

Lancaster County Politics: 1799-1810

Alan Kreider

The preeminent fact of the political history of America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is the decline of the Federalist Party and the ascendancy of Jeffersonian Republicanism. Pennsylvania in many ways epitomized this trend; its staunch support of the Republican Party from 1799 on and seemingly perfect embodiment of the Jeffersonian principle of individualistic agrarianism caused it to be referred to as "the key stone of the Democratic Arch." Several Pennsylvania counties, however, resolutely held aloft the torch of Federalism against the rising flood of Republicanism. Notable among these was Lancaster County, in which the Federalist Party managed to survive the War of 1812 with strength and maintain its local political supremacy well into the 1820s. The extraordinary persistence and vigor of Lancaster County Federalism, however, did not mean that the local Republican forces were quiescent or impotent. Throughout the twelve year period from 1799 to 1810 the Republicans constituted an ever-present threat to Federalist dominance, a threat which materialized into actual Republican control of the majority of the county political offices from 1801 through 1804. Their newspapers maintained a lively dialogue with the Federalist press, and the Republican Party developed abiding strength in various (scattered) sections of the county. In a nutshell, between 1799 and 1810 Lancaster County witnessed a contest for political power between the two major parties. The fact that Federalism emerged triumphant in the second decade of the century should not be allowed to obscure the preceding period of crisis in which the political control of the county was in doubt.

It will be the purpose of this paper to study the politics of Lancaster County from 1799 to 1810, examining the ethnic and population trends, the political behavior of the various ethnic groups, the development of political organization and technique, and (concentrating on the election of 1801) the issues with which the two parties waged their political wars. It must be emphasized that the writer has by no means exhausted the extensive source materials available, and his conclusions therefore remain subject to further investigation.

From the earliest permanent settlements around 1710, Lancaster County attracted immigrants of widely varied ethnic and religious backgrounds. The second decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the arrival of representatives of the major groups which were to comprise the bulk of the county's population in 1800. Among these were the Palatinate Germans and Swiss (Mennonite), who located in the central sections of the county along the Conestoga River and the Pequea Creek; the French (Huguenot), settling to the east of the Mennonites; the Scotch-Irish (Presbyterian), who concentrated in the southern townships of Little Britain, Drumore and Colerain, and the westernmost townships of Mount Joy and Donegal; the English (Anglican and Quaker), establishing themselves along the eastern border of the county and in the region of what was to become Lancaster borough; a small colony of Welshmen (Anglican and Quaker), who settled in the eastern horn of the county (Caernarvon township); and the Germans of Lutheran, Calvinist and sectarian persuasions who spread out over much of the central and northern sections of the county. By 1800 the French had been largely assimilated into the non-sectarian German elements of the population, while the English tended to conglomerate in the major boroughs. Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Lancaster County served as a distributing center of population, with a large number of settlers utilizing it as a mere station stop in their relentless movement toward the frontier regions of the west and south. Chief among these Lancaster County emigrants were the Scotch-Irish, although groups of Germans were known to leave the county as well.¹ Despite the emigrations, however, the Germanic settlers were in a majority in Lancaster borough, and overwhelmingly so throughout the rest of the county, with the exceptions of Caernarvon township, where the Welsh remained a major though not predominant element, and the Scotch-Irish outposts in the southern and western townships.²

The population of Lancaster County was steadily growing in the late eighteenth century, registering an increase between 1790 and 1800 of 20%, which was comparatively modest relative to the astounding statewide accretion of 39%. The county's growth, stimulated by constant immigration, continued at a rapid pace in the first decade of the nineteenth century, with local population increasing 24% as compared to the state's population expansion of 26% for the same period. Lancaster County's Federalism was not occasioned by the conservatism engendered by a declining or stagnant population.³

The Federalists, although retaining their status as the majority party of Lancaster County, were by no means consistently successful in the elections between 1799 and 1810. The outstanding period of Federalist eclipse

was the Republican interlude between 1801 and 1805, during which Jeffersonian candidates were elected to all important county offices. In addition, the Republican incumbent Thomas McKean was reelected as Governor in 1802 with the blessings of a large majority of Lancaster County voters.⁴ 1805, however, witnessed the return of Lancaster County to the Federalist fold, as it again reelected the now "constitutional republican" Governor McKean for a third term with the endorsements of both the local Federalists and many Republicans, and returned the entire Federalist ticket to office by an eight to five margin.⁵ Federalism retained its predominance in county politics until the split election of 1810, when it was forced to concede three of the six Lancaster County seats in the state assembly to the Republicans.⁶ But Federalism retained an impressive reserve of strength in Lancaster County until the mid-1820s, and a Republican triumph at the polls remained an exceptional occurrence.

