

The Texas Constitution: The People, History, and Government of the Lone Star State

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Chapter 5 Elections, Political Parties, and Lobbying in Texas

Chapter 5 explores the roles and history of elections, political parties, and lobbying in Texas. Upon completing the chapter, you should be able to demonstrate knowledge about:

- Party structure in Texas
- The history of parties in Texas
- One party dominance in Texas
- The partisan divide in contemporary Texas

Elections are the most common means by which people express themselves in the democratic process. The United States Constitution, with the exception of requirements for holding some national offices, does not set forth the organization and structure of elections. Given the Constitution's silence, the responsibilities associated with conducting elections – even national elections – have historically fallen to state, county, and municipal elections officials and administrators.

The Organization of Elections in Texas

The Texas **Secretary of State**, one of the few official statewide positions filled by gubernatorial appointment in Texas, is the chief election officer of the state. While the Election Division of the Secretary of State's office oversees elections and provides assistance and advice to local election officials on how to properly conduct elections,¹ the vast amount of election-related work in Texas is conducted at the local level. Local **election administrators** are responsible for registering voters; determining voter eligibility; designing ballots and ensuring their accuracy; and selecting and maintaining voting devices. Texas allows early voting three weeks before elections and absentee voting by mail; but, the counting of votes and certification of election results does not occur until the polls close on Election Day.

¹ Texas Secretary of State, Elections Division, <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/index.shtml>.

Political parties play a significant role in Texas elections. All of Texas's 254 counties are divided into precincts or polling places, and voters are assigned precincts and polling places located near their homes. The party's **precinct chair** is elected for a two-year term during the party's precinct meeting, usually held after the party's primary election in March of even-numbered years. The precinct chair organizes party voters in the precinct; encourages interested party members to register to vote; attempts to increase party member turnout on Election Day; and in some Texas counties serves as an election judge. **County chairs** are also elected to two-year terms during the party's primary election. The tasks of county chairs resemble those of precinct chairs only at the county level, and they are also responsible in most counties for fundraising and receiving formal filings for candidates to appear on the ballot. County chairs also run their party's primary elections and organize the precinct and county/senate district conventions in order to turn out their party's voters in the general election.² Currently, the county chairs of four political parties are listed through the Texas Secretary of State's office: the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Libertarian Party, and the Green Party.³

The **county executive committee** is comprised of the county chair and all precinct chairs. The committee works to promote the party's candidates and interests at the county level. The election of each party's **state executive committee** occurs at the party's state convention usually held in June of even-numbered election years. Delegates to the state convention convene in meetings based on state senatorial districts (Democrat) or state representative districts (Republican). The district caucuses then select one man and one woman from among their districts to serve on the state executive committee, and the entire state convention must ratify their choices. A **state party chair** is then elected to lead the state executive committee and provides state leadership for the party. The state party chair and executive committee are leadership and policy-making positions, and in Texas both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have professional, full-time, paid staffs to assist them in performing their duties.

² Texas Secretary of State, County Parties and Chairs, <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/index.shtml>.

³ Texas Secretary of State, Election Officials and Officeholders, <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/voter/current.shtml>.

Individuals wanting to become active in Texas party politics must become knowledgeable of the organization of the state's party system and especially the importance of participating in their party's primary. First and foremost, one must register to vote. Voter registration in Texas is administered by county governments but regulated by the state, and Texas state election laws create a closed primary system that for all practical purposes operates as an **open primary system**. In open primary states, voters must register to vote but they are not required to register with a specific party prior to the primary election. Most voters know the party primary they will be voting in well before they arrive at the polls, but they do not have to make the decision until they actually arrive. Texas is considered a closed primary state only in the sense that once a voter enters the primary of a specific party, he or she may not then go over to vote in another party's primary election. Other states including Arizona, Louisiana, and New York have a fully **closed primary system**. In a closed primary system, only voters who have registered with a specific party in advance of Election Day may vote in that party's primary. Regardless of whether a state has an open or closed primary system, participation in the primary election is essential to one becoming active in party politics because it is here that voters elect their party's candidates for public office (to run against candidates selected by other parties in the general election), and select the party's precinct chair, county chair, and delegates to the state convention.

Primary voters may not participate in more than one primary election. For this reason, it is not uncommon for less partisan voters to vote in the party primary that features a candidate they feel most strongly about (say, vote in the Democratic primary for a Democratic candidate for county sheriff) and then vote for a candidate they feel is *less likely* to defeat their preferred candidate in another race in the general election (say, a Democratic candidate less likely to defeat the Republican candidate they support for governor). Since voters are free in the general election to vote for any candidate they choose regardless of the candidates' party affiliation, a voter may in the general election cast a vote for both the Democratic candidate for sheriff and the Republican candidate for governor – assuming, of course, both of the voter's preferred candidates won in the primary election.

Texas voters may cast their votes in two different ways. One option is to vote one-by-one for candidates and select candidates from the same political party (**straight party**) or select candidates from different political parties (**ticket splitting**). Texas voters also have the option of voting **straight-ticket**. Straight-ticket voting is simple and requires the voter to merely show up at the polls and punch their party's straight-ticket option at the top of the ballot thereby casting an automatic vote for all of their party's candidates in every race. Until June 2017, Texas was one of only nine states that allowed automatic straight-ticket voting;⁴ and, straight-ticket voting was popular in Texas – more than half of all Texas voters took advantage of the option from 1996 to 2017.⁵ Because straight-ticket voting requires the voter to have very little knowledge of the candidates and their positions, the option was eliminated in almost every state and, in the 2015 and 2017 Texas legislative sessions, became a hotly contested issue in Texas politics. Bills were proposed in both 2015 and 2017 to eliminate the option, and in February 2017 Texas House Speaker Joe Straus, a Republican, made a public call to put an end to the straight-ticket voting option.⁶ In June 2017, Governor Abbott signed into law legislation that will end this electoral option in 2020.⁷

An end to straight-ticket voting does not necessarily mean the demise of straight party voting in Texas. The state was a one-party Democratic state before 1952, and has been largely been one-party Republican since 1998. The almost half-century in between was a period of ticket splitting beginning with the 1952 and 1956 elections when Texans voted for Democratic Party candidates at the state and local level and the Republican Party presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, at the national level. Ticket splitting increased from 1978 until the 1998 general election when Republican Party candidates

⁴ Ramsey, Ross, "Analysis: Straight-Ticket Voting Could Hobble Swing-District Candidates," *The Texas Tribune*, June 10, 2016, <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/06/10/analysis-straight-ticket-voting-could-hobble-swing/>.

⁵ Jacobson, Louis, "The Rise and Simultaneous Fall of Straight-Ticket Voting," *Governing*, July 14, 2016, <http://www.governing.com/topics/elections/gov-straight-ticket-voting-states.html>.

⁶ Friedman, Courtney, "Texas House speaker wants to end straight-ticket voting," ABC KSAT-12 News, February 1, 2017, <http://www.ksat.com/news/politics/texas-house-speaker-joe-straus-wants-to-end-straight-ticket-voting>.

⁷ <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/06/01/texas-gov-greg-abbott-signs-bill-eliminate-straight-ticket-voting/>.

swept every statewide office in Texas.⁸ Straight party and straight-ticket voting became more common in Texas after 1998, and no Democratic candidate since 1998 has held a statewide office.

Political Parties and Interest Groups in Texas

Political parties and interest groups both attempt to influence government. **Political parties** seek to influence the operation and control of government by electing its members to important government offices. The goal of political parties is to win elections and thereby control the personnel and operations of government. **Interest groups**, on the other hand, focus on a specific issue or set of issues in their attempts to influence government by encouraging policymakers to promote their interests through government policies and programs. Interest groups frequently endorse candidates they believe will support their interests when in office but they do not seek to control the operation of government by directly putting forth political candidates as do political parties.

Raising money is essential to both parties and interest groups. Political parties use **campaign finance committees** charged with raising and donating money to the party's political candidates. Campaign funds are used by the party's candidates to advertise their campaign and pay for a staff to assist them in their bids for election or reelection. Interest groups rely on donations from their members and use **lobbying** as means to gain access to policy makers. Professional lobbyists communicate the views of the interest group to policy makers in an attempt to influence the policy decisions made by elected officials. Interest groups may also bundle their funds with that of other interest groups to create **political action committees (PACs)**. PACs attempt to influence government by giving money directly to candidates or by engaging in **issue advocacy**. Issue advocacy involves spending by interest groups, individuals, and corporations to promote a specific campaign issue rather than a particular candidate.

For the Record: A History of the Word "Lobbyist"

The term "lobbyist" was long considered a distinctly American term first used by President Ulysses S. Grant to refer to the throngs of people who daily presented their political requests to him as he enjoyed a brandy and cigar at the lobby of the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C.

