

Hedwig Richter

TRANSNATIONAL REFORM AND DEMOCRACY: ELECTION REFORMS IN NEW YORK CITY AND BERLIN AROUND 1900¹

“Disenchantment with democracy” is Sven Beckert’s diagnosis for the United States around 1900.² According to Beckert, the era’s elites paid little regard to the ideals of democracy and worked to exclude the lower classes from the electoral process.³ But was acceptance of democracy really that low? Previously overlooked elite discourses and efforts—particularly discussions that dealt with the practice of elections—show that this explanation does not tell the whole story. By drawing on endeavors concerning election reform in New York City, I argue that at the turn of the century a new understanding of democracy became a kind of modern consensus. This was the case not only in New York, a city in a republic, but also in Berlin, in the Prussian constitutional monarchy. These findings support the interpretation that around 1900 the understanding and acceptance of democracy underwent a seminal change in the transatlantic world. The consensus held that state legitimacy required mass participation and, even more, that mass participation was connected to “everybody” and to a meaning of “universal”—though this ideal of “universal” was constructed and exclusive in important ways.

Some decades before, the situation had been different. Then, the New York bourgeoisie openly advocated abolishing universal (manhood) suffrage.⁴ In the postbellum period, new class dynamics challenged American society. Industrialization and increasing immigration led to the formation of an underprivileged working class, and many elite citizens openly demanded excluding these people.⁵ Furthermore, elections in New York City had been so violent that Republican administrations marshaled federal troops to keep order.⁶ In 1870, the leading Democratic paper *New York World* advised its readers to go to the polls only with arms. To many members of the city elites, mass suffrage caused these ills.⁷ The *Atlantic Monthly* commented on the growing hostility of “the most intelligent classes” toward mass suffrage: “No careful observer can have failed to notice the change of sentiment in this respect.”⁸

Actually, the change was not that remarkable. Contrary to the widespread belief that American society had once been “truly” democratic, disenchantment with democracy was a close companion of mass suffrage from the time of the adoption of the Constitution—and indeed before. Antebellum New York was not “steeped in the country’s republican heritage and the moral imperatives of frugality and thrift.” Also antebellum New York elites did not like to share “public space with other social groups,” as

Hedwig Richter, Universität Greifswald; email: hedwig.richter@googlemail.com

Beckert argues.⁹ In *The Upper Ten Thousand*, Charles Astor Bristed sheds a different light on New York, where the upper class was disinclined to engage in politics and happy to build chic parks for their ladies so that they might no longer be afraid of “troupes of whiskered and mustachioed chatters” on Broadway, as the *New York Post* hoped.¹⁰ Elite citizens in the “metropolis of wealth and fashion” (as Nathaniel Parker Willis, another contemporary, called New York) distanced themselves from polling places, which were crowded with drunken immigrants and workers. Alexander Keyssar sees a “mushrooming upper- and middle-class antagonism to universal suffrage” throughout the country from the 1850s.¹¹ Moreover, Mark W. Summers states, “By the 1850s, many Americans were [...] wondering whether democracy itself had failed, whether the price of it—demagogues, bribetakers, ballot-box stuffers—was too high to bear.”¹²

As early as in 1828, fifty-eight New York citizens petitioned the Common Council complaining about the new constitution of 1821 with its destructive “extension of the elective franchise.”¹³ To quote another contemporary, the New York citizen Philip Hone wrote in 1840, “Scenes of violence, disorder, and riot have taught us in this city that universal suffrage will not do for large communities.”¹⁴ The lamentation of citizens about universal manhood suffrage did not stop—until the turn of the century. Actually, the acceptance of mass suffrage was not a return to old American republican ideals, but an amazingly new emergence.¹⁵ In spite of economic depressions and a high rate of immigration in the 1890s, and though reformers and citizens still disputed women’s suffrage, by 1900 a consensus emerged favoring mass suffrage and mass participation.¹⁶ In 1910, the muckraking journalist Ray Stannard Baker wrote, “The tendency of government throughout the entire civilized world is strongly in the direction of placing more and more power in the hands of the people.”¹⁷ The denial of democracy at this time was past, a bygone occurrence of postwar years. Contemporaries were well aware of that change.¹⁸ Tycoon Andrew Carnegie in his *Triumphant Democracy* sang praises of the American republic, taking *universal suffrage* (including blacks) as a given.¹⁹ Of course, there were still dissenters from mass democracy, but they had been quite marginalized. Furthermore and ironically, the question of black suffrage at this time took a dire turn.

The New York election reformers belonged to the Progressive movement. Much good writing exists on the progressive reformers.²⁰ Few historians, however, have examined the highly committed intellectual elites at the turn of the century who refined technicalities of elections.²¹ These reforms can tell us much about the understanding of democracy at that time because they dealt with the very heart of democracy: elections. The omission of these reformers might be because little research exists on the practices of elections in general.²² Based on new sources, however, this essay also seeks to contribute to the evaluation of the reformers’ general program. To be sure, progressives were an extremely variegated community.²³ Despite thought-provoking dissensions, I agree with those scholars who see in the Progressive movement a common way of interpreting and discussing social and political problems. Progressives argued that a civil society could and should solve the era’s major problems.²⁴ Reformers advocated, in James J. Connolly’s words, “a call for communal action against selfish and corrupting interests.”²⁵ Furthermore, I agree with Shelton Stromquist that progressives aimed to “constitute an imagined people” or tried a “re-inventing of ‘the people.’”²⁶ Similarly, Michael

McGerr points out that one of the progressives' aims was to "change other people." McGerr also stresses the will to "segregate society" as a further progressive aim. For election reformers both components belonged together: changing and segregating "the people." Nevertheless, I do not conform to McGerr's critical verdict about the movement, which targets an undemocratic middle class that wanted to exclude lower classes.²⁷

Instead, looking at the core of modern democracy, elections, I argue that progressive reformers played a major part in making modern democracy more rational and more disciplined, which to them meant more just and fair and, therefore, more democratic. Reformers' dedication to mass suffrage and their "democratic claims" (following Richard L. McCormick) went hand in hand with efforts to ensure the "purity" of suffrage. Safe voting techniques protected voting as a rational act of the responsible modern individual, whose pure will should be falsified neither by parties nor by bribery or lack of education. In other words, reformers enforced the process of functional differentiation. Nevertheless, these efforts had an elitist touch, too. Above all, most of the reformers holding an ideal of a democratic community of rational and equal citizens thought that numerous people (especially paupers and illiterates in the North and blacks in the South) needed additional education to become equal citizens.

I focus on New York City (with a population of 3.4 million) and Berlin (1.9 million) because both cities were central to elite discourses in their respective countries and both were arenas of numerous lively elections. I will first deal with the reform discourses of progressives in New York City, then with technical details of reform and their modernizing impact. This will be the main part of my essay. I will then compare the situation in New York City with the situation in Berlin. The broader international context helps avoid the trap of American exceptionalism.²⁸ Furthermore, it is crucial in illuminating my thesis: at around the turn of the century, mass suffrage and mass participation became a transatlantic consensus. This consensus is important for understanding the worldwide appeal of universal suffrage after World War I. Without the elites' agreement with mass suffrage, and without their achievements concerning the rationalization and the disciplining of elections, this momentous expansion of democracy could not have happened.

REFORMING OF ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

Which mark should the voter make on the ballot paper? Was a cross the best idea? Why not just a single line? Or was a circle the safest sign to avoid any possible misunderstanding? These were the questions that the New York citizen Albert S. Bard concerned himself with around 1900. He was also engaged in the question of what the ballot paper should look like. Not too big, but also not too small. A figurative party emblem could mislead voters into marking the ballot paper without really thinking about their choice. Actually, Bard objected to the practice of marking the paper in favor of a party.²⁹ Voters should be mature and responsible, in order to be able to make a factual decision. This was hard work for Mr. Bard: he had to figure out an election procedure that forced voters to show rationality and responsibility. Bard had a plain image of a republican polity: it should be filled with disciplined, well-educated gentlemen who ponder their vote rationally—a world of honest and efficient manliness.³⁰

Mr. Bard was typical of New York intellectual elites around 1900. He participated in many of the innumerable clubs for world betterment that shot up like mushrooms. Bard's

intellectual associates of the clubs belonged to the Progressive movement. Most of his fellow reformers were middle-class, staid men who regarded it “a serious question whether millionairism is useful to a state.”³¹ Nevertheless, some billionaires such as John Jacob Astor, J. P. Morgan, and Cornelius Vanderbilt supported progressive ideas.³² Important for Albert S. Bard and other reformers were organizations such as the Citizens Union or the City Reform Club. In the Electoral Laws Improvement Association, of which Bard was president, he worked with William Mills Ivins, an acclaimed reformer and Republican politician.³³ Together with Seth Low (educator, Republican mayor of New York, and ex-president of Columbia University), Bard was a member of the Association to Prevent Corrupt Practices at Election.³⁴ Bard also belonged to other societies in New York City that promoted the improvement of election practices, such as the Corrupt Practices Committee, the Municipal Voters’ League, and the Honest Ballot Association.³⁵ Many of the reformers were ambitious lawyers, often with Ivy League degrees. These men dominated the *New York State Bar Association* and used it to pursue their goals.³⁶ Their agenda focused on fighting corruption and assuring fair and free elections. “Honors are easy, where the two ‘machines,’ entrenched in their strongholds, outbid each other across the Bowery in open rivalry as to who shall commit the most flagrant frauds at the polls,” was muckraking journalist Jacob A. Riis’s description of elections in the poor wards. Conditions in these areas invited fraud and corruption. Residents sold their votes in exchange for much-needed protection of the boss and money.³⁷ The newspapers and contemporary journals were full of complaints about destructive election frauds.³⁸

But “new political historians” such as Howard W. Allen and Kay Warren Allen have raised the question of whether election fraud was more or less an invention designed to keep unwanted classes and races from participating in elections. As Allen and Allen remark, “the charges seemed but part of a political campaign of elite groups to regain or retain control of city politics.”³⁹ Progressives, so goes the argument, wanted to get rid of all non-middle-class voters in order to be able to establish their “middle-class paradise.”⁴⁰ These historians use the decline in voter turnout as evidence of the progressives’ exclusionary aims. Whereas in 1896, 79 percent went to the polls, in 1924 fewer than 50 percent did so.⁴¹ For this reason, Paul Kleppner has called the turn of the century the era of political demobilization.⁴² But progressive reforms alone cannot sufficiently explain the long process of turnout decline and its “secular nature,” as Mark L. Kornbluh puts it. Kornbluh convincingly demonstrates that, in addition to the reforms, there were plenty of reasons for this decline. Social changes and new leisure time facilities made elections less central for public amusement. A growing welfare state provided fewer reasons for people to rely on parties and to give their vote to the party boss. Furthermore, the two separate one-party systems, which split among themselves the different constituencies, instead of one national two-party-system, made elections less competitive and less intriguing.⁴³ The decline in turnout was also closely linked to the decline of parties’ importance. As Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin elucidate, “When the parties controlled the polling place, voter turnout was very high. And when they lost that control, turnout declined.”⁴⁴ The complexity of a modern state with an increasing number of duties, such as schooling, social welfare, and urban infrastructure, required an efficient bureaucratic apparatus, not a set of party organizations. Federal expenditures per capita in 1800 amounted to \$17; by 1900 they had risen to \$107.⁴⁵ The growing central authority was hostile to

fierce groups of men gathering in powerful parties, and needed and generated a disciplined society, in line with Norbert Elias's insights about the development of modernity.⁴⁶ Moreover, reformers repeatedly won elections with working-class and lower-middle-class support. Not only elites wanted change, and not only middle-class citizens had the feeling that something had to be done.

