voting for president. In the earliest elections, the electoral college decided the winner, and the popular vote was not recorded. Since 1876, the electoral college has not elected a president who failed to win the popular vote.

1868 Suffragette Susan B. Anthony asks the Democratic National Convention to support women's right to vote. She is laughed into silence.

Former African-American slaves vote for the first time. They vote overwhelmingly Republican, for Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax.

"Waving the bloody shirt," voting according to which side one fought for during the Civil War, becomes dominant voting behavior among Americans. Many Southerners vote Democratic, while many Northeasterners and Midwesterners



vote Republican. From the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, through the end of William H. Taft's term as president (1913), Republicans occupy the White House all but 8 years.

1872 Victoria C. Woodhull is nominated for president by the Equal Rights party. She is the first American woman to seek the presidency.

Susan B. Anthony attempts to cast women's first vote in a national election. She is arrested by New York City police and fined \$100.

1876 The merchandising of political candidates is becoming popular. Images of presidential candidates can or will be found on cigar boxes, beer steins, soaps, and other consumer items.

The donkey and elephant become widely-used symbols for the Democratic and Republican parties, after political cartoons drawn by Thomas Nast.

1888 The "Australian" (secret) ballot is used for the first time.

Frederick Douglass becomes the first African-American to receive a vote for the presidential nomination from a major party (Republican). In 1872, Douglass had been the Equal Rights party nominee for vice-president.

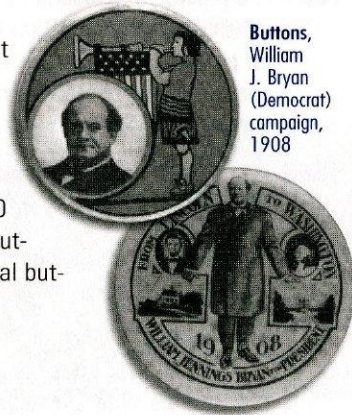
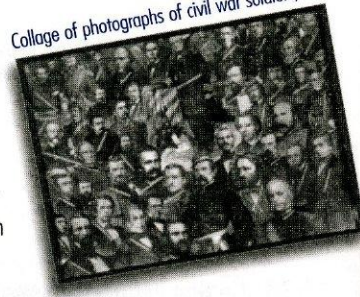
1892 The People's (Populist) party is the first third-party to receive more than 1 million popular votes. Its candidates, James B. Weaver and James G. Field, also win 22 electoral college votes, all from Western states.

A mechanical voting machine, built by Jacob H. Myers, is used for the first time.

1896 The Democratic Party candidate, William J. Bryan, conducts the first "whistle-stop" campaign, touring the United States by railroad and delivering political orations from the rear platform of the train.

Amanda M. Lougee of Boston is granted a patent for a clothing button covered by a thin sheet of clear celluloid (1893). Whitehead and Hoag Company of Newark, New Jersey acquire her patent, and the manufacture of modern political buttons begins. In 1896 alone, more than 1000 different varieties of presidential campaign buttons are made. This begins the heyday of political buttons as campaign items.

Collage of photographs of civil war soldiers, n.d.



Buttons, William J. Bryan (Democrat) campaign, 1908

1900 The election of 1900 is the last election where voter participation is more than 70%. After 1900, voter participation in presidential elections falls steadily. In 1996, only 49.1% of Americans of voting age cast ballots in the presidential election.

1912 The first presidential primary elections are held.

1920 As a result of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, American women are able to cast votes throughout the United States for the first time. They vote overwhelmingly Republican.

1924 A national convention (the Republican party convention) is broadcast over the radio for the first time. The advent of radio use in political campaigning decreases the importance of "stumping" and increases the need for political fund raising. Public relations experts begin to become more important than party professionals in making and selling a candidate's "image."

1932 Voter preference polls begin to become popular in gauging (and influencing?) the outcome of elections.

1936 Franklin D. Roosevelt is the first president to be inaugurated in January, rather than March, due to the provisions of the 20th Amendment.