⁸ Batheja, Aman, "Texas' Shift From Blue to Red Informs 2014 Races," *The Texas Tribune*, June 6, 2014, <https://www.texastribune.org/2014/06/06/how-texas-shifted-blue-red-informs-democrats-today/>.

In fact, the term actually first appeared in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in the 1640s to refer to one of the lobbies in the British House of Commons where people could go to speak with their representatives in parliament. The term first appeared in the United States in 1808 in reference to Philadelphia (not Washington) politics, and again in the 1830s in reference to Ohio politics.⁹

Texas is known for its long history of powerful interest groups. Early interest groups were not subject to the formal registration, campaign finance, and ethics laws now required of interest groups. Despite the absence of formal registration, organized special interests in Texas sought to influence and pressure state lawmakers to pass legislation that reflected their interests. The Texas **Grange**, while not formally an interest group as we now understand the term, was a powerful farmers' organization in the late nineteenth century that played important roles in both the Constitutional Convention of 1876 and encouraging legislators to pass legislation after the constitution was ratified. Much of the Grange-supported legislation still impacts Texas today. Over half of the membership of the constitutional convention were Grangers, and articles in our current state Constitution requiring low salaries for public officers, homestead protection, railway regulation, and restrictions on the state's taxing power are all due to Grange influence on the document.¹⁰ Current Texas laws concerning public education reflect the Grange's strong dedication to improving education in the state including free and uniform textbooks, nine-month school terms, consolidated rural schools, a scholastic age of eighteen, and the availability of vocational courses.¹¹ Other special interest organizations emerged early in the twentieth century: the Texas Equal Suffrage Association sought to influence state legislation on voting rights; the Texas Christian Temperance Union advocated on behalf of prohibition; and, the Southern Lumber Operator's Association fought to get sweeping legislation passed to aide in the development of a booming lumber industry of East Texas.

⁹ Hansen, Liane, interview with Jesse Sheidlower, editor-at-large, *Oxford English Dictionary*, "A Lobbyist by Another Name?" National Public Radio, Weekend Edition Sunday, Houston Public Media News 88.7, January 22, 2006, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5167187>.

¹⁰ Smith, Ralph A., "Grange," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/aag01>.

¹¹ Ibid.

Industry remained an undeveloped sector of economic life in Texas before 1920. After the discovery of oil at Spindletop near Beaumont in 1901, corporate developers flocked to southeast Texas and with them came the beginnings of modern-day interest groups in Texas. Today, interest groups fall into three broad categories. **Membership interest groups** are private groups whose members are individual citizens or businesses; **non-member groups** represent individuals, single corporations, businesses, law firms, or freelance lobbies; and, **government organizations** represent local governments as well as state and federal agencies.¹² In the 1950s, three new laws were passed in Texas: the Lobby Control Act of 1957, which required lobbyists to register for the first time; an ethics code for state employees, one of a few in the nation; and the Representation before State Agencies Act. One common practice targeted by the laws was payment by interest groups of retainers' fees to legislators.¹³

The Roles and Functions of Political Parties in Texas

James Madison predicted in *Federalist* No. 10 the inevitable formation of **factions**, or groups of self-interested individuals who join together to promote their common interests. Factions emerged soon after the American Revolution in the form of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists who sought to influence the framing of the United States Constitution. Modern political parties surfaced soon after during the critical realigning election of 1800 (featuring Federalist Party candidate John Adams and Democratic-Republican candidate Thomas Jefferson). Since the Civil War, the dominant political parties in the United States have been the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. **Third parties** such as the Populist Party, Progressive Party, and Libertarian Party have also played a role in American and Texas politics. While the number of votes for third party candidates in Texas have rarely but occasionally outnumbered votes gained by candidates from the two major parties, third parties have been able to influence politics and government by redirecting political attention toward issues that the dominant parties have ignored, overlooked, or downplayed especially during times of economic crisis or transition.

¹² Mora, Sherri, and William Ruger, *The State of Texas: Government, Politics, and Policy*, 2nd edition, (New York: McGraw Hill Education, 2014), p. 256.

¹³ May, Janice C., "Texas Legislature," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mkt02>.

Historical examples of third party influences in Texas politics include those of the Greenback Party, the Texas People's Party, Raza Unida, and the Reform Party. Frustrated with the Democratic Party's post-Civil War leadership, the **Greenback Party** formed in Texas in response to what its members saw as a growing "cult of the Confederacy" and adherence to a lost cause.¹⁴ Instead of clinging to the past, the Greenbacks sought to focus political attention on pressing social and economic issues such as legal tender, the establishment of a tax-supported education system, and curbing the power of the railroads.¹⁵ The party dissolved after farmers and laborers shifted their allegiances in the 1880 and 1890s to the Texas **People's Party**. The People's Party (or Populists) was an agrarian reform movement that evolved from the Greenback Party, the Grange, and the Farmers' Alliance. It became the most successful third-party movement in Texas history. The People's Party platform included demands for the preservation of land from large landowners, regulation of transportation, and an increase of the amount of money in circulation. The party became ineffective in the early 1900s largely due to the return of economic prosperity after 1896 and the development of a Democratic Party platform more in line with the interests of farmers and laborers. The People's Party did, however, represent a successful coalition of Anglo small farmers, blacks, and labor that proved important to Texas politics at the turn of the century and instrumental to the rise of other reform groups in Texas in the twentieth century.¹⁶ Other third parties in Texas include Raza Unida (United Party), which actively ran candidates for state office particularly in the 1970s; the Reform Party, created by Dallas billionaire H. Ross Perot in his presidential bid as an Independent in the election of 1992; and the Libertarian Party which is currently the largest third party in Texas and the only one to hold an automatic spot on Texas ballots.¹⁷

Political parties advocate and publicize their positions through a **party platform**. A party platform is a formal set of principles and goals generally accepted by the members of the party and presented to the public as a statement of the party's positions and beliefs on

¹⁴ Young, Nancy Beck, "Democratic Party," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Barnes, Donna A., "People's Party," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wap01>

¹⁷ "Libertarian Party of Texas," *Texas Tribune Online*, <https://www.texastribune.org/feeds/tribpedia/libertarian-party-of-texas/>.

political issues. Platforms allow parties to recruit members who share the party's beliefs about how government should be organized and how policy should reflect the party's political, social, and economic agenda. Since the goal of political parties is to win elections, the platform allows parties a foundation upon which to perform the essential functions of recruiting members and candidates, conducting fundraising, and providing campaign support to candidates in order to maximize their success at the polls. Parties need candidates at all levels of government in order to promote their platform, and party organization in the United States is based on the nation's system of federalism. At the local level, party activities most often involve **grassroots efforts** and activities led by ordinary citizens who are in close proximity to their neighbors. Closeness allows party members the opportunity to perform important grassroots functions such as holding face-to-face meetings and door-to-door campaigns, organizing social activities, and surveying public opinion about the party and its candidates. Local party members have a say in the functioning of the state party because local members select their party's precinct chair, county chair, and delegates to the state convention. State parties hold state conventions comprised of local delegates that choose the party's delegates to the national nominating conventions and consider resolutions and policy statement that may then be brought forward for consideration at the national party convention. The national party functions as the head of the party, and works to produce a national party platform, unite factions within the party, organize and hold national nominating conventions, and promote the party's agenda on the national stage through social and convention media.

Texas Political Parties: A History

The history of political parties in Texas can be divided into four major periods: the "politics of personality" (1836 – 1860); Democratic Party dominance (1872 – 1952), the era of ticket-splitting (1952 – 1998); and Republican Party dominance (1998 – present).

The Politics of Personality: 1836 - 1860

There were no political parties in Texas during the Republic of Texas, and the development of politics in the Republic was largely due to populism, personality, and

agrarianism.¹⁸ Populism was imported to Texas by Jacksonian Democrats before Texas gained its independence from Mexico.¹⁹ The settlement of Austin's Colony from 1821 to 1836 – which occurred at the height of the Jacksonian movement – encouraged individuals interested in land speculation to secure land grants in Texas.²⁰ Most early Texas settlers were from the Upper South or Lower South where belief in Jacksonian democracy was particularly strong.²¹ Jacksonian Democrats were populists who believed in promoting and protecting the good of the common people against government favoritism of corporations and banks that served the interests of the wealthy. Early Texas immigrants were, however, more intent on securing land upon which they could settle and prosper than they were in promoting party identity. The settlers carried with them political beliefs but no true party tradition, and politics in the later Republic of Texas revolved around personalities rather than political parties.²²

Two personalities dominated Texas politics during the Republic: Sam Houston and Mirabeau B. Lamar. A strong Jacksonian Democrat, Houston served under Jackson in the War of 1812, and his valor earned him the admiration and praise of the future president. After the War of 1812, Houston was elected Governor of Tennessee²³ and thereafter left the state, arrived in Texas in 1832, and accepted an appointment to command a ragtag Texas army against Mexican forces.²⁴ After the Battle of San Jacinto in 1836, he was elected the first president of the Republic of Texas. The Constitution of the Republic limited the terms of the first president to two years, and no president could be elected to two consecutive terms. Houston was therefore required to step down in 1838, and his popular vice-president, Mirabeau B. Lamar, announced his bid for the presidency.²⁵

¹⁸ Siegel, Stanley E., "A political history of the Texas Republic, 1836--1845." (1953), PhD diss., Rice University. <http://hdl.handle.net/1911/18448>.

