ONLINE APPENDIX
(NOT INTENDED FOR PUBLICATION)

The Roots of the Modern American Presidential Campaign

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A. Data Construction

A.1. Data Sources

Campaign stops were collected from newspaper clippings obtained from the website newspapers.com. For each candidate-election, we searched articles between the dates of the party convention (i.e. the official start of the campaign) and the day of the election. We record each town/location where the candidate was reported to have been, with its corresponding date. The sample includes all candidates who obtained more than 3% of the vote at the national level.

We use data from Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016) to construct campaign routes for each candidate, as well as the measures of railroad connectivity for each county. We created two variables: Railroad density, constructed as the share of the county area covered by railroads, with buffers of 5mi around the railroad line, and Travel Cost from DC, constructed as the lowest cost connection between the centroid of a county and Washington D.C. We use Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016) estimates of travel costs for railroad ($0.0063*km, or $0.0101*miles) and wagon ($0.231*km, or $0.3716*miles) and find the least costly path. Distance covered by wagon is computed as the euclidean distance between the county centroid and the closest railroad line, using the `cKDTree` function from the SciPy Python library. Distance covered by railroad is computed using the Dijkstra algorithm (`shortest_path` function from the NetworkX Python library).

Data on electoral outcomes comes from Clubb, Flanigan, and Zingale (2006). Turnout is defined as the share of votes cast in an election to the estimated number of white males aged 20 and above in that election. We winsorize turnout at 100%. Margin of victory is constructed as the vote share of the Republican candidate minus the voteshare of the Democratic candidate in the county.

County level census data comes from Haines (2010) whenever possible. For variables not included in the published census volumes, we aggregate full count microdata from Ruggles, Nelson, Sobek, Fitch, Goeken, Hacker, Roberts, and Warren (2024) to the county level. We linearly interpolate between decades.

Data for newspaper access comes from the Library of Congress Directory of Newspapers (scrapped in 2011 by the Bill Lane Center for the American West, https://west.stanford.edu). The directory includes the dates of publication for each newspaper in the U.S., as well as its city of publication. We aggregate the data at the county level, and construct the variable Newspapers, with the number of newspapers issued in a given county in a given year.

A.2. Campaign Routes

We construct campaign routes for all presidential and vice-presidential candidates in Table 1. To this end, we geolocate each campaign stop, and connect consecutive stops through the existing railroad network in that campaign year using the Dijkstra algorithm (shortest_path function from the NetworkX Python library). We create two variables: `stop`, which takes the value of 1 if a county has a stop of a given campaign (computed using the `within` function of the GeoPanda Python library), and `route`, taking the value of 1 if the county is cut across by the campaign route (computed using the `intersect` function of the GeoPanda Python library). Only 12 of the 1,763 counties with stops in our dataset are not connected to the railroad network. Appendix B shows maps for all campaign routes in our sample.

A.3. Sample Definition

We include presidential elections in 1872–1908.

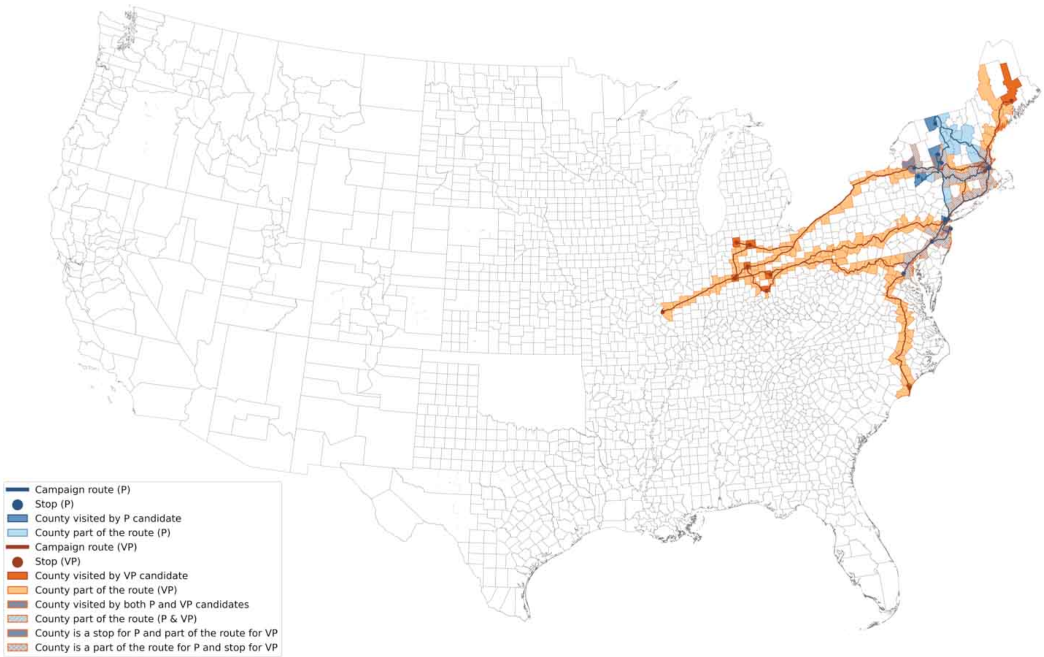
We follow Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016) to have consistent county definitions between 1870 and 1890. However, we keep 1870 boundaries, so that we aggregate voting data for counties that split over time. We exclude counties with population below 1,000. Our final dataset has 2,556 counties.

Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics

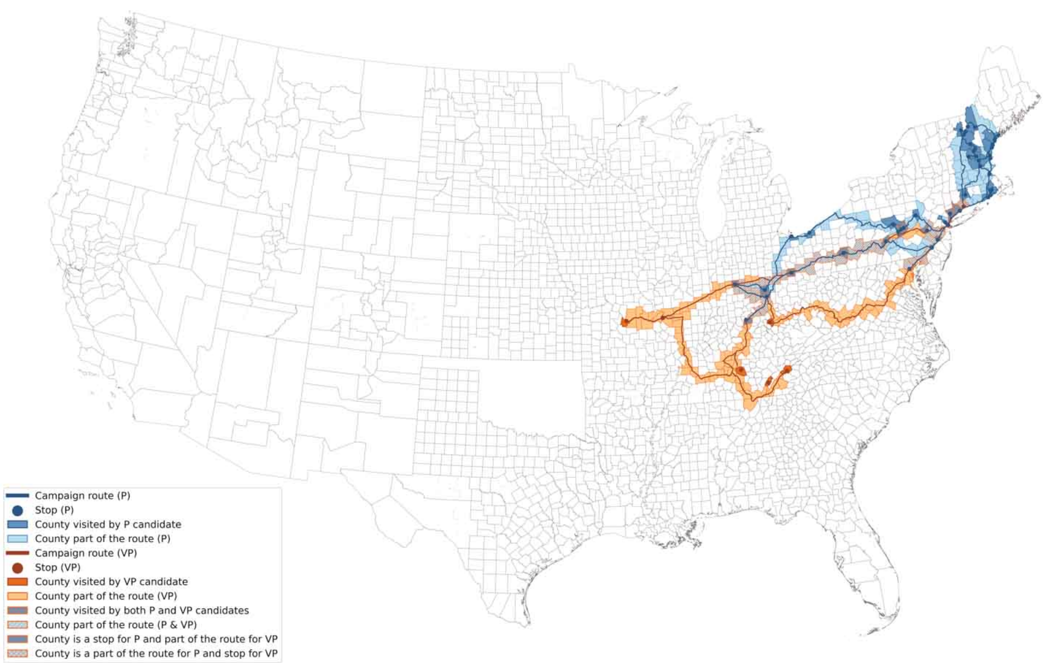
Variable	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max	Total
Panel A. Outcomes					
Turnout Rate	68.358	21.870	0	100	24,648
Margin of victory (REP-DEM)	-4.868	37.905	-100	100	24,632
Number of stops	0.090	0.356	0	5	24,648
Dummy stop	0.072	0.258	0	1	24,648
Dummy stop (presidential candidate)	0.054	0.227	0	1	24,648
Dummy stop (vice-presidential candidate)	0.028	0.166	0	1	24,648
Number of stops+routes	0.341	0.740	0	5	24,648
Dummy stops+routes	0.222	0.415	0	1	24,648
Dummy stops+routes (presidential candidate)	0.140	0.347	0	1	24,648
Dummy stops+routes (vice-presidential candidate)	0.148	0.355	0	1	24,648
Dummy stops+routes (democrat ticket)	0.135	0.342	0	1	24,648
Dummy stops+routes (republican ticket)	0.117	0.321	0	1	24,648
Dummy stops+routes (other tickets)	0.040	0.195	0	1	24,648
Panel B. Controls					
Log population	9.662	0.873	6	15	24,229
In candidate birth state	0.113	0.316	0	1	24,648
RR density	0.532	0.316	0	1	24,482
Distance to DC	1.184	0.785	0	4	24,489
Urban pop share	0.118	0.199	0	1	24,229
Foreign born pop share	0.090	0.112	0	1	24,229
Male pop share	0.519	0.033	0	1	24,229
Under 20 pop share	0.505	0.077	0	1	24,229
Homogeneity of FB pop	0.512	0.170	0	1	23,873
White pop share	0.844	0.219	0	1	24,229
Adult literacy rate	0.854	0.146	0	1	24,008
Share high white collar	0.066	0.025	0	0	24,008
Share low white collar	0.027	0.020	0	0	24,008
Share skilled blue collar	0.077	0.048	0	0	24,008
Share unskilled	0.186	0.127	0	1	24,008
Share no occ	0.090	0.047	0	1	24,008
Gini farmland inequality	0.436	0.096	0	1	24,205
# Newspapers	4.705	7.796	0	202	24,648