The Republicans retained several pockets of strength within the county, however. Because of the unsystematic method of arranging the county into voting districts and the general dearth of surviving information on the subject, it is most difficult to pin down with as great a degree of accuracy as would be desired the loci of Republican and Federalist strength. Between 1799 and 1810 the number of Lancaster County's voting districts was increased from six to fourteen, thereby enabling the student to obtain an increasingly exact knowledge of the political tendencies of the various sections of the county. But throughout the twelve year period, the researcher is hindered by the fact that certain townships were frequently assigned to voting districts along with other townships of a considerably different ethnic and religious character. The outstanding example of this (the largest voting district in the county encompassing Lancaster borough and six townships surrounding it) retained its monolithic size throughout our twelve year period, and as it encompassed over one-third of the total Lancaster County vote, it is very difficult to say anything of a definite nature about the voting behavior of the inhabitants of this central area. A series of interesting questions, such as the level of Federalist enthusiasm manifested in the borough as compared with that of the rural areas, or the political tendencies of a predominantly German township such as Lampeter, are therefore impossible to answer with certainty.

A second example of the problem of districting is that posed by the voting district comprising the three southern townships of Drumore, Little Britain and Colerain. From 1799 through 1809 this district was consistently Republican, with the exception of the 1808 election in which it gave James Ross a thirteen vote margin in the gubernatorial campaign.⁸ But in 1810 Colerain township was removed from the old district and made a new district in its own right. While it promptly went Republican by the heavy margin of 87 to 16, the old district of Drumore and Little Britain defected to the Federalists by 157 votes to 120.⁹ Would this indicate that Drumore and Little Britain had been consistently Federalist by a slight margin all along, and only the presence of Colerain township in the same district had caused them to appear Republican? Between 1799 and 1804 this interpretation seems doubtful, for the margins of the Republican victories in the district were of such a magnitude as to render it unlikely

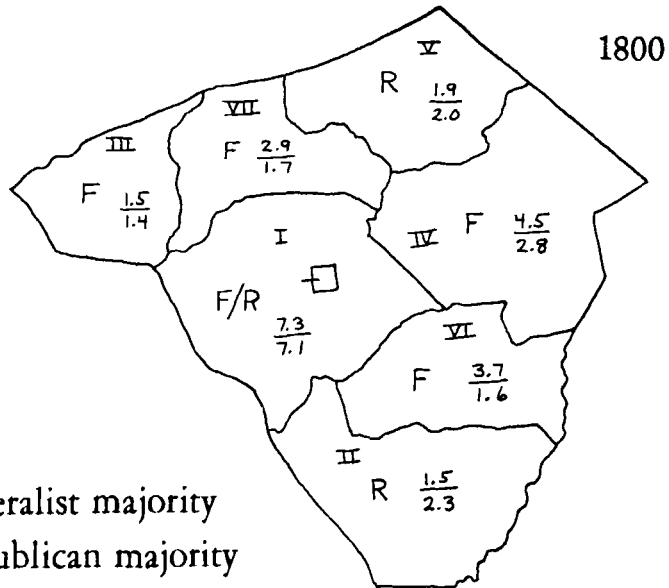
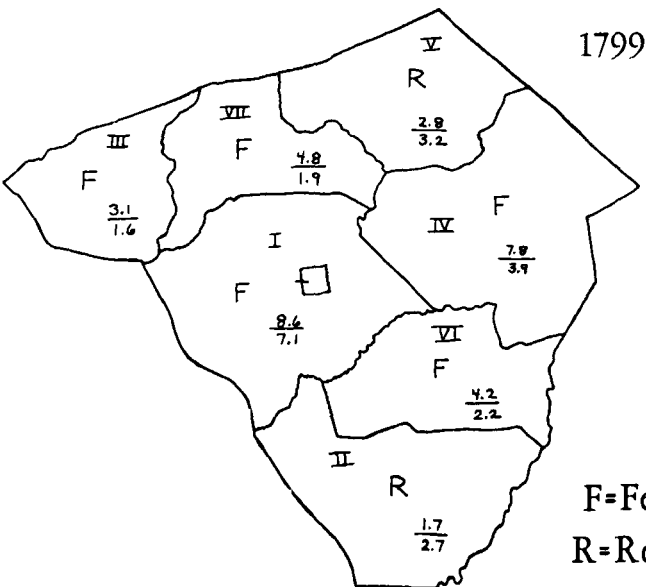
that any one township had been able to alter the political complexion of the whole district completely. After 1805, however, the smaller Republican majorities in the district suggest the possibility that Colerain's solid Republicanism was able to alter the political complexion of the whole district. In the final analysis, in this as in other instances, it is impossible to ascertain with precision the political preferences of the individual townships. From Colerain's performance as an independent district in the 1810 election, it is not unwarranted to assume that it had been strongly Republican throughout the twelve year period under discussion. By the same token Drumore and Little Britain townships were most probably Republican prior to 1805 and borderline cases thereafter. But it is impossible to be certain.