Even more important to this essay is the question of whether election fraud actually existed to an appreciable extent. If not, this would indeed suggest that "fraud" was a tactical assertion and not an existing evil. The records, letters, and newspapers, however, provide compelling evidence for widespread election fraud. Contemporaries from all backgrounds, not just the upper and middle classes, regarded fraud as a matter of course.⁴⁷ Records on courts suing election fraud and the countless files about the practical process of elections do offer an insight in election practices.⁴⁸ Often fraud was just too normal to bring to trial. Even overseas, the fraudulent American elections were infamous.⁴⁹ Paul Kleppner claims that the evidence of fraud throughout the United States is "remarkably thin" and depends mostly on a study of Joseph P. Harris, a reformer himself, or Allen and Allen's allegation of a "most fragile evidence" of election fraud, just does not stand up to the extensive historical record.⁵⁰ Not only the overwhelmingly majority of contemporaries long before Harris's book—written in 1934—agreed on the fact that corruption was a haunting problem. Also historians working empirically and consulting a variety of sources, such as Altschuler and Blumin, show the immense extend of fraud.⁵¹ And to be sure: nobody would doubt the frauds against blacks in the decades after Civil War. For sure, fraud was also part of elitist rhetoric, but to deny its very existence in the light of the sources available is highly problematic.⁵²

Historians must evaluate reformers' aims with the pervasiveness of fraud in mind. Reformers saw themselves as a *democratic* elite. They repeatedly referred to the consensus of mass suffrage and democratic ideals.⁵³ "Put the bosses out and put the people in," the banner headline of a leaflet read, offering a neat encapsulation of the reforming credo.⁵⁴ Election reformers identified themselves as "thorough believers in true Democracy" who acted to "prove the independent spirit of the American voter and give positive encouragement to a true Democracy" and to protect "the expression of the popular will."⁵⁵ Reformers emphasized that "the people who are to be governed are entitled to a voice in that government."⁵⁶—"Our form of government is that the people are the sovereigns, and that the power vibrates from them to the officeholder, and not from the officeholder to the people," was a characteristic sentiment of reformers.⁵⁷ "So long as the government of this country is based upon the suffrages of its citizens," declared the *Reform Club* in 1899, "so long will the free and enlightened exercise of the suffrage be the most important factor in that government."⁵⁸

Many reformers even worried about the growing absenteeism of voters at the ballot box.⁵⁹ Some advocated printing a party emblem on the ticket to make casting the ballot easier, though others disagreed with this suggestion.⁶⁰ All in all, Albert S. Bard and his friends reveal themselves—in their internal correspondence, as well as in their programs, leaflets, and amendments—to be devoted republicans; none of them questioned the rightness of universal manhood suffrage. Whatever "true democracy" meant to them—these discourses of democracy were a remarkable transformation from the 1870s, when there was an open and strong opposition to mass suffrage.

That said, it remains a crucial question: what did the progressive reformers mean when they spoke of “true democracy?” If we take a closer look at their reforming ideas, their aim reveals itself in the scrupulous efforts to find the right mark for ballot papers or in the zeal to implement primaries.⁶¹ For sure, their understanding of elections was closely linked to ideas of “purity.” Here the two features of progressivism came together: achieving an “enlightened exercise of the suffrage” required constructing a new people and segregating society, as McGerr calls it: to segregate those already fit for democracy and those who, in the eyes of the reformers, needed help, such as illiterates or new immigrants.⁶² As the close analysis of the election reforms show, reformers intended the proposed techniques to rationalize elections and to ensure voter discipline. They wanted to empower the individual citizen. If the individual citizen has the power to govern, however, that power necessarily must be enlightened and responsible.⁶³ In addition, if the individual governs through his ballot, he must cast that ballot free from influences such as alcohol or bribery or violence. Therefore, reformers also focused on a vigilant civil society and made “watchers” an integral part of elections, as men and women (even before they received suffrage!) supervised the polls. The Honest Ballot Association distributed rewards to the amount of \$1000 for evidence of illegal registration.⁶⁴ Citizens like Albert S. Bard, who decades before would have avoided the teeming polling places, engaged themselves to act as watchers (Fig. 1).⁶⁵ In New York City, the election reformers furnished watchers with blanks to note “troubles,” but also, very telling, to note “remedy suggested”:

TROUBLE SHEET

Time Complaint Was Received: 5:45

A. D.: 23

E. D. and Address: 28 506 W. 177 St. W. St. Nicholas Ave. +
Audubon Ave. A3, 115

Name of Person Calling: Mr. Freedman -
Prog. Party?

Calling from {Address: _____
{Phone: _____

Character of Complaint:
Mr. Nixon accused for marking ballots given to illiterate voters.
See ~~Field~~ Shaw

Call Received by: W.B.

Remedy Suggested:
Placed Jones, Canal 6-2000. Refer Mr. J.
He will send police officer to arrest - Shaw & make
arrest after the count, if the circumstances justify.

FIGURE 1. Albert S. Bard's "Trouble Sheet" when acting as a watcher to monitor elections, 1912.⁶⁶

“The result of an election should be the embodiment of the will of the majority of a free, unprejudiced, sober and educated people;” wrote the reformer John I. Davenport, continuing, very typically, “for it is politically true that prejudice, intoxication, and ignorance are the ancestry of violence and fraud.”⁶⁷ Often, though, poor and uneducated voters came from countries without a democratic tradition; and—so argued the reformers—these immigrants, with their poverty, illiteracy, and their indifference toward politics, were easy prey to bribery. In New York City, immigrants were indeed a remarkable challenge and added to the contemporary “sense of emergency,” to borrow Robert Wiebe’s phrase.⁶⁸ At around the turn of the century, 2.7 of the city’s 3.4 million inhabitants were immigrants or their children.⁶⁹ Reformers hoped that registration would help to keep uneducated immigrants away from the polls, thus ensuring that elections displayed the rational decision of the empowered individual citizen. A “qualified people,” Stromquist called it.⁷⁰

Three examples best reveal how the proposed election reforms reveal the disciplining ideas of segregation and rationality: considerations concerning the ballot papers, registration, and the polling stations.

TECHNIQUES OF RATIONALIZING AND DISCIPLINING

Reformers wrote whole books about the importance of registration and used scientific discourses to flesh out their arguments.⁷¹ They wanted an exact definition of who constituted a citizen and who did not. Until the turn of the century, this question was often left to the men gathering around the polling place, bystanders, voters, party thugs, or officials.⁷² Finally, in 1921, New York City implemented a registration procedure that required at least thirty-one items of information about the voter (Fig. 2):

This mirrors the reformers’ meticulous feat to identify and reach the “honest” citizens. Reformer Edward Ridley Finch (“a Yale graduate, a lawyer, a Republican, and [...] an authority on the evil of ‘repeating,’””) goes into detail about registration in his essay on “The Fight for a Clean Ballot.” In each election district, he expounded, there were up to 650 voters, and the “hours of the voting day are from six o’clock in the morning until five o’clock in the afternoon, 660 minutes. It is obviously impossible to vote with proper safeguard 650 people in 660 minutes.”⁷⁴ One means to define the “sober” voting citizen was to control the voters’ alphabetization. In the 1920s New York City introduced a literacy test.⁷⁵ By the mid-1920s twenty-two states were disfranchising illiterate citizens, thirteen being outside the South.⁷⁶

A second major task was the call for ballots not to be a mere instrument in the hands of parties but to display clearly the individual candidates.⁷⁷ This started with endless considerations about the marks on the ballot.⁷⁸ Typical for the careful attention is the brochure “Judge Lambert’s Rulings on the Marking of Ballots” (Fig. 3). In an introduction, John G. Saxe II, member of the New York State Senate and president of the New York Bar Association, wrote, “Both Judge Giegerich and Judge Lambert agreed that there must be a cross. Two lines which do not cross (1) or a check mark (2) are not ‘cross X marks.’ But the lines need not be ‘straight’ (3).” This was important, because the parties could come to an agreement with fraudulent voters, to mark the ballot in a special way; so the partisans could later check, that the voters voted as pre-decided.

If it de- the in un- re- m-	SIGNATURE OR STATEMENT NUMBER OF ELECTOR	INITIALS OF INSP- TOR MAKING ENTRY	NUMBER OF ENROLL- MENT BLANK	PARTY OF ENROLLED VOTER	NUMBER OF STUB ELECTION DAY	NUMBER OF STUB 1st PRIMARY	NUMBER OF STUB 2d PRIMARY	REMARKS
	24 The foregoing statements are true. <i>Chas. J. Sullivan</i>	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	The foregoing statements are true. <i>Luna Alexander</i>	24	130	Rep	245			
	The foregoing statements are true. <i>Ernest Hernandez</i>	24	131	Rep	246			
	The foregoing statements are true. <i>J. A. Abrams</i>	24	126	Rep	257			
	The foregoing statements are true. <i>Albert K. Abbott</i>	24	381	Rep	154			
	The foregoing statements are true. <i>Margaret Allott</i>	24	392	Rep	81			
	The foregoing statements are true. <i>Louise Allen</i>	24	381	Rep	154			

FIGURE 2. The disciplined and well-defined voter. Detail of Registration Book, New York City, 1921.⁷³

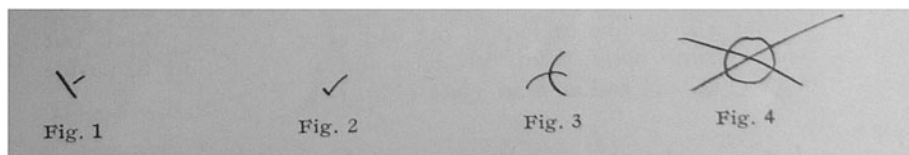


FIGURE 3. In “Judge Lambert’s Rulings on the Marking of Ballots” (around 1905).⁷⁹

They also wanted the ticket to offer an opportunity for independent candidates.⁸⁰ This meant that it should be possible not only to mark the cross for a party (a “straight ticket”), but to split the vote and have the opportunity to vote for candidates of different parties or even an independent candidate (a “split ticket,” Fig. 4).

Others felt that the ticket should induce more thinking and more deliberation. Most reformers favored the Massachusetts ballot (Fig. 5):

The Massachusetts ballot was a version of the “Australian ticket,” which granted many of the reformers’ ideas for a rational election decision. It helped foster secrecy and therefore hindered party influence, because then party members could no longer control the vote. The handling of the ticket clearly required a disciplined and well-educated citizen. The reform clubs also lobbied for the introduction of voting machines, since machines were much better than ballot papers at signaling the exact vote of the citizen.⁸³ Voting machines also had the side effect of normally being too complicated for those who could not read, who accordingly were prevented from voting (Fig. 6).