B. Campaign Maps[1]

Routes by Grant & Wilson (REP) in the 1872 US presidential election

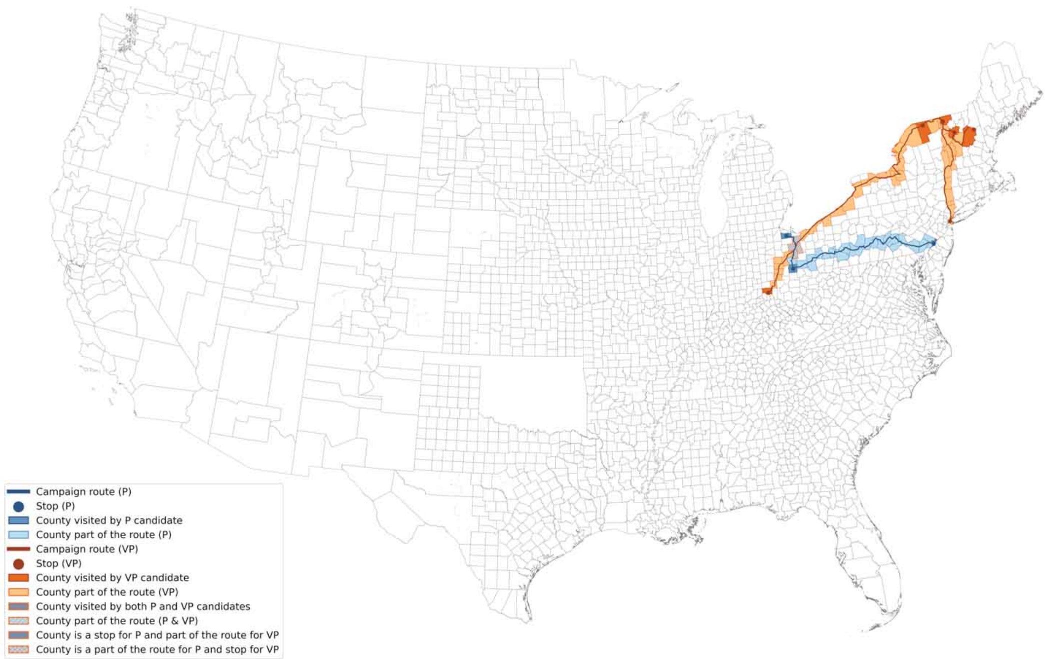


Routes by Greeley & Brown (DEM) in the 1872 US presidential election

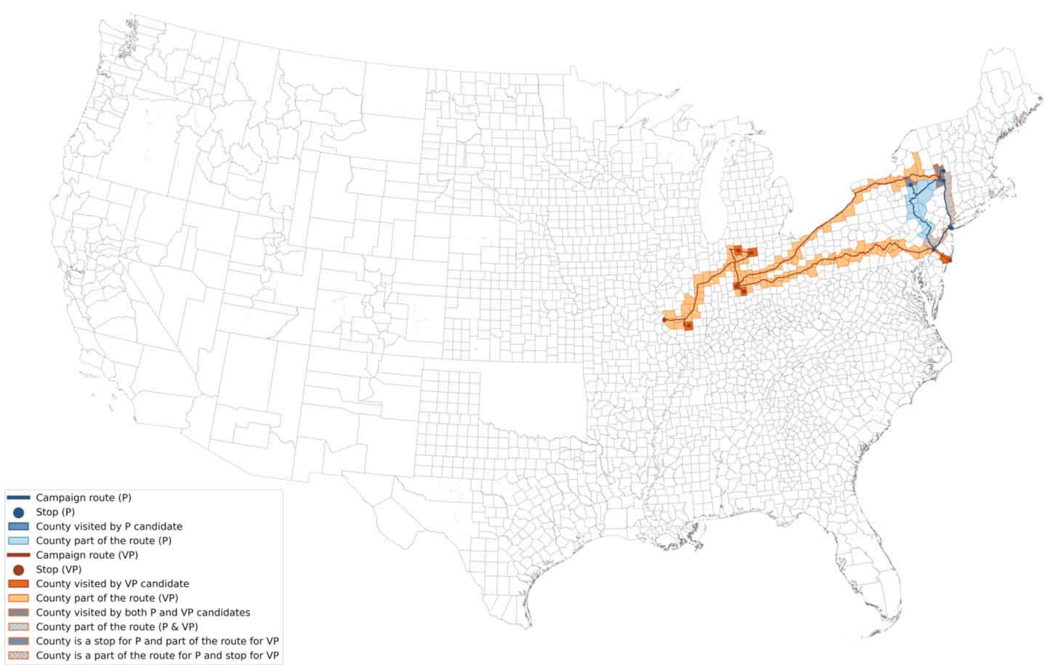


[1]High resolution maps can be found here: https://tinyurl.com/4ywua2mj

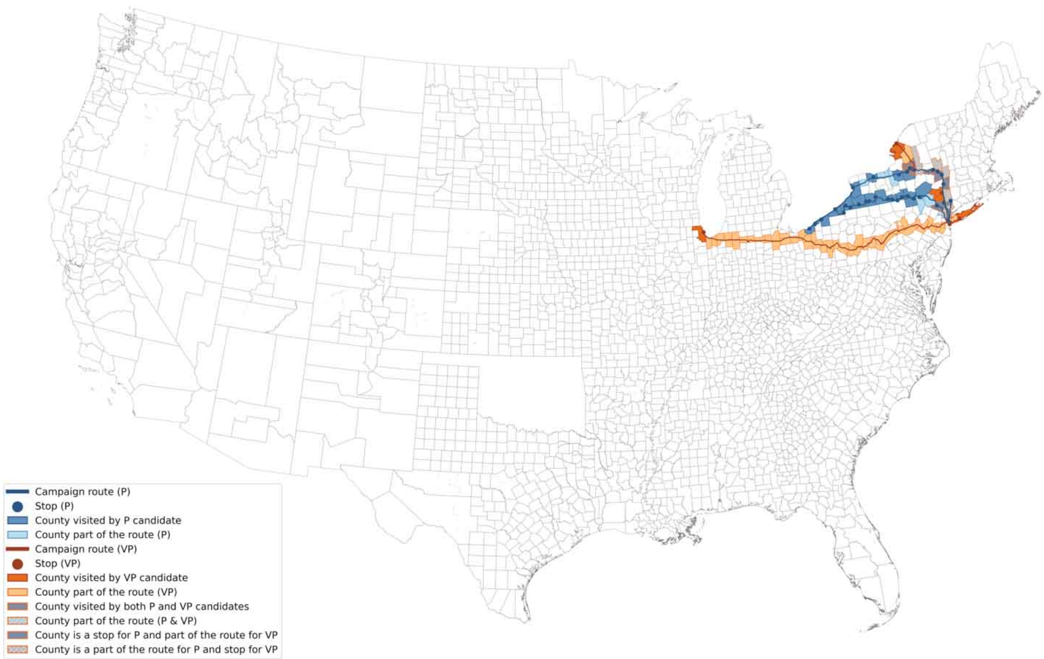
Routes by Hayes & Wheeler (REP) in the 1876 US presidential election



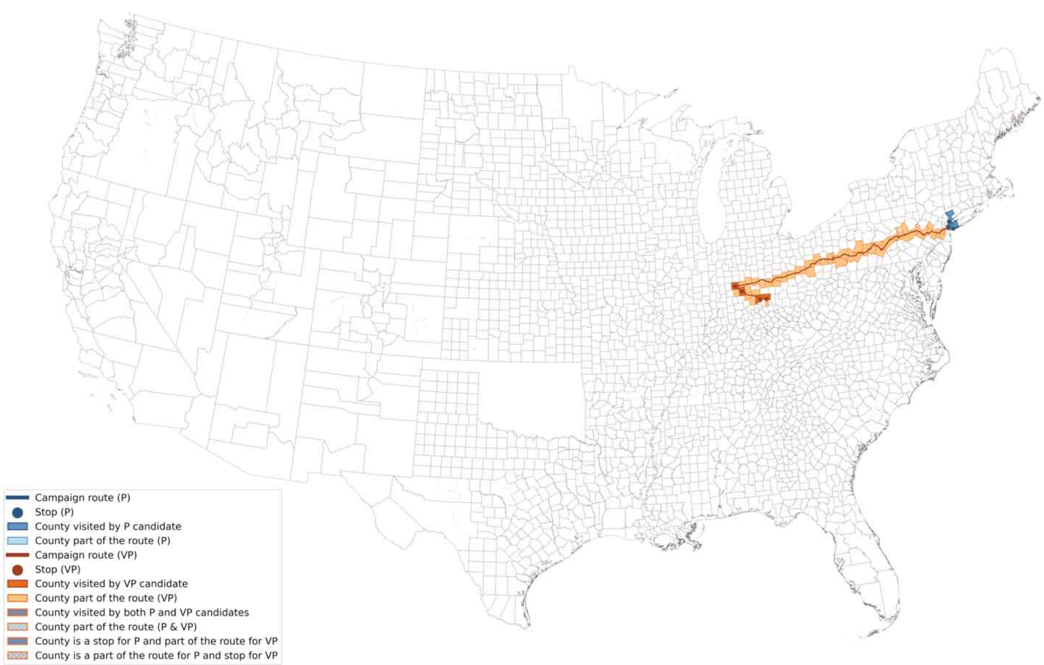
Routes by Tilden & Hendricks (DEM) in the 1876 US presidential election



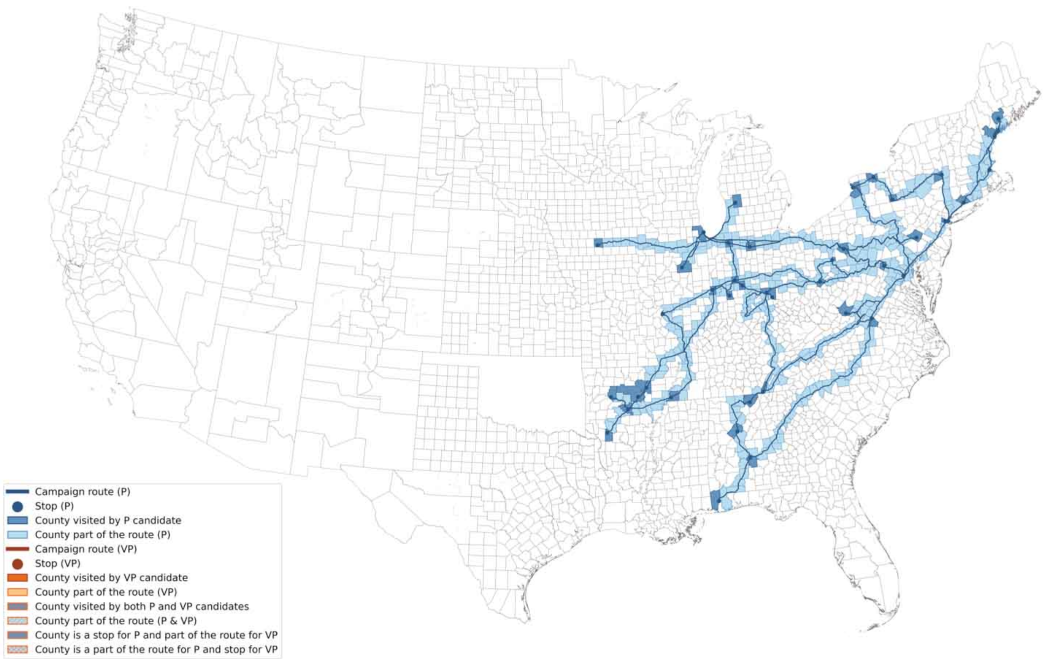
Routes by Garfield & Arthur (REP) in the 1880 US presidential election



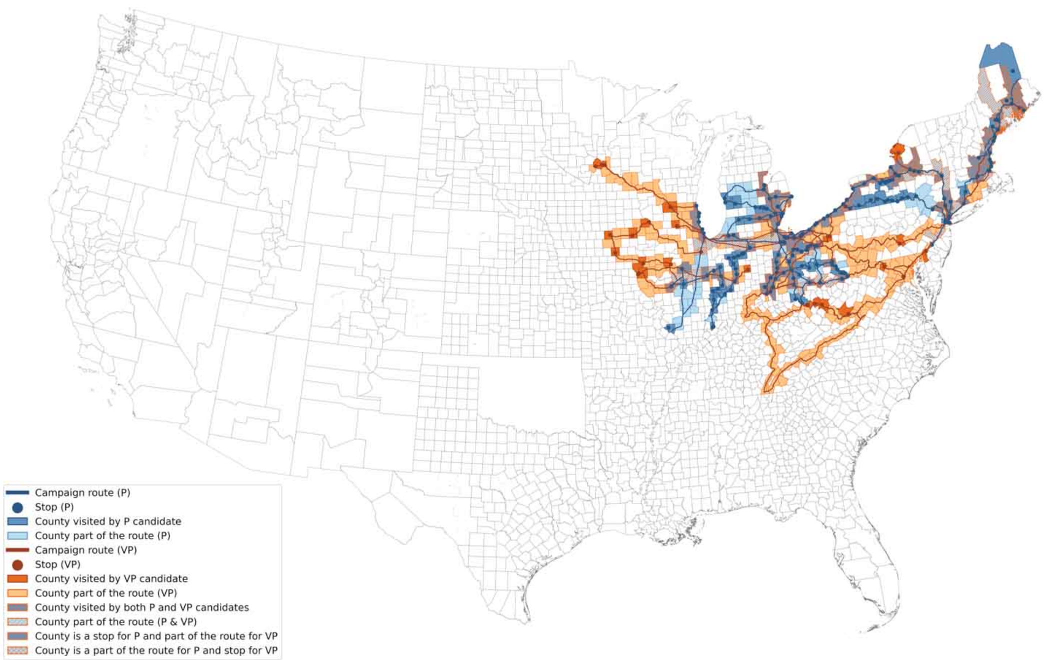
Routes by Hancock & English (DEM) in the 1880 US presidential election



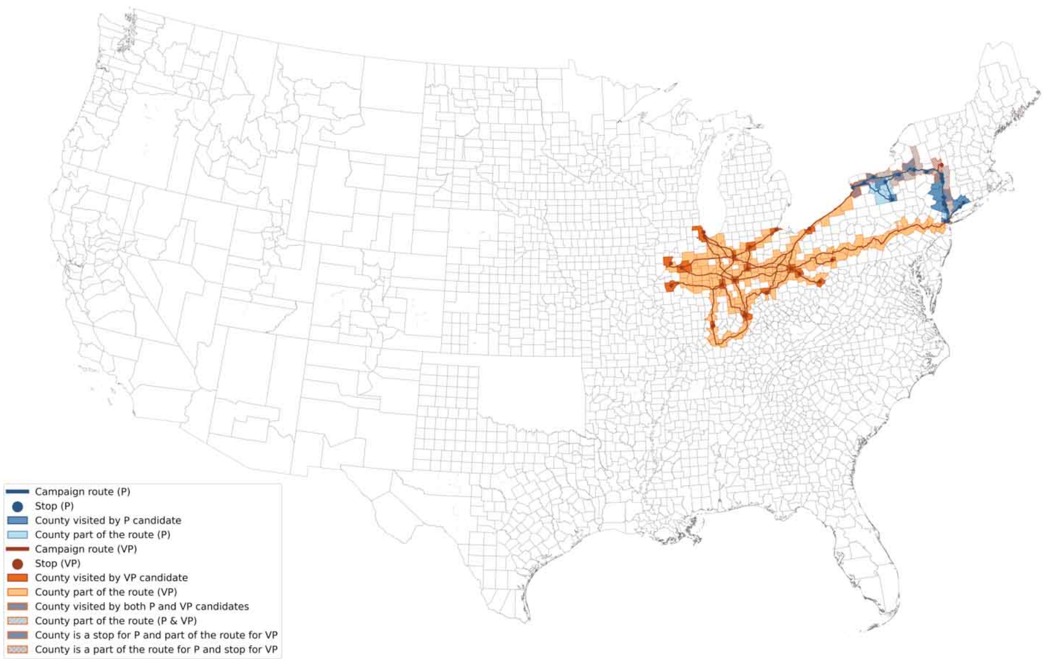
Route by Weaver (GBK) in the 1880 US presidential election



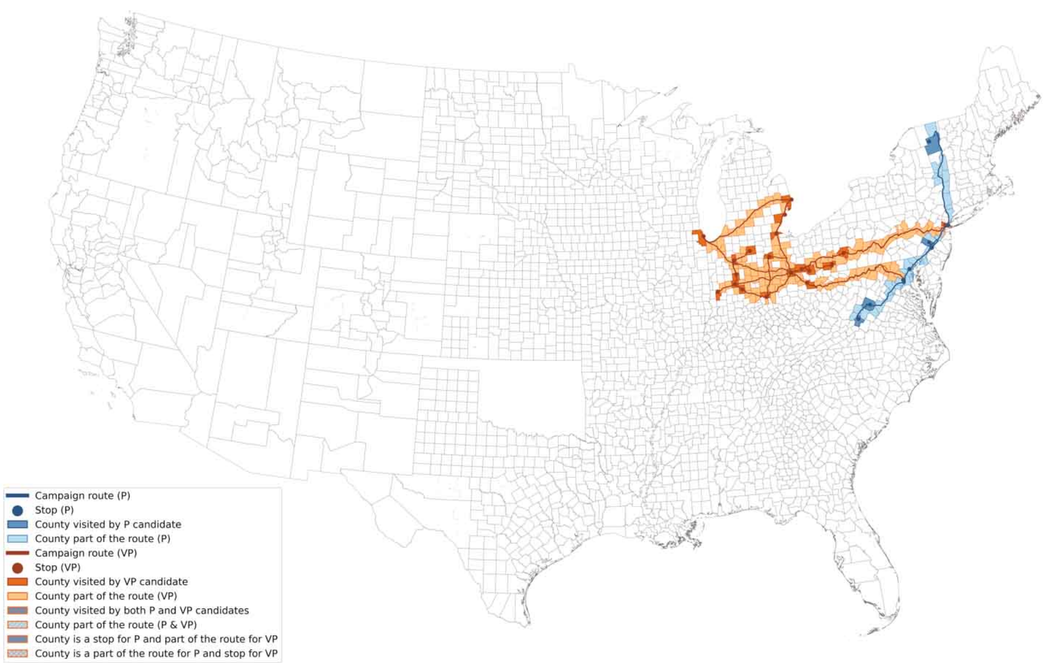
Routes by Blaine & Logan (REP) in the 1884 US presidential election



