
Sacramento Votes
for President
in the 1880s

By Robert K. Archer III
and Diane Self



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Sacramento County Historical Society

GOLDEN NOTES

Volume 34, Number 3, Fall, 1988

Sacramento County Historical Society

P. O. Box 1175

Sacramento, CA 95806

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GOLDEN NOTES is a quarterly published by the Sacramento County Historical Society since 1954 for the purpose of preserving the historical heritage of Sacramento and promoting public awareness of local history.

We invite manuscripts about the people, institutions and events of the Sacramento region throughout its history. For further information, write to: The Editors, Golden Notes, 6321 Monteverde Lane, Citrus Heights, CA 95621.

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FOREWORD

California's eight electoral votes, a century ago, did not significantly affect the outcome of the national elections. With ten million voting in 1884 and eleven million in 1888, Sacramento County's 7,032 contributed little to either major party's popular vote. Yet political passions were aroused, oratory flourished, bands marched and banners were unfurled. Sacramentans were enthusiastic participants in the presidential campaigns of 1884 and 1888.

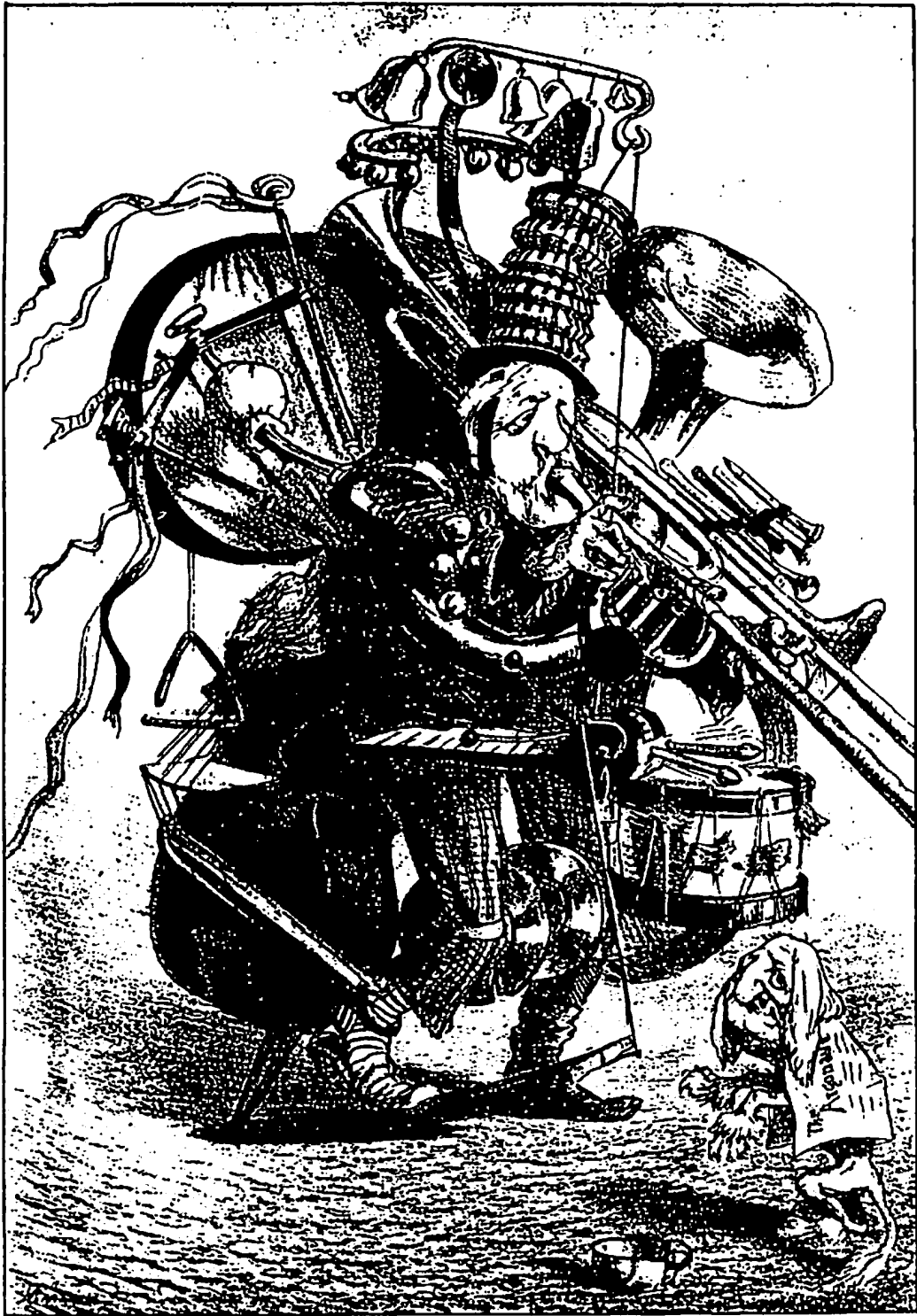
The *Record-Union* and the *Bee* were staunchly Republican, and that party won a plurality each time. Democrats were consoled in '84, when their candidate became the first to win from a Republican since Buchanan in 1856. The tables were turned four years later, when Cleveland lost to Harrison.

Here, as elsewhere in the country, the 1884 campaign was waged over personalities. Cleveland's motto was "Public Office is a Public Trust"; his supporters exposed Blaine's financial involvement in railroad stocks as a conflict of interest with his role in Congress. Republicans exploited the scandal over Cleveland's failure to marry the mother of his child.

In 1888, after Cleveland's first term as president, the decisive issue was the tariff on imports. He favored the expansion of trade, while Harrison's campaign stressed protection of American commerce and labor against foreign competition. New York's electoral votes put Harrison in the White House. These were the numbers:

<u>1884</u>	<u>Popular</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
Cleveland (D)	4,879,507	219
Blaine (R)	4,850,293	182
<u>1888</u>		
Cleveland (D)	5,537,857	168
Harrison (R)	5,477,129	233

F.G. and R.S.



THE BLAINE BOOM IN CALIFORNIA

Sacramento, 1884: Blaine vs. Cleveland

by Robert K. Archer III

Sacramento County's political climate during 1884 was one of enthusiasm, particularly for the Republican party. Republicans appeared to be the dominant force in the election as they had been in 1880. During that year James Garfield, the Republican candidate, garnered 3,802 votes compared with the Democratic candidate, Winfield Hancock, who received 2,820 votes in Sacramento County.¹ The population of Sacramento by 1884 was approximately 30,000, which gives an idea as to the level of participation in the election.²

The large Irish-American population was being looked upon as a source of votes for the Republican ticket, which featured the names of Blaine and Logan, both very Irish. In addition, the heated issue of Chinese immigration was no longer dominant due to passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This development might have served to allow a few more of the working class whites to rationalize their votes for a Republican candidate. All things considered, the Republicans had good reason for optimism as the presidential campaign approached.

The field of candidates contained no one dominant figure. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, a congressman from Maine, who was well known and it was hoped electable despite past charges of political corruption. At the Democratic convention, Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York and former mayor of Buffalo, was nominated. He was well respected as a reformer, and his honesty, in contrast to Blaine's, was without reproach.

Benjamin Butler represented both the Anti-Monopoly and Greenback parties. He had some support for the Democratic nomination and was by far the best known of the minority candidates. The last candidate of significance was the Prohibitionist party nominee, John P. St. John. All four had supporters in Sacramento who were prepared to wage a campaign for their election.