While being painfully aware of the problems involved in utilizing the election districts to judge the political tendencies of ethnic groups, it seems to the writer that several generalizations may be made which are in general consonance with the thesis of Shaw Livermore, Jr. on the origins of political parties. Asserting that the Federalist-Republican conflict was in its ultimate sense a conflict between two views of the social order, with the Federalists clinging to the carefully structured community-centered society characteristic of the America of the 1790s, and the Republicans anticipating the individualistic, highly mobile and almost orderless society which was to typify nineteenth-century American life, Livermore argues that that which in the final analysis made a man a Federalist or a Republican was neither his occupation nor the form of his wealth, but his view of the proper form of social order.¹⁰ The Germans, because of their attachment to a structured society centered in the community, would therefore tend to be Federalist, whereas Republicanism would be attractive to the more volatile Scotch-Irish. Similarly, members of the established religious denominations favoring a hierarchical view of the church or a conservative view of society (Anglicans, Friends, Lutherans, German sectarians) showed strong Federalist tendencies, while the adherents of the dissenting groups (Presbyterians, Baptists) placing a heavier emphasis on individual piety than on the corporate nature of the church were likely to be Republican in their political alignments. The voting patterns in the Lancaster County townships between 1799 and 1810 largely support the Livermore thesis. Townships heavily German in population were more likely to vote Federalist than Republican. Warwick, Strasburg, and Elizabeth townships were usually Federalist in sympathy, while Earl and Leacock townships unfailing registered majorities for Federalist candidates from 1799 to 1810.¹¹ As Lampeter, Hempfield, Manor, Conestoga, Manheim, and Lancaster townships were included in the large Lancaster election district, it is impossible to isolate their political tendencies. In 1805, however, in the only record of the votes of the individual townships which has been available to the writer, five of the six townships gave McKean and the local Federalist candidates majorities ranging from 128 to 21 (Manheim) to 117 to 51 (Manor), and it is reasonable to assume that Federalist candidates usually received solid support in these townships. The sixth township in the Lancaster complex, Conestoga, provided McKean and the Federalists with the slight majority of 81 to 65, and presumably registered a customary majority for Republican candidates. Lan-

caster borough, which comprised over one half of the votes in the Lancaster election district, and whose population included a higher percentage of Scotch-Irish than the surrounding townships, voted 523 to 247 for McKean and the Federalist candidates in 1805, but probably in general provided the Federalists with less sizeable majorities than the surrounding German townships. The Lancaster election district as a whole, although supporting Federalist candidates in seven of the twelve years under consideration, frequently did so by comparatively slender margins. From 1801 through 1804, the Lancaster election district deserted Federalism for Republicanism, and, although the evidence needed to prove this assertion is lacking, this was more probably caused by the defection of Lancaster borough than the votes of the conservative German agricultural townships.

As the Germanic areas of Lancaster County were Federalists, so the Scotch-Irish townships largely supported Republican candidates. Colerain, Donegal and Bart townships were staunchly Republican, and Little Britain, Drumore and Mount Joy townships, while less firm in the faith, were nevertheless generally to be found supporting Republican candidates, though by smaller margins. Sadsbury and Salisbury townships, still largely inhabited by English Quakers and Anglicans despite the slow influx of Germans which was under way by 1800, were largely Federalist, with the exception of the years 1802-1804, when they went Republican by narrow margins. For the sake of variety, two townships, Brecknock, a German Republican township along the northern border with Berks County, and Martic, a small Scotch-Irish Federalist township along the Susquehanna, inexplicably defy the rule of German-Established Church-Federalist, Scotch-Irish-Dissenter-Republican which is noticeable elsewhere in the county.

A second area in which the political behavior of the various ethnic groups may be examined is what might be called their "propensity to participate in the political process." Historians have traditionally contended that the Pennsylvania Germans in general, and Lancaster County Germans in particular, carried little political weight despite their numerical preponderance.¹² From an examination of the voting habits of the inhabitants of Lancaster County and the political candidates which the local politicians chose to run for office, it seems safe to assert, on the contrary, that the Germans played a highly active and important role in the political life of the county. The "propensity to vote" of the inhabitants of Lancaster County, the first facet of the total problem of political participation, requires that the researcher compare the number of eligible voters (i.e., tax-payers) with the number of actual voters in a given election. As the number of tax-payers in the various Lancaster County townships for the period 1799-1810 has never been totaled, the researcher must count the taxables on random tax assessment lists. When he has thus laboriously gathered the requisite information, he will encounter the problem posed by the confusing array of constantly shifting election districts already mentioned. As a result, questions of voting tendencies are not easy ones to deal with, although a careful study of this area might be instructive. A tentative application of these methods to three townships between 1808 and 1810 reveals that Lancaster County voters were perhaps more zealous in their exercise of the franchise than was normal in early nineteenth-century Pennsylvania.



F=Federalist majority
R=Republican majority

Each election district shows the letter F if a Federalist won or R if a Republican won, or R/F if the vote was divided among the parties. Approximate margins of votes are shown thus 8.6 indicating the Federalists (always at top)