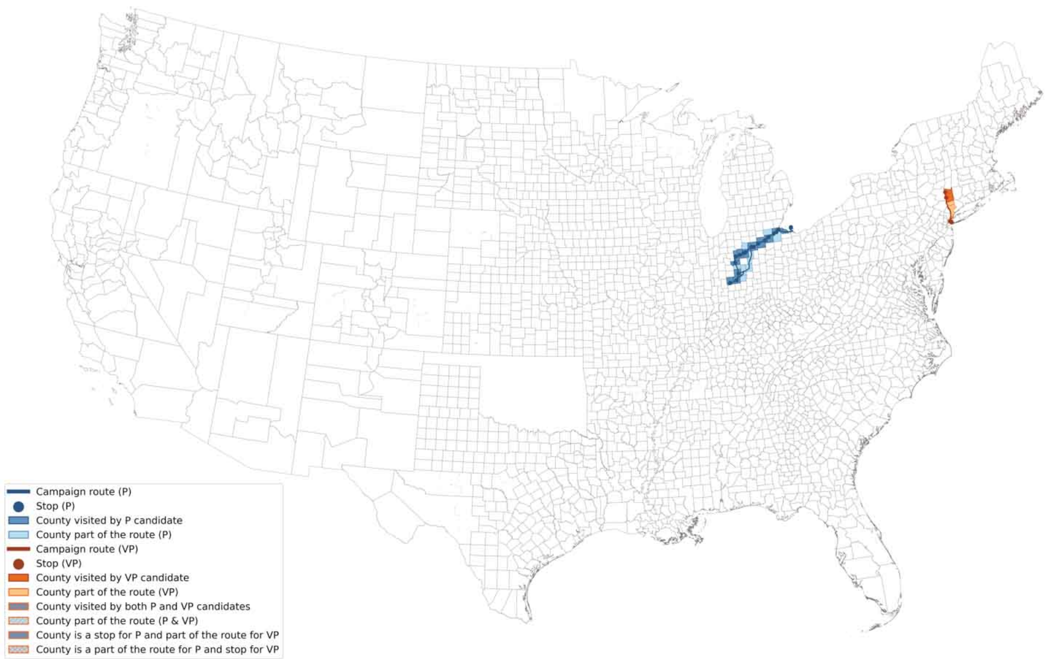
Routes by Cleveland & Hendricks (DEM) in the 1884 US presidential election



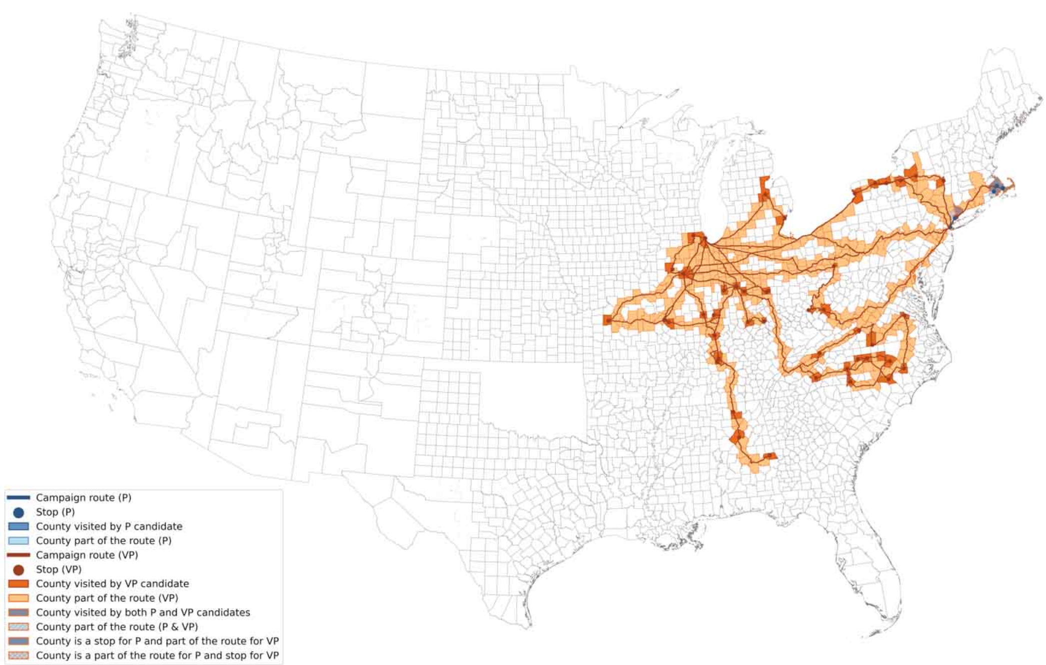
Routes by Cleveland & Thurman (DEM) in the 1888 US presidential election



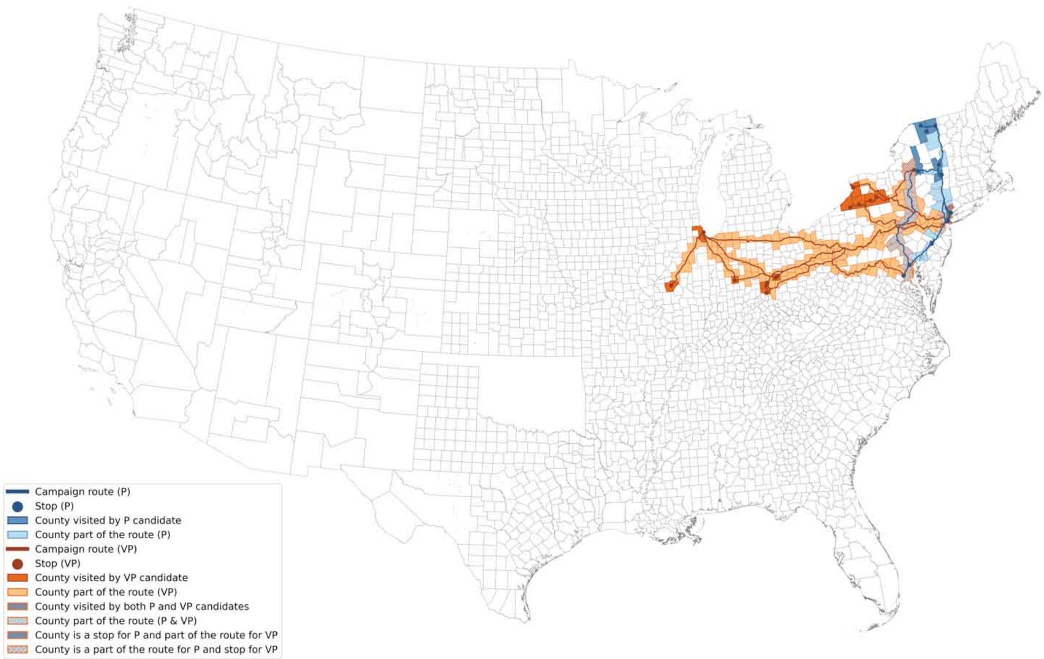
Routes by Harrison & Morton (REP) in the 1888 US presidential election



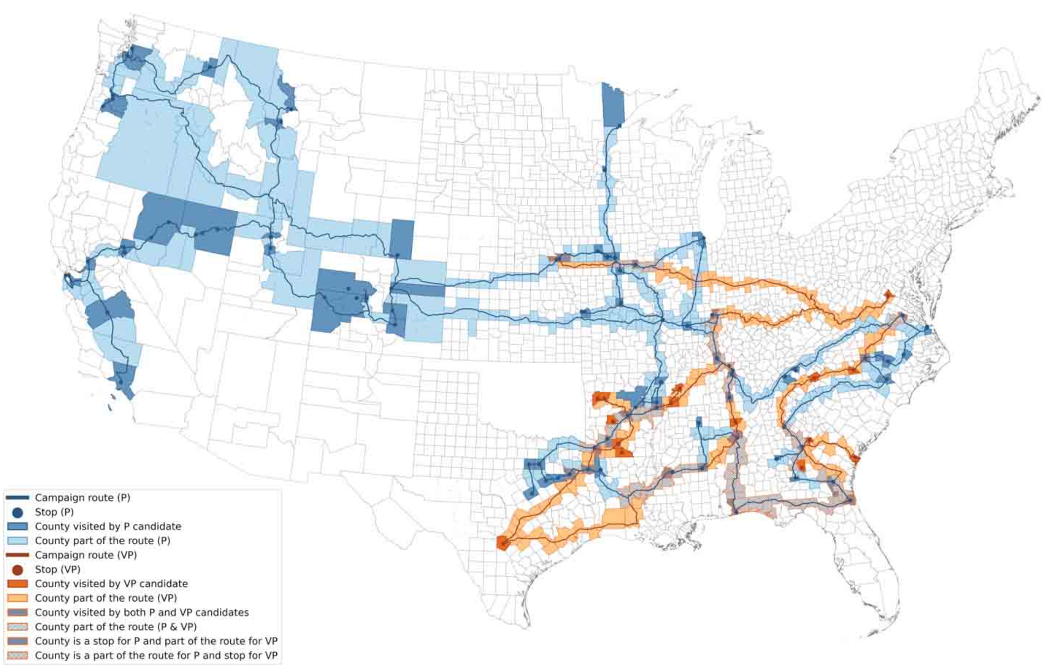
Routes by Cleveland & Stevenson (DEM) in the 1892 US presidential election



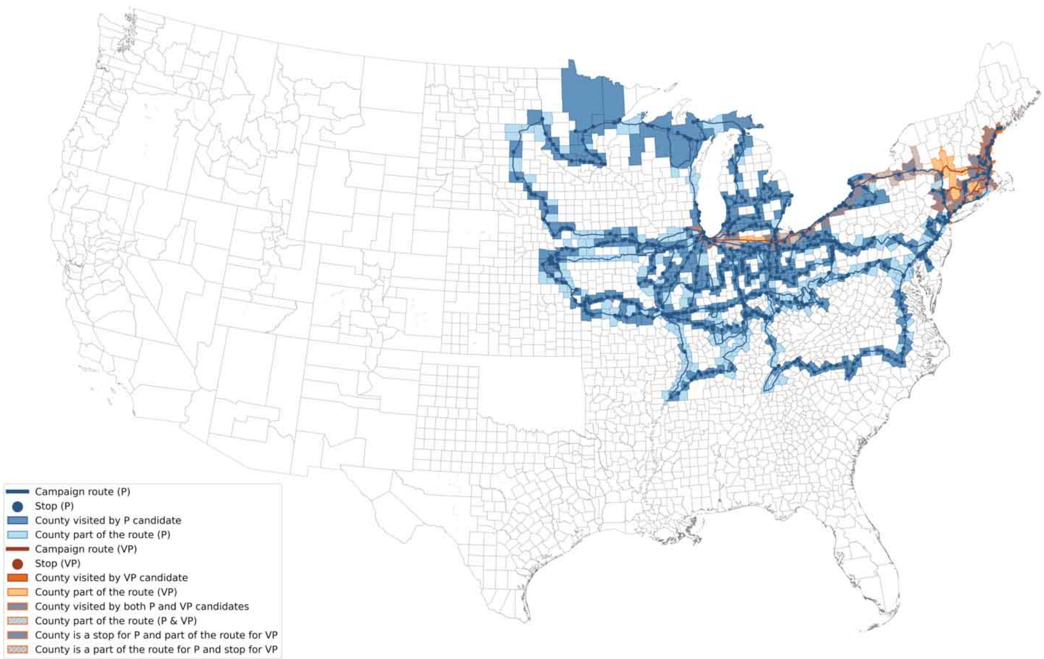
Routes by Harrison & Reid (REP) in the 1892 US presidential election



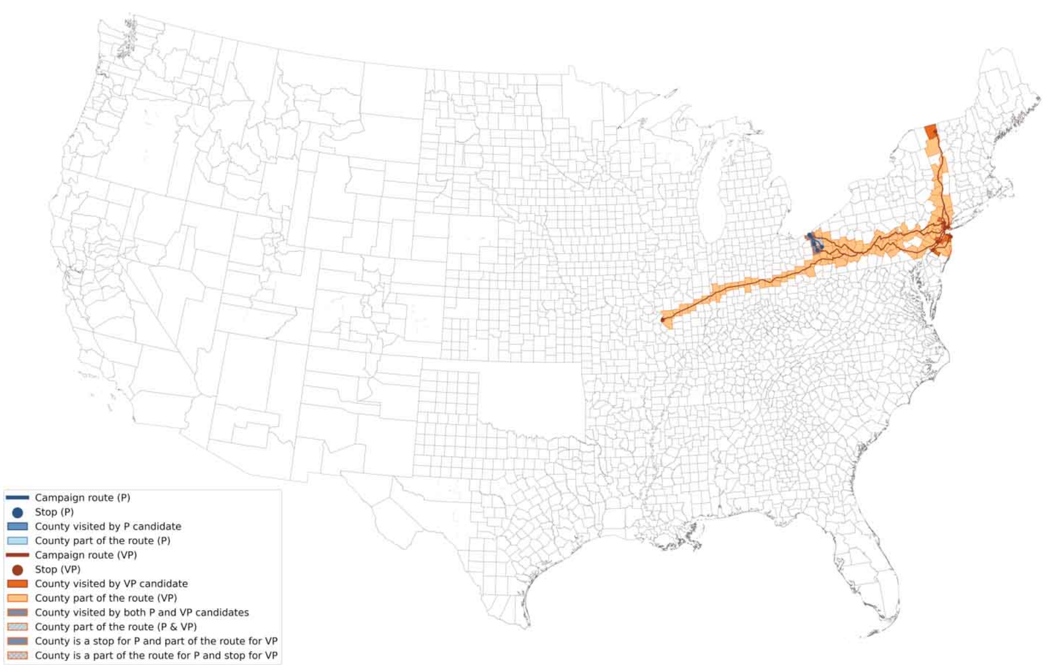
Routes by Weaver & Field (POP) in the 1892 US presidential election