The question of tariffs proved to be one of the major issues. The existing tariffs in 1884 were viewed by many across the country as exceedingly high, but whether to lower them, and by how much, was a complex issue. The Democrats were to a large degree silent on the issue, and since they were often associated with free trade, the Republicans made every effort to increase the fear that the Democrats would ruin the economy and undercut American labor by allowing goods manufactured by cheap foreign labor to flood the country.³

Sacramento was particularly sensitive to this argument due to a large population of working class people, many in the extensive railroad works, who quite naturally may have seen the notion of free trade as a real threat. The threat was further reinforced by a *Sacramento Bee* editorial that said, "Let no man vote for Cleveland under the delusion that he favors the Republican policy of protection to American industry. Cleveland is an out-and-out free trader."⁴

Also indicative of the Republicans' desire to be viewed as the party to protect American labor and industry was a speech by W.M. Cutter during a Republican meeting in Butte County, reported in the *Sacramento Union*, which said, "More than any other State, California requires a protective tariff. It is an absolute condition of the future of her wine, brandy, raisin, wool, iron and other industries."⁵ Hence, this issue was potentially damaging to Cleveland in Sacramento County as long as he continued to be

perceived as opposing tariffs.

Civil Service reform was also an important campaign issue at the national level and was given considerable debate in Sacramento. With the assassination of President Garfield in 1881, as a result of what was widely perceived to be feuding over spoils positions, Civil Service reform had become immensely popular and was taken up by the presidential candidates with fervor. Butler, the notable exception, admitted to being in favor of the spoils system.⁶

Cleveland was running on his record as a reformer. In Sacramento the opposition generally conceded this title to him; however, they tried to portray this as unimportant due to the fact that Cleveland was a Democrat, his party allegedly opposed to reform, and would have little choice if elected but to make a clean sweep of the Republicans and install Democrats in all positions.⁷ Once again Cleveland was being portrayed to the people of Sacramento as being on the wrong side of an issue based solely on his party affiliation.

Arguably, the issue debated in Sacramento with most zeal during 1884 was that of prohibition. The prohibitionists promoted their cause with energy and enthusiasm. The evil, as they saw it, was substantial in Sacramento at the time. Their answer involved the total elimination of alcohol as opposed to the more moderate solution of temperance. Temperance, incidentally, was the position advocated by the Sacramento Bee. Their plan involved the substitution of wine for hard liquor — which had the added feature of helping the state's wine industry.

A few facts about liquor in Sacramento during 1884 serve to illustrate the enormity of the problem. There were 400 saloons in the city, 40 for every church.⁸ One million dollars a year was spent on liquor and 1,500 to 2,000 arrests were attributed to liquor annually.⁹

These numbers did little to discourage the prohibitionists. On the contrary, they felt that the statistics lent credence to their cause. Dr. W.O. Clark's speech during the Prohibitionist County Convention equating the prohibition issue with that of slavery 25 years earlier, and his prediction that they would be as successful in eradicating it, serves to demonstrate their optimism.¹⁰ The convention was also used as a platform to criticize Blaine for not voting on a prohibition amendment in an earlier Maine election.

Throughout the campaign, the subject of the candidates' personal lives exceeded political issues for the voters' attention. Blaine's ethics were scrutinized, and Cleveland's morals, or lack of them, were of concern to many voters.

Blaine's ethics were suspect due to past charges of corruption in political office, principally his dealings with the Union Pacific Railroad. These charges do not appear to have been of much interest to the people of Sacramento. Little was said about them in the local press. The nature of California politics over the years had raised similar questions concerning relations between politicians and the railroad. For many, the connection was almost institutionalized, and much of the population seemed jaded toward the issue.

On the other hand, quite a stir was made over the question of Cleveland's morals, at least in the local press. The principal charge was that Cleveland, a bachelor, had fathered an illegitimate child. The local press was of the opinion that this was an automatic disqualification of Cleveland's candidacy.

The *Sacramento Bee* went so far as to print a statement by the brother of the mother of Cleveland's child saying that all the allegations against Cleveland were true, and that Cleveland had offered him anything he wanted if he would make a statement that Cleveland



GROVER CLEVELAND (1837-1908) was the first Democratic president since the Civil War. He had been mayor of Buffalo and governor of New York. Known as a "good government" candidate, he led the way to civil service reforms, but was defeated by Harrison in 1888. In turn, he defeated Harrison in 1892 and served a second term as president.

had always treated his sister well.¹¹ The offer was also said to be contingent on Cleveland's being elected.

The *Sacramento Union* also printed another story about an accusation that Cleveland had paid a convict to take his place during the Civil War, a common enough practice except for the use of a convict illegally, and Cleveland's denial on the grounds that he had hired a sailor who was not a convict.¹²

The articles seemed to suggest that the nature of Cleveland's indiscretions would present more of a problem to the Sacramento voters than would those of Blaine.

The lion's share of political clubs and organizations in Sacramento belonged to the Republican party. They could also boast the largest, the four hundred member Republican Fire Brigade. These were typical of clubs during the era with their lavish uniforms, drilling and

marching, all for the purpose of making an impression during the frequent parades of the campaign. Mounted clubs and bands often totaled 1,000 participants.

Of the many Republican groups, some of the more notable were the McKenna Mounted Guard; the Blaine Hat Brigade, whose uniform consisted of a hat; the Boys in Blue, whose ranks included old soldiers; the Plumed Knights and the Four and a Half Precinct Club. Besides marching, the members delivered speeches, organized parades and meetings, arranged for prominent guest speakers and raised campaign funds.

The Democrats, although not as numerous as the Republicans, had their share of organizations. The principal clubs consisted of the Young Men's Cleveland and Hendricks Club and the Glascock Invincibles. The 310-member Democratic Fire Brigade appears to have been the largest.

Also found in the ranks of the Democratic parades was the Latin American Club. Like the Republicans, the Democrats could field about 1,000 marchers in Sacramento; they would not easily have been outdone in their showy uniforms. Many of these Democratic, as well as Republican, clubs traveled on the trains to participate in activities in surrounding communities such as Folsom and Marysville, usually just for the day.

The prohibitionists were well represented at their meetings. Their first meeting of the campaign drew a respectable crowd of 250, almost half of whom were female.¹³ The clergy, especially the Baptists, played a large role in the prohibitionist groups as did some of the professional community of the city. Although they could not hope to match the major parties in numbers or in ceremony, they were just as determined to elect their candidate.

The Butler Club was a smaller group, initially formed with only 25 members, all of whom were said to

have considerable skill in oratory. They also had the distinction of having a chairman by the name of J.D. Jost who was a declared socialist.¹⁴ It is difficult to know what impact these few men hoped to have on the election, but they were determined to make their views known.

Campaigning by the various clubs in Sacramento manifested itself in many ways, not the least of which was torchlight parades. These were splendid affairs with a large part of the community either participating in the procession or lining the parade route. The parades often began at the headquarters of the party involved and then proceeded to their respective meeting places, Armory Hall for the Democrats and the Wigwam for the Republicans. Along the way many of the marchers carried torches or colored lights. Fireworks were used extensively, under the supervision of a professional pyrotechnist on at least one occasion.

Groups in the procession such as the First Artillery Band, the Hussar Band and the Capital City Drum Corps added to the festive atmosphere. A wagon was used during one of the Republican parades to carry a working press for the printing of anti-Democratic slogans which were distributed along the route.¹⁵ On another occasion, a wagon was used to carry a sign which implied that the Chinese supported Blaine, and several boys dressed as Chinese also indicated their support for Blaine. It is unlikely that any Chinese were involved.¹⁶ The political as well as entertainment value of these events should not be underestimated in an age before television and radio.

At the end of the parade route, meetings or rallies were held for the purpose of giving speeches praising one party and denouncing the opposition. Some meetings were held without benefit of parades. The format commonly involved opening speeches and remarks by prominent local citizens, followed by

introduction of the guest speaker. Often he was a figure of political importance at the state or national level. A typical meeting featured John Glascock, a Congressional candidate, speaking to the Democrats at Armory Hall, or Senator Aaron Sargent addressing the Republicans at the Wigwam. Speakers were usually escorted from their hotels, often the Golden Eagle, to the meeting and back in a very formal fashion. It was routine for these meetings to last until very late in the evening.