1940 Republicans hold the first televised national convention.

1944 In *Smith vs. Allwright*, the United States Supreme Court rules that "white primaries" are illegal. Previously, political parties could exclude African-Americans, thus barring their participation in primary elections, where affiliation with a political party is required.

1948 Incumbent president Harry S. Truman wins the biggest upset in American political history, defeating Republican Thomas E. Dewey who was widely endorsed and thought to be a sure winner. Dewey is said to have "snatched defeat out of the jaws of victory."

1952 For the first time, presidential candidates try to woo voters through television advertisements.

Split-ticket voting (voting for candidates from different parties in national, state and local elections) starts to become common among American voters.

1956 A candidate's strong showing in primary elections is becoming critical in ensuring nomination at the party national convention.

By 1956, blocks of voters have realigned their party preference. The year 1956 marks the last substantial vote of African-Americans for the Republican party and the last substantial vote of farmers for the Democratic party.



Chicago Daily Tribune headline, 1948

1960 The first televised presidential debates are held.

Richard M. Nixon is the first presidential candidate to campaign in all 50 states. Nixon loses against Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy by fewer than 120,000 votes.

1964 National party conventions become a popular site for political and social protest.

The 24th Amendment to the Constitution abolishes the poll tax, which was often used to bar African-Americans from voting. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 offers further protection to African-American voters.

1972 The 26th Amendment (1971) lowers the legal voting age from 21 to 18 throughout the United States.

Shirley Chisholm is the first black woman to declare herself a presidential candidate.

More and more American voters begin to declare themselves as "Independents," rather than "Democrats" or "Republicans."

1984 Geraldine Ferraro is the first woman to appear on a major party ticket (Democrat). She runs for vice-president, with the Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale.

1992 H. Ross Perot captures 18.9% of the popular vote, the most votes won by an independent American presidential candidate.

1996 The Southern states are established as a Republican stronghold, along with states in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain areas. The Northeastern, Midwestern, and Pacific Coast states are Democratic. This marks a 180-degree realignment from American political interests of the previous century, when Republicans were concentrated among capitalists of the Northeast, and Democrats where prominent in Southern and Western farmlands.

Sources:

Fischer, Roger A. Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too: The Material Culture of American Presidential Campaigns, 1828-1984. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Moore, John L. Elections A to Z. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1999.

Shields-West, Eileen. World Almanac of Presidential Campaigns. New York: World Almanac, 1992.

VOTER TURNOUT IN UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1824-1996*

| Year | % | Year | % | Year | % | Year | % |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1824 | 26.9 | 1868 | 78.1 | 1912 | 58.8 | 1956 | 60.6 |
| 1828 | 57.6 | 1872 | 71.3 | 1916 | 61.6 | 1960 | 64.0 |
| 1832 | 55.4 | 1876 | 81.8 | 1920 | 49.2 | 1964 | 61.7 |
| 1836 | 57.8 | 1880 | 79.4 | 1924 | 48.9 | 1968 | 60.6 |
| 1840 | 80.2 | 1884 | 77.5 | 1928 | 56.9 | 1972 | 55.2 |
| 1844 | 78.9 | 1888 | 79.3 | 1932 | 56.9 | 1976 | 53.5 |
| 1848 | 72.9 | 1892 | 74.7 | 1936 | 61.0 | 1980 | 52.6 |
| 1852 | 69.6 | 1896 | 79.3 | 1940 | 62.5 | 1984 | 53.3 |
| 1856 | 78.9 | 1900 | 73.2 | 1944 | 55.9 | 1988 | 50.1 |
| 1860 | 81.2 | 1904 | 65.2 | 1948 | 53.0 | 1992 | 55.2 |
| 1864 | 73.8 | 1908 | 65.4 | 1952 | 63.3 | 1996 | 49.1 |

*Figures for 1824 are the earliest available.

Note: 1876, 1900, and 1968 mark the last years when voter turnout reached 80%, 70% and 60%, respectively.

Source:

Ragsdale, Lyn. Vital Statistics on the Presidency: Washington to Clinton. (Rev. ed.) Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1998.