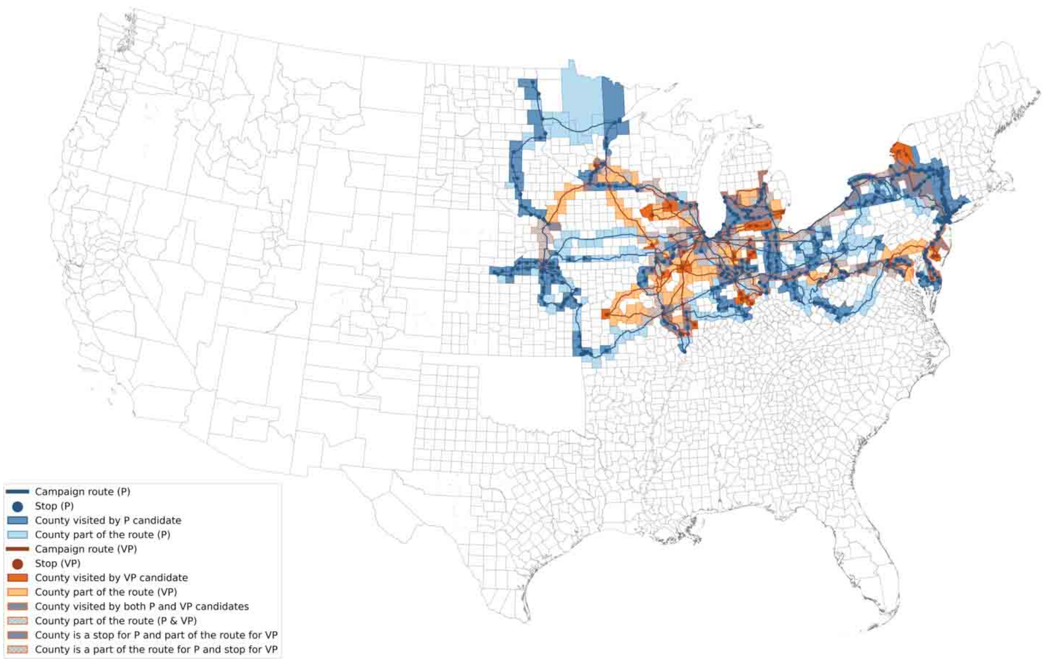
Routes by Bryan & Sewall (DEM) in the 1896 US presidential election



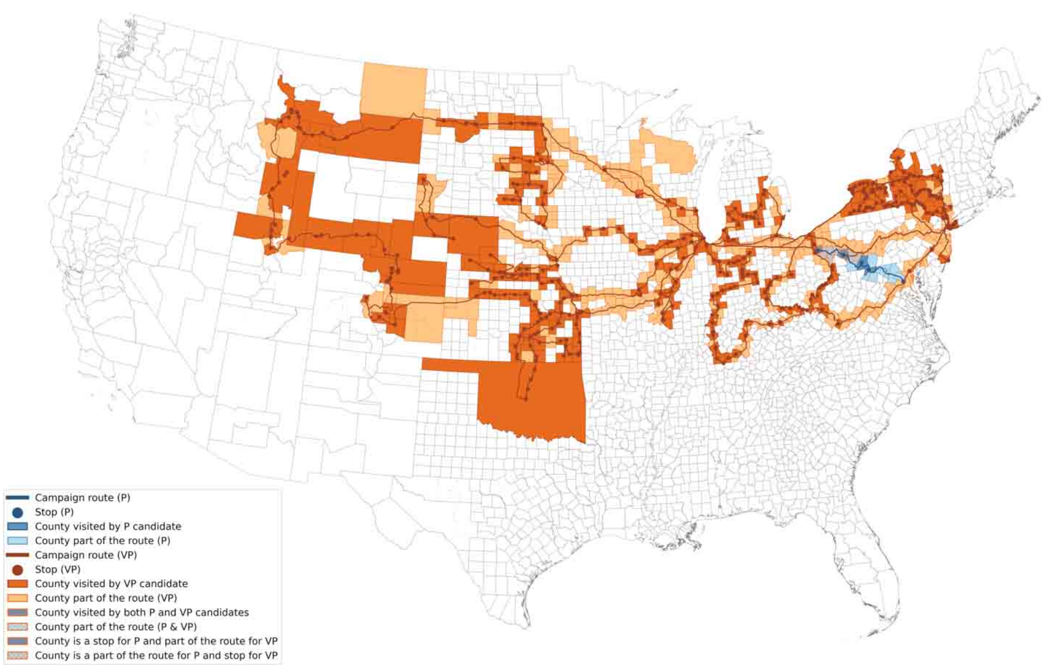
Routes by McKinley & Hobart (REP) in the 1896 US presidential election



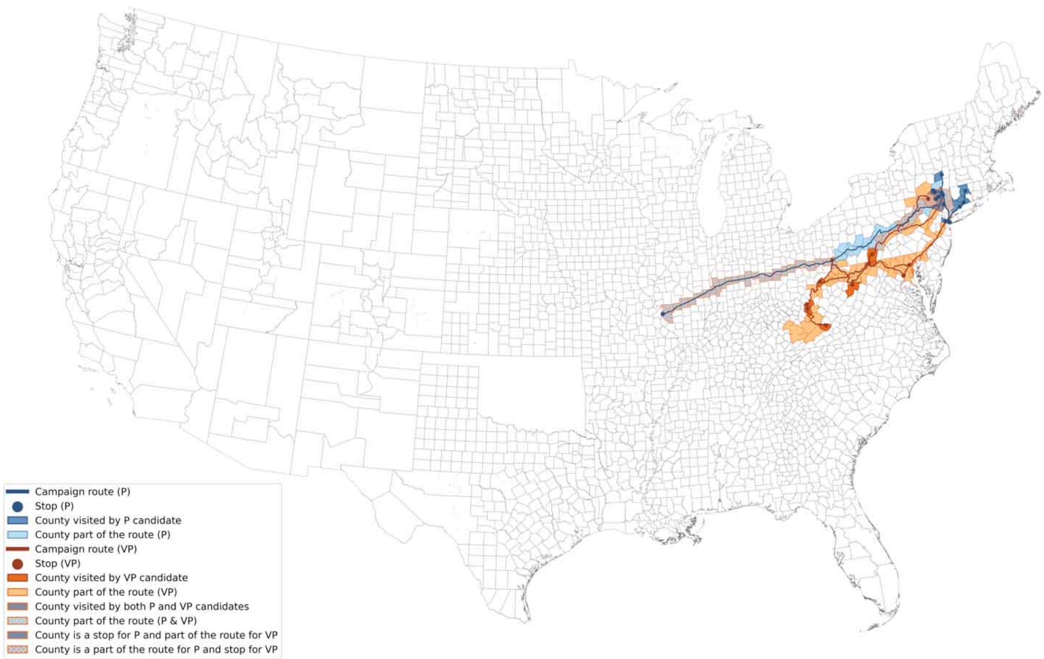
Routes by Bryan & Stevenson (DEM) in the 1900 US presidential election



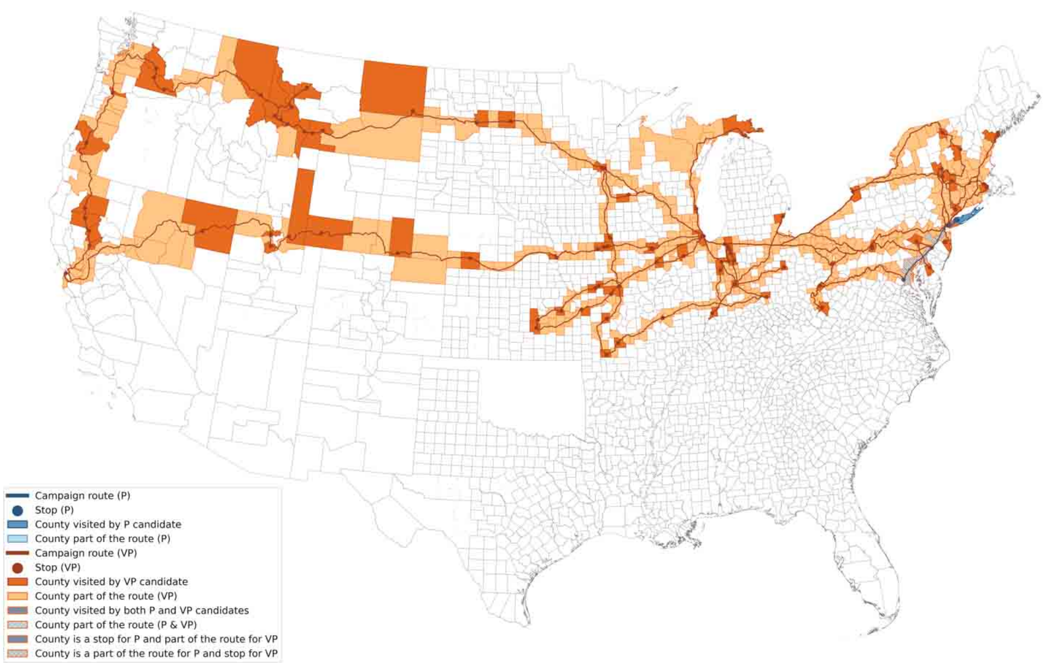
Routes by McKinley & Roosevelt (REP) in the 1900 US presidential election



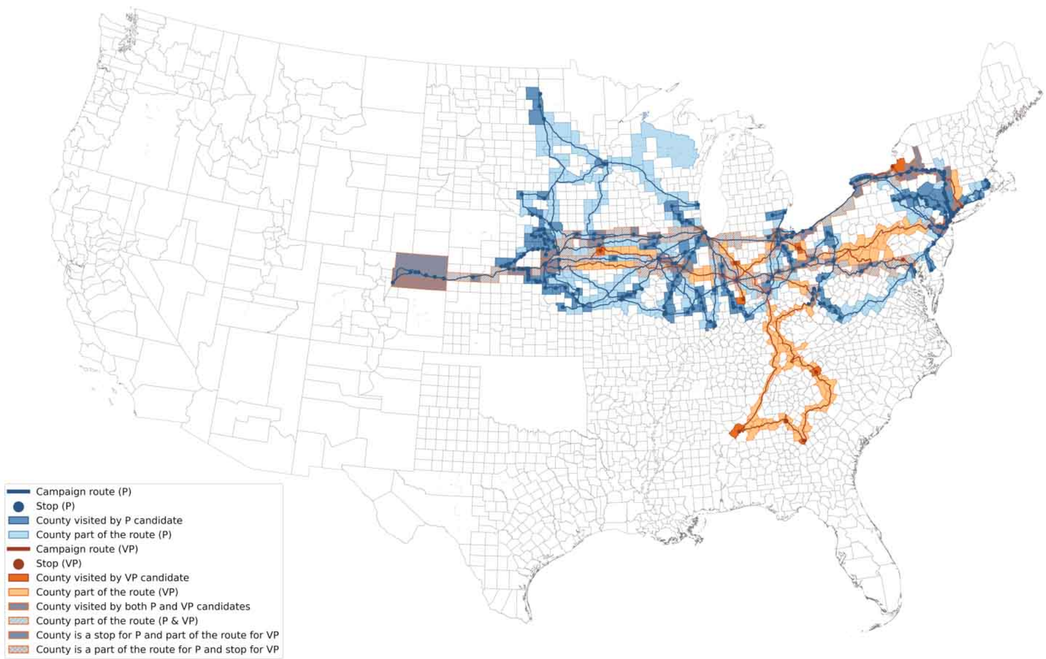
Routes by Parker & Davis (DEM) in the 1904 US presidential election



