## Origins and Development of Congress

17.251<br>Spring 2016

## Congressional Historical Eras and Electoral Discontinuities



## 1789-1812 (Experimental system)



# 1812-20 <br> (Transition from Experimental to Antebellum systems) 

- -Electorate expands
- -Federalists discredited
- -Slavery now an issue
- -Napoleanic Wars end



## 1820-60 <br> (Antebellum system)

|  | Organizational dynamics |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Electoral dynamics | Rules | Comms. | Party leadership |
| -Mass electorate | Committees <br> take agenda <br> -Whigs vs. Dems. | -Standings <br> dominate <br> selects | -Van Buren tries to <br> make Congress a <br> partisan organ, but... <br>  |
|  |  | -comm <br> chairs <br> compete w/ | -Regional divisions <br> complicate <br> Speakership <br> selection (next slide) |
|  |  | Speaker | -Senate leadership <br> remains weak |



## Balloting for Speaker

$\ldots$ Candidates receiving votes
....... Cadidates receiving 10 or more votes


## Balloting for Clerk



|  |  |  | Winning Speaker |  | Largest Party |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Year | Cong. | Ballots | Name, State | Party | Name | Pct. |
| 1825 | 19 | 2 | John W. Taylor, NY | Adams | Adams | 51.2 |
| 1827 | 20 | 1 | Andrew Stevenson, VA | Jackson | Jackson | 53.1 |
| 1829 | 21 | 1 | Andrew Stevenson, VA | Jackson | Jackson | 63.8 |
| 1831 | 22 | 1 | Andrew Stevenson, VA | Jackson | Jackson | 59.2 |
| 1833 | 23 | 1 | Andrew Stevenson, VA | Jackson | Jackson | 59.6 |
| 1834 | 23 | 10 | John Bell, Tenn. | Jackson | " | " |
| 1835 | 24 | 1 | James K. Polk, Tenn. | Jackson | Jackson | 59.1 |
| 1837 | 25 | 1 | James K. Polk, Tenn. | Dem. | Democrat | 52.9 |
| 1839 | 26 | 11 | Robert M.T. Hunter, VA | Whig | Democrat | 51.7 |
| 1841 | 27 | 1 | John White, KY | Whig | Whig | 58.7 |
| 1843 | 28 | 1 | John W. Jones, VA | Dem. | Democrat | 65.9 |
| 1845 | 29 | 1 | John W. Davis, IN | Dem. | Democrat | 62.3 |
| 1847 | 30 | 3 | Robert C. Winthrop, MA | Whig | Whig | 50.4 |
| 1849 | 31 | 63 | Howell Cobb, GA | Dem. | Democrat | 48.5 |
| 1851 | 32 | 1 | Linn Boyd, KY | Dem. | Democrat | 54.5 |
| 1853 | 33 | 1 | Linn Boyd, KY | Dem. | Democrat | 67.1 |
| 1855 | 34 | 133 | Nathaniel Banks, MA | Amer. | Opposition | 42.7 |

## The Effect of the Balance Rule

Stylized House


Gov't Activism

Stylized Senate


Gov't Activism

## The Effect of the Balance Rule



## 1860-1865 <br> (Transition from Antebellum to Civil War System

- South excluded from national elections
- Party support highly regionalized



## 1865-1896 (Civil War System)

|  | Organizational dynamics |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Electoral dynamics | Rules | Comms. | Party leadership |
| -Dems. v. Reps. | "Reed | -Parties | -Party polarization |
| -Dem. Strength in | Rules" in the | take | -Party "strong" |
| the South | House | control of <br> committee | -Caucus <br> organization in <br> -Rep. strength in the |
|  |  | rosters | House |
| North |  | -Appr. | -Steering |
| -Knife-edged |  | devolution |  |
| partisan margins |  |  | committee in the <br> Senate |



## Ideological divisions


$52^{\text {nd }}$ Cong.
(1891-1893)



## 





## 1896-1912 <br> (Transition from Civil War to Textbook systems)

- Economic dislocations create Progressive/Populist movements



## A Word about Senate Elections

- State legislative elections often brought about chaotic balloting
- Stories of corruption in Senate elections led to Progressive calls for reform
- Rise of third parties gave major parties an incentive to create a duopoly of power
- 17th amendment: popular election of senators (1914)
- Still parties become more prominent

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## The Process



## \% joint ballot elections for Senate



## Counterfactual: What If No Popular Elections?



## Counterfactual: <br> What If Popular Election before 1917?



## 1912-1968 (Textbook system)

|  | Organizational dynamics |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Electoral dynamics | Rules | Comms. | Party leadership |
| $\begin{array}{l}\text {-Regional support for } \\ \text { parties }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text { Battles over } \\ \text { filibuster } \\ \text {-Dems pick up } \\ \text { prominent in } \\ \text { crities }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text {-Comms. } \\ \text { dominate } \\ \text { legislating }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text {-Party cohesion } \\ \text { diminishes } \\ \text { \& careers }\end{array}$ |
| -party leaders |  |  |  |
| brokers |  |  |  |$\}$| -consol. in |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |



## Regional parties



Courtesy of Kenneth C. Martis. Used with permission.

## Regional parties



Courtesy of Kenneth C. Martis. Used with permission.

## Rise of careerism: The House



Update of Figure 3.5

## Rise of careerism



Update of Figure 3.5

## Rise of careerism



Update of Figure 3.5

## Rise of careerism



Update of Figure 3.5

## Rise of careerism: The Senate



## Senate \& House Careerism Compared



## 1968-1974

(Transition from Textbook to Post-Reform system

- Anti-war sentiment divorces supporters of strong defense from Dems.
- Civil Rights movement divorces southern Whites from Dems, but reinforces Black affiliation with Dems.



## 1974-now (Post-Reform System

|  | Organizational dynamics |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Electoral dynamics | Rules | Comms. | Party leadership |
| -Reps conservative, | $\begin{array}{l}\text { Floor } \\ \text { proceedings } \\ \text { Dems. Liberal } \\ \text {-Regionalism per se } \\ \text { deemphasized }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text {-Comms } \\ \text { important, }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text {-Parties resurgent } \\ \text { but.... }\end{array}$ |
| -Leaders more |  |  |  |
| assertive |  |  |  |
| (Republicans esp.) |  |  |  |$]$



## Loss of regionalism in parties

80 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ Congress<br>(1947-1948)

$114^{\text {th }}$ Congress
(Note the color reverse)
(2015-2016)


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Composition of the House by district (2014 election results). Light red are pick-ups by Republicans, Light blue are pick-ups by Democrats. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/114th_United_States_Congress\#/media/File:US_Hou se_2014.svg -

Source: Historical Atlas of Congressional
Parties in the United States Congress by Kenneth Martis


70th Congress (1927-1929)



90th Congress (1967-1969)


100th Congress (1987-1989)



## Rise of Party Unity Voting (Update of Figure 3.4)



## Decline of Conservative Coalition (Update of Figure 3.7)



## New Electoral Environment? New Organizational Environment?

- Election
- Voters more partisan
- Districts more partisan
- Party committees play greater role
- Organization
- Party leaders more prominent \& partisan
- Committee membership more partisan
- Chairs
- Seats
- Link to finance


## Congressional Historical Eras and Electoral Discontinuities



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