Burton, William Jennings Bryan (Democrat) campaign, 1900

UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1789-1996

| Year | Candidates | Party | Popular Vote | Electoral College Vote |
|-------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1789 | George Washington | Federalist | | 69 |
| | John Adams | Federalist | | 34 |
| | John Jay | | | 9 |
| | others | | | 26 |
| 1792 | George Washington | Federalist | | 132 |
| | John Adams | Federalist | | 77 |
| | George W. Clinton | | | 50 |
| | others | | | 5 |
| 1796 | John Adams | Federalist | | 71 |
| | Thomas Jefferson | Democratic-Republican | | 68 |
| | Thomas Pinckney | | | 59 |
| | Aaron Burr | | | 30 |
| | others | | | 48 |
| 1800 | Thomas Jefferson | Democratic-Republican | | 73 |
| | Aaron Burr | Democratic-Republican | | 73 |
| | John Adams | Federalist | | 65 |
| | Charles C. Pinckney | Federalist | | 64 |
| | others | | | 1 |
| 1804 | Thomas Jefferson/ George W. Clinton | Democratic-Republican | | 162 |
| | Charles C. Pinckney/ Rufus King | Federalist | | 14 |
| | James Madison/ George W. Clinton | Democratic-Republican | | 122 |
| | Charles C. Pinckney/ Rufus King | Federalist | | 47 |
| | others | | | 6 |
| 1812 | James Madison/ Elbridge Gerry | Democratic-Republican | | 128 |
| | DeWitt Clinton/ Jared Ingersoll | Federalist | | 89 |
| | James Monroe/ Daniel D. Tompkins | Democratic-Republican | | 183 |
| 1816 | Rufus King/ John Howard | Federalist | | 34 |
| | James Monroe/ Daniel D. Tompkins | Democratic-Republican | | 231 |
| 1824 | John Quincy Adams/ John C. Calhoun | Democratic-Republican | 113,122 (30.9%) | 99 |
| | Andrew Jackson/ Nathan Sanford | Democratic-Republican | 151,271 (41.3%) | 84 |
| | William H. Crawford | Democratic-Republican | 40,856 (11.2%) | 41 |
| | Henry Clay | Democratic-Republican | 47,531 (13.0%) | 37 |
| | others | | 13,053 (3.6%) | |

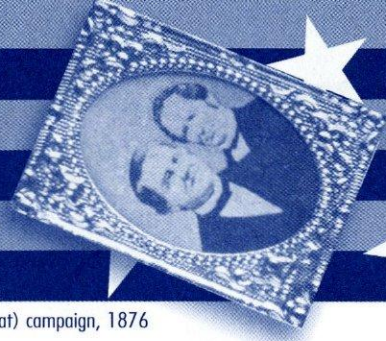
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|-------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1828 | Andrew Jackson/ John C. Calhoun | Democratic-Republican | 642,553 (56.0%) | 178 |
| | John Quincy Adams/ Richard Rush others | National Republican | 500,897 (43.6%) 4,568 (0.4%) | 83 |
| 1832 | Andrew Jackson/ Martin Van Buren | Democrat | 701,780 (54.2%) | 219 |
| | Henry Clay/ John Sargeant William Wirt/ Amos Ellmaker others | National Republican Anti-Mason | 484,205 (37.4%) 100,715 (7.8%) 7,273 (0.6%) | 49 7 11 |
| 1836 | Martin Van Buren/ Richard M. Johnson William H. Harrison/ Francis Granger Hugh L. White Daniel Webster others | Democrat Whig Whig Whig | 764,176 (50.8%) 550,816 (36.6%) 146,107 (9.7%) 41,201 (2.7%) 1,234 (0.1%) | 170 73 26 14 11 |
| 1840 | William H. Harrison/ John Tyler Martin Van Buren/ Richard M. Johnson James G. Birney/ Thomas Earle others | Whig Democrat Liberty | 1,275,390 (52.9%) 1,128,854 (46.8%) 6,797 (0.3%) 767 (0.0%) | 234 60 |