¹⁹ Young, Nancy Beck, "Democratic Party," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ "Sam Houston," Biography.com, <http://www.biography.com/people/sam-houston-9344806>.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Robenalt, Jeffery, "Sam Houston and Mirabeau Lamar: A Contrast of Visions," *Texas Escapes.com*, <http://texasescapes.com/JefferyRobenalt/Sam-Houston-and-Mirabeau-Lamar-A-Contrast-of-Visions.htm>.

Lamar stood in sharp contrast to the rugged, heavy drinking war hero Houston. The son of a prominent Georgia planter, Lamar was raised in privilege, classically educated, painted in oils, and wrote poetry.²⁶ He originally came to Texas to collect historical data and visit his friend, James W. Fannin, but shortly upon arrival decided to stay in the Republic.²⁷ Houston thought very little of Lamar and his politics and when Lamar announced his bid to run for the presidency, Houston handpicked two opponents to run against him. Oddly, both candidates – Peter W. Grayson and James Collinsworth – committed suicide before the election, and Lamar became the second President of the Republic of Texas.²⁸ After serving two terms in office, Lamar was ineligible to run for a third term and Houston was again elected President of the Republic in 1841.

The presidencies of Houston and Lamar stand in as much contrast to one another as do the figures themselves. Houston sought to maintain peaceful relations with Mexico and Native American tribes in Texas, was extremely frugal with state funds, and supported the annexation of Texas. Lamar, on the other hand, was ready to militarily confront Mexico, sought to rid Texas of Native American tribes, was willing to borrow large sums of money to support his efforts, and wanted Texas to remain independent from the United States and expand to the Pacific Ocean.²⁹ The issue of annexation upon which Houston and Lamar were divided brought about the rise of a new political party in the state. The Texas **Whig Party** (then known as the American, or Know-Nothing Party) sided with Lamar and strongly opposed annexation, while the Democrats sided with the pro-annexation Houston. After Texas joined the Union in 1845, the Whig Party dissolved and the issue of annexation was replaced with the issue of secession.³⁰ True to his Jacksonian roots, Houston remained a Democrat and was elected to serve the state as United States senator. While he was away in Washington, Texas politics changed dramatically. First, a new party, the Opposition, or **Unionist Party**, emerged. The Unionist Party held strong anti-secessionist sentiment and

²⁶ "Mirabeau B. Lamar," Texas State Library and Archives Commission, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/presidents/lamar/grow.html>.

²⁷ Gambrell, Herbert, "Lamar, Mirabeau Buonaparte," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fla15>.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Robenalt, Jeffery, "Sam Houston and Mirabeau Lamar: A Contrast of Visions," *Texas Escapes.com*, <http://texasescapes.com/JefferyRobenalt/Sam-Houston-and-Mirabeau-Lamar-A-Contrast-of-Visions.htm>.

³⁰ Buenger, Walter L., "Whigs," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/waw01>.

supported Texas remaining in the Union. Second, the Democratic Party strongly aligned with the secessionist movement. Five of the first seven governors of Texas beginning with James Pinckney Henderson in 1845 were Democrats; but, in 1859, Unionist Party candidates swept the majority of the statewide elections – including the party’s candidate for governor, Sam Houston, who had since returned to Texas and declared allegiance to the Unionist Party.³¹ The following year, Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. Lincoln’s election signaled new calls for secession in Texas and throughout the South and secession sentiment very quickly reached a crescendo. Against Governor Houston’s opposition, a convention for state secession met in January 1861, and voted to secede from the Union. The Texas Unionist Party collapsed and Houston’s longstanding reign over Texas politics abruptly came to an end.

For the Record: The Death of Sam Houston

Sam Houston was removed from the Texas governorship after Texas seceded from the Union in 1861, and returned to his family and friends in Huntsville. His home, The Woodlands, had been sold in 1858 to pay off campaign debts and for the remainder of his life Houston was forced to rent a home, the Steamboat House. It is reported he spent his final years grieving not only for Texas and the nation, but also for his son, Sam Jr., who was fighting on the side of the Confederacy³² Houston died at the Steamboat House on July 27, 1863. His funeral was held in the upstairs quarters of the house.

The *New York Times* reported Houston’s “death” a year and a half before Houston actually died. Based on false reports given by its correspondents in the Confederate cities of Galveston and Nashville, an article titled “Death of Gen. Sam Houston” appeared in obituary form after Houston was removed from office but prior to his death. The announcement clearly reflects the southern sentiments of its authors: “It may be a harsh thing to say, but it is a truth nevertheless, that if old ‘San Jacinto’ had died a year ago his memory would have been cherished by millions and millions of his countrymen, who will now only think of him as one who, after having maintained the flag of his country on many a well-fought field, had not the moral courage to stand by that flag when it most needed his support.”³³

The City of Huntsville and the State of Texas have preserved Houston’s legacy. The Steamboat House, originally built in 1858 by Dr. Rufus Bailey, President of Austin College, as a wedding gift for his son, is now a Texas Historic Landmark located in the Sam Houston Memorial Museum

³¹ Buenger, Walter L. and James Alex Baggett, “Constitutional Union Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wac01>.

³² “Musings from Sam Houston’s Stomping Grounds,” podcast series, Newton Gresham Library, Sam Houston State University, Episode 22, August 3, 2007, http://library.shsu.edu/about/podcasts/transcripts/Musings_Houston.pdf.

³³ “Death of Gen. Sam Houston,” *New York Times*, November 3, 1861, <http://www.nytimes.com/1861/11/03/news/death-of-gen-sam-houston.html>.

Complex in Huntsville.³⁴ Houston is buried in nearby Oakwood Cemetery in a “self-chosen” site near his friend, Henderson King Yoakum, for which Yoakum County is named. His grave was very simply marked until a new monument was erected in 1911.³⁵ In 1936, the State of Texas purchased a slab grave marker with an inscription attributed to his longtime friend, Andrew Jackson: “The world will take care of Houston’s fame.”³⁶

Democratic Party Dominance: 1872 - 1952

The United States Congress and the national Reconstruction Act allowed the Republican Party to control Texas from the end of the Civil War until 1872 when Texas Democrats ousted Republican Governor Edmund J. Davis from office (see Chapter 2). The return of Democratic Party control of Texas for the next century by no means meant Texas Democrats were politically united. While Texas voters remained Democrat on paper much of the party’s post-Civil War history was marked by deep party divisions. At the heart of the Great Depression in the mid-1930s, the politics of economics became the single most divisive issue in state politics and divided the Democratic Party along liberal and conservative lines. Texas Democrats elected to the United States Congress members of the party’s liberal faction. John Nance Garner, J. W. Wright Patman, and Sam Rayburn held significant influence in national politics after the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and, in state politics, liberal Democratic Governor James Allred attempted to deal with the impact of the Depression by increasing assistance to the elderly, starting a teachers' retirement system, and increasing funding to public schools. The conservative wing of the Texas Democratic Party, with financial support drawn from the state’s business and financial leaders, fought to gain control of the state party leadership and propelled W. Lee “Pappy” O’Daniel, to the governorship in 1938.³⁷ The reelection of Franklin Roosevelt to the United States presidency in 1944 heightened tensions between conservative anti-Roosevelt Texas

³⁴ “Steamboat House,” *TexasEscapes.com*, <http://www.texasescapes.com/EastTexasTowns/HuntsvilleTexas/Steamboat-House.htm>.

³⁵ “Oakwood Cemetery,” *Walker County History.com*, Walker County Historical Commission, http://www.walkercountyhistory.org/oakwood_cemetery.php.

³⁶ “Musings from Sam Houston’s Stomping Grounds,” podcast series, Newton Gresham Library, Sam Houston State University, Episode 22, August 3, 2007, http://library.shsu.edu/about/podcasts/transcripts/Musings_Houston.pdf.