The speakers brought in were frequently skilled orators and accomplished at espousing the party platform. Speeches were lengthy and routinely lasted a couple of hours. Emotional speeches were common. Congressional candidate Joel Russell of Alameda County, during a Sacramento prohibitionist meeting, said, "The Republican party was nearly the Devil, but the Democratic party was the Devil himself."¹⁷

Both the *Sacramento Bee* and *Sacramento Union* showed a bias in favor of Blaine and the Republicans. During the campaign, Republican activities seemed to receive the most coverage. Some of this may have been due to a greater number of Republican activities. Numerous editorials condemned Cleveland for his moral transgressions. In fact, the *Sacramento Union* printed an editorial criticizing an eastern paper for suggesting that Cleveland's lack of morals did not necessarily disqualify him.¹⁸ Articles concerning charges of Blaine's corruption were more often in his defense, rather than critical.

Although there was bias in the local papers, much of the campaign was reported accurately and fairly. The campaign at the national level was covered almost daily, particularly in the *Sacramento Union*, which detailed candidates' movements throughout the East. The local campaign was also given a good deal of coverage with emphasis on the local participants. In short, much of

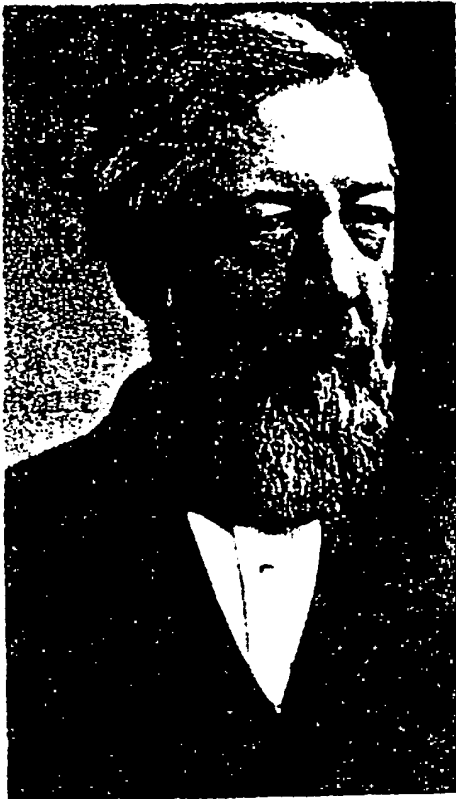
what the community knew about the candidates and the issues was as a result of reading the newspapers.

Election day looked rather like a holiday; public offices and many private businesses were closed. The day proved to be uneventful, with few exceptions. One of these was the revelation on the eve of the election that thousands of fake Republican ballots had been distributed around Sacramento which listed candidates who were not members of the Republican party. The *Sacramento Union* published a description of the ballots and suggested that voters look carefully at theirs. As it turned out, they were not a factor in the election. Only two fraudulent ballots were discovered.

The police attempted to enforce the law prohibiting the sale or giving away of liquor during the time the polls were open. Several saloon keepers were arrested for violating it; however, they posted bond and returned to their establishments to sell more liquor.¹⁹

A couple of arrests were made for illegal voting. One concerned a residency requirement, and the other was for attempting to vote twice. The police were given a good deal of incentive; the state offered a one-hundred dollar reward if a conviction was obtained for illegal voting.²⁰

A large crowd kept track of the returns as they came in, state by state on a new "electro-opticon" at the *Sacramento Union* office. This device was being used for the first time and had been constructed by Sacramento artist Edward E. Johnson.²¹ Many people stayed until two a.m. and returned the next morning to learn the name of the presidential winner. They would not know with certainty for ten days. The election was so close that a problem with the vote count in New York would delay the official results. The *Sacramento Bee* initially reported Blaine as the winner and followed the next day with his majority being increased. After that the paper



JAMES G. BLAINE
(1830-1893), congressman from Maine, was the Republican candidate for president in 1884; he was defeated by Cleveland in a close election. Blaine, called the "plumed knight," proved to be vulnerable because of railroad stock dealings while in office. Later he served as Harrison's secretary of state.

alternated in awarding the election to Blaine and Cleveland until the results were official.

The *Sacramento Union* was not so quick to give the election to Blaine and for the most part reported it in doubt until the official results came in on November 15, declaring Cleveland the winner.

The results in Sacramento County were much clearer. The Republicans made almost a clean sweep of the election. In fact, only one person on the entire Democratic ticket had been elected, a police judge.²² Blaine was the easy winner with 4,368 votes followed by Cleveland's 2,664, Butler's 142, and St. John's 92.²³ Voters in the city of Sacramento itself cast 5,027 votes, the largest total ever.²⁴

The victory of Blaine and the Republicans in Sacramento County was not surprising given the county's past voting record and the influence of the

party there, but the margin of victory must have shocked some.

The Democrats had little to celebrate at the local level, but when the news of Cleveland's victory arrived they were jubilant. The party had waited a long time for a presidential victory, so they immediately called on their favorite campaign activity, the torchlight parade, and put together a celebration. It was a time for those who had lost wagers on the election to pay off; one individual rode a mule in the parade. To round out the evening many of the paraders serenaded some of the leading citizens of Sacramento, the governor and mayor included, at their homes.

The results in Sacramento had little effect on the national election. The importance of the voting here may have been negligible from the outset, but the people of Sacramento showed a spirit that many communities would envy. They maintained an enthusiasm for the campaign primarily from within the community itself, reflecting the pride of people who had settled the city not many years before. The campaign was conducted in a sporting manner and the results seem to have created few ill feelings. Sacramentans had devoted much time and effort to the election. Its significance can be found in that devotion and effort.

* * * * *

¹ "Election Statistics," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, November 1, 1884, p. 5.

² "Brief Notes," *Record-Union*, October 22, 1884, p. 3.

³ "Enthusiastic Republican Meeting at the Wigwam," *Record-Union*, November 1, 1884, p. 8.

⁴ "Cleveland and Free Trade," *Bee*, September 18, 1884, p. 2.

⁵ "Stirring Speech of Hon. W.M. Cutter, Late A Democrat," *Record-Union*, October 4, 1884, p. 9.

⁶ "A Call For Aid," *Bee*, September 24, 1884, p. 2.

- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ "Mass Meeting of Prohibitionists Last Night," *Bee*, March 6, 1884, p. 3.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ "Few, But Earnest," *Bee*, September 27, 1884, p. 5.
- ¹¹ "Another Damaging Statement Against the Democratic Presidential Candidate," *Bee*, September 30, 1884, p. 1.
- ¹² "Cleveland and the Substitute Charge," *Record-Union*, October 28, 1884, p. 4.
- ¹³ "Prohibition Meeting," *Record-Union*, October 24, 1884, p. 3.
- ¹⁴ "The Butler Party," *Record-Union*, October 3, 1884, p. 3.
- ¹⁵ "Great Demonstration," *Record-Union*, October 30, 1884, p. 3.
- ¹⁶ "How the Chinese Vote," *Record-Union*, November 4, 1884, p. 2.
- ¹⁷ "Prohibition Meeting," *Record-Union*, October 24, 1884, p. 3.
- ¹⁸ "Another Falsehood Nailed," *Record-Union*, October 31, 1884, p. 2.
- ¹⁹ "Saloon-Keeper Arrested," *Bee*, November 5, 1884, p. 3.
- ²⁰ "Illegal Voters," *Bee*, November 5, 1884, p. 3.
- ²¹ Parliamentarian Reed was very popular and served in Congress from 1877 to 1899. He was the autocratic "Czar" Speaker of the House (1889-91, 1895-99), ed. "Displaying Election Returns," *Record-Union*, November 3, 1884, p. 3.
- ²² "A Sweeping Local Victory," *Bee*, November 5, 1884, p. 3.
- ²³ "Sacramento County Election Returns-Official," *Record-Union*, November 15, 1884, p. 5.
- ²⁴ "A Quiet Election and Large Vote-What the Figures Show," *Record-Union*, November 5, 1884, p. 3.