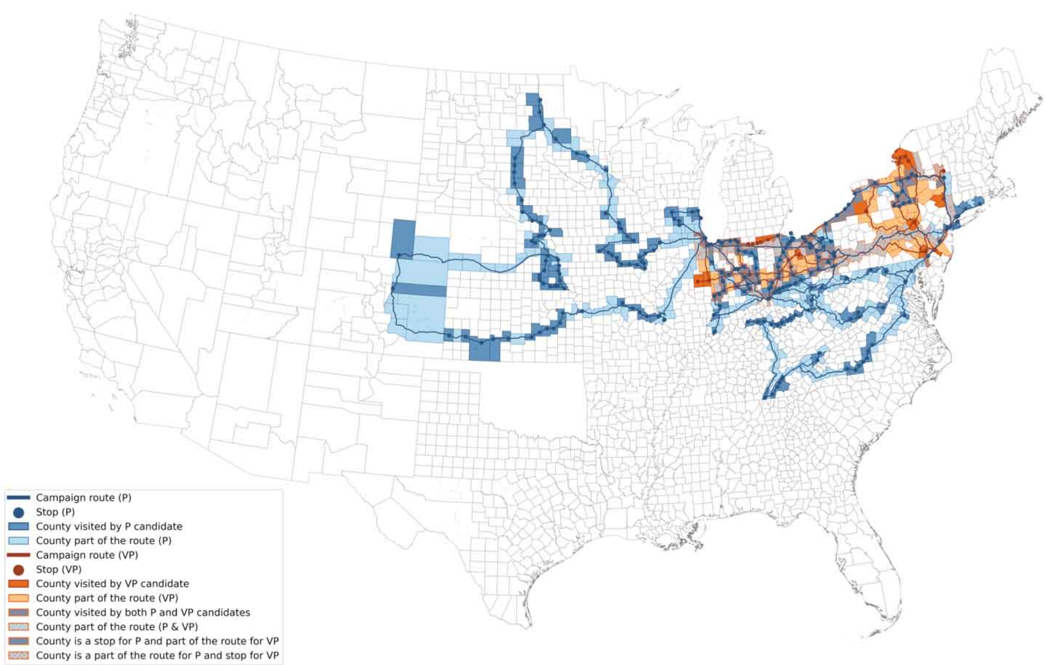
Routes by Roosevelt & Fairbanks (REP) in the 1904 US presidential election



Routes by Bryan & Kern (DEM) in the 1908 US presidential election

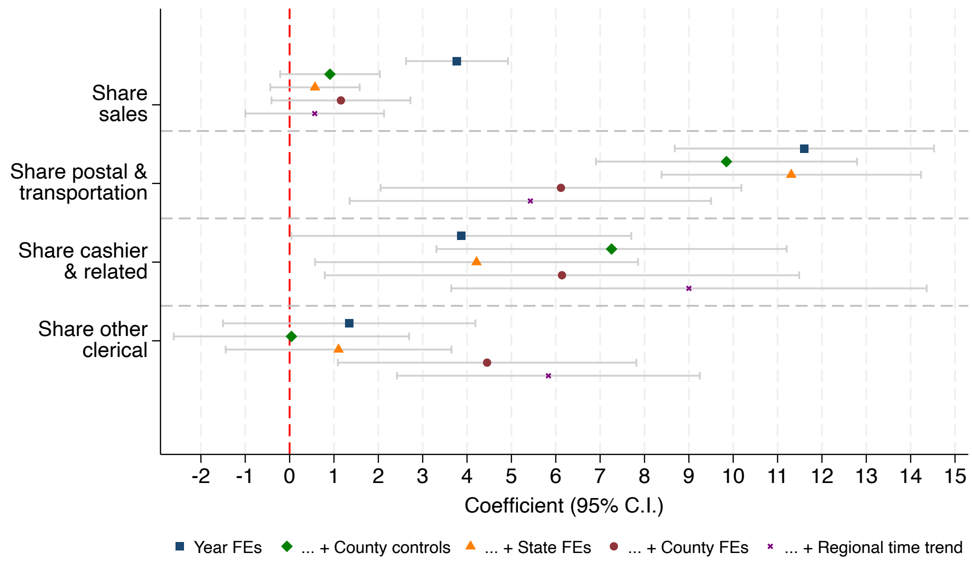


Routes by Taft & Sherman (REP) in the 1908 US presidential election



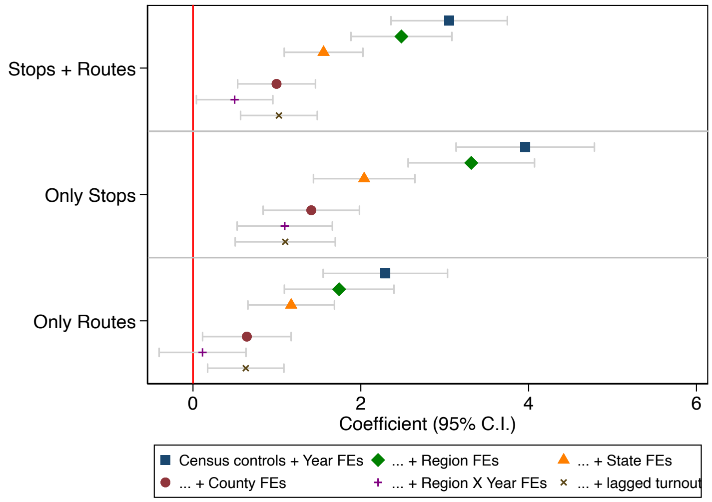
C. Additional Figures

Figure C.1: Coefficients from regression of campaign stop indicator on county characteristics: finer partition of 'low white collar' occupations



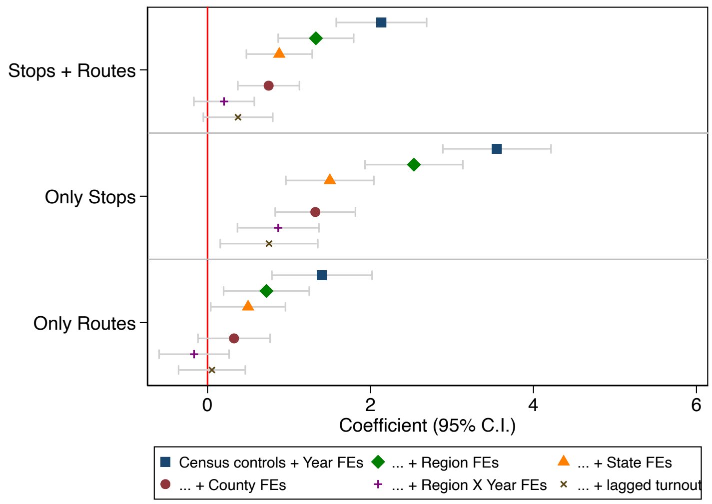
Notes: This figure reports coefficients from a regression of an indicator for county c being a campaign stop in election year t on a set of time-varying county characteristics. All regressions include year fixed effects and adult male employment shares in a complete set of broad occupational categories. Those categories reported in the figure are sub-categories of the larger 'low white collar' category. Sales workers include all sales clerks. Postal and transportation workers include postal workers (mail carriers and clerical workers) and any white collar worker employed by a railroad or telegraph company. Cashier and related workers include cashiers, bank tellers, and other occupations that explicitly handle money. Remaining low white collar occupations fall into the Other clerical category.

Figure C.2: The effect of campaign visits on turnout: only neighboring counties as controls



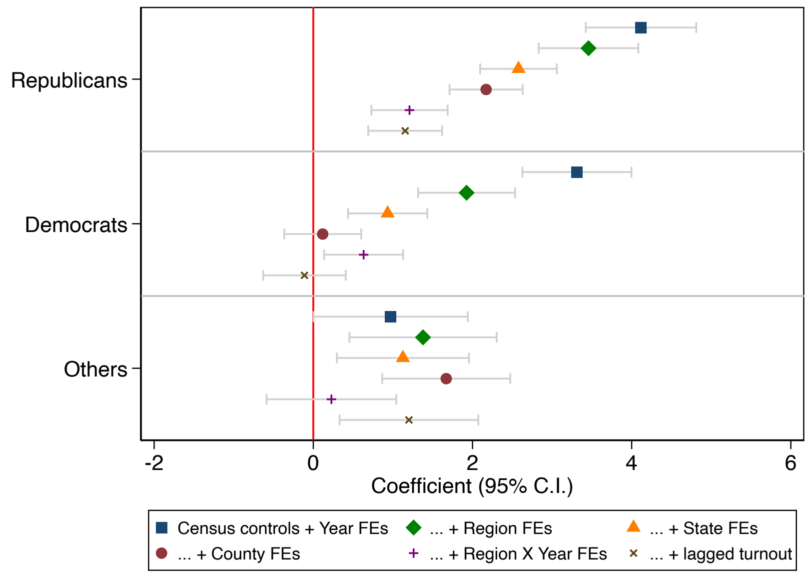
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 3, progressively including controls and fixed effects. In the top panel, counties included in the control group are those neighbor to at least one campaign route. In the middle panel we also include candidates' routes. In the bottom panel we include neighboring counties and exclude stops.

Figure C.3: The effect of campaign visits on turnout: excluding the South



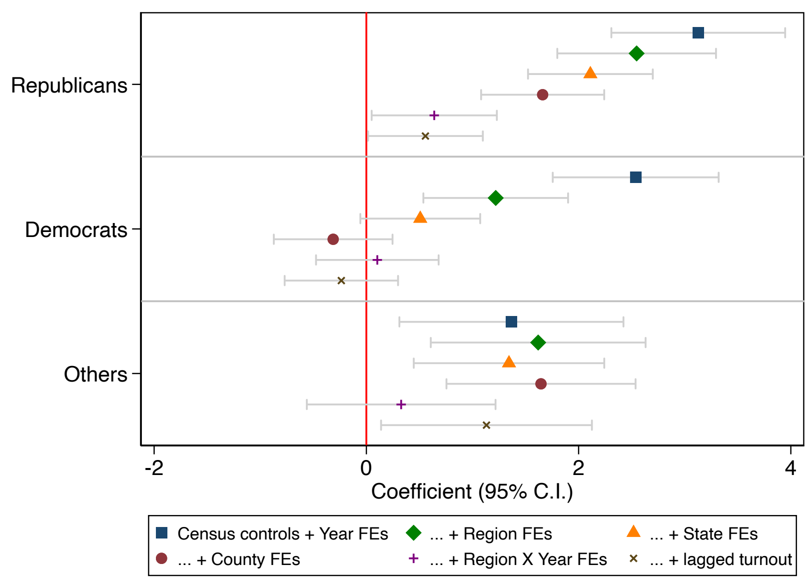
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 3, progressively including controls and fixed effects. All counties in the South are excluded.

Figure C.4: The effect of campaign visits on turnout by party: only stops



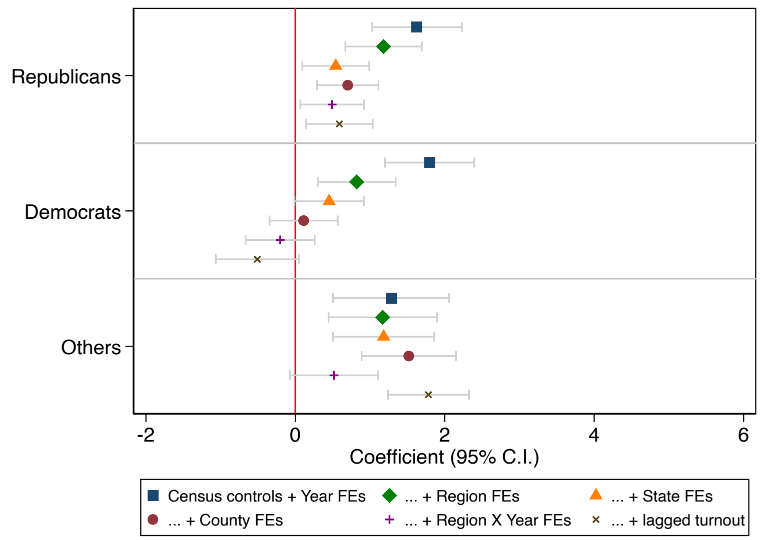
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 3, considering campaign stops and routes for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. Detailed results are shown in Panel A of Table D.4 in the Appendix.

Figure C.5: The effect of campaign visits on turnout by party: only routes



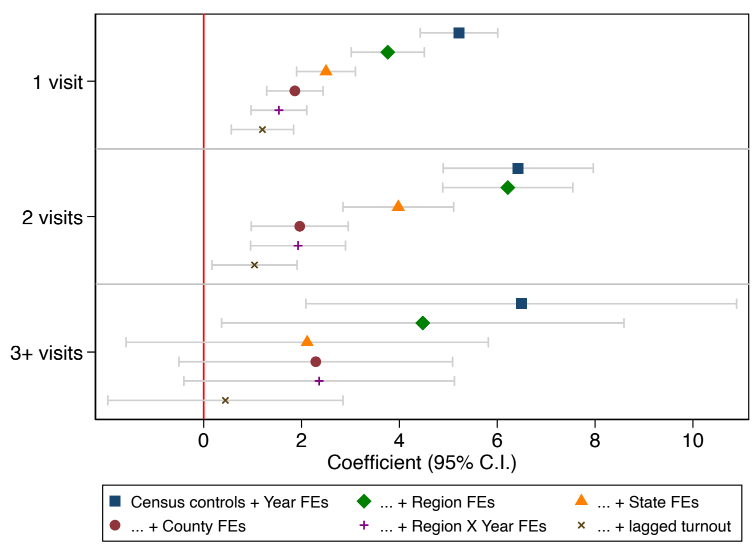
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 3, considering campaign stops and routes for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. Detailed results are shown in Panel C of Table D.4 in the Appendix.

Figure C.6: The effect of campaign visits on turnout by party: excluding the South



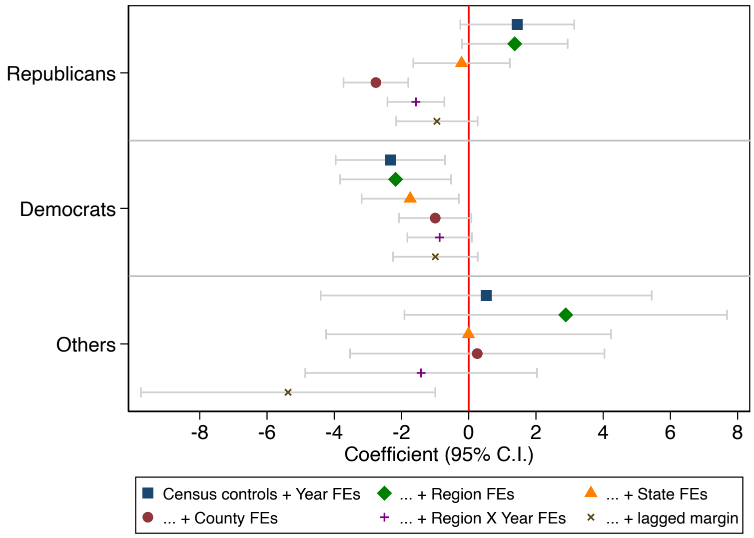
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 3, considering campaign stops and routes for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. All counties in the South are excluded.