³⁷ Young, Nancy Beck, “Democratic Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

Democrats and liberal pro-Roosevelt New Deal Democrats. Wealthy Texas Democrats with interests in the increasingly powerful oil and gas industry opposed Roosevelt and poured financial contributions into state Democratic candidate campaigns, while liberal New Deal Democrats fought to regain control of the state party's machinery.³⁸ By the end of the 1940s, the Democratic Party in Texas had clearly split into a conservative wing that held control of state politics and was supported by the state's business, financial, and oil and gas leaders; a liberal wing that supported the New Deal and later championed women's rights, the working class, and ethnic minorities; and, a moderate group that shifted back and forth between the two extremes.³⁹

Divisions in the Texas Democratic Party are not surprising given the party's complete dominance over state government and politics for almost a century. Southerners in general and Texans in particular had strongly aligned themselves with the Democratic Party even before the Civil War. Opposition to the Republican Party – once seen in the South as the “Yankee” party that freed the slaves and forced Reconstruction – was passed along to subsequent generations often without question or reflection. And, as the national Democratic Party moved further and further away from old South views on civil rights and social programs, many Texans still refused to vote Republican.⁴⁰ The term “**yellow dog Democrat**,” which derives from the saying, “I’d vote for a yellow dog if he ran on the Democratic ticket,” became common in the South in the early twentieth century to describe Democrats who were so loyal to the party they would vote for Democratic candidates even if they disliked their views and political positions.⁴¹ The term later came to refer to Democrats who held more moderate to conservative views particularly in terms of economic policy.

An Era of Ticket-Splitting (1952 – 1998)

The move away from Democratic Party dominance toward ticket-splitting in the South occurred very gradually as outdated Civil War labels lost their meaning in the electorate

³⁸ Young, Nancy Beck, “Democratic Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ “Yellow Dog and Blue Dog Democrats,” The Texas Politics Project, University of Texas at Austin, https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/archive/html/part/features/0304_01/dogs.html.

⁴¹ Ibid.

and the Republican Party reconstructed its platform to lure economically and socially conservative Southerners into its ranks. In Texas, the era of ticket-splitting began in 1952. Conservative Democrat Governor R. Allan Shivers, elected in 1949, took control of the party machinery by instituting a purge of the State Democratic Executive Committee and stacking its membership with his supporters. Shivers also engineered a change in the state's election laws to permit candidates to cross-file in both the Democratic primary and the Republican primary in the 1952 presidential election. As a result, conservative Democrats, termed "Shivercrats," filed in both primaries thereby enabling them to vote for Democrats at the local level and the Republican presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, at the national level.⁴² Eisenhower's victory in Texas, strongly garnered by Shivers' change in state election laws, compelled the liberal wing of the Texas Democratic Party to focus its attention on unseating Shivers and his supporters. Liberal Texas Democrats fought to regain power in the state and, in the nation's capital, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, both Texans, battled Shivers for control of the state Democratic Party. Ralph Yarborough, endorsed by the liberal wing of the party including labor and a number of women activists, unsuccessfully challenged Shivers in the 1952 Democratic primary. When Yarborough again lost the governor's race in 1956 to conservative Democrat Marion Price Daniel, Sr. in a close run-off campaign, Yarborough threw his hat in the ring to gain Daniel's vacated seat in the United States Senate. Texans clearly split their tickets in the 1956 primary election: President Eisenhower, again with Shiver's help, carried the state, and Yarborough squeaked through the primary to join Lyndon Johnson as the second sitting United States Senator from Texas.⁴³

The campaign and ultimate election of President John F. Kennedy and his vice presidential running mate, Lyndon Johnson, dominated state politics in the early 1960s. Conservative Democrats retained control of the state convention, but the Kennedy/Johnson ticket carried Texas in 1960 and reversed the direction of the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections. Despite the 1960 presidential victory for Texas Democrats, the party was dealt a

⁴² Young, Nancy Beck, "Democratic Party," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>

⁴³ Odintz, Mark, "Ralph Webster Yarborough," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fyags>.

major blow in the runoff election to fill the United States Senate seat left vacant by Vice President Johnson. **John G. Tower**, the only viable Republican candidate in the race, defeated conservative Democrat William A. Blakley who had been appointed to fill Johnson's Senate seat until an election could be held. Tower's victory was seen by some to be an electoral fluke and others to be the beginning of two-party politics in Texas. Hindsight demonstrates the latter to be correct. The first Republican elected to statewide office since Reconstruction, Tower was re-elected to the United States Senate in 1966, 1972, and 1978.⁴⁴ His years in the Senate allowed him to connect the Texas Republican Party to the national party, and the state party to local Republican candidates.⁴⁵ Tower's electoral success caused the Democratic Party membership to rally around John Connally, a moderate to conservative Democrat, in his successful run for Texas Governor in 1962.⁴⁶

The Kennedy assassination on November 22, 1963 traumatized the citizens of Texas and deeply shook the state Democratic Party. President Johnson easily won the Texas vote in the 1964 presidential race but four years later Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey barely managed to carry the state in the presidential election.⁴⁷ Johnson's ascendancy to the presidency, Governor Connally's iron rule of the state Democratic Executive Committee, and pressing issues of civil rights served to align moderate and liberal Texas Democrats against the more conservative Democratic forces in the state.

The party's longstanding resolution that only whites were allowed to vote in the Texas Democratic primary had been struck down by the United States Supreme Court in 1944 in the case of *Smith v. Allwright*.⁴⁸ Previous courts had held that the Democratic Party was a "voluntary association" that could prescribe its own membership rules; but, in *Smith* the Court ruled that parties were agents of the state and excluding people from membership in the party based on race was a violation of the United States Constitution. After the *Smith* decision, the conservative state party leadership stepped up its use of the **poll tax** in an

⁴⁴ Eason, Susan, "Tower, John Goodwin," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ftoss>.

⁴⁵ Cunningham, Sean P., *Cowboy Conservatism: Texas and the Rise of the Modern Right*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010).

⁴⁶ Young, Nancy Beck, "Democratic Party," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U. S. 649 (1944).

attempt to deter black voters from participating in primary elections. Codified into Texas law through a state constitutional amendment in 1902, the poll tax was a method to prevent economically disadvantaged citizens from voting in the party's primary. In Texas, local chapters of the League of Women Voters and religious and political leaders fought diligently against the state tax⁴⁹ and were able to get a proposition to repeal the state poll tax on the November 9, 1963 ballot. The proposition failed.⁵⁰ The following year, the **24th Amendment** to the United States Constitution was ratified prohibiting poll taxes in federal elections. The 24th Amendment was quickly followed by the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson, and the Supreme Court's ruling in 1966 that state poll taxes violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.⁵¹

For the Record: Congressman Jack Brooks

One of the leading Texas Democrats in Washington on the issue of civil rights was Congressman Jack Brooks. Brooks was elected to represent Jefferson County in the Texas Legislature in 1946, and later represented the Second Congressional District in the United States House of Representatives from 1953 through 1966, and the Ninth Congressional District from 1967 to 1995. He served in the United States Congress for 42 years.

Brooks rose in Congress under the tutelage of Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senator and President Lyndon Johnson. He helped write the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and was one of only a handful of southern congressmen to support civil rights legislation.⁵² He refused to sign the notorious "Southern Manifesto," signed by 100 members of Congress, opposing school desegregation after the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Later in his career, Congressman Brooks sponsored both the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. He died in Beaumont in 2012 at the age of 89.

The 1972 general election demonstrated a rising trend among Texas voters to split their tickets between Democratic candidates and Republican candidates. Democrats held control of state and local offices; but, Republican presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon gained a

⁴⁹ "Voting Rights Act: The Poll Tax," Marion Butts Collection, Dallas Public Library, [http://dallaslibrary2.org/mbutts/assets/lessons/L9-voting+rights/Marion%20Butts%20-%20Voting%20Rights\(PPT\).pdf](http://dallaslibrary2.org/mbutts/assets/lessons/L9-voting+rights/Marion%20Butts%20-%20Voting%20Rights(PPT).pdf).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 383 U. S. 663.

⁵² "Collection: Congressman Jack Brooks," Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/collections/congress_politics_brooks_bio.php.

whopping 60.20% of the Texas vote against Democratic candidate George McGovern.⁵³ Furthermore, the narrow margin of Democratic victories in state races indicated the Republican Party was gaining ground in the state. The 1972 election occurred in the wake of the **Sharpstown Stock-Fraud Scandal** which centered on charges that state officials had made profitable bank-financed stock purchases in return for passing legislation desired by the financier, Houston businessman Frank W. Sharp. By the time the smoke cleared, a number of state Democratic officials had been charged with numerous other offenses including nepotism and the use of state-owned funds to buy a pickup truck.⁵⁴ The Sharpstown Scandal marked the end of the political careers of Texas House Speaker Gus Mutscher, Governor Preston Smith, and Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes, all of whom were closely tied to the old Democratic establishment.⁵⁵

For the Record: The “Dirty Thirty”

The “**Dirty Thirty**” was a bipartisan group of Texas legislators that pressed for an investigation of the Sharpstown Stock-Fraud Scandal. Texas Speaker of the House Gus Mutscher, who had been named in the scandal, retaliated against the “Dirty Thirty” by blocking legislation introduced by the group’s members.⁵⁶ Despite Mutscher’s attacks, members of the group including Democrats Bill Bass, Price Daniel, Jr., and John Hannah, and Republicans William J. Blythe, Jr., Tom Craddick, and Jim Earthman,⁵⁷ continued to press for an investigation.