Sacramento, 1888: Harrison vs. Cleveland

by Diane Self

The year literally began with a bang for one Sacramento Democrat. During the 1888 New Year's celebration in Sacramento, an "eloquent" local Democratic politician, contractor James Touhey, got into an altercation with saloon-keeper Tommy Burns during a game of "draw." When Touhey laid down the winning hand of a pair of kings, and reached for the pot, Burns began blazing away at him with a gun. The Democrat was rescued by the police, but not before a bullet had raised "a furrow across Touhey's bump of intellectuality."¹ It was an omen of things to come for Sacramento Democrats.

Business was booming in Sacramento. A review of 1887 by the *Daily Record-Union* concluded that "the people have been prosperous, labor has not gone begging, want has not visited our midst."² The Bee interviewed leading local business leaders and "all agree that this city was never so prosperous as at present..."³

It was a time of "unprecedented prosperity" for trade and building. O. F. Washburn, for example, said his grocery business had increased fifty percent in one year. Frank Miller from the D.O. Mills Bank felt that the increased volume of business was a result of the Sacramento area "filling up with a good class of people." Manager Shaw of Huntington & Hopkins & Co. attributed the increase in business development of the country to the building of the railroads.⁴ As the year opened, orchards and vineyards were replacing wheat fields in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.

Sacramento's suburbs were growing. Land on the outskirts of town with a potential for growing oranges and other fruit trees was advertised as an alternative source of income. A five-acre lot could be purchased in the Louisiana tract a mile from the Sacramento city limits. House lots were also for sale in Orange Vale.

It was not the best of times to upset the local status quo, so it is hard to believe that a presidential address calling for a reduction in tariffs on imported goods would have been popular with the local business establishment under any circumstances.

In Sacramento as elsewhere in the country the stage for the 1888 presidential election was set by President Grover Cleveland's annual message to Congress, delivered on December 6, 1887, and reprinted in full in the Bee.⁵ President Cleveland elected in 1884, was the first Democratic president in 24 years. A former mayor of Buffalo and the former governor of New York, Cleveland was a cautious and conservative politician who promised in his inaugural speech to reform the administration of government and apply business principles to public affairs.⁶ He devoted his State of the Union message to a topic familiar to contemporary voters — the condition of the nation's treasury. The exact nature of the problem delineated by the president, however, boggles the minds of voters a hundred years later.

The problem which demanded immediately and careful consideration, President Cleveland told Congress, was:

The amount of money annually received through the operation of present law, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.⁷

Amazing as it seems now, there was a politically

sensitive surplus in the federal treasury, amounting to \$55,258,871.19 on December 1, 1887. President Cleveland's solution was simple — readjust and reduce the tariffs on foreign imports which were a major source of federal government revenue.

President Cleveland's suggestion was greeted with mixed reactions, but no enthusiasm by California's Senators in Washington, D.C. Senator Leland Stanford, a Republican, predicted the idea would be unpopular in California. He supported instead abolishing the internal tariff on whisky. Senator George Hearst, a Democrat, told a reporter that he didn't really listen attentively to the President's speech, "but it seems to be popular with our side, and I guess it will be all right."⁸

It was not all right with Sacramento's leading newspapers. In an editorial titled "Good News for Republicans," printed the same day as the President's address, the *Bee* launched an attack on Cleveland and the "free traders" which it would continue unceasingly until the election on November 6.

The gauntlet has been thrown down. It now becomes the duty of the Republican party to pick it up... This is to be a fight of Protection against Free Trade—of American free labor against the servile workers from abroad. If the Republican Party fails to stand up manfully in this battle it will be untrue to itself, untrue to its principles, untrue to its history and unworthy of the support of honest and independent American citizens.⁹

Preoccupied with fighting among themselves over control of the local branch of the party, Sacramento Republicans did not pick up the gauntlet immediately. The election for delegates to the Republican City Convention in early March was tainted by charges of ballot-box stuffing and bribery. During the city

*Abstract of Statement of Votes polled in Sacramento County,
at the General Election held on the 6th day of November, A. D. 1888.*

ELECTION PRECINCTS.	FOR ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.													
	REPUBLICAN.					DEMOCRATIC.								
	JOHN FRANKLIN SWIFT.	WILLIAM H. L. BARNES.	GEORGE W. SCHELL.	THOMAS L. CAROTHERS.	GEORGE A. KNIGHT.	HENRY M. STREETER.	SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE.	LANSING B. MIZNER.	C. P. BERRY.	B. D. MURPHY.	FREDERICK BERINGER.	A. CAMINETTI.	CHAS. A. JENKINS.	P. J. MURPHY.
<i>Precinct 1</i>	232	232	232	232	232	232	232	232	141	141	141	141	141	141
<i>" 2</i>	321	321	321	321	322	321	321	322	178	178	178	178	174	178
<i>" 3</i>	335	335	335	335	334	335	336	335	197	197	197	197	197	197
<i>" 4</i>	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	136	136	136	136	136	136
<i>Precinct 1</i>	170	170	170	170	170	170	170	170	206	206	206	206	206	206
<i>" 2</i>	208	209	209	206	209	209	209	209	176	176	176	176	176	176
<i>" 3</i>	223	224	224	224	224	224	224	224	225	224	224	224	225	224
<i>" 4</i>	239	239	239	239	240	239	239	239	202	202	202	201	202	202

convention, which was held to endorse a Republican ticket for city offices, party members who ran unsuccessfully on the Republican Anti-Ring Unpledged ticket in the Fourth Ward during that election tried to unseat their rivals by pointing out that election officials had refused numerous requests to open the ballot box prior to voting, and that over 900 ballots came out of the box when not more than 600 ballots had gone into it during the official polling hours.¹⁰

The Republican delegate election was denounced in no uncertain terms by the *Record-Union*, which called on city election officials to replace the tin ballot boxes with plate glass-sided boxes.¹¹ The newspaper also noted accusations that election officials had not used the *Great Register* to determine who was qualified to vote.

Good Republicans saw the elective franchise trodden underfoot. They saw the tramp and the non-resident, the pauper, the drunk, the vicious, the depraved, the criminal who had no right to vote, marched up to the ballot box, like so many cattle...¹²

The "anti-boss" dissidents lost their case at the city endorsing convention on a 46-50 vote, but they won the day two weeks later when a slate of candidates backed by Democrats and these "independent Republicans" swept Sacramento's municipal offices.¹³

The *Record-Union* acknowledged that some people were fearful that a "fair" city election, with Republicans endorsing Democrats rather than the boss-backed candidates, would endanger Republican chances of winning the national election, but the newspaper pointed out that they should really be worrying about the possibility that voters could become so disgusted with boss rule that they will "leave the party or refuse to vote at least and remain deaf to the party call."¹⁴

There was no doubt where the city's leading

newspapers stood—both vigorously opposed Cleveland's tariff reduction proposal and supported the Republican party's nominee for president, Benjamin Harrison, a Civil War veteran and grandson of President William Henry Harrison. Harrison, from Indiana, was selected by the Republicans to oppose Cleveland when the party's first choice and 1884 nominee against Cleveland, James G. Blaine, withdrew his name from consideration.

In January the *Bee* criticized President Cleveland for trying to eliminate the protection the tariff provided to the country's smaller industries, comparing it to "a similar surgical operation in the practice of the practical Dutchman, who cut off his dog's tail by inches on the plea of sparing the poor brute's feelings."¹⁵

The newspapers appealed to parochial interests, with editorials and articles discussing how people in Sacramento stood against the people in the East and Europe in the fight over the tariff.