Figure C.7: The effect of campaign visits on turnout: intensive margin



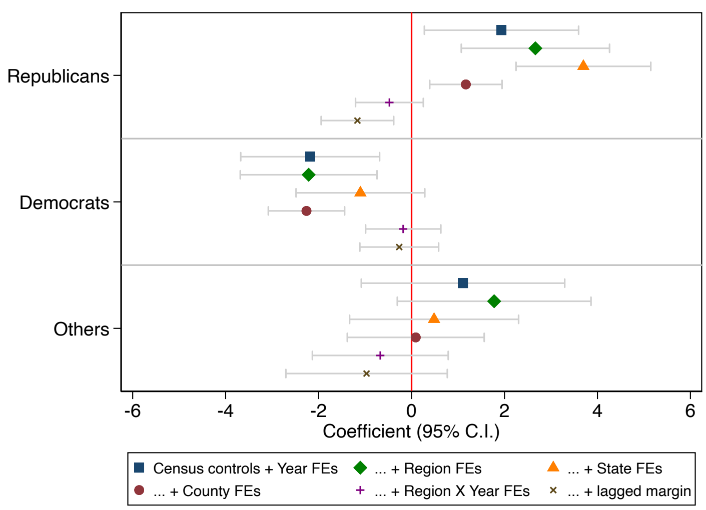
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 3, considering campaign stops and routes for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. All counties in the South are excluded.

Figure C.8: The effect of campaign visits on margin of victory: only stops



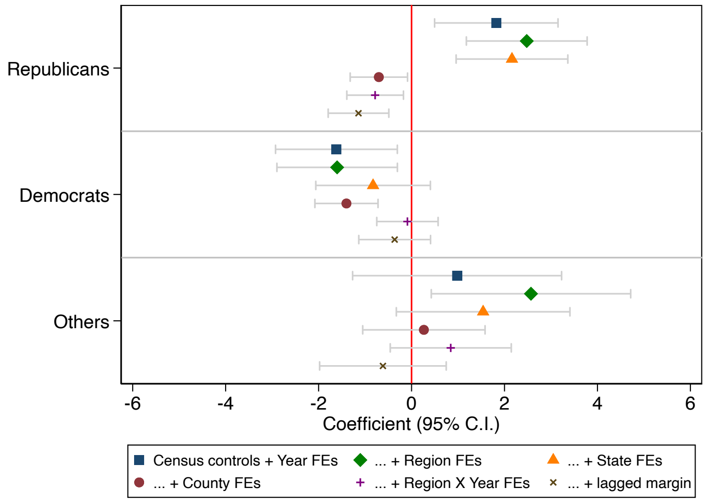
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 4, considering campaign stops for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. Margin of victory is computed as the difference between Republican and Democrats vote shares. Detailed results are shown in Table D.7 in the Appendix.

Figure C.9: The effect of campaign visits on margin of victory: only routes



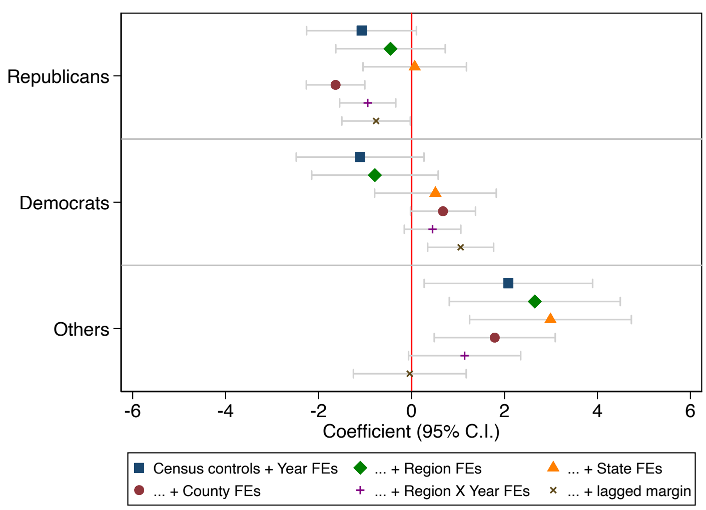
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 4, considering campaign routes for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. Margin of victory is computed as the difference between Republican and Democrats vote shares. Detailed results are shown in Table D.8 in the Appendix.

Figure C.10: The effect of campaign visits on margin of victory: stops + routes, neighboring counties as controls



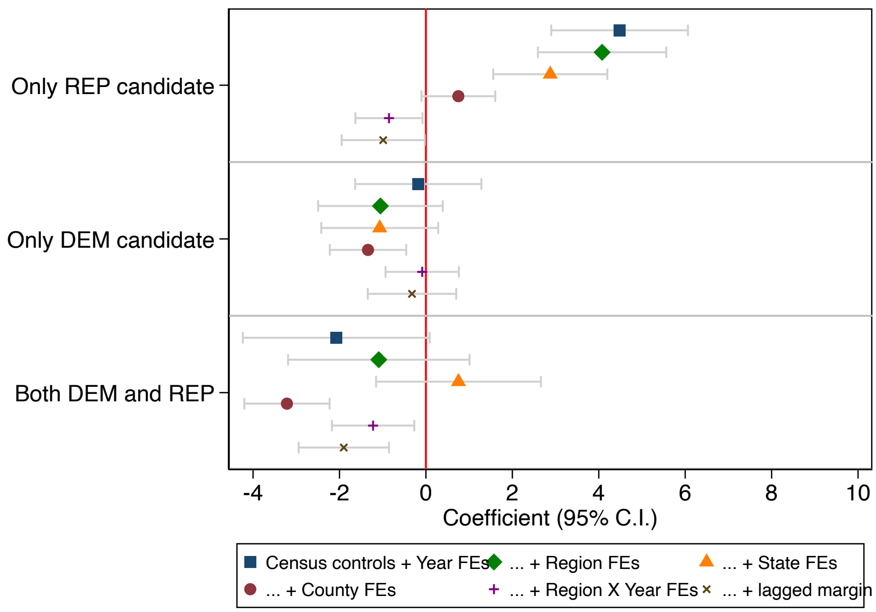
Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 4, considering campaign stops for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. Margin of victory is computed as the difference between Republican and Democrats vote shares. Counties included in the control group are those neighbor to at least one campaign route.

Figure C.11: The effect of campaign visits on margin of victory: Stops + routes, excluding the South



Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 4, considering campaign stops and routes for Republican, Democrats and Other candidates separately, and progressively including controls and fixed effects. Margin of victory is computed as the difference between Republican and Democrats vote shares. All counties in the South are excluded.

Figure C.12: The effect of campaign visits on margin of victory: Counties visited by each candidate or both (excluding the South)



Notes: The figure shows estimates of equation 4, considering campaign stops and routes, progressively including controls and fixed effects. Margin of victory is computed as the difference between Republican and Democrats vote shares. Only REP candidate is a dummy taking the value of 1 when only the Republican candidate visited county c in election year t. Only DEM candidate is a dummy taking the value of 1 when only the Democrat candidate visited county c in election year t. Both DEM and REP is a dummy taking the value of 1 when both Republican and Democrat candidates visited county c in election year t. All counties in the South are excluded.

D. Additional Tables

Table D.1: The Effect of Campaigning on Turnout: Stops + Routes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Campaign stop + route	4.466***	3.303***	2.163***	1.501***	0.785***	1.113***
	(0.324)	(0.289)	(0.230)	(0.217)	(0.215)	(0.236)
Log population	-0.761*	-1.122***	-1.031***	-0.312	0.631	-2.788**
	(0.462)	(0.425)	(0.339)	(0.909)	(0.961)	(1.172)
In candidate birth state	5.778***	2.383***	4.070***	3.963***	3.034***	-0.336
	(0.391)	(0.355)	(0.273)	(0.288)	(0.290)	(0.259)
RR density	6.774***	0.041	1.669**	0.516	2.746*	5.980***
	(1.147)	(0.997)	(0.702)	(1.403)	(1.413)	(1.220)
Distance to DC	-3.196***	-11.507***	-3.268***	0.000	0.000	94.273***
	(0.468)	(0.956)	(1.152)	(.)	(.)	(15.395)
Urban pop share	-13.121***	-12.990***	-10.461***	-17.681***	-21.554***	-12.138***
	(2.556)	(2.143)	(1.604)	(3.017)	(3.040)	(2.850)
Foreign born pop share	-17.964***	-24.840***	-36.521***	-62.171***	-26.892***	-9.511
	(2.725)	(2.374)	(3.108)	(6.864)	(7.966)	(8.456)
Male pop share	-82.769***	-165.261***	-178.242***	-185.938***	-216.610***	-127.186***
	(16.235)	(14.122)	(12.562)	(20.191)	(26.619)	(22.656)
Under 20 pop share	-67.305***	-72.864***	-41.668***	-84.567***	-85.844***	-3.055
	(6.527)	(5.720)	(5.056)	(11.777)	(13.095)	(13.305)
Homogeneity of FB pop	7.574***	4.011***	5.668***	-5.687***	-10.106***	-3.448*
	(1.423)	(1.251)	(0.959)	(1.900)	(1.964)	(1.855)
Male pop share	53.007***	48.417***	29.017***	83.097***	90.684***	60.704***
	(2.162)	(2.106)	(1.789)	(8.747)	(8.677)	(8.583)
Adult literacy rate	-27.679***	-37.220***	-43.570***	-72.654***	-60.900***	-17.751***
	(3.734)	(3.452)	(3.367)	(5.409)	(5.953)	(4.755)
Share high white collar	224.252***	194.043***	109.316***	145.964***	130.329***	102.899***
	(20.211)	(18.035)	(14.271)	(23.351)	(22.510)	(21.324)
Share low white collar	-115.271***	-104.772***	-48.481**	-18.636	-46.499	-57.923*
	(27.906)	(24.963)	(20.136)	(35.860)	(36.248)	(33.567)
Share skilled blue collar	-53.050***	-43.293***	-45.563***	-70.384***	-61.638***	-40.017***
	(10.096)	(8.924)	(7.921)	(11.858)	(12.024)	(12.256)
Share unskilled	-18.383***	-6.477***	0.732	15.310***	9.931**	-9.839**
	(2.648)	(2.438)	(1.982)	(4.124)	(4.369)	(4.236)
Share no occ	0.532	-0.609	-7.934**	4.807	-4.266	-4.647
	(4.702)	(4.165)	(3.357)	(4.257)	(4.327)	(3.703)
Gini farmland inequality	-10.427***	-0.422	0.678	10.273***	14.274***	10.594***
	(2.610)	(2.564)	(2.032)	(2.940)	(3.587)	(3.814)
# Newspapers	0.012	0.034	0.046	0.263***	0.182***	0.355***
	(0.040)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.051)	(0.045)	(0.055)
Lagged turnout						0.243***
						(0.017)
Observations	22,406	22,406	22,406	22,406	22,406	18,830
Output mean	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	69.031
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

Notes: In columns 1-5, standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. In column 6 standard errors are presented in parenthesis. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

Table D.2: The Effect of campaign on Turnout: Only Stops

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Campaign stop	5.427***	4.142***	2.705***	1.884***	1.602***	1.170***
	(0.400)	(0.377)	(0.302)	(0.280)	(0.280)	(0.299)
Log population	-0.666	-1.110***	-1.031***	-0.344	0.602	-2.862**
	(0.463)	(0.425)	(0.339)	(0.909)	(0.960)	(1.174)
In candidate birth state	6.094***	2.528***	4.125***	3.997***	3.049***	-0.290
	(0.394)	(0.353)	(0.273)	(0.287)	(0.289)	(0.259)
RR density	7.873***	0.891	2.221***	0.693	2.874**	6.092***
	(1.153)	(0.998)	(0.698)	(1.403)	(1.412)	(1.223)
Distance to DC	-3.311***	-11.819***	-3.350***	0.000	0.000	94.910***
	(0.468)	(0.957)	(1.152)	(.)	(.)	(15.378)
Urban pop share	-14.062***	-13.648***	-10.836***	-17.790***	-21.672***	-12.202***
	(2.590)	(2.167)	(1.616)	(3.022)	(3.041)	(2.845)
Foreign born pop share	-18.999***	-25.311***	-36.557***	-62.827***	-26.841***	-9.645
	(2.699)	(2.363)	(3.105)	(6.845)	(7.950)	(8.454)
Male pop share	-82.616***	-166.075***	-180.383***	-186.236***	-216.151***	-126.430***
	(16.402)	(14.157)	(12.578)	(20.234)	(26.581)	(22.554)
Under 20 pop share	-68.352***	-73.107***	-42.800***	-84.730***	-85.425***	-2.971
	(6.573)	(5.727)	(5.049)	(11.777)	(13.078)	(13.284)
Homogeneity of FB pop	8.158***	4.360***	5.793***	-5.537***	-10.094***	-3.477*
	(1.425)	(1.249)	(0.959)	(1.901)	(1.963)	(1.855)
Male pop share	53.826***	48.867***	29.282***	82.924***	90.477***	60.651***
	(2.160)	(2.102)	(1.787)	(8.756)	(8.673)	(8.585)
Adult literacy rate	-28.216***	-37.561***	-43.793***	-72.926***	-60.910***	-17.854***
	(3.734)	(3.456)	(3.372)	(5.412)	(5.950)	(4.751)
Share high white collar	227.247***	196.643***	109.570***	148.388***	132.162***	103.469***
	(20.409)	(18.171)	(14.349)	(23.380)	(22.515)	(21.314)
Share low white collar	-125.101***	-110.922***	-51.864**	-21.763	-50.021	-57.130*
	(28.050)	(25.063)	(20.265)	(35.865)	(36.219)	(33.580)
Share skilled blue collar	-49.357***	-41.225***	-44.704***	-70.875***	-61.866***	-40.189***
	(10.264)	(9.027)	(7.972)	(11.881)	(12.023)	(12.251)
Share unskilled	-17.692***	-6.095**	0.837	15.410***	9.925**	-9.845**
	(2.653)	(2.447)	(1.982)	(4.121)	(4.366)	(4.236)
Share no occ	1.381	-0.041	-7.867**	4.911	-4.312	-4.635
	(4.737)	(4.189)	(3.361)	(4.258)	(4.328)	(3.697)
Gini farmland inequality	-10.394***	-0.594	0.617	10.499***	14.189***	10.601***
	(2.619)	(2.571)	(2.035)	(2.936)	(3.583)	(3.810)
# Newspapers	0.003	0.029	0.043	0.267***	0.182***	0.357***
	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.052)	(0.045)	(0.055)
Lagged turnout						0.243***
						(0.017)
Observations	22,406	22,406	22,406	22,406	22,406	18,830
Output mean	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	69.031
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