The discourses of election reform also related to a variety of efforts in social engineering.⁸⁵ For many of the reformers, election amendments were a part of the whole universe of reform efforts. Albert S. Bard, for example, became known not for his work in

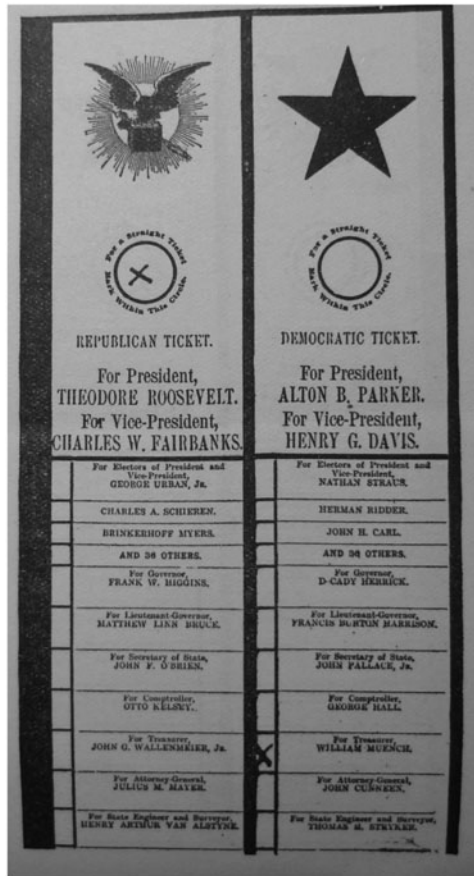


FIGURE 4. Possibility to split the vote and to be compelled to vote for one party only, 1904.⁸¹

improving elections but for his protection of historic monuments in New York City. Growing cities such as New York had to deal with previously unknown problems: piles of waste and unsanitary conditions, widespread poverty among immigrants, crime, and alcoholism.⁸⁶ Election reform was intimately connected to the fight against these evils, as all of these problems required the intervention of a professional administration. In 1898, citizens from all over the country declared about elections “that to purify this system is to take a long step in the direction of honesty, economy, and efficiency in every branch of the public service.”⁸⁷ One progressive aim was not only to banish dirt from the streets, but also to illuminate New York City streets—and New York polling places.⁸⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, 90 percent of the polling places in New York immigrant districts were located in taverns (Fig. 7).⁹⁰ Reformers opposed the placement of voting stations in inns, small basement shops, or airless sitting rooms. They disapproved of the wild mixture of alcohol and disturbances in these voting places, which they connected to the prevalence of voter fraud like stuffed ballot boxes or repeated voting by one

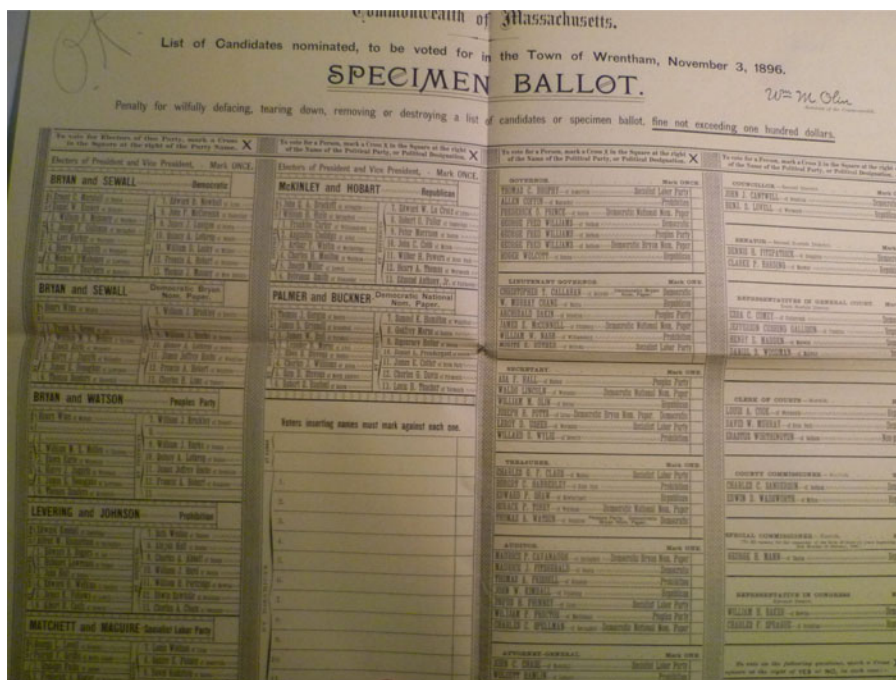


FIGURE 5. For many reformers the ideal ticket: detail of *Specimen Ballot for Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1896*.⁸²

person. Polling places, they argued, should be light and tidy, with no candlelight, but rather electric or gas lighting. And to ensure the private, rational choice, there had to be polling booths. Finally, at the beginning of the new century, reformers asked the police to check polling places before balloting began to assure that they were “fitted up, swept, heated, properly lighted.”⁹¹

Beginning in 1916, elections in New York City took place exclusively in public buildings such as courthouses, town halls, and schools.⁹³ The chairman of the *Board of Elections* called this denouement a “complete success,” which contributed to the “most wholesome developments of electoral practices in this City.”⁹⁴ A municipal report enthused: “the atmosphere and surroundings [...] cannot fail to have a very wholesome effect upon those who go there to register and cast their votes.”⁹⁵ “The use of public buildings, with plenty of space, light, and air, and with an atmosphere of respectability,” the political scientist Joseph P. Harris stated years later, “tends to reduce the rowdiness which sometimes prevails at the polls. The use of basement rooms in apartments, of small shops, and contested quarters tends to facilitate frauds.”⁹⁶

Is it convincing to see these diligent and somehow pettifogging reformers as a phalanx of conspirators who claimed democracy, but who behind closed doors really meant aristocracy. Yet the sight behind these closed doors—the letters and notes of reformers—do not provide evidence of this assumption. Despite the decline of turnout (which was, as shown above, not only due to the reform efforts, but also because of the secular

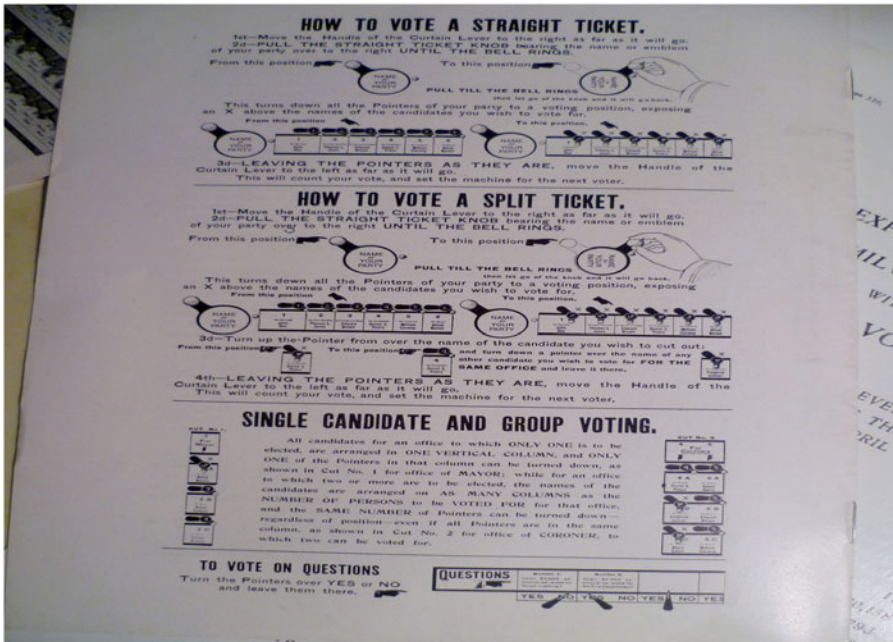


FIGURE 6. Easy to handle? “Instruction manual for U.S. Standard Voting Machine.”⁸⁴

decline of parties’ importance), the new election practices had many advantages: they allowed women to appear at the polling station, they helped diminish the power of parties and bullies—and, yes, they prevented fraudulent votes. If elections are considered to be an institutionalized procedure for the choosing of office holders by the summation of the individual decisions of the people, as Stein Rokkan puts it, then the reformers’ achievements came closer to this aim than the old election practice. The progressives wanted the individual citizen to choose, and not the money of the bribes or the parties or the political machines. Therefore education and technical changes to balloting were crucial for their concept of citizenship.

But what about the southern states? Stromquist speaks of the “centrality of race to Progressive reform,” and Walter Nugent claims that the “majority of the Americans in the early twentieth century, progressives included, did not believe in racial equality.”⁹⁷ Without any doubt, race was the reformer’s blind spot. Northern reformers, however, had the “luxury of silence about race,” as McGerr puts it.⁹⁸ Still, reforms in the South and in the North were quite different. In the North, reformers wanted to stop party rule; in the South, they cemented party rule with the help of their new constitutions and white primaries. The demobilization of voters in the South around 1900 was the largest in U.S. history. In the North, for many reformers, exclusion of African Americans was due to their lack of education, and not to race.

Let us have a closer look at the ideas about African American voters in the South of a typical reformer, E. L. Godkin, an abolitionist and founder of the magazine *The Nation*, because he was extremely influential—in some respects the primary voice of the reform

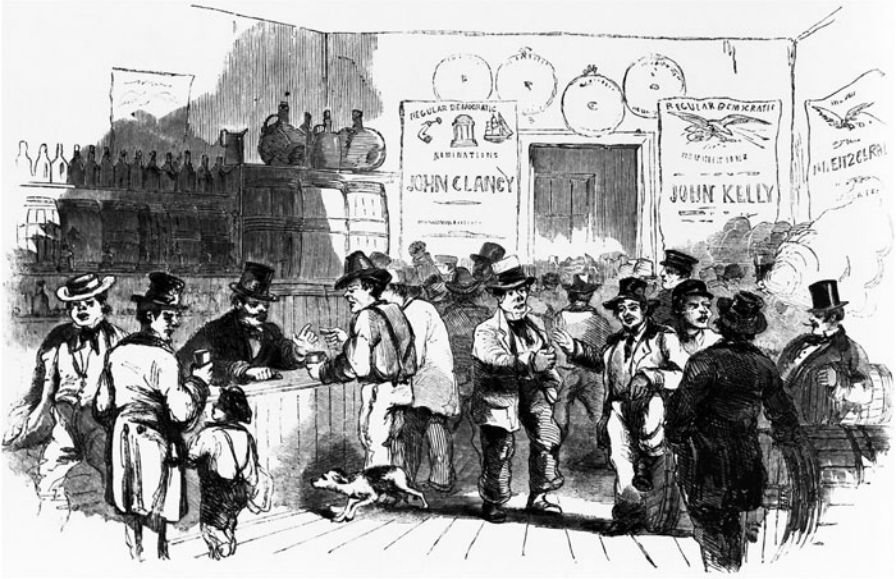


FIGURE 7. Before Progressive Reforms. "Voting Place, No 488, Pearl Street, Sixth Ward, New York City, 1858."⁸⁹



FIGURE 8. After Progressive Reform. Electric lighting, polling booths, sober men, rational vote: New York Polling Place in around 1910.⁹²

movement. Being a supporter of the civil service reforms to professionalize administration, he generally doubted the abilities of uneducated men to execute participation and control.⁹⁹ In an essay on “The Republican Party and the Negro” in 1889, he defended the actions of Reconstruction and criticized the neglect of the Republican Party of the “Negro’s political or social rights at the North,” especially concerning schooling, while only concentrating on blacks in the South—obviously to get their (Republican) votes. At the same time Godkin believed that the legislature in some southern states, especially in South Carolina and Mississippi, suffered from heavy misrule at the time when federal military troops ensured Reconstruction in the South between 1867 and 1872.¹⁰⁰ To be sure Godkin, the strong supporter of abolitionism, developed during Reconstruction a disconcerting sympathy for “white supremacy.” Therefore, he became a controversial figure among abolitionists, although also an intellectual leader of the liberal reform movement.¹⁰¹ “Nothing but education will make the southern Negro a free voter in the American sense of the term. The one question [...] is whether the whites who control the State governments are making reasonable provision for raising him in point of intelligence to the white man’s level,” Godkin concluded.¹⁰² He explained black exclusion not as a result of race but of a deficient education, and therefore the exclusion seemed to him logical if not inevitable.