It may well be imagined that the Democratic free traders of the East, where they produce no raisins or oranges or prunes or other semi-tropical fruits, care little for the California fruit grower.¹⁶

After 15 months traveling in Europe, leading citizen Adolph Heilbron returned to Sacramento several months before the general election and reported to local voters, "If the people of Europe had a vote in the matter, Cleveland would be elected by a large majority. They say they can furnish us anything we want — that we need not manufacture anything."¹⁷

Despite the official media support for the Republicans, in June they received less favorable editing from some unknown local "mean, cowardly and despicable" people who "shamefully mutilated" the decorations painted on the railroad cars which the

California Republicans rode to their national convention in Chicago. This outrage, which was discovered when the train pulled into Rocklin, was the talk of Sacramento. One of the mutilated murals was lettered in red and black and surrounded by a border of leaves, flowers and grapes; in the center was a bear with a California sunset in the background. No doubt the Republican delegates found some solace in the wines which were piled to the ceiling in another of the cars.¹⁸

During the presidential campaign of 1888, Sacramento voters never got an opportunity to see the candidates personally, unless they traveled to the White House where Cleveland holed up for much of the year, or saw Harrison deliver a speech from the front porch of his home in Indianapolis. The flesh-pressing in Sacramento was performed by out-of-state congressmen of both parties. In late September, for example, J. F. Follet, a Representative from vice-presidential nominee Allen G. Thurman's home state of Ohio, gave a speech in Sacramento in which he defended the Democrats' record on the tariff and accused Harrison of voting 14 times to continue the "plague" of Mongolian immigration. Follet's campaign appearance, with a bonfire in downtown Sacramento and patriotic music played by the Hussar Band preceding his speech at the Turner Hall, followed the typical pattern of local presidential politicking that year.¹⁹

The next day, the *Record-Union* blasted Follet with an editorial that left no doubt about where the newspaper stood.

Mr. Follet won distinction upon that occasion by cramming into two hours of speech-making more of errors and misconstruction; more unsupported statements and flapdoodle than has been accomplished by any of his predecessors.²⁰



BENJAMIN HARRISON (1833-1901), Republican, was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth president, and was a Civil War veteran who had served as a U. S. senator from Indiana. He won the presidency in 1888, and his administration was marked by achievements in international affairs, but in 1892 he lost to Cleveland.

In October, Congressman Tom Reed of Maine paid his first visit to Sacramento (which he declared to be a "beautiful city") to campaign for Harrison, and filled the Clunie Opera House to overflowing.²¹ Two days before, the Clunie Opera House was the scene of a speech by the American Party candidate for vice-president, the Honorable P.D. Wigginton. Wigginton offered \$20 to anyone who "could tell of a real substantial issue between the two great parties now scrambling for the spoils of office."²²

At times, Sacramento's two major newspapers argued in print about which one truly represented the Republican viewpoint. Among their most significant differences was the increasingly popular cause of prohibition. In June, for instance, the *Bee* accused the *Record-Union* of coming out as an openly Prohibition organ and trying to "drag the Republican party into the

same hole it had dug for itself." The *Bee* accused its rival of working for President Cleveland by lying to readers about the incorporation of an anti-liquor plank in the Republican national platform.

That the Republican Party has incorporated no such plank in its platform will not for an instant disconcert the editors of our morning contemporary, whose varied and magnifying imagination can see prohibition of an evil where there is only approbation of a sentiment to which all good citizens must agree.²³

Even with all the speechmaking and the public fighting between the two rival newspapers, Sacramento did not work up much enthusiasm about the presidential election. The *Bee* complained about voter apathy.

...there appears to be a lamentable lack of interest in the campaign, as compared with those which have preceded it. Each side seems to have been struck by a cold wave. There is none of that fizz, bang, boom which has characterized previous Presidential elections. It may be because this is more a argument than of effervescent enthusiasm.²⁴

Other than the "buzzing and buttonholing" which occurred at the Golden Eagle Hotel as delegates arrived on the trains, and the usual convention hyperbole—with State Central Committee chairman A. P. Stevens telling delegates that they were "confronted by practically the same enemy" that Abraham Lincoln had rescued them from in 1864 — the Republicans didn't do much to enliven the town when they convened their harmonious state convention in Sacramento during the first week in May. Legislators' desks were removed from the Assembly chambers in the State Capitol and the floor was filled with cane-bottomed chairs to

accommodate 458 delegates from across the state whose main duty was choosing 16 delegates from California to the Republican national convention.²⁵

In the platform adopted at the convention, California Republicans called for "defense of the country's citizens and interests overseas," including defense against foreign business that threatened the country's "magnificent" manufacturing and industry. They also addressed strong local anti-Chinese sentiments by demanding an unconditional repeal of "all laws that permit these mongolian locusts to land upon our shores." Their other issues — silver coinage and keeping schools free from sectarian and political influences — did not get much notice in the Sacramento press that year.²⁶

Three weeks after the Republican state convention, hundreds of local Democrats gathered at Sacramento's train station to cheer the Democratic delegation passing through on its way to the national convention in St. Louis. (California Democrats held their state convention in Los Angeles that year.) The delegates traveled in a special drawing room car which stopped at the Sacramento depot for dinner and speeches afterward.²⁷

For a while, the best political entertainment in town was provided by Dr. F. F. Tebbetts, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, and Joseph Hahn, a local druggist. Dr. Tebbetts, a Republican, suspected Hahn, a Democrat, of influencing the local fire commander to refuse his request to borrow a hose cart for the Harrison and Morton Fire Brigade to haul around. Tebbetts voiced his suspicions when the two met, and Hahn's reply about what he could do with himself so riled Dr. Tebbetts that he

...slapped the suggestor square in the face.

Hahn did not turn the other cheek but launched out with his right. He miscalculated his distance, and his fist merely made a scratch

across the base of the Supervisor's nose. Tebbetts at once closed, and his deadly right worked like a steam trip-hammer. Thrice it went out straight from the shoulder, and thrice the champion of revenue reform went down.²⁸

Things finally picked up a week before the election with a parade of thousands of people from throughout Northern California. A month before the *Bee* had called on local industrial interests to emulate the example of San Francisco, joining with labor and merchants to stage a big parade to demonstrate "that protection is not a dead issue; that it is not for the benefit of capital; that it is not alone for the benefit of the laborer..."²⁹

Perhaps the newspaper was worried about the Democrats getting a leg up on the Republicans with the recent news that President Cleveland had signed an anti-Chinese measure. When a reporter asked Governor Waterman whether that was good news for the people of California, he replied that "it is good news for Democrats." The Democrats in the State Controller's office "nearly raised the roof with their cheers," when the news was phoned to them.³⁰

During the morning of the industrial parade on October 31, lanterns and bunting decorated with stars and stripes were strung along Sacramento's business thoroughfare. One of the most elaborately decorated establishments was Suie On & Co., a Chinese firm on K Street between 6th and 7th Streets. The *Bee* speculated that the Democratic County Central Committee must be paying for the decorations.

Before noon the streets around the depot were crowded with out-of-town visitors and Sacramento workers who had taken the day off. Men and women were wearing the blue silk badges of Harrison and his running-mate Levi Morton pinned on their chests.

The parade began nearly on time at 8 p.m. According

to the *Bee's* estimate (which could well be inflated in light of the newspaper's enthusiastic attempts to get the parade off the ground), the parade was viewed by 50,000 people, including 20,000 visitors. One of the most spectacular floats was a log cabin carried on the shoulders of a group of staunch Republicans. The Capital City Wheelmen provided extra illumination as they rode by carrying Japanese lanterns on their bicycles. A "howling Democratic mob" joined the festivities, assembling at 4th and J Streets and cheering for Cleveland and denouncing the Republicans as "Chinese-loving _____" as the parade passed by. Calling him a "Dimmicrat" and a "horsethief," the group also verbally abused an unnamed portly Democrat who'd switched his allegiance to Harrison.³¹

On election eve, the Republican victory in Sacramento was a foregone conclusion, according to the *Bee*. Republicans were predicting a margin of 1,200 to 1,500 votes (as it turned out, a more accurate guess than California pollsters usually make these days). However, the newspaper was not content with this successful prediction, and lambasted local Republicans for managing the campaign in a "peculiarly incompetent way."

