OCTOBER 30, 2012

Books Bitter Politics? That Is *So* 1800

BY DAVID L. ULIN

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Two hundred years before the contested election of 2000, another contested election pitted a sitting vice president against a president running for a second term, for the only time in U.S. history. I'm talking, of course, about Thomas Jefferson and John

One of the ironies of that election, though, is that when it was finally resolved in the House of Representatives, the decision was between Jefferson and Aaron Burr. That's because, in the early days of the republic, presidential voting involved double balloting, in which members of the Electoral College selected two candidates; as a result, Jefferson and Burr, who was running to be vice president, ended up with the same number of electoral votes. After the election, the 12th Amendment did away with double balloting, and only one campaign, that of 1824, has subsequently been settled in the

Burr is a key figure in Pepper-dine University professor Edward J. Larson's "A Magnificent Catastrophe: The Tumultuous Election of 1800, American's First Presidential Campaign," a 2007 book that posits 1800 as the flash point from which modern presidential politics begins. It's a compelling argument, not least for how it traces the rise of political parties — in this case, the Federalists, representing Adams, and Jefferson's Republicans, a precursor of today's Democrats — with all the divisiveness and backbiting we've come to know.

"Citizens choose your sides," a New York Federalist newspaper declared in the spring of 1800. "You who are for French notions of government; for the tempestuous sea of anarchy and misrule; for arming the poor against the rich; for fraternizing with the foes of God and man; go to the left and support the leaders, or the dupes, of the anti-federal junto. But you that are sober, industrious, thriving, and happy, give your votes for those men who mean to preserve the union of the states, the purity and vigor of our excellent Constitution, the sacred majesty of the laws, and the holy ordinances of religion."

TUESDAY PRIMETIME/LATE NIGHT

If such rhetoric sounds familiar, that's one of the unexpected pleasures of "A Magnificent Catastrophe." But there are other, equally compelling parallels. As Larson makes clear, even in 1800, political geography was an essential issue, with swing states (although they weren't yet called that) such as New York, New Jersey and (yes) Pennsylvania in play.

The situation was so volatile that Pennsylvania Sen. James Ross proposed legislation to investigate the admissibility or inadmissibility of the votes given by the electors for President and Vice President" by "authorize(ing) a partisan committee, meeting in secret, to nullify any number of electoral votes and thereby to swing the election as it chose.'

Larson elaborates: "Publicly, the bill's sponsors claimed that it would simply provide a procedure for weeding out invalid electoral votes, such as those cast either by electors never 'properly appointed' or for an ineligible presidential candidate. Privately, they acknowledged that it targeted a particular threat posed by Pennsylvania."

Although the legislation did not pass, it's impossible to read about it without recalling Pennsylvania state House Republican leader Mike Turzai, who declared last August, "Voter ID, which is going to allow Governor Romney to win the state of Pennsylvania, done" — an echoed voter suppression effort that also failed when Judge Robert Simpson blocked Pennsylvania's voter ID law this month.

Still, of all the commonalities between 1800 and contemporary politics, none may be as resonant as those provoked by Burr. He was a thoroughly recognizable politician: pragmatic, willing to do anything in the pursuit of power.

Long a figure of both literary and historic interest - think of Gore Vidal's 1973 novel "Burr" or

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