In the end, the Dirty Thirty prevailed. In addition to the political demise of Speaker Mutscher, Governor Smith, and Lieutenant Governor Barnes, far-reaching campaign finance reform legislation was passed in Texas,⁵⁸ and a new group of Texas Democratic Party leaders emerged. Over half of the members of the Texas legislature were replaced in the 1972 election, and electoral victories by Democratic Party reform candidates such as William P. Hobby, Jr. as Lieutenant Governor and John Hill as Attorney General demonstrated the party’s changing direction. Frances “Sissy” Farenthold, backed by college students and liberals, emerged as the liberal Democratic gubernatorial frontrunner against conservative Democratic rancher-banker

⁵³ “Presidential Elections and Primaries in Texas, 1848-2012,” *Texas Almanac*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://texasalmanac.com/topics/elections/presidential-elections-and-primaries-texas-1848-2012>.

⁵⁴ Kinch, Jr., Sam, “Sharpstown Stock-Fraud Scandal,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mqs01>

⁵⁵ Young, Nancy Beck, “Democratic Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

⁵⁶ Johnson, John G., “Dirty Thirty,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wmdsh>.

⁵⁷ Sweany, Brian D., “Dirty Thirty,” *Texas Monthly*, September 2001, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/dirty-thirty/>.

⁵⁸ Kinch, Jr., Sam, “Sharpstown Stock-Fraud Scandal,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mqs01>.

Dolph Briscoe. Briscoe was able to split the liberal coalition by securing the neutrality of organized labor, and won the election.⁵⁹

The following year, Texas voters demonstrated their confidence in the legislature had been somewhat restored by their approval of a constitutional amendment that allowed the legislature to sit as a constitutional convention.⁶⁰ The **Texas Constitutional Convention of 1974** failed by three votes to approve a proposed new constitution for Texas voters to consider.

Texas Republicans proved they could successfully challenge Democrats for control of state politics when **William “Bill” Clements** won the governor's race in 1978. Clements' victory as the first Republican Governor of Texas since Reconstruction was due in part to a split in the Texas Democratic Party after Attorney General John Hill, Jr. defeated the incumbent governor, Dolph Briscoe, Jr. in the Democratic primary. The Briscoe children and other Briscoe supporters endorsed Clements, who won by a narrow margin.⁶¹ But Democrats could no longer turn a blind eye to the growing strength of the Republican Party in Texas especially after Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan and his Texan vice presidential running mate, George H. W. Bush, soundly carried Texas in the 1980 election. Texas Democrats regrouped. Aided by the war chests of incumbent United States Senator Lloyd Bentsen and incumbent Lieutenant Governor William P. Hobby, Jr., the party put forward a new slate of Democratic challengers for the 1982 statewide elections that included Mark White for governor, Jim Mattox for attorney general, and Ann Richards for state treasurer.⁶² All of the statewide Democratic candidates won at the polls, including Mark White who defeated incumbent Governor Clements. Clements rebounded to successfully defeat White in the 1986 gubernatorial election thereby becoming one of only three Texas governors to serve non-consecutive terms.⁶³ And, incumbent United States

⁵⁹ Young, Nancy Beck, “Democratic Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

⁶⁰ Kinch, Jr., Sam, “Sharpstown Stock-Fraud Scandal,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mqs01>.

⁶¹ Slaughter, George, “Clements, William Perry, Jr. [Bill],” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcl61>.

⁶² Young, Nancy Beck, “Democratic Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

⁶³ Elisha Pease and Miriam A., “Ma” Ferguson are the two other governors to serve non-consecutive terms. Slaughter, George, “Clements, William Perry, Jr. [Bill],” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcl61>.

President Reagan again carried the Texas presidential vote in 1984. A new term, “**blue dog Democrats**,” emerged to describe Democrats who had crossed over party lines and voted for Reagan and his policies in the 1980s.⁶⁴ Instead of being blinded by party loyalty like “yellow dogs,” the self-proclaimed “blue dogs” complained they had been “choked blue” by their own party.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Democrat Phil Gramm, elected in 1978 to serve in the United States House of Representatives, led a group of House Democrats called “boll weevils” in support of President Reagan’s wide-ranging budget and tax cut plans.⁶⁶ After the Democratic leadership stripped him of his seat on the House Budget Committee, Gramm switched to the Republican Party, won his House seat, and went on to defeat moderate Texas Democrat Lloyd Doggett in 1984 for the United States Senate seat left vacant by retiring Republican United States Senator John Tower.⁶⁷

The 1990s was a decade of rapid growth for the Texas Republican Party. Members of the Republican Party held about 1/3 of the seats in both chambers of the Texas legislature by the time Democrat **Ann Richards** was elected governor in 1990.⁶⁸ Two year later, the number of Democrats voting in the Democratic primary in Texas decreased from 1.8 million to 1.5 million, and the number of Texas legislative seats held by Republicans rose to 59 (out of 150) in the Texas House, and 13 (out of 31) in the Texas Senate.⁶⁹ In 1993, Republican **Kay Bailey Hutchison** secured the second Senate seat from Texas making her the first woman elected to the United States Senate from Texas, and the following year, Republican George W. Bush defeated Richards in the gubernatorial election. The 1994 election also saw Texas Republicans gain all three seats on the state Railroad Commission,

⁶⁴ “Yellow Dog and Blue Dog Democrats,” The Texas Politics Project, University of Texas at Austin, https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/archive/html/part/features/0304_01/dogs.html.

⁶⁵ Suddath, Claire, “A Brief History of Blue Dog Democrats,” *Time*, July 28, 2009, <http://content.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,1913057,00.html>.

⁶⁶ McCaleb, Ian Christopher, “GOP budget hawk Gramm won’t seek re-election,” *Inside Politics*, CNN News, September 5, 2001, <http://www.cnn.com/2001/ALLPOLITICS/09/04/gramm.senate/index.html>.

⁶⁷ King, Wayne, “Texas Conservative Defeats Rival for Senate Seat Tower Gave Up,” *The New York Times*, November 7, 1984, <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/11/07/us/texas-conservative-defeats-rival-for-senate-seat-tower-gave-up.html>.

⁶⁸ Young, Nancy Beck, “Democratic Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wad01>.

⁶⁹ Moneyhon, Carl H., “Republican Party,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/war02>.

pick up two congressional seats, and one time Democrat-turned-Republican Rick Perry retained his office as Agricultural Commissioner.⁷⁰ The end of the era of Democratic Party dominance of Texas politics appeared inevitable.

The Era of Republican Party Dominance: 1998 - present

The decade of the 1990s was one of Republican Party rise and dominance over Texas government and politics. **George W. Bush's** gubernatorial victory over popular incumbent Ann Richards in the 1994 election marked the second time a Republican held the governor's office since Reconstruction. The party won control of the Texas Senate by a slim majority (17 of 31 seats) in 1996, and two years later won all 27 statewide offices. The 2000 elections demonstrated the continuing rise in Republican votes in Texas with former Governor George W. Bush overwhelmingly gaining the state's vote for President of the United States, and Michael Williams, a Bush appointee to the Texas Railroad Commission, winning his first full term on the commission. In 2002, the Republican Party won control of the Texas House making **Tom Craddick** the first Republican Speaker since Reconstruction,⁷¹ and giving Texas Republicans control over a **unified government**. Unified government is a political situation in which both chambers of the state legislature as well as the governorship are controlled by members of the same party. It allows the party in control to more easily pass laws that fit their legislative agenda since potential opposition by minority party members in the legislature diminishes due to sheer number of votes, and reduces the likelihood that a veto by the governor will be overridden by a legislative majority that holds membership in the governor's political party.

Districting and redistricting are also important factors in the era of Republican Party dominance in Texas. Since the number of seats each state gets to the United States House of Representatives is based on population, the United States Congress after every ten-year national census apportions to each state the number of seats each state will get in the United States House of Representatives. After apportionment is performed by the national Congress, state legislatures have the responsibility of dividing the states into national

⁷⁰ Moneyhon, Carl H., "Republican Party," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/war02>.