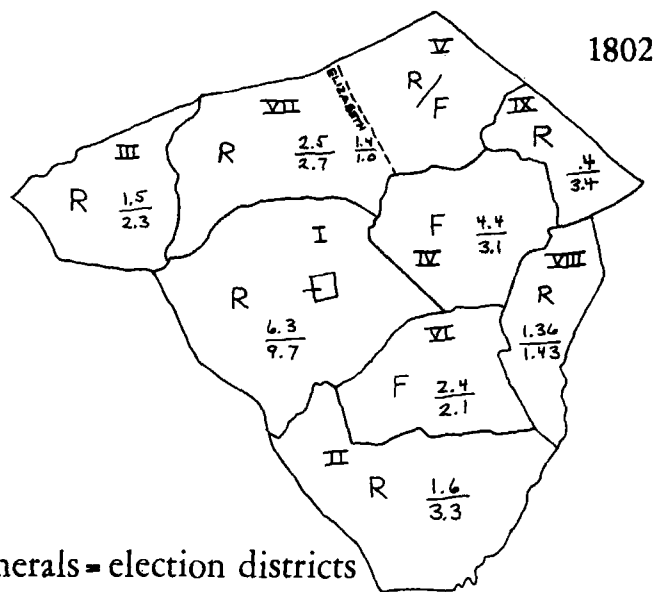
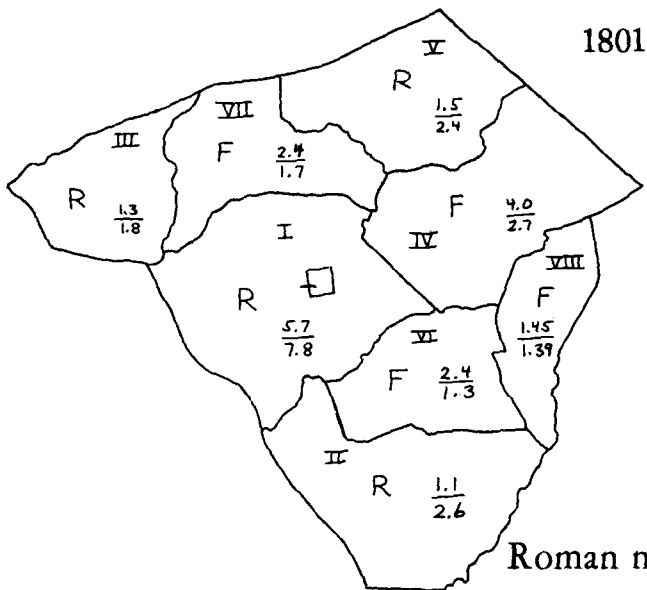
received 860 votes against 710 received by the Republicans (always at bottom).

1799—For Governor
3,285 Fed.
2,285 Rep.

5,570 Total

1800—For Senator
2,286 Fed.
1,897 Rep.

4,183 Total



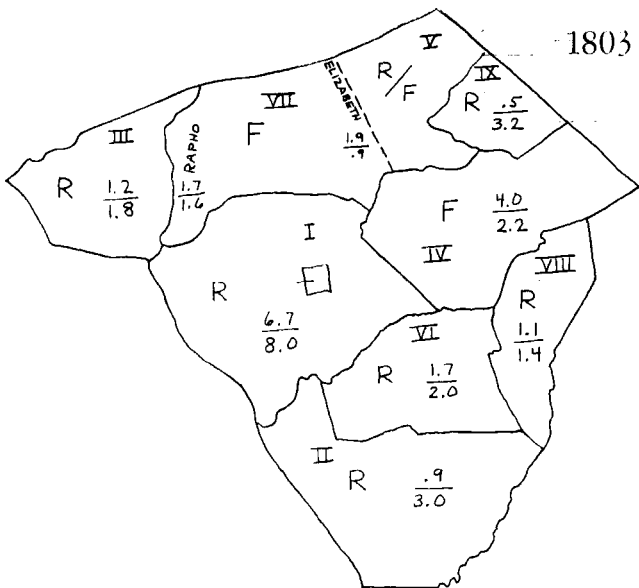
Roman numerals = election districts

1801—For County Commissioner

1,990 Fed.
2,167 Rep.
<hr/> 4,157 Total

1802—For Governor

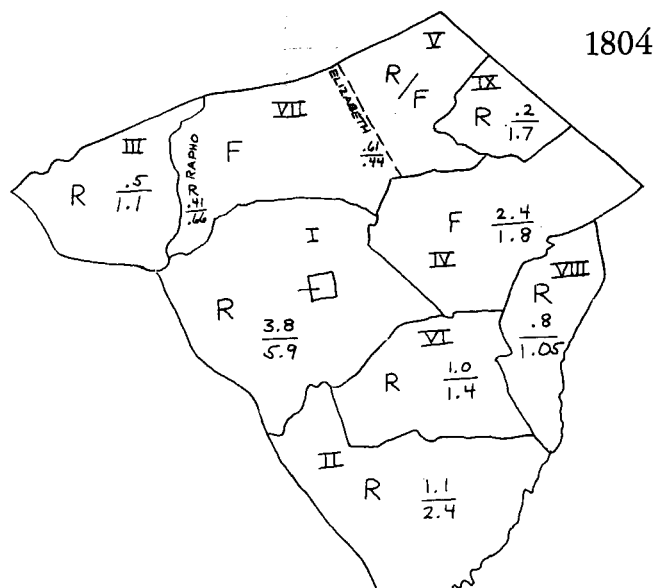
2,183 Fed.
2,911 Rep.
<hr/> 5,094 Total



1803—For Representatives
(Composite of six)

c 2,000 Fed.
c 2,400 Rep.