| | | | | |
|-------------|---|------------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1844 | James K. Polk/ George M. Dallas Henry Clay/ Theodore Frelinghuysen James G. Birney/ Thomas Morris others | Democrat Whig Liberty | 1,339,494 (49.5%) 1,300,004 (48.1%) 62,103 (2.3%) 2,058 (0.1%) | 170 105 |
| 1848 | Zachary Taylor/ Millard Fillmore Lewis Cass/ William O. Butler Martin Van Buren/ Charles F. Adams others | Whig Democrat Free Soil | 1,361,393 (47.3%) 1,223,460 (42.5%) 291,263 (10.1%) 2,830 (0.1%) | 163 127 |
| 1852 | Franklin Pierce/ William R. King Winfield Scott/ William A. Graham John P. Hale/ George W. Julian others | Democrat Whig Free Soil | 1,607,510 (50.8%) 1,386,942 (43.9%) 155,210 (4.9%) 12,168 (0.4%) | 254 42 |
| 1856 | James Buchanan/ John C. Breckinridge John C. Frémont/ William L. Dayton Millard Fillmore/ Andrew J. Donelson others | Democrat Republican American | 1,836,072 (45.3%) 1,342,345 (33.1%) 873,053 (21.5%) 3,177 (0.1%) | 174 114 8 |

| | | | | |
|-------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| 1860 | Abraham Lincoln/ Hannibal Hamlin | Republican | 1,865,908 (39.9%) | 180 |
| | Stephen A. Douglas/ Herschel V. Johnson | Democrat | 1,380,202 (29.5%) | 12 |
| | John C. Breckinridge/ Joseph Lane | Southern Democrat | 849,019 (18.1%) | 72 |
| | John Bell/ Edward Everett | Constitutional Union | 590,901 (12.6%) 531 (0.3%) | 39 |
| | others | | | |
| 1864 | Abraham Lincoln/ Andrew Johnson | Republican | 2,218,388 (55.0%) | 212 |
| | George B. McClellan/ George H. Pendleton | Democrat | 1,812,807 (45.0%) 692 (3.1%) | 21 |
| | others | | | |
| 1868 | Ulysses S. Grant/ Schuyler Colfax | Republican | 3,013,650 (52.7%) | 214 |
| | Horatio Seymour/ Francis P. Blair Jr. | Democrat | 2,708,744 (47.3%) 46 (0.0%) | 80 |
| | others | | | |
| 1872 | Ulysses S. Grant/ Henry Wilson | Republican | 3,598,235 (55.6%) | 286 |
| | Horace Greeley/ B. Gratz Brown | Liberal Republican and Democrat | 2,834,761 (43.8%) | |
| | Charles O'Connor/ John Q. Adams | Straight-Out Democrat | 18,602 (0.3%) 16,081 (0.3%) | |
| | others | | | |

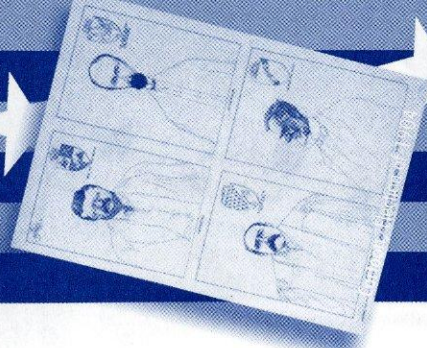
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|-------------|--|-------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| 1876 | Rutherford B. Hayes/ William A. Wheeler | Republican | 4,034,311 (48.0%) | 185 |
| | Samuel J. Tilden/ Thomas A. Hendricks | Democrat | 4,288,546 (51.0%) | 184 |
| | Peter Cooper/ Samuel F. Cary | Greenback | 75,973 (0.9%) 14,271 (0.2%) | |
| | others | | | |
| 1880 | James A. Garfield/ Chester A. Arthur | Republican | 4,446,158 (48.3%) | 214 |
| | Winfield S. Hancock/ William H. English | Democrat | 4,444,260 (48.3%) | 155 |
| | James B. Weaver/ Benjamin J. Chambers | Greenback | 305,997 (3.3%) 14,005 (0.2%) | |
| | others | | | |
| 1884 | Grover Cleveland/ Thomas A. Hendricks | Democrat | 4,874,621 (48.5%) | 219 |
| | James G. Blaine/ John A. Logan | Republican | 4,848,936 (48.2%) | 182 |
| | Benjamin F. Butler/ Absolom M. West | Greenback | 175,096 (1.7%) | |
| | John P. St. John/ William Daniel | Prohibition | 147,482 (1.5%) 3,619 (0.0%) | |
| | others | | | |