However, W. E. B. Du Bois delineates a similar picture. He saw a majority of African American voters as victims of political machines, also linking their allegedly political “incompetence” to a lack of education and exclusion through a white society. Du Bois complained, “And when election day comes he [the black voter] receives a bit of printed paper with unknown names and deposits it in a place indicated.”¹⁰³ Following the tradition of educating blacks (like paupers and immigrants) to become part of the “sober and educated people” (to quote John I. Davenport), intellectuals and reformers between 1909 and 1910 founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which among other goals sought to secure full suffrage for black citizens.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, for some reformers, their efforts for “pure elections” were in fact the same as their fight for black suffrage and against white election fraud to prevent Afro Americans from voting during Reconstruction.¹⁰⁵ To tell a citizen, “he cannot vote until he learns to read is not the same as saying he cannot vote,” one reformer noted.¹⁰⁶ In the South, the call for education had another tone: “Get rid of the illiterate and corrupt voters and assure control [...] by the whites,” as a newspaper blared in 1898.¹⁰⁷ Southerners directed literacy tests against blacks, a campaign, which, as has been well documented, was terribly successful. Years before the northern States did, the South widely introduced the literacy test—but, ultimately for a very different purpose.¹⁰⁸

All of these election reforms were seemingly reacting to special problems in the United States: racial tensions, massive election frauds, as well as to a high percentage of immigrants, a huge potential for violence, a demoralized urban administration, and a well-organized corrupt election machine. Crucially, though, these discourses of reform can also be found worldwide. Indeed, election reform was a kind of generalized movement throughout the West. Space precludes going into extensive detail, but I will examine the case of Berlin, to underscore the worldwide similarities and meanings in election reform. Berlin permits an insightful case study, because in Prussia the infamous “Dreiklassenwahlrecht” (Three-Class Franchise) was still in force, while Germany after 1871 had the most progressive suffrage in Europe, with an equal, universal, secret,

manhood ballot. The German nation also did not exclude minorities like the Poles (unlike the United States, which officially excluded Chinese inhabitants and “Indians”).

ELECTION REFORMS IN BERLIN

At noon on Sunday, February 27, 1910, 8000 people gathered in the Berlin *Zirkus Busch*, a fashionable rotunda in the pompously eclectic style of the 1890s, to protest against the unequal Prussian Three-Class Franchise (“Dreiklassenwahlrecht”). The meeting was not a “party event,” as the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* underscored; it was a “huge manifestation of non-politicians, desired and launched by scholars and citizens,” among them industrialists and artists.¹⁰⁹ Thousands more did not find a place in the building. When the meeting ended, the departing crowds melded with the masses waiting outside and spontaneously marched toward the castle. There they started to rise in protest against the unequal Prussian suffrage and to hail equal universal manhood suffrage.¹¹⁰

The strong international interdependence of social reform has been well researched.¹¹¹ The social sciences, offering the scientific background to reforms, were a successful European export item.¹¹² American progressives looked closely at other countries’ social reforms, especially to Germany.¹¹³ Sebastian Conrad underscores the point: “Social elites pursuing reform policies were no longer able to do this merely by pointing to precedents on the local or regional level.”¹¹⁴ Election reform was also a major topic in Europe around 1900, and in most European countries, such as Denmark, Sweden, or Germany, there was a vigorous process of democratization.¹¹⁵ Also in these countries democratization was connected to reforms of election techniques. Within roughly one decade around 1900, a number of European states introduced the secret ballot: for example, Italy in 1895, Austria in 1907, France in 1913.¹¹⁶ In Berlin, the *Zirkus Busch* meeting was only one out of many meetings in favor of election reforms. Newspapers and political rallies addressed the issue election after election. Against the backdrop of a common acceptance of a wide suffrage, Berliners furiously debated the reform ideas. Here, too, the aim was to protect the “will of the people.” Interestingly, while in New York City reform ideas arose from civil society, in Berlin—though accompanied by public discussions—ideas for improvement often came from the highly effective administration.¹¹⁷ This is important, because consensus in Prussia and Germany had to be accompanied by acceptance on the part of the influential and professional bureaucracy. German bureaucratic elites had a long tradition of instituting liberal and Progressive reforms.¹¹⁸ Prussians valued government service more than did Americans. Government service offered a promising career path for aspiring men, and state officials were an important and well-respected part of the German society. Therefore, German civil society and bureaucracy were closely intertwined.

Even the majority of conservative politicians in Prussia no longer militated against mass participation. Far from it! Conservatives vehemently rejected the frequent and often tactical accusations by liberals and leftists that right-wing parties were planning to abolish universal manhood suffrage for elections to the German parliament, the *Reichstag*.¹¹⁹ Mass suffrage had become a symbol for “civilization.” In 1892, for example, the distinguished Catholic *Staatslexikon* stated approvingly that “most civilized states” had accepted democratic ideals, particularly the idea of equality within the franchise.¹²⁰ As early as 1883, the conservative minister of education, Robert Viktor von Puttkamer,

declared in the Prussian parliament that “a civilized nation of culture [Kulturstaat]” should widen the “precious political right,” the suffrage, “as far as possible.”¹²¹ Intellectuals, politicians, and social scientists persistently referred to mass suffrage as a matter of “Kulturnation” (“nation of culture”) or “civilized states.”¹²² Full of admiration for the American method of governance, the historian Otto Hintze in 1914 saw a general “democratization of public life” in all nation of cultures [Kulturstaaten].¹²³

Leading figures such as Max Weber, Ferdinand Tönnies, Friedrich Meinecke, or Gerhart Hauptmann repeatedly showed their commitment to democratic participation and urged for reforms in Prussia.¹²⁴ The German reform community corresponded in nationwide newspapers and scientific journals. In comparison with the United States, several intellectuals did not feel less democratic, but less venal. Prussian historian Hans Delbrück, expounded, “Americans do not understand that we feel more free under our severe but accurate and parliamentary and well controlled civil service regiment [Beamten-Regiment] than under a corrupt demagogue regiment.”¹²⁵ Mass suffrage for many Germans was a point of honor and pride. “We do not believe,” wrote the *Weser Zeitung* euphorically in 1897, “that there has ever been on earth something that can be compared even from afar to the electoral apparatus, which exists in all civilized countries, either in its extent or in its magnitude, its refinement or technical accomplishment.”¹²⁶ As Margaret Anderson demonstrates, German society before World War I was familiar with and generally fond of democratic practices.¹²⁷ In the last prewar elections to the German *Reichstag* in 1912 turnout was 85 percent, and the Social Democrats won the highest result with one third of all votes.

This does not mean that there was no opposition to universal manhood suffrage. In addition, though severely criticized, the Three-Class Franchise (which was universal but not equal) would not be abolished until the end of World War I. In Saxony, a country with a strong socialist party, conservatives even managed to install a Class Franchise as late as 1896. The spirit of reform proved stronger, however, and the newly installed suffrage was abolished in 1909. What is more, several South German states enlarged their suffrage in 1905 and 1906 to universal manhood suffrage.¹²⁸ Prussia was under heavy pressure. A prestigious newspaper commented on the various election reforms and reform efforts: “In the face of the undeniable democratization of the common opinion it is sure enough that Prussia cannot stand back as the only exception.”¹²⁹ “Prussia should not oppose to the developing law of the whole world of culture,” a liberal politician wrote. “All peoples get democratized right now. Even Prussia cannot miss this trend.”¹³⁰ By 1900, even conservatives felt that voting had to be more equal—and conservatives themselves defended this Class Franchise by noting its universality.¹³¹ They underscored that they only opposed equal suffrage, but not universal suffrage. Much evidence suggests that the World War stopped the reforming process and that the Prussian unequal suffrage would have been abolished within a short period of time. All in all, criticism of universal suffrage was a rearguard action. For example, after a discussion in the German parliament on universal male suffrage, the traditional *Hamburger Nachrichten* ranted: “The Reichstag session was a unanimous homage to the one and only all-powerful and inerrable sovereign in present-day Germany: the universal suffrage of the Reichstag.”¹³²

Reform discourses were omnipresent in Germany. All political sides took part, including conservative players. They accused Social Democrats, especially in Berlin, of committing “election terror” (“Wahlterror”) in working-class districts. “Wahlterror”



FIGURE 9. The sober, political man: information leaflet “Insulation walls for elections,” ca. 1902.¹³⁶

consisted of bullying anybody who did not vote for them, which meant boycotting businesses or discriminating against every worker who did not want to join them.¹³³ Except for some marginal conservative groups, every party claimed its zeal to protect the secrecy of the ballot of the German Reichstag suffrage.¹³⁴ Hence, liberal and socialist parties, social reformers, and the administration all backed a 1903 plan to ensure secret and fair elections.¹³⁵ In Berlin as well, the reforms sought to ensure that only rational, responsible citizens, freed of other influences, would cast ballots. Because of this desire, the 1903 reform introduced the secret, enclosed ballot and private polling booths.

There were also wide discussions concerning a new and standardized form for the ballot and ballot box (see Figs. 8, 9 and 10).¹³⁷ In the *Reichstag* in Berlin they discussed at length such technical problems as the special difficulties in the countryside of installing ballot boxes.¹³⁸ The Berlin municipality and intellectuals debated fair election registration. A certain Dr. Otto Arendt claimed in *Der Tag*, a Berlin journal that provided a platform for election reform discussions, “Registration lists are the foundation of the suffrage, and hence deserve to find much more attention than before.”¹³⁹ Finally, the Berlin administration found an efficient system that combined a permanent registration of citizens and a newly composed registration list for every election.¹⁴⁰ Years later, New York reformers also demanded permanent registration.¹⁴¹ As in New York, reforms of this kind were intended to ensure the privacy of the ballot and the “free expression of the people,” and to protect the “highest and holiest property of the people,” as a German journalist put it.¹⁴²



FIGURE 10. The modern person: autonomous, rational, responsible, empowered. “Performing the act of voting,” model of a fraud resistant ballot box, Germany, 1910.¹⁵⁷

Reformers on both sides of the Atlantic looked to the same electoral technologies to “purify” the act of voting and, by extension, the voter. The “*Berliner Tageblatt*” wrote that the new laws concerning ballot booths and envelopes would help to create a voter with “a sense of autonomy.”¹⁴³ A conservative politician interpreted the improvement of the secret ballot as a means to “foster political responsibility.”¹⁴⁴ Even Prussia, with its antiquated Three-Class Franchise, which around 1900 appeared embarrassing to many citizens, adopted modern techniques of voting. Some large cities introduced the possibility of casting the vote throughout the entire election day, and not just during a single election meeting.¹⁴⁵ All in all, modern elections in a “civilized” country were no longer possible without standard techniques of voting. Election practices in the United States and Germany became more and more similar.