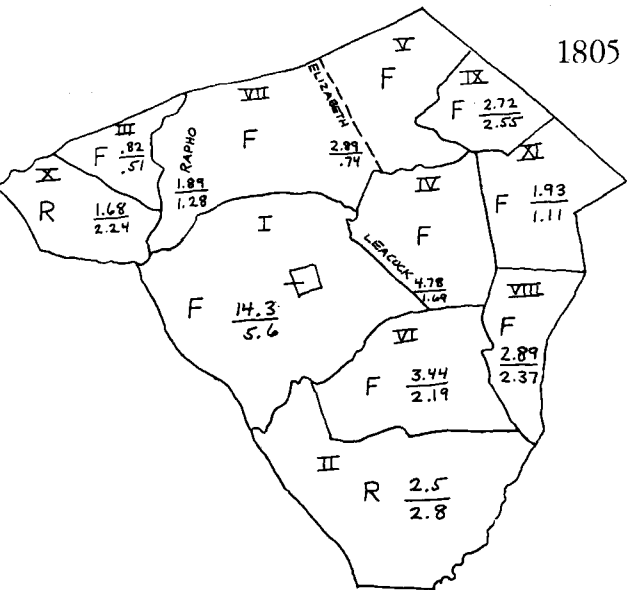
c 4,400 Total



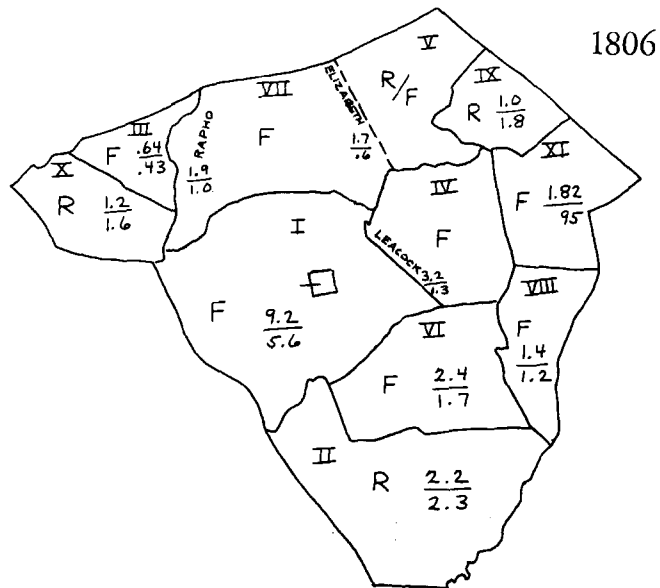
1804—For Senator

1,096 Fed.
1,633 Rep.

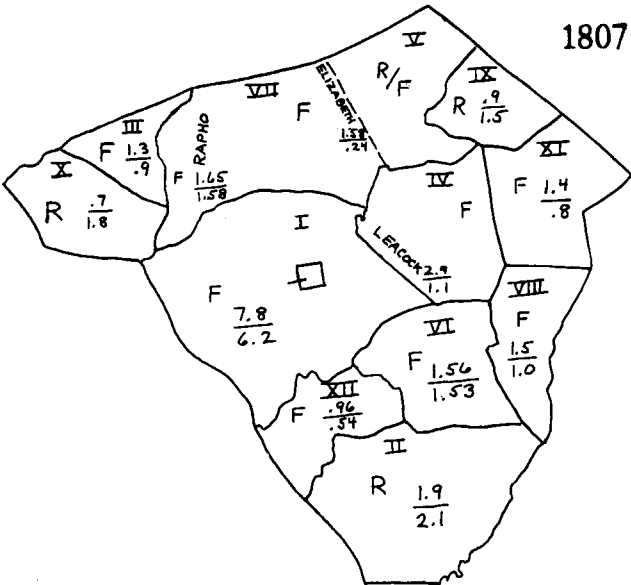
2,729 Total



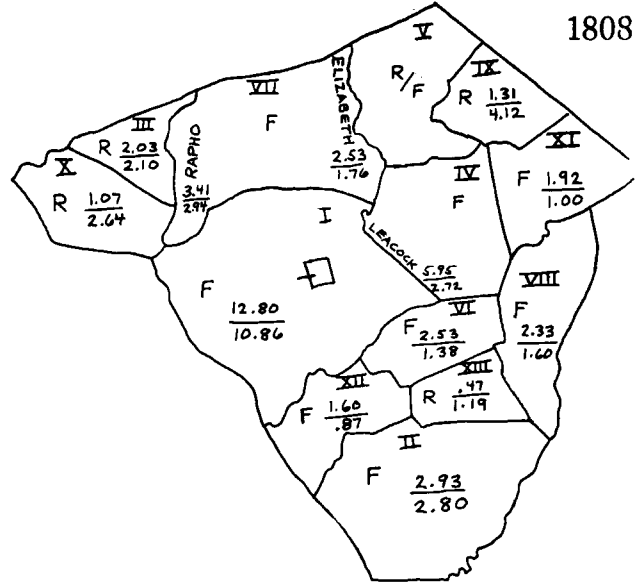
1805—For Governor	3,978 Fed.
	2,307 Rep.
	<hr/>
	6,285 Total