Pin, Samuel J. Tilden (Democrat) campaign, 1876



| | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| 1888 | Benjamin Harrison/ Levi P. Morton | Republican | 5,443,892 (47.8%) | 233 |
| | Grover Cleveland/ Allen G. Thurman | Democrat | 5,534,488 (48.6%) | 168 |
| | Clinton B. Fisk/ John A. Brooks | Prohibition | 249,819 (2.2%) | |
| | Alson J. Streeter/ Charles E. Cunningham others | Union Labor | 146,602 (1.3%) 8,519 (0.1%) | |
| 1892 | Grover Cleveland/ Adlai E. Stevenson | Democrat | 5,551,883 (46.1%) | 277 |
| | Benjamin Harrison/ Whitelaw Reid | Republican | 5,179,244 (43.0%) | 145 |
| | James B. Weaver/ James G. Field | Populist | 1,024,280 (8.5%) | 22 |
| | John Bidwell/ James B. Cranfill others | Prohibition | 270,770 (2.2%) 29,920 (0.2%) | |
| 1896 | William McKinley/ Garret A. Hobart | Republican | 7,108,480 (51.0%) | 271 |
| | William Jennings Bryan/ Arthur Sewall | Democrat/Populist | 6,511,495 (46.7%) | 176 |
| | John M. Palmer/ Simon B. Buckner | National Democrat | 133,435 (1.0%) | |
| | Joshua Levering/ Hale Johnson others | Prohibition | 125,072 (0.9%) 57,256 (0.0%) | |

| | | | | |
|-------------|--|-----------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| 1900 | William McKinley/ Theodore Roosevelt | Republican | 7,218,039 (51.7%) | 292 |
| | William Jennings Bryan/ Adlai E. Stevenson | Democrat | 6,358,345 (45.5%) | 155 |
| | John G. Wooley/ Henry B. Metcalf | Prohibition | 209,004 (1.5%) | |
| | Eugene V. Debs/ Job Harriman others | Social-Democrat | 86,935 (0.6%) 98,147 (0.7%) | |
| 1904 | Theodore Roosevelt/ Charles W. Fairbanks | Republican | 7,626,593 (56.4%) | 336 |
| | Alton B. Parker/ Henry G. Davis | Democrat | 5,082,898 (37.6%) | 140 |
| | Eugene V. Debs/ Benjamin Hanford | Socialist | 402,489 (3.0%) | |
| | Silas C. Swallow/ George W. Carroll others | Prohibition | 258,596 (1.9%) 148,388 (1.1%) | |
| 1908 | William H. Taft/ James S. Sherman | Republican | 7,676,258 (51.6%) | 321 |
| | William Jennings Bryan/ John W. Kern | Democratic | 6,406,801 (43.0%) | 162 |
| | Eugene V. Debs/ Benjamin Hanford | Socialist | 420,380 (2.8%) | |
| | Eugene W. Chafin/ Aaron S. Watkins others | Prohibition | 252,821 (1.7%) 126,474 (0.8%) | |



1912

| | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Woodrow Wilson/ Thomas R. Marshall | Democrat | 6,293,152 (41.8%) | 435 |
| Theodore Roosevelt/ Hiram W. Johnson | Progressive | 4,119,207 (27.4%) | 88 |
| William H. Taft/ James S. Sherman | Republican | 3,486,333 (23.2%) | 8 |
| Eugene V. Debs/ Emil Seidel | Socialist | 900,363 (6.0%) 241,902 (1.6%) | |
| others | | | |