CONCLUSION

The varied election reforms concerning election techniques are far from minor questions. They reveal the very idea of the responsible, empowered, disciplined, and rational

citizen. Obviously, the elites' answer to immigration, growing social inequality, corruption, and machine politics was not to deny universal suffrage, as some had previously done.¹⁴⁶ Rather, the highly complex and exhausting endeavors for reform actually reveal the reformers' aim to protect mass democracy.

The dedication to the "purity of the polls" must be seen as part of a "return to the people" movement.¹⁴⁷ The efforts to install primaries, to delegate nominations to the people, to offer methods for an exact count, to implement improvements in referendum processes, and to push back party influence and bribery—were all part of the "purification." Reformers and officials introduced modern election techniques as a means to guarantee an essential aspect of the modern democratic idea: that is, the voter should act in a mature, responsible, and rational manner, and that, therefore, elections should be conducted in a disciplined manner, without any bribery or violence. Paradoxically, reformers in the United States believed that creating this "modern voting man" necessitated an education process to construct a disciplined people. Therefore, they took measures to segregate those persons whom they considered not (yet) fit for executing a rational vote. Most reformers, though, intended segregation as a transitional stage. Theoretically expressed, the aim was a functional differentiation—to free politics from other influences and enable a "rational" government. "Rationality," and not only in Max Weber's view, was the hallmark of modernity. In his essay on "Contesting Democracy," Jan-Werner Müller draws the picture of an age of reason and security. He quotes Stefan Zweig, who wrote about the years before the First World War: "everything radical, everything violent seemed impossible in an age of reason."¹⁴⁸ The quotidian concerns of ballot reform were intimately enmeshed with these grander themes of modern life.

Besides, one cannot overestimate the reforming efforts in consideration of one of the most important changes in twentieth-century societies: suffrage, emancipation, and equal rights for women. Prevailing middle-class progressive gender ideals informed arguments favoring female suffrage. These ideals considered women more disciplined, less prone to alcohol and violence, and more concerned about the public good.¹⁴⁹ In addition, only disciplined elections without male binge drinking and without violence could enable the wide diffusion of the idea that women, like men, could participate and vote. Paul Kleppner contends that "other changes in the political system—e.g., female suffrage, initiative, referendum, recall, and direct election of U.S. Senators—seemingly do not fit into the same framework" of a general decline in democracy during this period.¹⁵⁰ Regarding election reforms as a process of disciplining and rationalizing, however, these changes actually easily fit into a framework that emphasizes the centrality of democratization.

The look at Germany and Berlin underscores that election reforms were more than a middle-class effort of New York progressives. As other studies on Great Britain and France show, election reforms around the turn of the century built the very grounding of modern elections in the transatlantic world.¹⁵¹ Standardized procedures for casting the ballot and voting practice with standardized paper ballots and polling booths were part of the "universalization of Eurocentric practices and values," as expressed by Arif Dirlik.¹⁵² The techniques of voting are so important because in the ballot booth the citizen is the *modern* individual: no longer subject to social, religious, traditional, or other influences. The man insulated in the booth is the very construction of the modern person: autonomous, rational, responsible, and empowered.¹⁵³ The great global sweep for a universal suffrage, including for women, would not have been

possible without the reformers' achievements around 1900. Therefore, I disagree with Sven Beckert's assertion that "disenchantment with democracy" became a hallmark of these years.¹⁵⁴ At the turn of the century, democratic practice was broadly accepted. This is clear not only due to the reformers' discourses in favor of mass suffrage, but also due to their meticulous endeavors to ensure fair election techniques, and to capture the individuals' will via complex election procedures.¹⁵⁵ Electoral techniques to secure a modern voter, who cast his or her individual and rational ballot, constituted a crucial part of the disciplining project, a crucial part of what Norbert Elias called the "civilizing process."¹⁵⁶ Ultimately, civilization came to mean democracy, and we continue to live with that powerful transatlantic progressive legacy.

NOTES

¹I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their ideas for improvement.

²Sven Beckert, "Democracy and its Discontents: Contesting Suffrage Rights in Gilded Age New York," *Past and Present* 2 (2002): 114–55, here 155.

³For example, Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 114–17; Donald W. Rogers, "Introduction: The Right to Vote in American History" in *Voting and the Spirit of American Democracy: Essays on the History of Voting and Voting Rights in America*, ed. Donald W. Rogers (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 1–18, here 11–12; Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted? The Dynamics of Electoral Turnout, 1870–1980* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), 28–82.

⁴David Quigley, *Second Founding: New York City, Reconstruction, and the Making of American Democracy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 32; on the postwar context, Eric Foner, *Reconstruction. America's Unfinished Revolution. 1863–1877* (New York: Perennial Classics, 2002); Hubertus Buchstein, "Geheime Abstimmung und Demokratiebewegung. Die politischen Ziele der Reformbewegung für das 'Australian Ballot' in den USA," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 31 (2000): 48–75, here 55; Beckert, "Democracy and its Discontents"; see also Mark W. Brewin, *Celebrating Democracy. The Mass-Mediated Ritual of Election Day* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 138; "The Protection of the Ballot in National Elections: Proceedings of the American Association of Social Scientists," *Journal of Social Science June* (1869): 108; Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 393; see also letter from Edwin D. Godkin to Norton, February 28, 1865, in *The Gilded Age Letters of Godkin*, ed. William M. Armstrong (Albany: State University of New York, 1974), 21 f.

⁵"South Carolina: Her Wrongs and the Remedy," Remarks of Col. Richard Lathers, Delivered at the Opening of the Taxpayers' Convention, Columbia, SC, Feb. 17, 1874, Samuel J. Tilden Papers, NYPL (New York Public Library); Cf. Alexander Winchell, "Experiment of Universal Suffrage," *The North American Review*, 136/315 (1883): 119–34; Alexander Keyssar, "Voting" in *Princeton Encyclopedia of American Political History*, ed. Michael Kazin et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 854–63, here 856.

⁶This is a rarely studied part of NYC election history; see David Quigley, "Acts of Enforcement: The New York City Election of 1870," *New York History* 83/3 (2002): 271–92.

⁷Cited in letter of U.S. Marshal's Office, Southern District of New York, New York, to Hon A. T. Ackerman, 10.10.70, RG 60, Entry A1 9: Letters Received, 1809–70, Container 121, Folder: Southern District of New York (U.S. Marshal) Sept. 22, 1869–Nov. 26, 1870, NARA as well as further letters in this container.

⁸"Limited Sovereignty in the United States," *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (Feb. 1879): 185.

⁹Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis. New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2.

¹⁰Charles Astor Bristed, *The Upper Ten Thousand: Sketches of American Society By a New Yorker* (London: Parker, 1852), 275. Quoted in Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 791.

¹¹Keyssar, *Right to Vote*, xxii–xxiii.

¹²Mark W. Summers, *The Plundering Generation: Corruption and the Crisis of the Union, 1849–1861* (New York, 1987), 303–4.

¹³Common Council of the City of New York, 1828, NYC Common Council Papers, Box 115, Folder 2143, Elections 1828, NYCM.

¹⁴Diary Entry, November 4, 1840, Philip Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851*, Vol. 2, ed. Bayard Tuckerman (New York: Dodd Mead, 1910), 51; see also Diary Entry, Dec. 17, 1835, Vol. 1, 184.

¹⁵Petition Sames Pohner to Mayor, Aldermen + Commonalty of the City of New York, Nov. 20, 1829, NYC Common Council Papers, Box 122, Folder 2218, NYCMA (New York City Municipal Archives); files in NYC Common Council Papers, Box 129, Folder 2294, Elections 1830 and Box 135, Folder 2366, Elections 1831, NYCMA; Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen von 1830–1833, and Documents of the Board of Aldermen, No 1–2, 4–5, NYCM. Though, of course, there were also continuities, cf. Ronald Hayduk, *Gatekeepers to the Franchise: Shaping Election Administration in New York* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 2005), 45 et passim; see also Charles Z. Lincoln, *The Constitutional History of New York*, Vol. III. 1894–1905 (Rochester, NY: The Lawyer's Co-Operative Pub. Co., 1906), 74–134.

¹⁶Shelton Stromquist, *Reinventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 67; Walter Nugent, *Progressivism. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 64 and 115 f.; Steven L. Piott, *American Reformers, 1870–1920. Progressives in Word and Deed* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 10. Richard L. McCormick, "Public Life in Industrial America, 1877–1917" in *The New American History, Revised and Expanded Edition*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 107–32, here 109.

¹⁷Ray Stannard Baker, "Negro Suffrage in a Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly* 106 (1910): 612–19, here 613 f.

¹⁸Kirk Harold Porter, "Negro Suffrage. Disfranchising the Negro," 1918 in *Selected Articles on the Negro Problem*, ed. Julia E. Johnson (New York: Wilson Company u. Grafton & Co., 1921), 199–203, here 199; E. L. Godkin, "The Republican Party and the Negro," *Forum* VI (1889): 246–57, Foner, *Reconstruction*, 492 f.

¹⁹Andrew Carnegie, *Triumphant Democracy or Fifty Years' March of the Republic* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886), 29, 221–22, 326 et passim.

²⁰See current state of research in Catherine Cocks, Peter C. Holloran, Alan Lessoff, "Introduction," *Historical Dictionary of the Progressive Era* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), xxvii–i; Tracy L. Steffes, *School, Society, and State: A New Education to Govern Modern America, 1890–1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); for New York City, see John Louis Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement: Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

²¹As an exception, see Stromquist, *Reinventing*, 67–70; Herbert Bass, "The Politics of Ballot Reform in New York State, 1888–90," *New York History* 42:3 (1961): 253–72; Malcolm Crook and Tom Crook, "Reforming Voting Practices in a Global Age: The Making and Remaking of the Modern Secret Ballot in Britain, France and the United States, c. 1600–c. 1950," *Past & Present* 212 (2011): 199–237.

²²See for the current state of research Claudia Gatzka et al. (ed.), *Wahlen in der transatlantischen Moderne*. (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2013); Frank O'Gorman, "Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The Social Meaning of Elections in England, 1780–1860," *Past & Present* 135 (1992): 79–115.

²³Catherine Cocks, Peter C. Holloran, Alan Lessoff, "Introduction," *Dictionary of the Progressive Era*, xxvii–i, here xxxi; Steven L. Piott, *Daily Life in the Progressive Era* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 133.

²⁴Peter Filene, "An Obituary for 'The Progressive Movement,'" *American Quarterly* 22:1 (1970): 20–34; for an overview of the debate, see Robert D. Johnston, "Re-Democratizing the Progressive Era: The Politics of Progressive Era Political Historiography," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1 (2002): 68–92. Nugent, *Progressivism*, 1; James J. Connolly, *The Triumph of Ethnic Progressivism: Urban Political Culture in Boston, 1900–1925* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8–14 and 77–78; Jon Woronoff, "Editor's Foreword" in *Historical Dictionary of the Progressive Era* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), vii; see also the definitions of Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), xiv–xvi; Robert Harrison, *Congress, Progressive Reform, and the New American State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3–6.

²⁵Connolly, *Triumph*, 11 f.

²⁶Stromquist, *Reinventing*, viii.

²⁷McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, xv.

²⁸Seymour Martin Lipset, "Still the Exceptional Nation?," *Wilson Quarterly* 24:1 (2000): 31–45.