1806—For County Commissioners	2,670 Fed.
	1,850 Rep.
	<hr/>
	4,520 Total

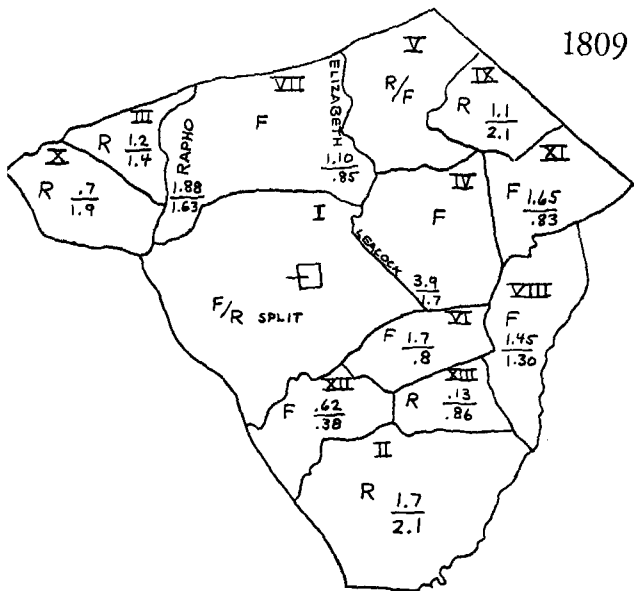


1807—For County Commissioners	2,474	Fed.
	1,930	Rep.
	<hr/>	
	4,404	Total



1808—For Governor	4,089	Fed.
	3,598	Rep.
	<hr/>	
	7,687	Total

1809

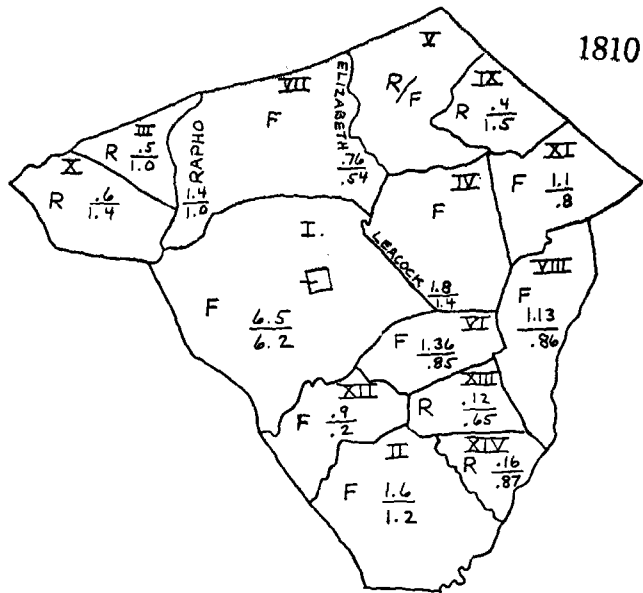


1809—For Representative
Split, Federalists
getting 5 of 6
assemblymen seats

2,179 Fed.
2,387 Rep.

4,566 Total

1810



1810—For Representative
Republicans got 4
assemblymen and
state senator

1,819 Fed.
1,856 Rep.

3,675 Total

Although an astonishing 70% of the Pennsylvania electorate participated in the gubernatorial election of 1808, 91% of the eligible voters of the predominantly German-Federalist township of Strasburg appeared to cast their ballots.¹³ Nor was this rare in Lancaster County. In the Scotch-Irish-Federalist township of Martic 86% of the eligible electorate appeared at the polls. In contrast, Donegal township, Republican and Scotch-Irish, received votes from but 59% of those eligible, well under the level of Strasburg, Martic, and even the statewide average. Strasburg continued to witness a heavy turnout of voters in the 1809 and 1810 elections for state congressmen, with 58% and 51% of the electorate participating respectively. 42% and 32% of those eligible to vote in Donegal township turned out for the two succeeding elections; Martic's eligible voters failed in 1809 and 1810 to live up to their commendable effort in the 1808 election, with but 34% and 38% participating. Although the evidence is admittedly far from complete, that which is available would tend to suggest that the German inhabitants of Lancaster County were vigorous in their exercise of the franchise, in one instance considerably more so than the Scotch-Irish. A more detailed study of this area would shed valuable light on the political behavior of the various ethnic groups in Lancaster County, particularly the "reticent Germans."

The "propensity to participate in the political process" by the various ethnic groups may also be studied through an investigation of the national origins of the candidates for political office in Lancaster County between 1799 and 1807. Specific information about the ethnic backgrounds of the political figures of this period has been used wherever possible, although it is woefully incomplete.¹⁴ National origin may also be indicated by the surnames of the candidates, although this method must be used with care.¹⁵ The results of this inquiry would tend to second both the previous impression that the German inhabitants played an important role in the political life of the county and the thesis that the Germans were more likely to be Federalist than Republican. Between 1799 and 1807 men of German extraction accounted for 49 out of the 95 candidates nominated by the Lancaster County Federalists for the U. S. House of Representatives, state senators, state representatives, county sheriffs, county commissioners, and local directors of the poor. Twenty of the candidates were of Scotch-Irish origin, three were English, three were Welsh. The ethnic grouping of 20 remains uncertain, as their names were not sufficiently outstanding to permit intelligent guesswork. By comparison, only 35 of the 95 Republican candidates during this ninety year period were of German origin, 19 were Scotch-Irish, five English, seven Welsh, five French, and 24 of uncertain extraction.