1916

| | | | |
|--|-------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| Woodrow Wilson/ Thomas R. Marshall | Democrat | 9,126,300 (49.2%) | 277 |
| Charles E. Hughes/ Charles W. Fairbanks | Republican | 8,546,789 (46.1%) | 254 |
| Allan L. Benson/ George R. Kirkpatrick | Socialist | 589,924 (3.2%) | |
| J. Frank Hanly/ Ira Landrith | Prohibition | 221,030 (1.2%) 50,979 (0.3%) | |
| others | | | |

1920

| | | | |
|---|--------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Warren G. Harding/ Calvin Coolidge | Republican | 16,153,115 (60.3%) | 404 |
| James M. Cox/ Franklin D. Roosevelt | Democrat | 9,133,092 (34.1%) | 127 |
| Eugene V. Debs/ Seymour Stedman | Socialist | 915,490 (3.4%) | |
| Parley P. Christensen/ Maximilian S. Hayes | Farmer Labor | 265,229 (1.0%) 301,687 (1.1%) | |
| others | | | |

1924

| | | | |
|---|-------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| Calvin Coolidge/ Charles G. Dawes | Republican | 15,719,921 (54.0%) | 382 |
| John W. Davis/ Charles W. Bryan | Democrat | 8,386,704 (28.8%) | 136 |
| Robert LaFollette/ Burton K. Wheeler | Progressive | 4,832,532 (16.6%) | 13 |
| Herman P. Farris/ Marie C. Brehm | Prohibition | 56,292 (0.2%) 99,574 (0.3%) | |
| others | | | |

1928

| | | | |
|--|------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| Herbert C. Hoover/ Charles Curtis | Republican | 21,437,277 (58.2%) | 444 |
| Alfred E. Smith/ Joseph T. Robinson | Democrat | 15,007,698 (40.8%) | 87 |
| Norman M. Thomas/ James H. Maurer | Socialist | 265,583 (0.7%) | |
| William Z. Foster/ Benjamin Gitlow | Communist | 46,896 (0.1%) 48,497 (0.1%) | |
| others | | | |

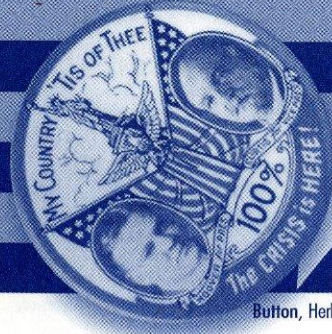
1932

| | | | |
|---|------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Franklin D. Roosevelt/ John Nance Garner | Democrat | 22,829,501 (57.4%) | 472 |
| Herbert C. Hoover/ Charles Curtis | Republican | 15,760,684 (39.6%) | 59 |
| Norman M. Thomas/ James H. Maurer | Socialist | 884,649 (2.2%) | |
| William Z. Foster/ James W. Ford | Communist | 103,253 (0.3%) 180,672 (0.5%) | |
| others | | | |

Button, James M. Cox (Democrat) campaign, 1920



Button, Herbert C. Hoover (Republican) campaign, 1928 or 1932



1936

| | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------|-----|
| Franklin D. Roosevelt/ John Nance Garner | Democrat | 27,757,333 (60.8%) | 523 |
| Alfred M. Landon/ Frank Knox | Republican | 16,684,231 (36.5%) | 8 |
| William Lemke/ Thomas C. O'Brien | Union | 892,267 (2.0%) | |
| Norman M. Thomas/ George A. Nelson | Socialist | 187,833 (0.4%) | |
| others | | 133,099 (0.3%) | |

1940

| | | | |
|--|-------------|--------------------|-----|
| Franklin D. Roosevelt/ Henry A. Wallace | Democrat | 27,313,041 (54.7%) | 449 |
| Wendell L. Willkie/ Charles L. McNary | Republican | 22,348,480 (44.8%) | 82 |
| Norman M. Thomas/ Maynard C. Kruger | Socialist | 116,410 (0.2%) | |
| Roger W. Babson/ Edgar V. Moorman | Prohibition | 58,708 (0.1%) | |
| others | | 63,779 (0.1%) | |