Everything has been done on the 'high moral plane'... There has been no effort made, so far as known, to rally Republicans to the polls to-morrow... There has been a dearth of Republican literature... Thousands of dollars have been squandered on 'glittering generalities.'³²

Voters were also warned that it was a crime to bet on any election or candidate, and the *Bee* urged election officers, at least, to resist wagering on the race. However, when a Republican left \$2,500 on deposit at the California State Bank to be wagered on Harrison's

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POLITICAL

CLEVELAND



—AND—



THURMAN.

THE CITIZENS OF SACRAMENTO COUNTY
 will be addressed at the following places
 under the auspices of the Sacramento Demo-
 cratic County Committee, as follows:

- HANGTOWN CROSSING Saturday, October 20th
- SACRAMENTO (at corner Fourth and h) Monday, October 21st
- ANTELOPE Tuesday, October 22nd
- FLOREN Wednesday, October 24th
- COUNTLAND Friday, October 26th
- ELK GROVE Saturday, October 27th
- STUBBLE CREEK Monday, October 29th
- CHIEF OF THE Tuesday, October 30th

POLITICAL

REPUBLICAN
 TICKET.

"Protection to American Labor
 and Industries."

FOR PRESIDENT:



Benjamin
 Harrison

—OF—
 INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:

Levi P.

Morton

—OF—
 NEW YORK.



ELECTORS:

- T. L. Carothers, George W. Schell,
- L. B. Mizner, S. M. Shortridge,
- Geo. A. Knight, H. M. Stroeter,
- John F. Swift, W. H. L. Barnes.

ALTERNATES:

- C. C. Bush, J. W. Street,
- Frank A. Leach, C. Dunker,
- James R. Lowe, H. V. Morehouse.

RAILS

SCOUT

TRADE

ST

LEAVE

- 8:00 A
- 8:15 P
- 11:30 P
- 5:30 P
- 7:25 P
- 9:20 A
- 7:30 P
- 1:25 P
- 6:30 A
- 2:30 P
- 10:10 A
- 9:15 P
- 9:55 A
- 6:00 A
- 8:00 A
- *10:30 A
- 11:30 A
- 4:45 A
- 11:30 P
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election, several Democrats (including Mrs. Jane Charles, who chipped in \$500) quickly laid down their money on the bet.³³

When, after several days of counting, the votes were all finally tallied, Mrs. Charles and the other Democrats lost their money. Electors (California had eight that year) for Benjamin Harrison won Sacramento and the White House. Harrison electors received 4,756 votes in Sacramento County as opposed to 3,450 for President Cleveland. Statewide, Harrison beat Cleveland by a margin of 124,754 to 117,697. The Prohibition Party candidate received 107 votes in Sacramento County and the American Party candidate received 74 votes.

The vote was much closer in many other Northern California counties:

	Cleveland	Harrison
San Joaquin County	2,827	2,826
Yuba County	1,170	1,130
Amador County	1,410	1,373
Sutter County	701	725

President Cleveland's brightest moment in California came with the returns from San Francisco, where he triumphed over Harrison by a vote of 28,699 to 25,701. However, Harrison closed the gap with the vote from Los Angeles County where he defeated Cleveland 13,803 to 10,110.³⁴ In this statewide election, the voting preference of the rapidly increasing number of "tenderfoot" immigrants in Los Angeles indicate that the political balance of the state was swinging from San Francisco and other Northern California cities to Southern California. But Los Angeles and Sacramento showed similar voting patterns in this presidential race; it was San Francisco which lost political clout on the national scene.³⁵

Republicans in Sacramento celebrated their victory with a grand parade on Friday evening; the streets

glowed with red lights and "resounded with the screeches of numberless tin horns."³⁶ Elsewhere, Sacramento was getting back to business. "Prosperity is now assured," noted a real estate advertisement trying to sell house lots in the Highland Park Tract."³⁷

* * * * *

¹ "Touhey Raked in the Pot," *Sacramento Bee*, January 3, 1888, p. 3.

² *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, January 2, 1888, p. 4.

³ "The Wonderful Increase in Business As Shown By the Records," *Bee*, January 4, 1888, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Free Trade!" *Bee*, December 6, 1887, p. 1.

⁶ Richard Hal Williams, *Politics and Reform: The California Democrats in the Cleveland Years*, pp. 162-63.

⁷ "Free Trade!"

⁸ "The Democratic Keynote," *Record-Union*, December 7, 1887, p.1.

⁹ "Good News for Republicans," *Bee*, December 6, 1887, p. 2.

¹⁰ "The Convention," *Record-Union*, March 6, 1888, p. 2.

¹¹ "Who Are the Bosses," *Record-Union*, March 8, 1888, p. 2.

¹² "Bulldozing: How the Bosses of Down-town Wards Secure Delegations from Up Town," *Record-Union*, March 5, 1888, p. 2.

¹³ "A Sweeping Victory for Good Government," *Record-Union*, March 14, 1888, p. 3.

¹⁴ "Citizens! Will You Permit This Outrage," *Record-Union*, March 13, 1888, p. 2.

¹⁵ "A Flood of Notes," *Bee*, January 7, 1888, p. 1.

¹⁶ "It is Time to Move," *Bee*, January 6, 1888, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Bee*, August 3, 1888, p. 3.

¹⁸ "A Contemptible Outrage," *Bee*, June 11, 1888, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Record-Union*, September 27, 1888, p. 2.

²⁰ *Record-Union*, September 28, 1888, p. 2.

²¹ "The Political Pot," *Bee*, October 25, 1888, p. 5.

²² "Political," *Bee*, October 24, 1888, p. 3.

²³ "Is There a Traitor in the Camp?" *Bee*, June 30, 1888, p. 1

²⁴ "Condition of the State," *Bee*, October 23, 1888, p. 1

²⁵ *Record-Union*, May 2, 1888, p. 1.

²⁶ "First Gun! The Republicans Open the Campaign," *Record-Union*, May 2, 1888, p. 1.

²⁷ "A Good Day for Democrats," *Bee*, May 28, 1888, p. 2.

²⁸ "Things Are Picking Up," *Bee*, October 15, 1888, p. 3.

²⁹ *Bee*, October 3, 1888, p. 1.

³⁰ "Cleveland Signs the Bill to Keep Out Chinese," *Bee*, October 1, 1888, p. 1.

³¹ "Sacramento Gaily Dressed in Honor of Protection's Day," *Bee*, October 31, 1888, p. 1.

³² "Only To-Morrow to Come, and After That What?" *Bee*, November, 1888, p. 8.

³³ "A Warning to Election Officials," and "Betting is Lively," *Bee*, November 5, 1888, p. 8.

³⁴ From the official Secretary of State vote for electors in the November 6, 1888 general election. The vote shown is for the first one of the eight presidential electors; there is a slight difference in some of the counts among the eight. I have used the vote count on a handwritten copy from state election officials since the 1888 tally was missing from the official Statement of Vote when I inquired in the Spring of 1988.

³⁵ Williams, *Politics and Reform*, p. 160.

³⁶ Advertisement titled "Grand Republican Ratification To-Night," *Bee*, November 9, 1888, p. 2. "Last Night's Jubilation," *Bee*, November 10, 1888, p. 5.

³⁷ *Bee*, November 9, 1888, p. 2.