²⁹Cf. Albert S. Bard Papers, NYPL; Alan Ware, "Anti-Partisan and Party Control of Political Reform in the United States: The Case of the Australian Ballot," *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (2000): 1–29.

³⁰Cf. the intriguingly antediluvian description of this world in L. E. Fredman, "Seth Low: Theorist of Municipal Reform," *Journal of American Studies* 6 (1972): 19–39.

³¹Winchell "Experiment of Universal Suffrage," 132 f.

³²Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement*, 99 f.

³³Bard Papers, 1896–1959, Box 18, Folder 8: Elections 1906–1939, NYPL, particularly "Statement on The Election Laws Improvement Association," Feb. 9, 1906. Ivins was author of the esteemed book *Machine Politics and Money in Elections in New York City* (New York City, 1887), accessed June 25, 2013, <http://www.archive.org/details/machinepolitics01livingoog>.

³⁴Bard Papers, 1896–1959, Box 18, Folder 8: Elections 1906–1939, NYPL.

³⁵Bard Papers, 1896–1959, files in Boxes 18, 62–64 and 69, NYPL.

³⁶Cf. W. M. Ivins, "On the Electoral System of the State of New York. A Paper presented at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the New York Bar Association," Jan. 17, 1906, Bard Papers, Box 73, NYPL; "The Worthless Ballot Law," *New York Times*, May 29, 1908; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, "Election Methods and Reforms in Philadelphia," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 27 (1901): 181–204; Joseph P. Harris, *Registration of Voters in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1929).

³⁷Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York: Charles Scribener's Sons, 1890), 43.

³⁸See footnote below.

³⁹Howard W. Allen and Kay W. Allen, "Vote Fraud and Data Validity" in *Analyzing Electoral History: A Guide to the Study of American Voting Behavior*, ed. Jerome M. Clubb et al. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981), 171; see also Paul Kleppner, "Defining Citizenship: Immigration and the Struggle for Voting Rights in Antebellum America" in *Voting and the Spirit of American Democracy: Essays on the History of Voting and Voting Rights in America*, ed. Donald W. Rogers (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 43–54; Frances Fox Piven et al., *Keeping Down the Black Vote: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters* (New York: New Press, 2009); Janet B. Lane: *Voter Registration* (New York: Nova Science, 2002); Hayduk, *Gatekeepers*; Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888–1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 15. Cf. Alan Lessoff and James J. Connolly, "From Political Insult to Political Theory: The Boss, the Machine, and the Pluralist City," *Journal of Policy History* 25:2 (Spring 2013): 139–72.

⁴⁰Referring to a quotation by the philosopher William James in 1899, McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, xv; cf. Walter D. Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1970).

⁴¹Fredman, *The Australian Ballot*; Buchstein, "Geheime Abstimmung."

⁴²Kleppner, *Who Voted?*, 28–82.

⁴³Mark L. Kornbluh, *Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 2.

⁴⁴Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 269.

⁴⁵Randall G. Holcombe, *From Liberty to Democracy: The Transformation of American Government* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 139.

⁴⁶Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000; first German edition 1939), 365–81.

⁴⁷Just some typical examples of documents: About Sixth Ward Elections, Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, Bd. VI, S. 406–19, Dec. 3, 1910, NYCMA; "More Arrests for Illegal Voting Than He Has Ever Known," *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1905; "Incidents of the day," *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1905; "Hearst Fight to-morrow," *Evening Post*, Nov. 13, 1905; "Hearst Gains Grow in Ballot Re-count," *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1908—and many more articles in the *New York Times*; files in Bard Papers, 1896–1959, Box 18 + 62, NYPL; letters in Gaynor Administration, Box 21, Folder 190, Board of Elections, 1910, NYCMA; Oakey A. Hall, 1869–72, Board of Elections, Affidavits re: Election Fraud, Box 1217, Roll 15, Folder 15, 1871, NYCMA; Edward Ridley Finch: "The Fight for a Clean Ballot," *The Independent*, May 12, 1910. See also John I. Davenport, *Election Frauds of New York City and their Prevention* (New York, 1881); Abram C. Bernheim, "The Ballot in New York," *Political Science Quarterly* 4:1 (1889): 130–52; Chester H. Rowell, *A Historical and Legal Digest of All the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the US from the First to the Fifty-Sixth Congress, 1789–1901* (Washington, D.C.: Government

Printing Office, 1901); Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 43 and 104; see also Robert F. Wesser, "The Impeachment of a Governor: William Sulzer and the Politics of Excess," *New York History* 60:4 (1979): 407–38; Peter H. Argersinger, "New Perspectives on Election Fraud in the Gilded Age," *Political Science Quarterly* 100:4 (1985/1986): 669–87, here 672, 674, 678–83.

⁴⁸City of New York, Office of the Commissioner of Accounts to William J. Gaynor, Mayor, Aug. 20, 1912, Bard Papers, Box 62, NYPL; John G. Saxe (Of Counsel for Mayor McClellan during the Hearst-McClellan Recount): Judge Lambert's Ruling on the Marking of Ballots, New York 1909, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL; Files in Honest Ballot Assn. Ballot Reform, 1899–1912 and many other records in Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL; the National Archives are full of election fraud evidence; see, for example, files in the National Archives RG 60, Entry 54, 4728/ Year 1889, Box 417, NARA; RG 60, Entry A1 9: Letter Received, Delaware, 1852/70, Con. 78, NARA.

⁴⁹See, for example, Georg von Below, *Das parlamentarische Wahlrecht in Deutschland* (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1909), 140; Hans Delbrück, *Regierung und Volkswille* (Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1914), 133; "Die Macht der Stimme," *Der Tag*, Feb., 15, 1913, and many other newspaper articles.

⁵⁰Paul Kleppner, *Continuity and Change in Electoral Politics, 1893–1928* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 168; Allen and Allen, *Vote Fraud*, 167.

⁵¹Altschuler and Blumin, *Rude Republic*; Richard Franklin Bense, *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵²Cf. the overview of the discussion in Kornbluh, *Why America Stopped Voting*, 2–3; and Argersinger, "New Perspectives;" Scott C. James and Brian L. Lawson, "The Political Economy of Voting Rights Enforcement in America's Gilded Age: Electoral College Competition, Partisan Commitment, and the Federal Election Law," *American Political Association* 93:1 (1999): 115–31; Kenneth Finegold, *Experts and Politicians: Reform Challenges to Machine Politics in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Warren Sloat, *A Battle for the Soul of New York: Tammany Hall, Police Corruption, Vice, and Reverend Charles Parkhurst's Crusade against Them, 1892–1895* (New York: Cooper Square, 2002); Frank Vos, "Tammany Hall," *Encyclopedia of New York City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 1149–51; see also about frauds—Robert F. Wesser, "The Impeachment of a Governor: William Sulzer and the Politics of Excess" in *New York History* 60:4 (1979): 407–38. See about earlier discussions Fredman, "Seth Low," 19 and 38.

⁵³Henry P. Johnston, "New York after the Revolution 1783–1789," *Magazine of American History* 29:4 (1893): 310–11; George B. Tindall and David Emory Shi, *America: A Narrative History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 741; Speech of Jonathan Bourne, "Popular v. Delegated Government," May 1, 1910, filed in Bard Papers, 1896–1959, Box 69, Folder 15, NYPL; Leaflet "To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York," around 1908, Illustration of Principle, Bard Papers, Box 64, Folder 2, NYPL; Jefferson M. Levy *The Elector's Hand Book or Digest of the Election Laws of the State of New York, Applicable to the City of New York* (New York: William P. Mitchell, 1895), 3.

⁵⁴Leaflet, "Put the bosses out and put the people in. An open letter sent by Arthur S. Leland to Charles H. Young, President of the Republican Club or the City of New York, On Direct Mandatory Nominations," Feb. 11, 1909, George Bliss Agnew Papers, 1868–1941, Box 6, Folder 3, NYPL.

⁵⁵Letter to Harrington Putnam of the Brooklyn Democratic Club, dated Brooklyn, Oct. 31, 1901, Published in *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov. 1, 1901, Richard R. Bowker Papers, Box 93, Writings, NYPL. "Miscellaneous," typewritten, without date and place, ca. 1912, Richard R. Bowker Papers, NYPL. Leaflet "To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York," around 1908, Illustration of Principle, Bard Papers, Box 64, Folder 2, NYPL.

⁵⁶Leaflet, "The Theory of Our Government," ca. 1895, David B. Hill Papers, 1886–1910, NYPL.

⁵⁷Leaflet, "Put the bosses out and put the people in. An open letter sent by Arthur S. Leland to Charles H. Young, President of the Republican Club of the City of New York" On Direct Mandatory Nominations," Feb. 11, 1909, George Bliss Agnew Papers, 1868–1941, Box 6, Folder 3, NYPL.

⁵⁸Leaflet, "WANTED A FAIR ELECTION LAW," Reform Club, 233 Fifth Avenue, New York, Feb. 7, 1899, Bard Papers, Box 62, Folder 3, Honest Ballot Assn. Ballot Reform, 1899–1912, NYPL.

⁵⁹Petition, To the Legislature of the State of New York, 1897, George Bliss Agnew Papers, 1868–1941, Box 6, Folder 4, NYPL; "Editorial. The Missing Voters," *New York Times*, Apr. 21, 1926.

⁶⁰Meeting of Executive Committee of the Electoral Laws Improvement Assn. held at office of Mr. Ivins, the President, Jan. 12, 1906, Box 18, Folder 8: Elections 1906–1939, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL; "The Election Laws Improvement Association," ca. 1906, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL.

⁶¹Papers in NYC Van Wyck, Robert A. Administration, Box 7, Folder 72, Board of Election 1901, NYCMA; Pamphlet: "The Short Ballot in the State of New York," Mar. 1914, The New York Short Ballot Organization, NYHS (New York Historical Society); Petition "Call for National Conference on Primary Election Reform" by Abram S. Hewitt and many others, National Civic Federation records, 1894–1949, Box 158, Folder 3: National Conference on Practical Reform of Primary Elections, NYPL; Statement, Feb. 9, 1906, Bard Papers, Box 18, Folder 8, NYPL; see also advertisement "To all Citizens interested in an honest Count," *New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1905; files about the reformer Beverley R. Robinson, in Robinson Family Papers 1822–1966, Box 10, Folder 1 + 3, NYHS; Vernon S. Bradley, *The Wilson Ballot in Maryland Politics*, Cambridge, MD, undated.

⁶²Leaflet, "WANTED A FAIR ELECTION LAW," Reform Club, New York, Feb. 7, 1899, Bard Papers, Box 62, Folder 3, NYPL.

⁶³Which is a common pattern of thought in election history, one that, for example, can be found in the thought of the early liberals in Germany.

⁶⁴"\$1000 In Rewards for Evidence of Illegal Registration," box 68, fold. 10: Political Literature for NYC elections, ca. 1914, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL.

⁶⁵Memorial, undated, George Bliss Agnew Papers, 1868–1941, box 6, fold. 3, NYPL; Albert S. Bard to George W. Kessler, June 23, 1815, box 66, fold. 11: Watchers. Suffrage, Bard Papers, NYPL; "Limits suffrage Watchers," *New York Times*, July 26, 1915.

⁶⁶Trouble Sheet, 1912, Bard Papers, box 65, fold. 9, NYPL.