The Germans were not merely relegated to county offices of minor import; they were nominated for positions of statewide significance as well. Although no German was nominated for Congress or the state senate by either party during the nine year period, 22 out of the 54 Federalist candidates for the state assembly were of Germanic stock, whereas only 15 were of Scotch-Irish origin, and 13 doubtful. Of the 54 Republican candidates for the same office 14 were German in origin, nine Scotch-Irish, seven Welsh, and 15 doubtful. No doubt many of those of uncertain origin were either English or Scotch-Irish, as the ethnic origins of the sur-

Outstanding among the forms of political organization used by both parties in Lancaster County was the system of nominating candidates for local and state offices. Already in the campaign of 1799 the Republicans were utilizing what might be called the "county convention" method of nomination. Although the elections were not held until the second Tuesday in October, and the sheriff's election proclamation was generally not issued until approximately one month earlier, already on August 16, 1799, from 250 to 300 Republicans of Lancaster borough met at the home of Leonard Eichholtz to express support for the election of McKean as governor. A committee was appointed to correspond with local committees in other parts of the county and to meet with representatives from individual townships to form a ticket. The method of electing delegates on the township level was not specified. On September 23 the committee met with the delegates from the townships and a formal ticket was drawn up.¹⁶ Meanwhile the Federalists were having meetings of their own. Throughout August and September numerous townships held meetings to express support for James Ross, and on September 25 a large rally was held in Lancaster, at which the citizens present resolved that they should both vote and actively solicit for Ross both prior to the election and on election day.¹⁷ The meeting was asserted to be eminently "respectable," and "dissolved in the most perfect order."¹⁷ However, no effort was made to emulate the Republicans in the formation of a ticket containing the Federalist candidates for state assembly, county commissioners, or directors of the poor, although it is probable that most Federalists shared an idea of the proper men to elect to local office. As a result of the lack of a formal consensus among the Federalists upon a specified list of approved candidates, the election was split between the two parties, with two Republican candidates for the state assembly being elected along with four men who were not on the Republican ticket, and had apparently been backed by the Federalist majority. The vote was not highly disciplined, and the totals evidenced a wide disparity between the number of votes given to the various candidates of the Republican party.¹⁸

The Republicans utilized similar nominating techniques in the 1800 election. The "Friends of Government," however, although they continued to style their opponents as "Terrorists or settled-ticket men,"¹⁹ evidenced a heightened sophistication in their methods suspiciously similar to those used by their opponents. On August 31, 1800, the Federalists of Lancaster borough met and elected a committee which, on September 1, issued a declaration inviting the Federalist inhabitants of the townships to send "Men noted for their attachment to the Laws and Constitution of the Country. . . who may be depended on for their firmness in the Federal Republican cause" to a general meeting to be held on September 22 at the Lancaster court house. This meeting was held as planned, and "unanimously agreed to support a Federalist ticket for local and state offices."²⁰ What was to become the normative nominating technique had now been adopted by both parties, and was to remain in general use throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Variations were added to the basic pattern as time went on. In 1801 the Republican borough committee, when calling upon the townships to

hold their meetings to elect delegates to meet with those of the Lancaster borough, expressed the hope "that no Republican will be over tenacious of his own Wishes, or of any particular Men; but that, surrendering personal Views, they will all support whatever Ticket may be agreed upon, by the majority of the Deputies."²¹ This sentiment was further set forth in the general nominating meeting, where it was "Moved and unanimously agreed to, That each of the Delegates now present will support, with his Vote and Interest, the several Candidates that shall be agreed upon by the Majority of the Meeting."²² The Republicans thus took a significant step toward the tightening of party discipline in local elections.

The 1808 gubernatorial contest between Simon Snyder and James Ross promised to be a vigorous one, and both parties responded to the challenge with similar techniques. The partisans of both the Federalists and the Republicans adopted the practice of calling meetings of the "Young Men" of their respective parties to attempt to stir up enthusiasm among the youthful. On September 3, 1808, over sixty "Democratic Young Men" met to express their support for Madison, Snyder, and the Republican party in Lancaster county, and other similar meetings followed. The Republican Young Men were also highly useful in such eminently practical matters as distributing tickets at elections, and urging recalcitrant voters to attend.²³ The Federalists had similar ideas. Already on August 27, the "YOUNG MEN Friendly to Ross and the CONSTITUTION" met at the home of Christian Rohrer, and proceeded to censure Bonaparte and the Bonaparte sympathizers high in the Federal government, and resolved to support those men who "steadfastly pursue and maintain the WASHINGTONIAN principle of republicanism."²⁴ This meeting was followed by other "very large and respectable" meetings in the borough and throughout the county.²⁵