1944

| | | | |
|---|-------------|--------------------|-----|
| Franklin D. Roosevelt/ Harry S. Truman | Democrat | 25,612,610 (53.4%) | 432 |
| Thomas E. Dewey/ John W. Bricker | Republican | 22,017,617 (45.9%) | 99 |
| Norman M. Thomas/ Darlington Hoopes | Socialist | 79,003 (0.2%) | |
| Claude A. Watson/ Andrew Johnson | Prohibition | 74,779 (0.2%) | |
| others | | 192,661 (0.4%) | |

1948

| | | | |
|--|----------------|--------------------|-----|
| Harry S. Truman/ Alben W. Barkley | Democrat | 24,179,345 (49.6%) | 303 |
| Thomas E. Dewey/ Earl Warren | Republican | 21,991,291 (45.1%) | 189 |
| J. Strom Thurmond/ Fielding L. Wright | States' Rights | 1,176,125 (2.4%) | 39 |
| Henry A. Wallace/ Glen H. Taylor | Progressive | 1,157,326 (2.4%) | |
| others | | 289,739 (0.6%) | |

1952

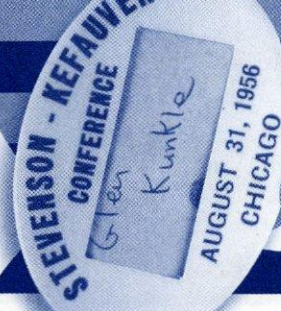
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|--|-------------|--------------------|-----|
| Dwight D. Eisenhower/ Richard M. Nixon | Republican | 33,936,234 (55.1%) | 442 |
| Adlai E. Stevenson II/ John J. Sparkman | Democrat | 27,314,992 (44.4%) | 89 |
| Vincent W. Hallinan/ Charlotta A. Bass | Progressive | 140,023 (0.2%) | |
| Stuart Hamblen/ Enoch A. Holtwick | Prohibition | 72,949 (0.1%) | |
| others | | 86,720 (0.1%) | |

1956

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|-----|
| Dwight D. Eisenhower/ Richard M. Nixon | Republican | 35,590,472 (57.4%) | 457 |
| Adlai E. Stevenson II/ Estes Kefauver | Democrat | 26,022,752 (42.0%) | 73 |
| T. Coleman Andrews/ Thomas H. Werdel | Constitution | 111,178 (0.2%) | |
| Eric Hass/ Georgia Cozzini | Socialist Labor | 44,450 (0.1%) | |
| others | | 258,056 (0.4%) | |

Button, Thomas E. Dewey (Republican) campaign, 1948

Button, Adlai E. Stevenson II (Democrat) campaign, 1956



1960

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| John F. Kennedy/ Lyndon B. Johnson | Democrat | 34,226,731 (49.7%) | 303 |
| Richard M. Nixon/ Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. | Republican | 34,108,157 (49.5%) | 219 |
| Eric Hass/ Georgia Cozzini others | Socialist Labor | 47,522 (0.1%) 339,561 (0.5%) | |

1964

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|-----|
| Lyndon B. Johnson/ Hubert H. Humphrey | Democrat | 43,129,566 (61.1%) | 486 |
| Barry Goldwater/ William E. Miller | Republican | 27,178,188 (38.5%) | 52 |
| Eric Hass/ Henning A. Blomen Clifton DeBerry/ Edward Shaw others | Socialist Labor Socialist Workers | 45,219 (0.1%) 32,720 (0.0%) 258,899 (0.4%) | |

1968

| | | | |
|---|---|--|-----|
| Richard M. Nixon/ Spiro T. Agnew | Republican | 31,785,480 (43.4%) | 301 |
| Hubert H. Humphrey/ Edmund S. Muskie | Democrat | 31,275,166 (42.7%) | 191 |
| George C. Wallace/ Curtis E. LeMay Henning A. Blomen/ George S. Taylor others | American Independent Socialist Labor | 9,906,473 (13.5%) 52,588 (0.1%) 192,168 (0.3%) | 46 |