⁶⁷John I. Davenport, *The Election and Naturalization Fraud in New York City. 1860–1870. Second Edition* (New York, 1894), 3.

⁶⁸Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 45.

⁶⁹Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement*, 99.

⁷⁰Stromquist, *Reinventing*, 70.

⁷¹Davenport, *Election and Naturalization Fraud*; Richard Henry Dana, *The Australian Ballot System of Massachusetts: Some Fallacious Objections Answered* (New York: The City Club of New York, 1911); Harris, *Registration of Voters*; cf. for scientific discourses and elections Hedwig Richter, "Disziplinierung und Nationsbildung durch politische Wahlen. Preußen und USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," *Comparativ* 1 (2013): 20–40, here 28–31; cf. about the importance of scientific arguments for Progressives Bob P.–Taylor, *Citizenship and Democratic Doubt: The Legacy of Progressive Thought* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 1, 134–5.

⁷²Bensel, *American Ballot Box*.

⁷³Registration Book, 1921, MANYC.

⁷⁴Edward Ridley Finch, "The Fight for a Clean Ballot," *Independent* LXVIII, 1020 (1910): 1020–29.

⁷⁵J. Cayce Morrison, "New York State Regents Literacy Test" in *The Journal of Educational Research* 12:2 (1925), 145–55; Young-In Oh, *Struggles over Immigrants' Language: Literacy Tests in the United States, 1917–1966* (El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2012).

⁷⁶Keyssar, *Right to Vote*, 145 and table A.13.

⁷⁷Meeting of Executive Committee of the Electoral Laws Improvement Assn. held at office of Mr. Ivins, the president, Jan. 12, 1906, Box 18, Folder 8: Elections 1906–1939, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL.

⁷⁸Information about "The Election Laws Improvement Association," Analysis of Ballot Bill, #5, February 9, 1906, and Meeting of Executive Committee of the Electoral Laws Improvement Assn., Jan. 12, 1906, Box 18, Folder 8: Elections 1906–1939, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL.

⁷⁹John G. Saxe (ed.), *Judge Lambert's Rulings*, ca. 1905, 3, Bard Papers, Box 73, NYPL.

⁸⁰See specimen tickets and deliberations in Bard Papers, Box 69, NYPL; "Hearst Fight to-morrow," *Evening Post*, Nov. 13, 1905; "Hearst Men Gather Proofs," *New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1905; Bard Papers, Box 18, Folder 8 + Box 62, Folder 1, NYPL; William M. Ivins, "On the Electoral System of the State of New York. A Paper presented at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the New York Bar Association," Jan. 17, 1906, Bard Papers, Box 73, NYPL.

⁸¹Brochure, "Instructions for Election Day," Albany, 1904, Bard Papers, Box 66, NYPL.

⁸²Ticket Samples, Bard Papers, Box 69, NYPL.

⁸³Voorhis, Board of Elections of the City of New York, to McClellan, Oct. 20, 1904, McClellan, George B. Administration, Box 27, Folder 28, Board of Elections 1904, NYCMA; Board of Elections to Mayor Gaynor, 8.2.1910 + President John T. Dooling to Gaynor, Mayor, June 10, 1910, Gaynor, William J. Administration, Box 21, Folder 190, Board of Elections 1910, NYCMA; secretary, Board of elections, to

Mr. Quinn, Brooklyn, NY, June 10, 1914, Mitchel, John P. Administration, Box 25, Folder 263, Board of Election 1914, NYCMA; President Boyle, Board of Elections, to S. L. Martin, Executive Secretary, Mayor's Office, NY City, Dec. 12, 1917, Mayor Mitchel, John P. Administration, Box 25, Folder 266, Board of Election 1917, NYCMA; cf. also "Political Leaders Seek no Reforms" in *New York Times*, June 2, 1915; "Wallstein Praises Board of Elections" in *New York Times*, June 5, 1915; Note of Police Department of the City of New York, 300 Mulberry Street, Oct., 29, 1906, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, Box 66, Folder 1, NYPL; cf. list of polling places in "Election Notice" in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1912; Inspectors of Elections to Board of Election, undated (ca. Nov. 1910), Gaynor, William J. Administration, Box 21, Folder 190, Board of Elections 1910, NYCMA; see also Thomas Welskopp, *Amerikas große Ernüchterung. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Prohibition* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), 33 f., 62.

⁸⁴Detail, Leaflet, Instruction manual for U.S. Standard Voting Machine, Bard Papers, Box 6, NYPL.

⁸⁵Cf. Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement*; see also Lionel E. Fredman, *The Australian Ballot: The Story of an American Reform* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1968), ix f.

⁸⁶Rudyard Kipling, *Letters of Travel: 1892–1913* (London 1920), accessed June 25, 2013, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12089/12089-h/12089-h.htm>.

⁸⁷Petition "Call for National Conference on Primary Election Reform," (ca. 50) citizens of New York, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, 1898, Box 158, Folder 3: National Conference on Practical Reform of Primary Elections, National Civic Federation Records, 1894–1949, NYPL.

⁸⁸Davenport, *Election Frauds*, 71.

⁸⁹*Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 13, 1858.

⁹⁰Bensel, *American Ballot Box*, 9.

⁹¹Police Department of the City of New York, Oct. 29, 1906, Bard Papers, Box 66, Folder 1, NYPL; see the list of polling places in "Election Notice," *New York Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1912; cf. also Inspectors of Elections to Board of Election, undated (ca. 1910), Office of the Mayor, Gaynor, William J. Administration, Box 21, Folder 190, Board of Elections 1910, MANYC.

⁹²E. Benjamin Andrews, *History of the United States*, Vol. V. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1912), 26.

⁹³Election Law State of New York, Amendment of 1916, http://www21.us.archive.org/stream/electionlaw-stat00offigoog/electionlawstat00offigoog_djvu.txt; President Boyle, Board of Elections, to S. L. Martin, Executive Secretary, Mayor's Office, NY City, 12,10,1917, NYC Office of the Mayor Mitchel, John P. Administration, Box 25, Folder 266, Board of Election 1917, MANYC; President Dooling, Election Board of the City of New York, to Miss Lillian D. Wald, New York City, Aug. 10, 1910, Office of the Mayor, Gaynor, William J. Administration, Box 21, Folder 190, Board of Elections 1910, MANYC; Board of Elections annual report for the year 1915, NYC Office of the Mayor Mitchel, John P. Administration, Box 25, Folder 265, Board of Election 1916, also Folder 264, Board of Election 1915, MANYC.

⁹⁴President Boyle, Board of Elections, to Hon. William Williams, Commissioner, Dep. of Water supply, Gas & Electricity, Municipal Building, Manhattan, N. Y. City, Nov 4, 1916, NYC Office of the Mayor Mitchel, John P. Administration, Box 25, Folder 265, Board of Election 1916, MANYC.

⁹⁵Quoted in "Board of Elections Reports in Favor of Their Use in Primaries," *Evening Post*, Jan 17, 1916, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, NYPL.

⁹⁶Joseph P. Harris, *Election Administration in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934), 320.

⁹⁷Stromquist, *Reinventing*, ix. Nugent, *Progressivism*, 5; McCormick, "Public Life," 125; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971).

⁹⁸McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, 192.

⁹⁹"The Career of Edwin L. Godwin," *New York Times*, Apr. 20, 1907.

¹⁰⁰See about elections in that time Hedwig Richter, "Discipline and Elections: Registration of Voters in the USA," *Constitutional Cultures: On the Concept and Representation of Constitutions in the Atlantic World*, eds. Silke Hensel et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), 427–48.

¹⁰¹James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 38–39; Nancy Cohen, *The Reconstruction of American Liberalism. 1865–1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 47 u. 133; on Godkin, see Foner, *Reconstruction*, 492 f.

¹⁰²E. L. Godkin, "The Republican Party and the Negro," *Forum* VI (1889): 246–57, here 257.

¹⁰³Du Bois, W. E. B., "The Black Vote of Philadelphia," *Charities* (Oct. 5, 1905): 31–35, here 32.

¹⁰⁴Manfred Berg, *The Ticket to Freedom: Die NAACP und das Wahlrecht der Afro-Amerikaner* (New York: Campus, 2000), 57; see also Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1908), 302 f.

¹⁰⁵Davenport, *Election Frauds*, Title page.

¹⁰⁶Quoted in Perman, *Struggle*, 30.

¹⁰⁷*Times-Democrat*, Feb. 7, 1898, quoted in Fredman, *Australian Ballot*, 79.

¹⁰⁸“The Election Law. Instructions and Directions,” Columbia 1920, 8–9, L35021, Election Files, South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Bryant Simon, “The Devaluation of the Vote: Legislative Apportionment and Inequality in South Carolina, 1890–1962,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 101:3 (2000): 234–52, here 235.

¹⁰⁹“Die Wahlrechtskundgebung im Zirkus Busch,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 28, 1910.

¹¹⁰“Die Wahlrechtskundgebung im Zirkus Busch,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 29, 1910.

¹¹¹Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantiküberquerungen: die Politik der Sozialreform, 1870–1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010); cf. also J. Powell Williams, *The Ballot Act, and Corrupt Practices at Elections. A Paper Read at a Conference of Liberals, held at Southampton on November 30th, 1880* (Birmingham 1880); cf. about France Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1992), 490–504; see also Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: Beck, 2009), 59.

¹¹²Osterhammel, *Verwandlung*, 59.

¹¹³Cocks, Holloran and Lessoff, “Introduction,” xxix; e.g., Henry Winthrop Hardon to Bard, Nov. 9, 1905, Honest Ballot Assn. Ballot Reform, 1899–1912, Box 62, Folder 3, NYPL, and *Campaign Book of the Citizens’ Union. The City for the People!* (New York, October 1901); likewise Andrew White, “The Government of American Cities,” *The Forum*, 10 (1890), 357–72.

¹¹⁴Sebastian Conrad, *Globalgeschichte*, München 2013, 157.

¹¹⁵Müller, Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, 40.

¹¹⁶Jörg Fisch, *Europa zwischen Wachstum und Gleichheit 1850–1914* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2002), 280.

¹¹⁷Cf. Hugo Preuß, “Stadt und Staat,” Vortrag in der Gehe-Stiftung (1909), Hugo Preuß, *Staat, Recht und Freiheit, aus 40 Jahren deutscher Politik und Geschichte*, mit einem Geleitwort von Theodor Heuss (Tübingen 1926), 73–102. Survey of proposals for reform of election managers, Berlin 1913, and other documents in Magistrat zu Berlin, 1848–1919, A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 56, LAB (Landesarchiv Berlin); files in A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 51, 1880–1901, LAB.

¹¹⁸Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987).

¹¹⁹Thomas Kühne, *Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preußen: 1867–1914. Landtagswahlen Zwischen Korporativer Tradition und Politischem Massenmarkt* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994); Margaret L. Anderson, *Lehrjahre der Demokratie. Wahlen und Politische Kultur im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009), 494, 506; cf. documents in BA R 8034II, Nr. 5851, e.g., Professor H. G. Ziegler (Jena), “Das allgemeine gleiche Wahlrecht und die gebildeten Stände,” Feb. 1906, Bl. 18; cf. A Rep. 044-03, Nr. 439, Bl. 3, pamphlet, 8, 8, 1910 and further documents in this file Magistrat der Stadt Rixdorf/Neukölln, Wahlen, press clippings and leaflets, LAB; cf. about the civil society in the German Empire as to media Frank Bösch, “Grenzen des ‘Obrigkeitsstaates’: Medien, Politik und Skandale im Kaiserreich,” in *Das Deutsche Kaiserreich in der Kontroverse*, ed. Sven Oliver Müller and Cornelius Torp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 136–53.

