Voting Viva Voce UNLOCKING THE SOCIAL LOGIC OF PAST POLITICS

Page No. 25 Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered ### at ally merely by an affirmative mark, as /.														ered (if at all)		
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Public Voting

Turnout in Newport, Kentucky

Donald A. DeBats, PhD

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Head, American Studies, Flinders University, Australia The March 2 election in Newport came at a time of heightened tension arising from the strike at the Swift Iron and Steel Mill, the town's largest employer, with 610 workers. Just eight days before Election Day a bystander had been shot and killed as he watched a clash between the strike-breakers and the Swift mill hands on strike and their wives.

Because the database underpinning the website is so complete, with up to 50 variables for each of the town's 17,046 residents, we can determine with some confidence those who were eligible to vote and the percentage of the potential electorate that turned out to voice their choices for local office in this election. We know with precision the 2,266 men who did vote as their names are recorded in the official poll books of the election. Those same official records preserve as well the order in which men voted and the candidates each supported for the eleven city-wide offices being filled.

The availability of individual level information for all of the town's residents is a great asset in the more difficult task of calculating the potential electorate. The fact that the 1870 census was completed nearly four years prior to the election forces a reliance on tax and city directory information to determine the presence of an individual in close proximity to the election, sources which are less comprehensive than the census. Newport's city budget rested heavily on taxing real property, a logical choice given the high levels of home ownership (the opposite situation from Alexandria which had low levels of

Cover and opposite

1870 Census for Newport, Kentucky, excerpt. The residents of Newport were recorded in the US census between June 1 and August 25,1870. Albert Berry, who would be just 38 when elected President of the Newport City Council in the March 1874 election, appears on line 34 followed by his wife, Anna, and their one year-old daughter. A young lawyer, and a resident of a wealthy neighborhood, Berry declared he owned real estate worth \$100,000 and personal property worth \$3,000. Berry's household also included a 19 year-old African-American servant, Henry Ewing, and two white female domestic servants from Ireland, 40 year-old Mary Martin and 26 year-old Mary Martin. None of Berry's hired help declared any wealth.

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"Taking the Census," Thomas Worth, 1870. The scene of a census taker talking to the members of a household on a front porch would have been familiar to nearly all Americans by the time Worth's drawing was published in the November 19, 1870 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. The 1870 census for Newport, Kentucky was one of the sources consulted when piecing together voter participation in the March 2, 1874 election. Other sources include tax records, city plat maps, and city directories.

Courtesy of Library of Congress

home ownership and thus a tax regime aimed at personal property). But not all potential voters were home-owners or mortgage holders just as not all men were listed in the city directory. Citizenship requirements which may have been enforced are a further complicating factor.

We divided non-voters into three categories: 1) the 1757 men who were listed in the 1874 tax list as legal voters but did not appear in the poll books; 2) the 993 men American born- men who according to the census would be 21 or over in 1874; and 3) 1951 men listed in the 1873 city director with an occupation. Group 1 was assigned a potential voter score of 100 percent; group two was assigned a score of 30 percent and men in group three were assigned a probability of being eligible voters of 10 percent.

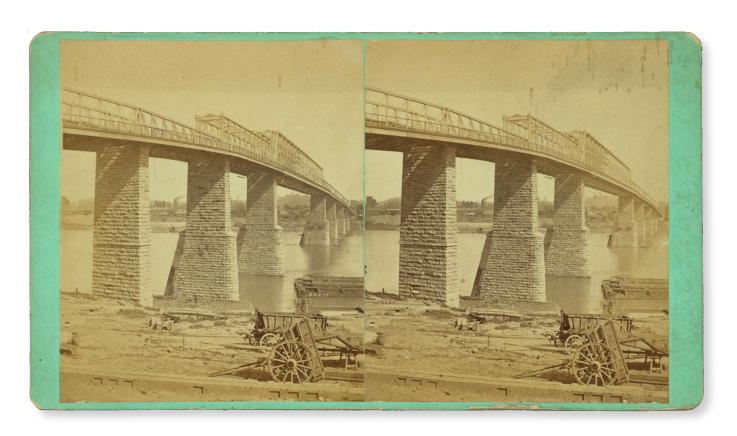
We calculated three levels of aggregate turnout. The most likely level of turnout was calculated from the above probability. The maximum level of turnout included as non-voters only those men appearing in the 1874 tax list as legal voters who did not vote. We calculated the minimum turnout by raising the probability of voting for group two from .33 to .50 and group three from .10 to .33.

The results are:

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Maximum Turnout: 56%Most Likely Turnout: 50%Minimum Turnout: 44%

Once again these are higher levels of participation than obtained in modern American but not nearly as high as the estimates of turnout that have traditionally informed historical profiles of nineteenth century political engagement.



Newport and Cincinnati Bridge, c1872-1896. Constructed in 1872 and designed by Charles Waldack, this bridge was the first railroad bridge to cross the Ohio River. The bridge is credited with enabling the increase in Newport's population in the 1870s and 80s. In 1896 the bridge was redesigned for cars, streetcars, and pedestrians. It is now a pedestrian bridge and is called the Purple People Bridge

Voting Viva Voce UNLOCKING THE SOCIAL LOGIC OF PAST POLITICS

Voting Viva Voce Unlocking the Social Logic of Past Politics

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Two mid-nineteenth century cities—Alexandria, Virginia and Newport, Kentucky—shared a common voting arrangement: both states required all votes in all elections to be cast in public by voice (viva voce). The poll books provided an official written record of every voter's spoken declaration. Professor Don DeBats presents and analyses this data on the website.

Public Voting. This project reveals the world of American politics at a time when every citizen's vote was public knowledge, and shows how social identity influenced votes.

Alexandria, Virginia | 1850s. On the Potomac just opposite Washington DC, Alexandria was a thriving commercial city based on slave labor in the late 1850's as the secession crisis loomed.

Newport, Kentucky | 1870. On the Ohio just opposite Cincinnati, Newport was, as the Panic of 1873 crashed down, a thriving industrial city based on immigrant labor.

Colophon

Text | Donald A. DeBats Design | Anne Chesnut

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