1972

| | | | |
|---|------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| Richard M. Nixon/ Spiro T. Agnew | Republican | 47,169,911 (60.7%) | 520 |
| George S. McGovern/ Sargent Shriver | Democrat | 29,170,383 (37.5%) | 17 |
| John G. Schmitz/ Thomas J. Anderson | American | 1,099,482 (1.4%) | |
| Benjamin M. Spock/ Julius Hobson others | People's | 78,756 (0.1%) 200,022 (0.3%) | 1 |

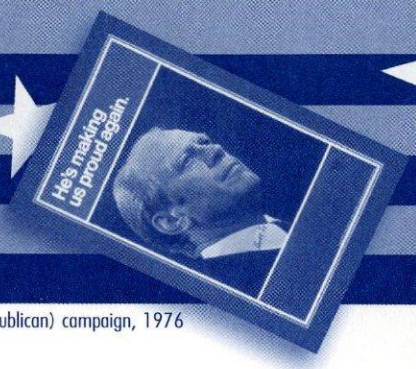
1976

| | | | |
|--|-------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Jimmy Carter/ Walter F. Mondale | Democrat | 40,830,763 (50.1%) | 297 |
| Gerald R. Ford/ Robert J. Dole | Republican | 39,147,793 (48.0%) | 240 |
| Eugene McCarthy/ various | Independent | 756,691 (0.9%) | |
| Roger MacBride/ David P. Bergland others | Libertarian | 173,011 (0.2%) 647,631 (0.8%) | 1 |

1980

| | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|-----|
| Ronald Reagan/ George Bush | Republican | 43,904,153 (50.7%) | 489 |
| Jimmy Carter/ Walter F. Mondale | Democrat | 35,483,883 (41.0%) | 49 |
| John B. Anderson/ Patrick J. Lucey Edward E. Clark/ David Koch others | Independent Libertarian | 5,720,060 (6.6%) 921,299 (1.1%) 485,826 (0.6%) | |

Poster, Gerald R. Ford (Republican) campaign, 1976



1984

| | | | |
|---|-------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| Ronald Reagan/ George Bush | Republican | 54,455,075 (58.8%) | 525 |
| Walter F. Mondale/ Geraldine Ferraro | Democrat | 37,577,185 (40.6%) | 13 |
| David Bergland/ Jim Lewis | Libertarian | 228,314 (0.2%) | |
| Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr./ Billy Davis | Independent | 78,807 (0.1%) 313,461 (0.3%) | |
| others | | | |

1988

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| George Bush/ Dan Quayle | Republican | 48,886,097 (53.4%) | 426 |
| Michael S. Dukakis/ Lloyd Bentsen | Democrat | 41,809,074 (45.6%) | 111 |
| Ronald E. Paul/ Andre V. Mairrou | Libertarian | 432,179 (0.5%) | |
| Lenora B. Fulani/ Joyce Dattner | New Alliance | 217,219 (0.2%) 250,240 (0.3%) | 1 |
| others | | | |

1992

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Bill Clinton/ Al Gore | Democrat | 44,909,326 (43.0%) | 370 |
| George Bush/ Dan Quayle | Republican | 39,103,882 (37.4%) | 168 |
| H. Ross Perot/ James Stockdale | Independent | 19,741,657 (18.9%) | |
| Andre V. Mairrou/ Nancy Lord | Libertarian | 291,627 (0.3%) 378,522 (0.4%) | |
| others | | | |

1996

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Bill Clinton/ Al Gore | Democrat | 47,402,357 (49.2%) | 379 |
| Robert J. Dole/ Jack Kemp | Republican | 39,198,755 (40.7%) | 159 |
| H. Ross Perot/ Pat Choate | Reform | 8,085,402 (8.4%) | |
| Ralph Nader/ Winona LaDuke | Green | 685,128 (0.7%) | |
| Harry Browne/ Jo Jorgensen | Libertarian | 485,798 (0.5%) 420,194 (0.5%) | |
| others | | | |

Sources:

Congressional Quarterly. Guide to U.S. Elections. 3d ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1994.
United States. Federal Election Commission. "Federal Election Commission" (web site). www.fec.gov