⁷¹ *Texas Politics*, Liberal Arts Technology Instructional Services, University of Texas at Austin, 2006, http://www.laits.utexas.edu/txp_media/html/part/print_part.html.

congressional districts as well as into relevant state districts. The Texas House passed a bill in 2001 to draw new districts for the state House and, after the Texas Senate rejected the bill, the House assigned the task of **redistricting** to the Legislative Redistricting Board (LRB). The LRB drew new congressional districts clearly to favor Republican candidates. Despite intense objection, the LRB voted to use their new redistricting map in the statewide election of 2002 which resulted in a Republican majority of 88-62 in the Texas House of Representatives (compared to a 72-78 minority prior to the 2002 election).⁷²

Texas Lieutenant Governor **Rick Perry** assumed the governorship of Texas when Governor George W. Bush was elected President of the United States in 2001. His ascendancy to the governorship would begin a historical record of Perry being the longest serving governor in Texas history – a period stretching continuously from 2001 until 2015. Since Texas does not have term limits for statewide offices (as discussed in Chapter 8), Perry was technically able to serve as governor for as long as the voters continued to reelect him but he chose not seek reelection in 2014 after 14 years in the position. In his first term as Governor, Perry did not have Republican majorities in both chambers of the Texas Legislature and had to use his gubernatorial power of veto to advance his legislative agenda. At the conclusion of the 2001 legislative term, Perry vetoed 79 bills in one day, commonly referred to as the **Father's Day Massacre**.⁷³ The fact that Perry waited until the conclusion of the legislative session to veto the bills is significant because the veto of bills passed after the legislative session has ended is not subject to an override vote except with a call by the governor for a special session (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7). Governor Perry was not going to call a special session specifically to address the possibility of overriding one of his vetoes. While Perry's use of the power of veto was needed early in his governorship in order for him to advance his legislative agenda, it was no longer required after the Republican Party gained control of both the Texas House and Texas Senate in 2003. Republican Party control of both houses of the Texas legislature allowed Republican legislators to enact into state law a conservative political agenda that included some

⁷² "DeLay, cronies hurt Texas in U.S. House," *The Victoria Advocate*, December 4, 2006, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/115C52052E30BCD0?p=NewsBank>.

⁷³ Tilove, Jonathan. "Greg Abbott: the calm after the Rick Perry storm." *Austin-American Statesman*. June 20, 2015. <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/greg-abbott-the-calm-after-the-rick-perry-storm/saoq3hkRQaZHIurdsNImaN/>.

proposals to benefit the business community and others designed to please social conservatives. Texas Republicans aggressively pushed for more lenient rules regarding intrastate commerce; steadfastly defended the state's low-tax ethos; fought for additional state restrictions on abortion; and enacted more lenient laws concerning firearm ownership and carry.

The legacy of Republicans dominating Texas for roughly the past two decades has included a strategy referred to as the “**Texas Model**.” Due in part to Governor Perry's run for the United State presidency, *USA Today* ran a column entitled “Rick Perry: Follow the Texas Model of Success” in which the governor addressed the creation of opportunity in Texas. Perry wrote the article in which he asserted Texas “maintain[s] low taxes, smart regulations and fair courts.” He also said the state has “created three out of every 10 jobs in America over the last 10 years.”⁷⁴ Readers may agree or disagree with Perry's policies regarding the regulation of the economy, but statistics demonstrate the relative success of the Texas Model advanced by Perry during his terms as governor. Employment in Texas grew by over 2.2 million between December 2000 and January 2015, an increase of almost twenty five percent.⁷⁵

After January 2015, employment in Texas began to decline. In March 2015, Texas lost 25,000 jobs across all sectors,⁷⁶ and falling oil prices were linked to a loss of 8,300 Texas oil industry jobs in April 2015.⁷⁷ Oil traded for over \$100 per barrel in 2014 but was down to \$60 per barrel in May and June 2015,⁷⁸ and by mid-December 2015 the price of Brent crude as well as West Texas Intermediate trading was between \$30 and \$40 per barrel.⁷⁹ On May

⁷⁴ Perry, Rick. “Rick Perry: Follow the Texas model of success.” *USA Today*. October 28, 2013. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2013/10/28/governor-rick-perry-texas-tour-jobs-editorials-debates/3290927/>.

⁷⁵ Krauss, Clifford and Nelson D. Schwartz. “Rick Perry Hones His Image as ‘Texas Miracle’ Fades.” *The New York Times*. June 3, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/04/business/economy/what-texas-economy-means-for-rick-perrys-presidential-ambitions.html?_r=0.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Mooney, Chris. “Oil prices keep falling – this is why.” *The Washington Post*. December 21, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2015/12/21/oil-prices-keep-falling-this-is-the-reason-why/?utm_term=.7b55cb9d1ec9.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

16, 2017, both measures of crude prices were near \$50 a barrel.⁸⁰ The downward trend in oil prices has been a source of concern about Texas; however, fossil fuel industries were the source of less than 4% of Texas nonagricultural jobs in 2011.⁸¹ Also related to the state of the Texas job market is the issue of health insurance. In 2010, one quarter of Texans did not have health insurance, and in 2015 the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that 16.8% of Texans were without health insurance - the largest percentage of the population without health insurance than any other state in the union.⁸² Furthermore, job creation in Texas has only matched population growth so there is little pressure or incentive to pay higher wages.⁸³ Whether the Texas Model is ideal for other states to follow is still a subject appropriate for debate, and readers can draw their own conclusions about it. However, it is undeniable this will be part of Rick Perry's legacy, whether history judges it positively or negatively.

The "Texas Model" is part of the legacy of the Republicans controlling Texas for most of the past two decades. This style of governing includes positions on issues that are consistent with those of business interests and is promoted as something that is good for the business community. However, in recent years the business community has come into conflict with the Republican Party in Texas. The Texas Association of Business is the biggest business organization in Texas and represents over 4,300 employers. It has a history of lobbying for reduced regulation and taxation and helped Republicans win control of Texas. Republican primary voters now decide who wins most major elections in Texas and connect more with appeals based on cultural conservatism than those grounded in arguments about what is good for business. Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick advocated for a bill that would force Texans to select the public restrooms they used based on their

⁸⁰ Domm, Patti. "The drillers of West Texas are ready to undermine any OPEC, Russia deal to boost oil prices." CNBC. May 16, 2017. <http://www.cnbc.com/2017/05/16/the-drillers-of-west-texas-are-ready-to-undermine-any-opec-russia-deal-to-boost-oil-prices.html>.

⁸¹ Brown, Stephen P.A. and Mine K. Yucel. "The Shale Gas and Tight Oil Boom: U.S. States' Economic Gains and Vulnerabilities." Council on Foreign Relations. October 15, 2013. <https://www.cfr.org/report/shale-gas-and-tight-oil-boom>.

⁸² Dean, Jenny. "Texas uninsured rate falls to 16.8%; national rate now in single digits." *Houston Chronicle*. May 17, 2016. <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/business/medical/article/Texas-uninsured-rate-falls-to-16-8-national-7542199.php>; also CDC in same source.

⁸³ Ehrenfreund, Max. "The facts about Rick Perry and the "Texas Miracle." Wonkblog. *Washington Post*. June 8, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/06/08/the-facts-about-rick-perry-and-the-texas-miracle/?utm_term=.6f120478a763.

birth sexes when in public buildings. Transgender Texans would not be allowed to use restrooms that matched their gender identities in public buildings if this law passed.⁸⁴ The President of the Texas Association of Business asserted “Discriminatory legislation is bad for business” when explaining his opposition to this bill.⁸⁵ Many corporations joined a coalition assembled by TAB to oppose the bill including: Amazon, Google, Dell, and Apple among others.⁸⁶ While Republicans are likely to control the state throughout the near future, one dominant party in Texas does not mean one position on every issue among Texans. The discussion of other controversies below will illustrate this observation as well.