Table D.3: The Effect of campaign on Turnout: Only Routes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Campaign route	3.452***	2.454***	1.734***	1.064***	0.241	0.708***
	(0.364)	(0.325)	(0.261)	(0.252)	(0.248)	(0.248)
Log population	-0.993**	-1.545***	-1.358***	-0.351	0.521	-2.890**
	(0.476)	(0.431)	(0.341)	(0.937)	(0.986)	(1.222)
In candidate birth state	6.171***	2.669***	4.119***	4.088***	3.157***	-0.190
	(0.427)	(0.387)	(0.309)	(0.325)	(0.342)	(0.292)
RR density	6.637***	0.163	1.848***	0.697	2.687*	5.889***
	(1.171)	(1.009)	(0.709)	(1.444)	(1.444)	(1.250)
Distance to DC	-3.337***	-12.137***	-3.689***	0.000	0.000	82.815***
	(0.481)	(0.975)	(1.169)	(.)	(.)	(15.913)
Urban pop share	-14.835***	-14.281***	-11.674***	-18.442***	-21.894***	-11.542***
	(2.703)	(2.212)	(1.640)	(3.161)	(3.167)	(3.029)
Foreign born pop share	-15.619***	-23.607***	-37.441***	-66.097***	-29.790***	-14.470
	(2.820)	(2.442)	(3.205)	(7.139)	(8.261)	(9.154)
Male pop share	-90.483***	-170.438***	-178.880***	-180.953***	-210.088***	-127.954***
	(17.032)	(14.488)	(12.958)	(20.560)	(26.748)	(23.853)
Under 20 pop share	-70.833***	-74.726***	-42.516***	-86.361***	-87.170***	-7.416
	(7.057)	(5.990)	(5.245)	(12.160)	(13.478)	(13.950)
Homogeneity of FB pop	7.214***	3.840***	5.504***	-5.601***	-10.132***	-3.739*
	(1.468)	(1.298)	(0.988)	(1.967)	(2.028)	(1.915)
Male pop share	52.005***	47.369***	28.855***	84.950***	91.769***	61.702***
	(2.177)	(2.110)	(1.783)	(8.726)	(8.621)	(8.678)
Adult literacy rate	-27.020***	-36.620***	-43.044***	-71.570***	-59.927***	-15.534***
	(3.752)	(3.459)	(3.347)	(5.465)	(5.943)	(4.756)
Share high white collar	233.053***	196.531***	112.298***	152.349***	138.987***	121.006***
	(21.511)	(18.882)	(14.901)	(24.979)	(23.974)	(22.555)
Share low white collar	-144.007***	-113.570***	-50.872**	-38.325	-63.114*	-91.205**
	(31.005)	(27.254)	(21.683)	(38.296)	(38.174)	(36.362)
Share skilled blue collar	-57.746***	-48.466***	-50.653***	-76.210***	-67.144***	-44.307***
	(10.575)	(9.423)	(8.572)	(12.693)	(12.824)	(13.199)
Share unskilled	-17.906***	-6.381***	1.072	14.931***	10.223**	-10.149**
	(2.676)	(2.445)	(2.035)	(4.182)	(4.399)	(4.311)
Share no occ	0.614	-0.075	-8.097**	4.323	-4.788	-4.680
	(4.783)	(4.246)	(3.416)	(4.430)	(4.518)	(3.816)
Gini farmland inequality	-8.398***	0.593	1.638	10.999***	14.062***	6.552
	(2.677)	(2.620)	(2.068)	(3.054)	(3.695)	(4.025)
# Newspapers	0.167***	0.184***	0.187***	0.428***	0.274***	0.441***
	(0.062)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.067)	(0.061)	(0.063)
Lagged turnout						0.227***
						(0.017)
Observations	20,703	20,703	20,703	20,703	20,703	17,218
Output mean	67.957	67.957	67.957	67.957	67.957	68.223
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

Table D.4: Effect of campaign on Turnout by Party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Only Stops						
Republican stop	6.013***	4.596***	3.305***	2.709***	1.785***	1.783***
	(0.479)	(0.429)	(0.339)	(0.309)	(0.312)	(0.302)
Democrat stop	4.095***	3.149***	1.788***	0.742**	1.311***	0.342
	(0.488)	(0.468)	(0.380)	(0.365)	(0.373)	(0.417)
Other party stop	-0.909	-0.127	-0.012	1.211	-0.669	0.543
	(1.205)	(1.218)	(1.110)	(0.903)	(0.910)	(1.009)
Lagged turnout						0.243***
						(0.017)
Observations	22406	22406	22406	22406	22406	18830
Output mean	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	69.031
Panel B: Routes + Stops						
Republican stop + route	4.117***	3.458***	2.578***	2.171***	1.209***	1.154***
	(0.354)	(0.319)	(0.246)	(0.235)	(0.244)	(0.237)
Democrat stop + route	3.312***	1.926***	0.934***	0.118	0.632**	-0.111
	(0.349)	(0.311)	(0.254)	(0.246)	(0.253)	(0.264)
Other party stop + route	0.972**	1.379***	1.126***	1.670***	0.228	1.202***
	(0.494)	(0.472)	(0.423)	(0.410)	(0.415)	(0.445)
Lagged turnout						0.243***
						(0.017)
Observations	22406	22406	22406	22406	22406	18830
Output mean	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	69.031
Panel C: Only Routes						
Republican route	3.127***	2.547***	2.111***	1.661***	0.640**	0.556**
	(0.418)	(0.381)	(0.300)	(0.296)	(0.301)	(0.276)
Democrat route	2.538***	1.219***	0.508*	-0.313	0.103	-0.236
	(0.399)	(0.348)	(0.288)	(0.285)	(0.295)	(0.273)
Other party route	1.367**	1.619***	1.344***	1.646***	0.328	1.132**
	(0.538)	(0.516)	(0.458)	(0.454)	(0.453)	(0.507)
Lagged turnout						0.226***
						(0.017)
Observations	20703	20703	20703	20703	20703	17218
Output mean	67.957	67.957	67.957	67.957	67.957	68.223
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

Table D.5: Effect of campaign routes on Turnout: Presidential vs. Vice-Presidential routes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Presidential route	3.094***	2.440***	1.975***	1.665***	1.050***	0.901***
	(0.313)	(0.286)	(0.240)	(0.235)	(0.237)	(0.265)
Vice-Presidential route	3.095***	2.320***	1.287***	0.624***	0.220	0.342
	(0.341)	(0.300)	(0.246)	(0.242)	(0.245)	(0.244)
Lagged turnout						0.243***
						(0.017)
Observations	22406	22406	22406	22406	22406	18830
Output mean	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	68.744	69.031
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

Table D.6: Effect of campaign stop + routes: Electoral competition by party (Rep-Dem)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Republican presidential route	-2.706***	-2.236***	-2.071***	-3.720***	-1.628***	-2.210***
	(0.758)	(0.705)	(0.640)	(0.426)	(0.437)	(0.356)
Republican vice-presidential route	2.282***	2.969***	3.362***	1.111***	-0.563*	-0.571
	(0.677)	(0.622)	(0.568)	(0.345)	(0.298)	(0.396)
Democrat presidential route	-1.396**	-2.014***	-1.736***	-1.458***	-1.224***	-0.997*
	(0.685)	(0.658)	(0.629)	(0.466)	(0.423)	(0.540)
Democrat vice-presidential route	-2.858***	-1.892**	-0.074	-1.146***	0.432	-0.298
	(0.785)	(0.767)	(0.715)	(0.412)	(0.405)	(0.461)
Other party presidential route	0.369	0.446	0.183	0.596	-0.407	-0.581
	(1.112)	(1.054)	(0.922)	(0.723)	(0.711)	(0.822)
Other party vice-presidential route	-1.094	1.201	-3.158*	-5.353***	-4.613***	-4.253**
	(1.817)	(1.796)	(1.657)	(1.493)	(1.495)	(1.816)
Log population	-1.096	-2.369**	0.512	9.688***	13.034***	5.993***
	(0.970)	(0.927)	(0.855)	(1.430)	(1.560)	(1.369)
In candidate birth state	-1.327	-1.513	1.798***	1.620***	1.726***	3.460***
	(0.974)	(0.928)	(0.347)	(0.344)	(0.391)	(0.427)
RR density	8.902***	-0.066	-2.786	-5.886**	-0.942	-1.032
	(2.250)	(2.212)	(2.117)	(2.361)	(2.437)	(1.944)
Distance to DC	-6.869***	-21.666***	-5.340	0.000	0.000	-1.515
	(1.016)	(2.080)	(3.985)	(.)	(.)	(22.890)
Urban pop share	-19.102***	-16.318***	-11.956***	-11.495***	-19.295***	-13.799***
	(4.325)	(3.876)	(3.466)	(4.234)	(4.123)	(4.024)
Foreign born pop share	83.652***	66.516***	17.411**	-111.960***	-116.330***	-66.684***
	(7.176)	(6.693)	(8.047)	(11.303)	(11.723)	(10.868)
Male pop share	-122.160***	-99.451***	-118.010***	45.174	-23.289	68.813**
	(30.350)	(29.908)	(29.143)	(31.465)	(35.762)	(32.737)
Under 20 pop share	-207.885***	-135.783***	-103.892***	-157.323***	-203.409***	-129.743***
	(11.758)	(13.830)	(14.680)	(19.124)	(20.604)	(18.393)
Homogeneity of FB pop	-3.074	-4.347	1.867	-19.155***	-12.198***	-1.871
	(3.227)	(2.966)	(2.873)	(3.114)	(3.296)	(2.887)
Male pop share	40.161***	29.331***	8.149*	23.295	30.828**	2.951
	(5.586)	(5.241)	(4.901)	(14.835)	(15.071)	(13.097)
Adult literacy rate	-36.372***	-56.448***	-70.477***	-94.201***	-85.413***	-37.024***
	(9.193)	(7.836)	(7.447)	(8.503)	(9.510)	(7.012)
Share high white collar	23.747	34.980	-16.302	85.659**	78.630**	58.125*
	(37.587)	(33.912)	(31.418)	(36.502)	(35.416)	(30.332)
Share low white collar	-75.280	17.120	7.767	-63.470	-114.520**	-40.068
	(47.838)	(45.351)	(40.874)	(54.007)	(53.891)	(49.199)
Share skilled blue collar	15.809	14.014	4.506	-42.970**	-75.044***	-21.243
	(22.744)	(19.110)	(16.323)	(19.622)	(20.088)	(17.023)
Share unskilled	-16.909***	-3.078	19.421***	33.235***	37.757***	21.465***
	(5.565)	(5.426)	(5.078)	(6.965)	(7.187)	(8.282)
Share no occ	-12.543	-4.685	-23.097***	-8.372	-15.166**	-10.589*
	(9.419)	(8.597)	(7.813)	(6.505)	(6.787)	(6.342)
Gini farmland inequality	-42.173***	-18.214***	11.208**	10.583**	13.889**	-11.155*
	(6.086)	(5.931)	(5.572)	(5.209)	(6.108)	(5.957)
# Newspapers	0.048	-0.035	-0.099*	-0.157**	-0.115	-0.083
	(0.100)	(0.072)	(0.054)	(0.077)	(0.075)	(0.083)
L.dif						0.408***
						(0.017)
Observations	22,403	22,403	22,403	22,403	22,403	18,815
Output mean	-5.179	-5.179	-5.179	-5.179	-5.179	-5.469
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				