¹²⁰“Demokratie,” in *Staatslexikon der Görres-Gesellschaft* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1892), 122 and 127.

¹²¹Von Puttkamer in the Prussian *Haus der Abgeordneten*, 9th session, Dec 5, 1883, p. 191 ff., I. HA Rep. 169 C 80, 2, Vol. 3, p. 195, I. HA Rep. 169 C 80, 2, Vol. 3, GSTA PK.

¹²²R. Siegfried, Schriftsteller, an Reichsamt des Inneren, Königsberg, Sept 29, 1899, R 1501, Nr. 114470, GSTA PK; discussion im Preußischen Haus der Abgeordneten, 9th session, Dec. 5, 1883, p. 191 ff., I. HA Rep. 169 C 80, 2, Vol. 3, GSTA PK; files in I. HA Rep. 169 C 80, Nr. 2e, GSTA PK; session in the Prussian *Haus der Abgeordneten*, Dec. 5, 1917, Sp. 6606.

¹²³Otto Hintze, “Das Verfassungsleben der heutigen Kulturstaaten” (1914) in Otto Hintze, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 390–423, here 400.

¹²⁴“Gegen die volksfeindliche Wahlrechtsvorlage,” in *Berliner Tageblatt*, No 93, Feb. 21, 1910, Hugo Preuß, “Stadt und Staat,” Vortrag in der Gehe-Stiftung (1909), in *Staat, Recht und Freiheit, aus 40 Jahren deutscher Politik und Geschichte* ed. Hugo Preuß (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1926), 73–102; Aufruf “Für die

Preußische Wahlreform," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Dec. 7, 1909; minutes *Haus der Abgeordneten* (Prussia), Dec. 5, 1917, 6606; Ferdinand Tönnies, "Preußische Reformen," *März* 4 (1910): 391–94; Max Weber, "Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland (1917)" in *Gesammelte politische Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 245–91; Max Weber, "Das preußische Wahlrecht (1917)," *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe* I/15 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 224–35; Bund deutscher Gelehrter und Künstler (ed.), *Die deutsche Freiheit. 5 Vorträge von Friedrich Meinecke, Adolf von Harnack, Max Sering, Otto Hintze und Ernst Troeltsch* (Gotha, 1917); Otto Hintze, "Die Demokratisierung der preußischen Verfassung," *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschaftszeitung* 2 (May 5, 1917): 452–59; cf. Marcus Llanque, *Demokratisches Denken im Krieg. Die deutsche Debatte im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 2000), 119.

¹²⁵Hans Delbrück, "Monarchie und Parlamentarismus im Kriege," *Preußische Jahrbücher* (Mar. 25, 1916), quoted in Llanque, *Demokratisches Denken*, 140.

¹²⁶"Wir glauben nicht, dass es je zuvor auf Erden etwas gegeben hat, was mit den in allen civilisirten Ländern existierenden Wahlapparaten auch nur von ferne verglichen werden könnte, weder an Umfang und Massenhaftigkeit, noch an Raffinement und technischer Vollendung," in "Bremen, 17. Oktober," *Weser Zeitung*, Oct. 17, 1897; see as another example "Die Macht der Stimme" in *Der Tag*, 39 (Feb. 15, 1913).

¹²⁷Magaret L. Anderson, *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); see about German democratization Frank Bösch "Krupps 'Kornwalzer'. Formen und Wahrnehmungen von Korruption im Kaiserreich," *Historische Zeitschrift* 281 (2005): 337–79, here 339, 360 and 378.

¹²⁸Marcus Llanque, *Demokratisches Denken im Krieg: Die deutsche Debatte im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 73.

¹²⁹"Frankfurt," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Nov. 13, 1897.

¹³⁰Member of Parliament, Dr. Pachnicke, *Haus der Abgeordneten*, Dec. 5, 1817, 101. Sitzung, Sp. 6606, HA I, Rep. 169 C 80, Nr. 22, Bd. 2, GStAPK.

¹³¹Typically the statement of the member of parliament, Richthofen, a defender of the Three-Class Franchise, that this franchise has to be defused in favor of the poor, 5. Sitzung der 12. Wahlrechtskommission, 1910, I. HA Rep. 169 C 80, Nr. 2e. Marcus Llanque missed these discourses; he draws a picture of the years before World War I as overwhelmingly opposition to mass suffrage; but many of his proofs originate in much earlier years, Llanque, *Demokratisches Denken*, 9–20, 71–79 et passim.

¹³²"Die Sitzung gestaltete sich zu einer einmütigen Huldigung des einzigen allmächtigen und unfehlbaren Souveräns, den es heute in Deutschland gibt, des Reichstagswahlrechts," *Hamburger Nachrichten*, Feb. 22, 1910, R 8032II / 5852, BA.

¹³³Cf. e.g. "Zeitungsbericht," Dec. 16, 1903 and further reports of the Amtsvorsteher in A Rep. 048-04-03, Nr. 11, Amtsverwaltung Weißensee, Generalia, Vierteljährlich zu erstattende Zeitungsberichte (by Amtsvorsteher in Weißensee), 1887–1914, Bl. 85, LAB.

¹³⁴See overview in Bundesrat, Drucksache Nr. 14, Session 1903, Berlin, 21.1.03, vom Stellvertreter des Reichskanzlers Graf von Posadowsky, I. HA Rep. 151, HB, 543, GStA PK; documents in R 43, Nr. 1788, BA; see also press clippings of Reichslandbundes about election reform, e.g., R 8034II, Nr. 5075 + 5076 + 5078 et passim; cf. also A Pr.Br.Rep.030, Nr. 15547, Vorbereitung der Wahlen zum dt. Reichstag durch die Deutsche Freisinnige Partei, Bd. 1, 1884, Polizeipräsidium Berlin, LAB.

¹³⁵Stein Rokkan, "Mass Suffrage, Secret Voting and Political Participation," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 2 (1061): 132–52.

¹³⁶Documents of Election Board, Magistrate of the City of Berlin, Acquisition of election booths and ballot containers for the parliamentary elections, Hauptwahlamt, Magistrat der Stadt Berlin: Die Beschaffung von Wahlzellen und Wahlgefäßen für die Reichstagswahlen, A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 64, LAB.

¹³⁷See, for example, "Vom Reichstagswahlrecht," *Der Tag*, Aug. 11, 1903; "Wahlurnen und Wahlbezirke," *Königsberger Zeitung*, Dec. 21, 1912; "Die Wahlurnen" in *Vossische Zeitung*, Apr. 3, 1913; "Eine Reichstagsvorlage über Wahlurnen," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Mar. 25, 1913; "Reichswahlurnen" in *Kreuzzeitung*, Apr. 3, 1913; "Die Reichswahlurne," *Freisinnige Zeitung*, Apr. 4, 1913.

¹³⁸Minutes *Reichstag*, Jan. 29, 1896, 602.

¹³⁹"Was wir Deutschen bei den englischen Wahlen lernen können", von Dr. Otto Arendt, in: *Der Tag*, July 12, 1910; Revision 1907, A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 167, 1907, LAB; Brief Wahl-Bureau, Berlin, May 26, 1880, A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 51, 1880–1901, LAB; Gettwart, Wahl-Büreau, Bericht betreff die Führung eine allgemeinen Wählerliste im Wahlbüreau des Magistrats zu Berlin, ca. 1886, A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 51, 1880–1901, LAB, and

other records in this file; "Ein neugeflochtener Zopf. Erweiterung es Meldewesens," *Berliner Morgenpost*, Sep. 14, 1904, A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 52, 1901–1911, LAB.

¹⁴⁰Records in A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 163, Bd. 1, 1896–1922, LAB; A Rep. 001-03, Nr. 51 + Nr. 52, 1880–1901, LAB; A Rep. 001-02-01, Nr. 232, 1889–1891, LAB.

¹⁴¹Bard to Mr. H. W. Dodds, Secretary, national Municipal League, Dec. 17, 1926, Bard Papers, NYPL; New York, June, 1838, Bard Papers, 1896–1959, box 62, fold. 14, NYPL.

¹⁴²"Wahlreform-Gedanken," *Pfälzer Volkszeitung*, Aug. 17, 1903.

¹⁴³"Sicherung des Wahlgeheimnisses," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Jan. 22, 1903.

¹⁴⁴Preußischer Abgeordneter Malkewitz, 20. Sitzung, Feb., 12, 1910, Sp. 1577, Abgeordnetenhaus, Wahlanglegenheiten (1849–1918), I. HA Rep. 169 C 80, Nr. 9, Vol. 6, GStAPK.

¹⁴⁵"Wahlen in Berlin," *Freisinnige Zeitung*, March 17, 1913, I. HA Rep. 90 A, Nr. 3248, Bl. 307, GStAPK.

¹⁴⁶Cf. the intriguing essay on discourses about "boss" and "machine," Lessoff and Connolly, "The Boss, the Machine, and the Pluralist City."

¹⁴⁷*Presidential Elections 1789–1996* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1997), 139.

¹⁴⁸Jan-Werner Müller, *Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 9 f.

¹⁴⁹Jane Addams, "Why Women Should Vote," (1910), *The Social Thought of Jane Adams*, ed. Christopher Lasch (New York: Irvington, 1982), 149–50.

¹⁵⁰Kleppner, *Continuity and Change*, 229 u. 231.

¹⁵¹Alain Garrigou, *Histoire sociale du suffrage universel en France, 1848–2000* (Paris: Points-Seuil, 2002); Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen. Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris: Gilliard, 2006); Frank O'Gorman, "The Secret Ballot in Nineteenth-Century Britain" in *The Hidden History of the Secret Ballot*, ed. Romain Bertrand, Jean-Louis Briquet, Peter Pels (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 16–42; Charles S. Maier, "Leviathan 2.0. Die Erfindung moderner Staatlichkeit," in *Geschichte der Welt*, vol. 5, ed. Emily S. Rosenberg (München: Beck, 2012), 33–286, hier 177."

¹⁵²Arif Dirlik, "Is There History after the Eurocentrism? Globalization, Postcolonialism, and the Disavowal of History," *Cultural Critique* 42 (1999): 1–34, here 18.

¹⁵³Thomas Mergel, "Die Wahlkabine," in *Orte der Moderne. Erfahrungswelten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Alexa Geisthövel, Habbo Knoch (New York: Campus, 2005), 335–44; Romain Bertrand, Jean-Louis Briquet, Peter Pels, "Introduction: Towards a Historical Ethnography of Voting," *The Hidden History*, 1–15.

¹⁵⁴Beckert "Democracy and its Discontents," 155.

¹⁵⁵Therefore, I also repudiate scholars who design a bleak image of Prussia, without recognizing the democratizing elements round 1900, James Retallack, "'Get out the Vote!' Elections without Democracy in Imperial Germany," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 51 (2012): 23–38; Daniel Ziblatt, "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany," *American Political Science Review* 103:1 (2009): 1–21.

¹⁵⁶Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 365.

¹⁵⁷Enclosure in letter to Ingenieur F. Klettner to Reichskanzler Bethmann-Hollweg, Köln, Mar. 10, 1910, R 1501, Nr. 114475, BA.