Legislative Issues during the Era of Republican Party Dominance

Among the many political issues addressed by the Texas legislature during the era of Republican dominance and the Perry administration were abortion and gun rights. The national Republican Party platform opposes abortion and generally Texas Republicans are no exception. Prior to the United States Supreme Court case of *Roe v. Wade* (1973)⁸⁷ abortion was not uniformly legal or illegal across the United States; but, access to abortion could be limited or permitted by state law. The *Roe* decision held that women have a constitutional right to privacy that extends to the right of a woman to terminate her pregnancy through an abortion. States may not, therefore, pass laws that ban abortion outright. But, after the Court’s decision in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992)⁸⁸, states may pass laws that regulate or restrict the procedure. *Roe v. Wade* is unlikely to be reversed in the near future and state legislators and governmental officials who want to restrict abortion must do so in accordance with the limited authority they have based on the *Roe* and *Casey* decisions. Texas Republicans have worked within the guidelines set forth by the United States Supreme Court to enact legislation to limit access to abortion and increase

⁸⁴ Mann, Dave. “Party Hopping.” *Texas Monthly*. May 2017. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/party-hopping/>

⁸⁵ Chris Wallace quoted in Ramsey (2016) in Mann (2017). Ross. “Analysis: A bathroom mess for Republican Texas lawmakers.” *Texas Tribune*. December 7, 2016. <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/12/07/analysis-bathroom-mess-republican-texas-lawmakers/>

Mann, Dave. “Party Hopping.” *Texas Monthly*. May 2017. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/party-hopping/>

⁸⁶ Mann, Dave. “Party Hopping.” *Texas Monthly*. May 2017. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/party-hopping/>

⁸⁷ *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

⁸⁸ *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833 (1992).

the procedural steps required to obtain an abortion. Near the end of Rick Perry's governorship, the Texas Legislature was successful in passing a series of new laws restricting abortion in the state.

Republicans achieved a 2/3 **supermajority** in the Texas House of Representatives in 2010. Achieving a supermajority allowed Republican members to dominate the processes and agenda of the chamber⁸⁹ (for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 6). In January 2011, Governor Perry aggressively promoted a bill mandating that women who choose to have an abortion must undergo an ultrasound twenty-four hours prior to the abortion procedure.⁹⁰ The reason for the ultrasound bill, according to the bill's sponsor, Sid Miller, was that the legislature wanted "to make sure she knows what she is doing".⁹¹ The bill passed the Texas House 107-42 and Perry signed it into law.⁹² Another abortion bill, **House Bill 2**, was passed in 2013. State Senator Wendy Davis, a Fort Worth Democrat, filibustered the bill during that year's first special session but the legislature approved it in a second special session.⁹³ The law banned abortions once gestation had continued for more than twenty weeks and included new rules for administering RU-486 (a drug that induces abortions).⁹⁴ It also required that abortion providers maintain admission privileges at hospitals in their area, and that facilities providing abortions meet the same standards required of ambulatory surgical centers.⁹⁵ Before the passage of House Bill 2, forty abortion providers made their services available in Texas, but most clinics performing abortions closed after the bill was enacted.⁹⁶ In June 2016, the United States Supreme Court invalidated the sections of the Texas law that required abortion providers to maintain admitting privileges and facilities to meet standards identical to ambulatory

⁸⁹ Swartz, Mimi. "Mothers, Sisters, Daughters, Wives." *Texas Monthly*. August 2012, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/mothers-sisters-daughters-wives/>.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Miller in Swartz, Mimi. "Mothers, Sisters, Daughters, Wives." *Texas Monthly*. August 2012. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/mothers-sisters-daughters-wives/>

⁹² Swartz, Mimi. "Mothers, Sisters, Daughters, Wives." *Texas Monthly*. August 2012. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/mothers-sisters-daughters-wives/>.

⁹³ Luthra, Shefali. "Perry Signs Omnibus Abortion Bill Into Law." *The Texas Tribune*. July 18, 2013. <https://www.texastribune.org/2013/07/18/perry-signs-abortion-bill-law/>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Haynes, Danielle. "Appeals court upholds strict Texas abortion law closing all but seven clinics." UPI. June 9, 2015. http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2015/06/09/Appeals-court-upholds-strict-Texas-abortion-law-closing-all-but-seven-clinics/2781433874032/.

surgical centers, citing the undue burden the requirements placed on those seeking to obtain an abortion.⁹⁷ A few clinics have reopened since the Supreme Court's ruling including clinics in Dallas⁹⁸, Austin⁹⁹, and Waco¹⁰⁰ but the numbers are still far behind the number of clinics in Texas prior to House Bill 2.

Gun rights have also been high on the state legislative agenda during the era of Republican dominance. The Second Amendment to the United States Constitution states: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The Second Amendment was used by the Supreme Court to strike down a local gun control ordinance in *D.C. v. Heller* (2008)¹⁰¹ and again in *McDonald v. Chicago* (2010)¹⁰². The *McDonald* case differed from the *Heller* case in that Washington, D. C. is not a state and therefore not subject to the 14th Amendment. Chicago is a city within a state and was created and given its authority by the state of Illinois (see our discussion of Dillon's Rule in Chapter 4). Like all of the rights in the Bill of Rights, the Second Amendment originally applied only to the national government (see *Barron v. Baltimore*, 1833)¹⁰³, but the *McDonald* case incorporated the Second Amendment to apply to the states. Moreover, the Texas Constitution contains a state constitutional provision that protects the rights of Texans to keep and bear arms.¹⁰⁴

The history of the right to bear arms in Texas has relevance in contemporary discussions of the topic. The Texas legislature is empowered by the state constitution to pass laws restricting weapons. In 1871, during the era of Reconstruction, the Texas legislature passed a law making it illegal to carry a pistol outside of one's home. The law was not repealed

⁹⁷ Novack, Sophie. "Austin Abortion Clinic Reopens after Supreme Court Ruling. Will Any More Follow?" *Texas Observer*. April 25, 2017. <https://www.texasobserver.org/texas-abortion-clinic-reopens-supreme-court-ruling-will-any-more-follow/>.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Associated Press. "Austin Abortion Clinic Reopens Following High Court Ruling." *U.S. News and World Report*. April 28, 2017. <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/texas/articles/2017-04-28/austin-abortion-clinic-reopens-following-high-court-ruling>.

¹⁰⁰ Pestano, Andrew V. "Planned Parenthood reopens first abortion clinic in Texas." UPI. May 3, 2017. http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2017/05/03/Planned-Parenthood-reopens-first-abortion-clinic-in-Texas/9171493809984/.

¹⁰¹ *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570 (2008).

¹⁰² *McDonald v. Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742 (2010).

¹⁰³ *Barron v. Baltimore*, 32 U.S. 243 (1833).

¹⁰⁴ *Texas Constitution* (1876), Article 1, Section 23, "Right to Keep and Bear Arms".

during the era of Democratic Party dominance in Texas¹⁰⁵ and remained on the books for over 120 years.¹⁰⁶ Governor George W. Bush openly supported a concealed-weapons bill during his first gubernatorial campaign in 1994,¹⁰⁷ and after taking office signed the concealed carry bill into law.¹⁰⁸ Republicans in favor of gun rights were able to pass legislation extending the right to keep and bear arms after the party gained a majority in the state legislature and, in the past twenty years Texas has become more and more lenient with regard to carrying firearms. The first regular legislative session held after the election of current Texas Governor Gregg Abbott in 2014 resulted in the governor's signing into law a bill allowing **campus carry**.¹⁰⁹ Campus carry allows individuals with the appropriate licenses to bring concealed handguns on public college and university campuses.¹¹⁰ During the same 2015 session, the state legislature passed an **open carry** bill which allows licensed Texans to openly carry handguns. The bill was supported by only five Democratic members of the House (by a vote of 102-43), and no Democratic members of the Senate (by a vote of 20-11).¹¹¹ In a public show of his support for the bill, Governor Abbott signed the bill into law at a shooting range and gun store in Pflugerville.¹¹² The governor also signed into law a gun-related bill passed during the 2017 regular legislative session. The law reduced the first-time firearm permit fee from \$140 to \$40 and the five-year permit renewal fee from \$70 to \$40. While the state will forego roughly \$22 million of revenue in

¹⁰⁵ McGaughy, Lauren. "First to ban open carry, Texas could be one of the last to OK it," *Houston Chronicle*, December 22, 2014, <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/politics/texas/article/First-to-ban-open-carry-Texas-could-be-one-of-5974401.php>.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Butterfield, Fox. "ON THE RECORD: Governor Bush on Crime; Bush's Law and Order Adds Up to Tough and Popular," *The New York Times*, August 18, 1999, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/08/18/us/record-governor-bush-crime-bush-s-law-order-adds-up-tough-popular.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Watkins, Matthew. "Campus Carry Opponents Wage New Battle Before Law Takes Effect." *The Texas Tribune*. October 1, 2015, <https://www.texastribune.org/2015/10/01/schools-consider-gun-rules-campus-carry-opponents-/>.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Costa-Roberts, Daniel, "Texas approves open carry law for handguns." PBS, PBS Newshour, May 30, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/texas-verge-passing-open-carry-law/>

¹¹² Aguilar, Julian. "At Shooting Range, Abbott Signs 'Open Carry' Bill," *The Texas Tribune*, June 13, 2015, <https://www.texastribune.org/2015/06/13/abbott-signs-open-carry-bill/>.

the next budget cycle because of permit fee reductions, the National Rifle Association reports that Texas now has the lowest fees of this type of any state.¹¹³