Table D.7: Effect of campaign stops: Electoral competition by party (Rep-Dem)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Republican stop	1.445*	1.369*	-0.212	-2.762***	-1.571***	-0.946
	(0.864)	(0.803)	(0.732)	(0.491)	(0.432)	(0.618)
Democrat stop	-2.332***	-2.175***	-1.741**	-0.996*	-0.866*	-0.992
	(0.829)	(0.841)	(0.737)	(0.547)	(0.489)	(0.643)
Other party stop	0.520	2.887	-0.007	0.254	-1.416	-5.374**
	(2.511)	(2.447)	(2.163)	(1.930)	(1.757)	(2.234)
Log population	-1.117	-2.363**	0.518	9.754***	13.081***	6.078***
	(0.972)	(0.929)	(0.856)	(1.431)	(1.562)	(1.367)
In candidate birth state	-1.504	-1.510	1.892***	1.557***	1.785***	3.510***
	(0.967)	(0.920)	(0.340)	(0.340)	(0.389)	(0.422)
RR density	8.689***	-0.090	-2.692	-5.722**	-0.868	-0.965
	(2.242)	(2.213)	(2.116)	(2.355)	(2.432)	(1.944)
Distance to DC	-6.728***	-21.507***	-5.478	0.000	0.000	17.149
	(1.013)	(2.078)	(3.987)	(.)	(.)	(22.979)
Urban pop share	-18.916***	-16.190***	-11.703***	-11.279***	-19.219***	-13.406***
	(4.344)	(3.889)	(3.478)	(4.248)	(4.131)	(4.025)
Foreign born pop share	84.112***	66.665***	17.754**	-110.654***	-116.429***	-67.714***
	(7.173)	(6.698)	(8.055)	(11.284)	(11.730)	(10.867)
Male pop share	-123.767***	-100.060***	-119.893***	42.498	-23.080	70.571**
	(30.422)	(29.969)	(29.184)	(31.465)	(35.826)	(32.065)
Under 20 pop share	-207.722***	-135.134***	-104.647***	-157.133***	-203.006***	-130.122***
	(11.744)	(13.848)	(14.696)	(19.138)	(20.598)	(18.303)
Homogeneity of FB pop	-3.341	-4.532	1.776	-19.386***	-12.225***	-1.856
	(3.215)	(2.957)	(2.870)	(3.110)	(3.297)	(2.891)
Male pop share	39.932***	29.221***	8.521*	22.979	30.699**	2.837
	(5.593)	(5.244)	(4.897)	(14.815)	(15.042)	(13.072)
Adult literacy rate	-36.366***	-56.537***	-71.020***	-94.532***	-85.218***	-36.859***
	(9.217)	(7.842)	(7.456)	(8.502)	(9.499)	(6.990)
Share high white collar	23.063	34.301	-17.408	86.102**	79.769**	61.815**
	(37.622)	(33.955)	(31.527)	(36.554)	(35.469)	(30.377)
Share low white collar	-78.301	13.085	6.391	-64.607	-114.955**	-42.310
	(47.990)	(45.439)	(41.077)	(54.277)	(54.080)	(49.166)
Share skilled blue collar	14.827	14.527	5.886	-42.729**	-74.828***	-22.724
	(22.725)	(19.118)	(16.340)	(19.658)	(20.096)	(17.059)
Share unskilled	-16.778***	-2.945	19.336***	32.446***	37.522***	21.040**
	(5.577)	(5.428)	(5.073)	(6.949)	(7.179)	(8.278)
Share no occ	-12.436	-4.637	-23.045***	-8.438	-15.067**	-10.681*
	(9.415)	(8.602)	(7.811)	(6.502)	(6.782)	(6.365)
Gini farmland inequality	-42.513***	-18.366***	10.771*	10.313**	13.867**	-10.907*
	(6.070)	(5.922)	(5.565)	(5.196)	(6.104)	(5.956)
# Newspapers	0.046	-0.036	-0.087	-0.147*	-0.113	-0.087
	(0.103)	(0.074)	(0.054)	(0.077)	(0.075)	(0.082)
L.dif						0.409***
						(0.017)
Observations	22,403	22,403	22,403	22,403	22,403	18,815
Output mean	-5.179	-5.179	-5.179	-5.179	-5.179	-5.469
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

Table D.8: Effect of campaign routes: Electoral competition by party (Rep-Dem)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Republican route	1.935**	2.665***	3.697***	1.169***	-0.476	-1.164***
	(0.846)	(0.813)	(0.739)	(0.397)	(0.372)	(0.398)
Democrat route	-2.182***	-2.214***	-1.100	-2.261***	-0.180	-0.265
	(0.762)	(0.750)	(0.706)	(0.419)	(0.413)	(0.432)
Other party route	1.107	1.777*	0.485	0.090	-0.672	-0.968
	(1.116)	(1.063)	(0.927)	(0.751)	(0.745)	(0.886)
Log population	-1.597	-2.840***	0.468	9.825***	13.239***	5.491***
	(1.002)	(0.975)	(0.907)	(1.491)	(1.635)	(1.461)
In candidate birth state	-0.299	-0.867	2.079***	1.876***	2.484***	3.979***
	(1.059)	(1.017)	(0.408)	(0.385)	(0.451)	(0.464)
RR density	8.238***	-0.463	-2.888	-5.509**	-1.116	-1.376
	(2.329)	(2.279)	(2.182)	(2.442)	(2.518)	(1.999)
Distance to DC	-7.109***	-21.846***	-4.710	0.000	0.000	6.586
	(1.046)	(2.151)	(4.118)	(.)	(.)	(24.152)
Urban pop share	-20.950***	-17.964***	-13.415***	-13.203***	-21.236***	-9.449**
	(4.555)	(4.039)	(3.615)	(4.503)	(4.383)	(4.251)
Foreign born pop share	86.563***	67.257***	15.558*	-117.459***	-117.678***	-88.215***
	(7.516)	(6.980)	(8.358)	(11.901)	(12.439)	(11.563)
Male pop share	-135.052***	-102.640***	-119.434***	39.477	-23.909	102.446***
	(31.919)	(31.262)	(30.325)	(32.729)	(37.198)	(35.045)
Under 20 pop share	-213.997***	-135.511***	-102.789***	-166.261***	-209.434***	-132.449***
	(12.371)	(14.690)	(15.483)	(20.074)	(21.720)	(19.432)
Homogeneity of FB pop	-2.441	-2.743	3.397	-18.307***	-12.720***	-1.828
	(3.347)	(3.080)	(2.967)	(3.240)	(3.422)	(2.962)
Male pop share	38.422***	27.782***	8.156*	22.140	30.352**	-0.359
	(5.640)	(5.274)	(4.926)	(14.968)	(15.291)	(13.088)
Adult literacy rate	-36.120***	-56.579***	-70.430***	-93.556***	-85.408***	-37.327***
	(9.234)	(7.871)	(7.496)	(8.647)	(9.617)	(7.065)
Share high white collar	38.850	42.047	-13.085	111.667***	94.048**	62.264*
	(39.796)	(36.000)	(33.520)	(39.865)	(38.550)	(31.953)
Share low white collar	-112.202**	23.405	18.701	-82.596	-125.456**	-25.914
	(54.750)	(51.177)	(46.394)	(59.879)	(58.933)	(53.778)
Share skilled blue collar	11.084	10.912	1.050	-45.854**	-75.869***	-26.153
	(24.224)	(20.089)	(17.312)	(21.188)	(21.637)	(17.408)
Share unskilled	-17.269***	-3.046	21.248***	35.228***	38.173***	21.469**
	(5.722)	(5.577)	(5.220)	(7.132)	(7.350)	(8.401)
Share no occ	-15.057	-6.260	-23.721***	-7.849	-16.093**	-10.997*
	(9.648)	(8.819)	(8.031)	(6.780)	(7.075)	(6.423)
Gini farmland inequality	-41.365***	-17.439***	13.342**	12.388**	14.976**	-7.815
	(6.247)	(6.097)	(5.720)	(5.450)	(6.412)	(6.357)
# Newspapers	0.277***	0.064	-0.088	-0.125	-0.088	-0.086
	(0.104)	(0.097)	(0.081)	(0.102)	(0.096)	(0.093)
L.dif						0.379***
						(0.018)
Observations	20,700	20,700	20,700	20,700	20,700	17,203
Output mean	-6.311	-6.311	-6.311	-6.311	-6.311	-6.678
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region FEs		X				
State FEs			X			
County FEs				X	X	X
Region X Year FEs					X	X

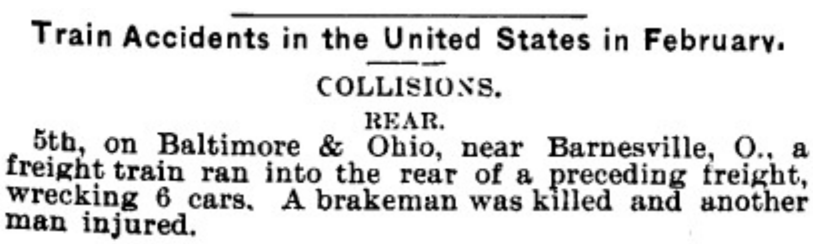
Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.

E. Railroad accidents as an IV for campaign visits

E.1. Data construction

The data comes from weekly editions of the journal *Railroad Gazette*. We collected data of railroad accidents for the last 3 election years where data is available: 1896, 1900 and 1904.[2] The last issue of each month contains information on accidents, including the date of occurrence, operating railway lane, state, location and number of individuals injured and dead. Figure E.1 provides an example of a typical report. We match each location to its corresponding county by geocoding and manually cleaning unmatched observations. The data is aggregated into accidents occurred each year during campaign months (July-November).

Figure E.1: Example of railroad accident report



Train Accidents in the United States in February.

COLLISIONS.

REAR.

5th, on Baltimore & Ohio, near Barnesville, O., a freight train ran into the rear of a preceding freight, wrecking 6 cars. A brakeman was killed and another man injured.

Source: Friday, March 27, 1896 edition of the Railroad Gazette.

Table E.1 shows descriptive statistics for the number of accidents and deaths in our data. In Panel A, we consider accidents occurring in the analyzed county. On average, for a given county-election we observe 0.18 accidents resulting in 0.23 deaths. In Panel B, we add accidents and deaths in neigboring counties. We do this because we are interested in measuring disruptions to the rairoad network that can reduce connectivity to the county and thus decrease the likehood of a stop during the campaign. When neighboring counties are including we observe on average 0.79 accidents resulting in 1 death.

E.2. Analysis

Our model uses accident deaths in counties and neighboring counties, as well as the interaction with railroad density at the county, as instrumental variables for campaign visits. Formally, we estimate:

$$turnout_{ct} = \alpha + \phi \widehat{D_{ct}^{campaign}} + X_{ct}\beta + \delta_{rt} + \gamma_c + e_{ct} \quad (5)$$

$$D_{ct}^{campaign} = \theta + \pi \; deaths_{ct} + \varphi \; deaths_{ct} \times RR \; density_{ct} + X_{ct}\kappa + \lambda_{rt} + \mu_c + \varepsilon_{ct} \quad (6)$$

[2] We were unable to collect data for 1908 since the magazine stoped reporting all accidents, but rather those "*which are of special interest to operating officers*", resulting in a much smaller number of reports.

Table E.1: Railroad accidents - Descriptive stats

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Panel A: County					
Accidents	0.183	0.731	0	16	7,204
Deaths	0.232	3.158	0	176	7,204
Panel B: County + neighbors					
Accidents	0.791	2.190	0	26	7,204
Deaths	0.989	6.612	0	176	7,204

Notes: Table shows descriptive statistics for railroad accidents and deaths. Panel B includes accidents and deaths occurring in neighboring counties. Data includes years 1896,1900 and 1904.

Our identifying assumption is that disruptions in the railroad network during the campaign do not correlate with unobservables affecting turnout in election day. Polling stations were scattered within the county, with the county courthouse being the polling place of the largest town. But voting was also conducted in barns, private homes, contry stores, and churches (Bensel, 2004). Thus, it is unlikely that railroad accidents could have directly influenced turnout, except through its effect on candidates' visits.

Columns 1-3 of Table E.2 show results of running OLS regressions of a dummy variable for whether the county had a presidential campaign stop on turnout. In column 1 we use the full sample of counties for election years 1896, 1900 and 1904, in column 2 we drop counties in the South, and in column 3 we also drop counties that are not neighboring a county that has been ever visited in our sample (similar to what we do in Figure C.2). Compared to our benchmark results for all elections (Table D.1), the results in Table E.2 show no effect of campaign stops on turnout. This is consistent our results by election, shown in Figure 18, where we show that the 1904 campaign is one of the two years in our sample with a negative and inpresice point estimate for campaign visits.

Columns 4-6 of Table E.2 display estimates for our IV strategy. The bottom panel shows estimates of equation (6), with F-statistics ranging from 6.6 to 13.5. The effect of deaths is sizeable: A one s.d. increase in deaths (6.6) in a county with median RR density reduces the likelihood of a campaign stop by about 3 p.p. The top panel shows 2SLS estimates of equation (5). The results of our most restrictive specification (column 6) show that having a campaign stop increases turnout in the county by 4.2 p.p. (p-value of 0.11). The effect is about twice that of our benchmark results of Table D.1. We interpret this result as the local average treatment effect in counties only visited in the absence of railroad accidents.

Table E.2: Effect of campaign stops on turnout: Accidents deaths as IV

	OLS			2SLS		
	All	No-south	No-south + Neighbors	All	No-south	No-south + Neighbors
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Campaign stop	-0.610	0.176	0.124	11.048	3.848	5.500
	(0.455)	(0.481)	(0.528)	(7.387)	(2.725)	(3.671)
Output mean	66.253	76.794	78.396	66.253	78.396	76.794
				First stage		
Deaths				0.003*	0.004**	0.006***
				(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Deaths x RR density				-0.008***	-0.010***	-0.013***
				(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Kleibergen-Paap F-stat				10.63	6.72	11.05
Over-id test (p-value)				0.251	0.530	0.354
Observations	7,185	3,962	3,216	7,185	3,216	3,962
Year FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: The dependent variable is turnout at the presidential election. Standard errors, clustered at the ticket level, are presented in parentheses. ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance at the 99%, 95% and 90%, respectively.