NEW AMITIOUS, CHAIRMAN
 P. H. CONSWELL, V. Chairman
 REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
 OF CALIFORNIA
 JAMES P. HENNING, Secretary

REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chairman	John Barker	Exec	W. H. Crook
V. Chairman	P. H. Conswell	Secretary	James P. Henning
Members	W. H. Crook	W. D. Sears	E. S. Flier
	P. H. Conswell	H. J. Oberlander	A. Snider
	Joseph Watson	Philip Burr	H. H. Knapp
	H. H. Knapp	E. W. Roberts	
	W. H. Crook	W. D. Sears	E. S. Flier
	P. H. Conswell	H. J. Oberlander	A. Snider
	Joseph Watson	Philip Burr	H. H. Knapp
	H. H. Knapp	E. W. Roberts	



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

W. W. Morrow	David Bush	W. W. Traylor	John D. ...
W. H. Crook	Richard Child	D. B. Jackson	W. H. ...
A. P. Williams	E. H. Reynolds	W. W. Dodge	F. C. ...
C. F. Russell			

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION
 JULY 28, 1888.
 MARIPOSA COUNTY.
 For

1. ASSESSOR,
2. SHERIFF,
3. CLERK, M. NEWMAN.
4. DISTRICT ATTORNEY, R. B.
5. TREASURER, GEORGE CO
6. CORONER,
7. SURVEYOR, S. J. HARRI
8. SUPERVISOR,
9. JUSTICE OF THE PEACE,
10. JUSTICE OF THE PEACE,
11. CONSTABLE,
12. CONSTABLE,

HOME RULE FOR AMERICA



The American Ticket.
 Republican County Central
 SACRAMENTO COUNTY.
 A. CONKLIN, Secretary.

ANTON L. WHITE, Chairman.

P. E. PLATT.
 ED. I. ROBINSON,
 J. F. CAVENAUGH.



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND SACRAMENTO, 1852-1984

Compiled by Joseph A. Pitti

1852

Franklin Pierce	D	3,281	47.4%
Winfield Scott	W	<u>3,644</u>	52.6%
		6,925	

1856

James Buchanan	D	3,441	44.3%
John C. Fremont	R	942	12.1%
Millard Fillmore	W, A	3,387	43.6%
Other		<u>7</u>	
		7,777	

1860

Abraham Lincoln	R	2,670	35.4%
Stephen Doug1as	D	2,836	37.6%
John Breckinridge	ND	1,684	22.3%
John Bell	CJ	<u>352</u>	4.7%
		7,542	

1864

Abraham Lincoln	P	4,193	70.4%
George McClellan	D	<u>1,765</u>	29.6%
		5,958	

1868

Ulysses S. Grant	R	3,207	59.1%
Horatio Seymour	D	<u>2,216</u>	40.9%
		5,423	

1872

Ulysses S. Grant	R	3,393	69.7%
Horace Greeley	D	1,472	30.2%
Other		<u>5</u>	
		4,870	

1876

Rutherford Hayes	R	3,839	60.7%
Samuel Tilden	D	<u>2,485</u>	39.3%
		6,324	

1880

James Garfield	R	3,796	56.1%
Winfield Hancock	D	2,819	41.7%
James Weaver	G	153	2.3%
Other		<u>1</u>	
		6,769	

1884

Grover Cleveland	D	2,664	36.7%
James G. Blaine	R	4,368	60.1%
Benjamin Butler	G	142	1.9%
John P. St. John	P	<u>92</u>	1.3%
		7,266	

1888

Benjamin Harrison	R	4,769	56.7%
Grover Cleveland	D	3,451	41.1%
Clinton B. Fisk	P	108	1.3%
James I. Curtis	A	<u>77</u>	0.9%
		8,405	

1892

Grover Cleveland	D	3,503	39.3%
Benjamin Harrison	R	4,362	48.9%
James Weaver	PP	890	9.9%
John Bidwell	P	<u>168</u>	1.9%
		8,923	

1896

William McKinley	R	4,600	47.7%
William J. Bryan	D	4,237	44.0%
William J. Bryan	PP	617	6.4%
John M. Palmer	ND	39	0.4%
Joshua Levering	P	49	0.5%
Charles Matchett	SL	58	0.6%
Charles Bentley	N	<u>39</u>	0.4%
		9,639	

1900

William McKinley	R	5,506	54.8%
William J. Bryan	D	4,325	43.0%
John G. Woolley	P	92	0.9%
Eugene V. Debs	SD	<u>131</u>	1.3%
		10,054	

<u>1904</u>			
Theodore Roosevelt	R	6,670	65.2%
Alton Parker	D	2,384	23.3%
Eugene V. Debs	S	1,060	10.4%
Silas Swallow	P	<u>111</u>	1.1%
		10,225	
<u>1908</u>			
William H. Taft	R	6,519	55.1%
William J. Bryan	D	4,538	38.4%
Eugene V. Debs	S	608	5.1%
Eugene Chafin	P	106	0.9%
Thomas Hisgen	I	<u>52</u>	0.4%
		11,823	
<u>1912</u>			
Woodrow Wilson	D	9,869	51.4%
Theodore Roosevelt	PR	7,534	39.2%
William J. Taft	R	36	0.2%
Eugene V. Debs	S	1,556	8.1%
Eugene Chafin	P	<u>213</u>	1.1%
		19,208	
<u>1916</u>			
Woodrow Wilson	D	14,538	54.6%
Charles E. Hughes	R	10,700	40.2%
Allen Benson	S	853	3.2%
James Hanly	P	<u>546</u>	2.0%
		26,637	
<u>1920</u>			
Warren Harding	R	15,634	64.9%
James Cox	D	7,150	29.7%
Eugene V. Debs	S	944	3.9%
Aaron Watkins	P	<u>372</u>	1.5%
		24,100	
<u>1924</u>			
Calvin Coolidge	R	13,400	41.1%
John W. Davis	D	2,285	7.0%
Robert La Follette	PR/S	16,570	50.8%
Herman Faris	P	<u>362</u>	1.1%
		32,617	

1928

Herbert Hoover	R	20,528	50.3%
Alfred Smith	D	19,684	48.2%
Norman Thomas	S	403	0.9%
William Varney	P	<u>237</u>	0.6%
		40,852	

1932

Franklin D. Roosevelt	D	36,372	69.3%
Herbert Hoover	R	14,555	27.7%
Norman Thomas	S	979	1.9%
William Upshaw	P	297	0.6%
William Harvey	L	<u>270</u>	0.5%
		52,473	

1936

Franklin D. Roosevelt	D	47,265	78.5%
Alfred Landon	R	12,120	20.2%
Norman Thomas	S	304	0.5%
Earl Browder	C	249	0.4%
David Colvin	P	<u>241</u>	0.4%
		60,179	

1940

Franklin D. Roosevelt	D	51,351	68.1%
Wendell Wilkie	R	23,201	30.8%
Norman Thomas	S	452	0.6%
Roger Babson	P	187	0.2%
Earl Browder	C	<u>225</u>	0.3%
		75,416	

1944

Franklin D. Roosevelt	D	49,204	66.3%
Thomas Dewey	R	24,611	33.2%
Earl Browder	C		
Claude Watson	P	<u>343</u>	0.5%
		74,218	

1948

Harry S Truman	D	54,197	58.4%
Thomas Dewey	R	35,074	37.8%
Henry Wallace	PR	1,694	1.8%
Claude Watson	P	<u>386</u>	0.4%
		92,842	

1952

Dwight D. Eisenhower	R	63,788	48.5%
Adlai E. Stevenson	D	67,053	50.9%
Vincent Hallinan	PR	441	0.3%
Eric Hass	SL	4	
Stuart Hamblen	P	299	0.2%
	CN	52	
Scattering		<u>4</u>	
		131,641	

1956

Dwight D. Eisenhower	R	67,686	45.1%
Adlai E. Stevenson	D	82,134	54.7%
Enoch Holtwick	P	250	0.2%
Eric Hass	SL	<u>10</u>	
		150,080	

1960

John F. Kennedy	D	109,695	56.3%
Richard M. Nixon	R	84,252	43.3%
Eric Hass	SL	31	
Rutherford Decker	P	<u>778</u>	0.4%
		194,756	