Groups with a strong interest in these policies have been vocal about gun rights in Texas politics over the past several years. Open Carry Texas supports the legalization of openly carrying pistols without licenses; the president of that organization has called these licenses a “second amendment tax”.¹¹⁴ Chapters of Open Carry Texas have also posted videos on the web showing themselves entering restaurants with rifles on their backs.¹¹⁵ In 2014 the NRA (National Rifle Association) characterized these events as bizarre and claimed they worked against the goals of the gun rights movement on one of its blogs.¹¹⁶ Chris Cox, a high-level official within the NRA, publicly blamed “the staffer who wrote that piece and expressed his personal opinion” shortly thereafter on their website.¹¹⁷ Open Carry Texas had stopped openly displaying their weapons inside businesses and other public venues weeks before the controversy, according to C.J. Grisham, who was their president at the time.¹¹⁸ Further, as *Texas Monthly* pointed out in April 2015, multiple organizations openly carried long guns into public places to highlight inconsistencies in state law that existed at that time. In that era anyone could carry long guns openly in public places with no permit requirement but handguns had to be concealed and carried by licensed Texans.¹¹⁹

The National Rifle Association is an extremely influential organization and its name is associated with dedicated gun rights advocacy in national discourse. Such a dispute might

¹¹³ “Texas gun fees now nation’s lowest with new law,” *Beaumont Enterprise*, Associated Press, May 26, 2017, <http://www.beaumontenterprise.com/news/article/Texas-gun-fees-now-nation-s-lowest-with-new-law-11176853.php>.

¹¹⁴ Grisham, C.J., quoted in Kolten Parker, “NRA blasts Open Carry Texas after San Antonio Incidents,” *mySA*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/NRA-blasts-Open-Carry-Texas-after-San-Antonio-5522959.php>.

¹¹⁵ Parker, Kolten, “NRA blasts Open Carry Texas after San Antonio Incidents,” *mySA*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/NRA-blasts-Open-Carry-Texas-after-San-Antonio-5522959.php>.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Cox, Chris, National Rifle Association, in Boerma, Lindsey, “NRA-ILA’s Chris Cox Talks About Open Carry and Failure of Gun Control in CA,” YouTube, June 3, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2GThvEXDUY&feature=share>.

¹¹⁸ Boerma, Lindsey, “NRA official: Shaming open-carry Texas gun groups was ‘a mistake,’” *CBS News*, June 4, 2014, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/nra-official-shaming-open-carry-texas-gun-groups-was-a-mistake/>.

¹¹⁹ Grieder, Erica, “Pistol Pushers,” *Texas Monthly*, April 2015, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/pistol-pushers/>.

be assumed to slow down a more state-centric organization like Open Carry Texas but they have remained active on these issues. However, during this controversy they were meeting with lawmakers; Grisham was extremely confident openly carrying pistols would be legalized in 2015.¹²⁰ As observers of Texas politics now know, Governor Abbott signed a bill permitting licensed Texans to openly carry handguns in June 2015.¹²¹ In 2017 the Texas Legislature considered whether to allow those who legally own firearms to carry their pistols (in holsters or concealed) without a license from the state. Officials speaking for the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas asserted this law would make it more difficult for police officers to carry out their duties.¹²² C.J. Grisham said law enforcement interests had predicted pervasive problems with concealed carry and open carry. He asserted “They have zero credibility. They’ve been wrong every time.”¹²³ Whether Grisham and Open Carry Texas win future debates over gun rights will be of interest to millions of Texans. In recent years he and those with similar beliefs have had much success in Texas politics and they are likely to continue to advocate for a more lenient approach to gun policy in Texas.

Partisan Divide and the State of Texas Politics Today

Republicans have remained dominant in state elections throughout the 21st century. No Democratic Party candidate has won any statewide election, and Democrats have consistently been the **minority party** in state politics. Despite losses at the polls, Democratic Party candidates sometimes get a large minority of votes for statewide offices. In the 2016 presidential election, for example, Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton received 43.2% of the statewide vote for President, while Republican candidate Donald

¹²⁰ Parker, Kolten, “NRA blasts Open Carry Texas after San Antonio Incidents,” *mySA*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/NRA-blasts-Open-Carry-Texas-after-San-Antonio-5522959.php>

¹²¹ Aguilar, Julian, “At Shooting Range, Abbott Signs ‘Open Carry’ Bill,” *The Texas Tribune*, June 13, 2015, <https://www.texastribune.org/2015/06/13/abbott-signs-open-carry-bill/>.

¹²² Lindell, Chuck, “License-free gun bills draw Capitol crowd,” *myStatesman*, March 28, 2017, <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/license-free-gun-bills-draw-capitol-crowd/4xQyNBdFzFMw0Bt9vFWAXM/>.

¹²³ Grisham, C. J., quoted in Chuck Lindell, “License-free gun bills draw Capitol crowd,” *myStatesman*, March 28, 2017, <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/license-free-gun-bills-draw-capitol-crowd/4xQyNBdFXzFMw0Bt9vFWAXM/>.

Trump received 52.2%.¹²⁴ Ross Ramsey of the *Texas Tribune* provided the following assessment of Texas voters during the 2016 election: “Tuesday’s election results offer further evidence that Texas mirrors America, with urban voters strongly favoring Democrats, while rural and many suburban voters favor Republicans”.¹²⁵ Trump was the favored presidential candidate in 227 Texas counties in 2016, winning a solid majority of rural Texas and multitudes of medium-sized cities. By contrast, Clinton won 27 counties, including some of the most populated ones such as Bexar, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Bend, Harris, Hidalgo, and Travis counties. Democratic candidates received a higher percentage of votes in large cities than in previous elections, and President Trump fared worse than any Republican running statewide in 2016.¹²⁶ None of the Republican candidates for state offices in 2016 received more than 56% of the vote.¹²⁷

Conclusion

Those who value divided government and view an opposition party as an instrument to limit the will of an electoral majority will be discouraged by the study of Texas politics. The Democratic Party dominated Texas politics and government from 1872 – 1952, and the Republican Party has dominated state government since 1998. Two-party competition occurred from 1952 – 1998 during the era of ticket-splitting. Texas’s Republican voters do, however, have reasons to be optimistic about the current political divide in the state. Republican Party candidates consistently win at the polls, and Texas Republicans serving in the state legislature work to enact laws that are reflective of the party as a whole. But, as Erica Greider of *Texas Monthly* explains, there are potential drawbacks to the party’s dominance in the state: “[G]eneral elections are foregone conclusions, the only contests that matter are Republican primaries, and the path to victory lies in running as far right as possible. Under those conditions, a small subset of conservatives can hijack the political debate and many feel entitled to do so. That’s how a once obscure issue like open carry became a top priority for the government of Texas and for the 27 million people it

¹²⁴ “Race Summary Report: 2016 General Election: 11/8/2016,” Office of the Secretary of State, http://elections.sos.state.tx.us/elchist319_state.htm.

¹²⁵ Ramsey, Ross, “Analysis: The blue dots in Texas’ red political sea,” *The Texas Tribune*, November 11, 2016, <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/11/11/analysis-blue-dots-texas-red-political-sea/>.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ “Race Summary Report: 2016 General Election: 11/8/2016,” Office of the Secretary of State, http://elections.sos.state.tx.us/elchist319_state.htm.

supposedly serves.”¹²⁸ Open carry had not yet passed when she wrote that article, and she thought most Texans would not be impacted by such a law.¹²⁹ Her criticisms in the above quote could be applied more broadly to institutions in Texas and give readers something to consider even if they are satisfied with the current state of Texas politics.

Key Terms

Secretary of State	election administrators	precinct chair
County chairs	county executive committee	open primary system
state executive committee	state party chair	closed primary system
straight party voting	ticket splitting	straight-ticket voting
political parties	interest groups	campaign finance committees
lobbying	political action committees (PACs)	issue advocacy
Grange	membership interest groups	non-member groups
government organizations	factions	Third parties
Greenback Party	People’s Party	party platform
grassroots efforts	Whig Party	Unionist Party
yellow dog Democrat	John G. Tower	<i>Smith v. Allwright</i>
poll tax	24 th Amendment	“Dirty Thirty”
William “Bill” Clements	blue dog Democrats	Ann Richards
Kay Bailey Hutchison	George W. Bush	Tom Craddick
unified government	redistricting	Rick Perry
Father’s Day Massacre	Texas Model	abortion
supermajority	campus carry	open carry
minority party		
Sharpstown Stock-Fraud Scandal		
Texas Constitutional Convention of 1974		

¹²⁸ Greider, Erica, “Pistol Pushers,” *Texas Monthly*, April 2015, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/pistol-pushers/>.

¹²⁹ Ibid.