1964

Lyndon B. Johnson	D	149,668	65.7%
Barry Goldwater	R	77,871	34.2%
Eric Hass	SL	4	
Earle Munn	P	2	
Clifton De Berry	SW	1	
	U	1	
Scattering		<u>324</u>	0.1%
		227,871	

1968

Richard M. Nixon	R	97,177	41.7%
Hubert H. Humphrey	D	118,769	50.9%
George Wallace	AIP	16,269	7.0%
Eldridge Cleaver	P&F	544	0.2%
Henning Blomen	SI	5	
Earle Munn	P	1	
Scattering		3	
Eugene McCarthy		405	0.1%
Dick Gregory		<u>73</u>	
		233,246	

1972

Richard M. Nixon	R	141,218	49.3%
George McGovern	D	137,287	47.9%
John Schmitz	AIP	7,841	2.7%
Linda Jenness	SW	13	
Louis Fisher	SL	10	
Gus Hall	C	1	
Earle Munn	P	4	
John Hospers	LP	24	
	U	<u>3</u>	
		286,401	

1976

Jimmy Carter	D	144,203	52.3%
Gerald Ford	R	123,110	44.6%
Roger MacBride	I	1,778	0.7%
Lester Maddox	AIP	1,460	0.5%
Margaret Wright	P&R	1,566	0.6%
Peter Camejo	I	401	0.1%
Gus Hall	I	414	0.2%
Eugene McCarthy		2,620	0.9%
Thomas J. Anderson		299	0.1%
Scattering		<u>25</u>	
		275,876	

1980

Ronald W. Reagan	R	153,721	47.7%
Jimmy Carter	D	130,031	40.4%
John Anderson	I	29,655	9.2%
Ed Clark	LP	5,810	1.8%
Barry Commoner	I	1,867	0.6%
Maureen Smith	P&F	743	0.2%
John Barick	AIP	<u>293</u>	0.1%
		322,120	

1984

Ronald W. Reagan	R	204,922	55.6%
Walter Mondale	D	159,128	43.1%
Bob Pichards	AIP	1,959	0.5%
Sonia Johnson	P&F	1,136	0.3%
David Bergland	LP	<u>1,696</u>	0.5%
		368,841	

1988 Primary Election

Democrats:

Michael Dukakis	98,601	67.2%
Jesse Jackson	40,714	27.8%
Al Gore	3,185	2.2%
Paul Simon	2,517	1.7%
Lyndon La Rouché	<u>1,639</u>	1.1%
	146,656	

Republicans:

George Bush	79,557	82.9%
Robert Dole	12,075	12.6%
Pat Robertson	<u>4,300</u>	4.5%
	95,932	

American Independent Party:

James Griffin	439	67.0%
Bo Gritz	<u>216</u>	33.0%
	655	

Peace and Freedom Party:

Leonora Fulani	53	30.5%
Shirley Isaacson	48	27.6%
Larry Holmes	29	16.7%
Herb Lewin	19	10.9%
Al Hamburg	13	7.5%
Willa Kenoyer	<u>12</u>	6.9%
	174	

LEGEND

A	American	ND	National Democratic
AIP	American Independent	P	Prohibition
B	Berkeley Defense Group	P&F	Peace and Freedom
C	Communist	PP	People's Party
CN	Constitution	PR	Progressive
CU	Constitutional Union	R	Republican
D	Democrat	S	Socialist
G	Greenback	SD	Social Democrat
I	Independence	SL	Socialist Labor
L	Liberty	SW	Socialist Worker
LP	Libertarian	U	Universal
N	National	W	Whig

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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ABOUT THE ILLUSTRATIONS

On the back cover, the party ballots of 1888 are from the collection of the California State Library. Opposite the title page, the Blaine caricature is from *The Wasp*. San Francisco, May 17, 1884, in the Eleanor McClatchy Collection, Sacramento History Center. The centerfold illustration is a portion of the official voting results, November 6, 1888, from the California State Archives. (The Democratic electors not shown were N. Bowden and Byron Waters.) The portraits of the three presidential candidates were provided courtesy of the library at California State University, Sacramento. On page 30, the items in the collage are from the collections of the California State Library and the State Archives. On page 26, the Cleveland-Thurman and Harrison-Morton advertisements are from the *Sacramento Bee*. October 20, 1888.

We thank the staff of the California State Archives, the California Room of the State Library, the library of California State University, Sacramento, and the Eleanor McClatchy Collection of the Sacramento History Center for their help in illustrating this issue of *Golden Notes* from their collections.



- For—
- 1—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, WILLIAM H. L. BARNES
 - 2—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 3—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, GEORGE W. SCHELL
 - 4—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, ROTHENS
 - 5—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT
 - 6—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT
 - 7—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT
 - 8—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT
 - 9—REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
 - 10—CHIEF JUSTICE SUPREME COURT
 - 11—ASSOCIATE JUSTICE SUPREME COURT
 - 12—JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT
 - 13—STATE SENATOR, 13TH DISTRICT
 - 14—MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 18TH DISTRICT
 - 15—MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 19TH DISTRICT
 - 16—MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 20TH DISTRICT
 - 17—COUNTY CLERK, WILLIAM H. L. BARNES
 - 18—SHERIFF, GEORGE W. SCHELL
 - 19—COUNTY TREASURER, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 20—DISTRICT ATTORNEY, GEORGE W. SCHELL
 - 21—COUNTY AUDITOR, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 22—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 23—COUNTY CORONER, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 24—COUNTY SUPERVISOR, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 25—COUNTY SUPERVISOR, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 26—COUNTY SUPERVISOR, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 27—COUNTY SUPERVISOR, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 28—JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 29—JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 30—CONSTABLE, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 31—CONSTABLE, JOHN F. SWIFT
 - 32—ROAD OVERSEER, JOHN F. SWIFT

**REGULAR
DEMOCRATIC TICKET.**



SACRAMENTO COUNTY.

- For—
- 1—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, CAMPBELL P. BERRY
 - 2—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, BERNARD D. MURPHY
 - 3—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, FREDERICK BERINGER
 - 4—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, A. CAMINETTI
 - 5—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, CHARLES A. JENKINS
 - 6—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, P. J. MURPHY
 - 7—ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, N. BOWDEN
 - 8—REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, THIRD DISTRICT, BYRON WATERS
 - 9—CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT, UNEXPIRED TERM, BEN MORGAN
 - 10—ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF SUPREME COURT, UNEXPIRED TERM, NILES SEARLES
 - 11—JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT, UNEXPIRED TERM, J. F. SULLIVAN
 - 12—STATE SENATOR, 13TH SENATORIAL DISTRICT, JOHN W. ARMSTRONG
 - 13—MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 18TH DISTRICT, H. M. LA RUE
 - 14—MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 19TH DISTRICT, CLARENCE B. CLARK
 - 15—MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 20TH DISTRICT, JAMES J. O'CONNOR
 - 16—COUNTY CLERK, ROBERT A. FISHER
 - 17—SHERIFF, BENJAMIN BAILEY
 - 18—TREASURER, GEORGE F. BRONNER
 - 19—DISTRICT ATTORNEY, JOSEPH W. HUGHES
 - 20—AUDITOR AND RECORDER, J. E. MANLOVE
 - 21—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR, A. H. ESTILL
 - 22—CORONER, JOHN MILLER
 - 23—SUPERVISOR, A. G. WINN
 - 24—SUPERVISOR, 2D DISTRICT, ANDREW BLACK
 - 25—SUPERVISOR, 3D DISTRICT, ELIAS RATH
 - 26—SUPERVISOR, 4TH DISTRICT, ERSKIN GREEK
 - 27—JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, TOWNSHIP
 - 28—JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, TOWNSHIP
 - 29—CONSTABLE, TOWNSHIP
 - 30—CONSTABLE, TOWNSHIP
 - 31—CONSTABLE, TOWNSHIP
 - 32—ROAD OVERSEER, TOWNSHIP