A second political technique utilized by both parties in the 1808 election was the "Committee of Vigilance." Already on August 6, a Republican meeting at Maytown in Donegal township agreed to appoint a committee to stimulate interest in the Republican cause and get out the vote, and was followed by other meetings of similar nature throughout the county.²⁶ The Federalists followed suit, appointing committees of vigilance "for the purpose of bringing out the voters at the ensuing election; and to take such other measures as they may think most advisable for the cause."²⁷ The Federalist Committee of Vigilance in Strasburg township resolved to use "every honorable means, to promote the interest of said ticket." The "Young Men Friendly to the Constitution" also appointed committees of vigilance of their own, responsible to themselves and independent of the external party organization.²⁸

The increasing institutionalization of Lancaster County politics, through the county convention system of nomination, the caucus-like adherence to the party's nominees, the "young men," and the "committees of vigilance," resulted in a heightened efficiency of political activity on the local level, and perhaps an increased dissemination of political knowledge among the county's population. For the Republicans such a degree of political organization was nothing exceptional, being rather similar to that developed by Jeffersonians throughout the United States. But for the Fed-

eralists the Lancaster system of political behavior was most unusual, contrasting strikingly with the Federalists' wonted contempt for and fear of organized political action which presupposed cooperation and uniformity. By 1810 the Federalist party organization in Lancaster County had not reached the level of sophistication or the degree of power which it was to manifest in the succeeding decade, but it was already a formidable organization using effective tools of political action.²⁹ Structurally, it was a microcosm of the system later developed by Massachusetts Federalists on a far grander scale. The Lancaster County township meetings corresponded to the Massachusetts county caucuses, Lancaster's county convention with Massachusetts' caucus committees, Lancaster's "committees of vigilance" with the Massachusetts ward committees.³⁰ In fact, Harrison Gray Otis in 1822 spoke of the Federalist Party managing Boston politics with a "Lancastrian system," implying the debt which he felt that Boston owed to another powerful center of Federalist resistance.³¹ There was one outstanding difference between the two Federalist systems; although the structures of the two systems bore a close mutual resemblance, the spirit behind the operation of the systems was vastly different. Whereas in Lancaster County the Federalist voters played an active and autonomous part in the nominations of their party's candidates for political office through township meetings, the Massachusetts political machine was "thoroughly centralized, made no concessions, even in theory, to popular rights, and was frankly based upon the right of the leaders of the party to rule the party, and through it the body politic."³² Therefore the Massachusetts county caucuses, though giving lip service to the power of popular sentiment to direct the county's delegate to the caucus committee, were dictated in reality by the county committee regardless of popular will.

The Lancaster County system had serious defects. The fact that all townships were allotted two delegates to the county convention in Lancaster meant that the voters of the sparsely settled townships were far more heavily represented than those of their more populous neighbors. Complaints were also raised from time to time by the Republicans that "the number of Citizens collected to choose Delegates, was too small, fully to express, the Sense of the People."³³ It is likely that this was frequently the case in the Federalist meetings as well, although it is doubtful that they were as concerned about the problem as the Republicans were. In sum, though, the Federalist and Republican systems of nomination and electioneering were largely successful in reflecting the will of the people in the candidates nominated, and in inspiring the vote on election day.

A Republican institution for which the Lancaster County Federalists had no equivalent was the Republican Blues. Although the surviving evidence on these organizations is slender, the Blues were apparently groups of young Republicans who met at various places in the county to march for formal occasions, such as Independence Day. The Blues were governed by a set of by-laws according to which any member absenting himself from a rehearsal or public performance without due cause was to be fined. In 1801 they were active in Lancaster borough and Colerain township, and reference is still made to them in 1808.³⁴ They were often the butt of Federalist ridicule, as on July 4, 1801, when they were noted by the Lan-

caster Journal to have "paraded at the State-house, where nine or ten ladies were collected."³⁵ A Republican columnist reported that the boys were indignant at what they considered an insult, which must have distressed the Federalists a great deal.³⁶

The Republican newspaper of Lancaster, the **Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser**, reprinted an article borrowed from the Patriot entitled "SOUND MAXIMS" which, setting forth the widely held Republican views on the danger of inevitable corruption which the possession of power entails, concluded that therefore " 'Elections ought to be free and frequent,' and that a Rotation in the higher Departments of Government, is one of the best Securities of permanent Freedom."³⁷ As elsewhere, this proposition must have appeared more attractive to the Republicans when they were out of power than when in office, but there was considerable natural rotation in office among both parties in Lancaster county. An incumbent frequently would place an advertisement in the newspapers informing his friends that matters of private business precluded his serving further in his present office, and requested them not to renominate him. Two men, Jacob Kimmel and John Roberts, each served five consecutive one-year terms in the state assembly from Lancaster county, but these were exceptions rather than the rule, and Lancaster county produced no congressional patriarchs, whether by design or accident. Nor was the party alignment air-tight. In 1796 the editor of the **Lancaster Journal**, William Hamilton, urged his readers to vote for Thomas Jefferson.³⁸ By 1800, however, he had become a Federalist turncoat, and remained in the Federalist camp throughout the following decade. Henry Hambright, a Republican candidate for state assembly in 1801, was roundly condemned by editor Hamilton as an unprincipled office seeker who would join any party which he felt would most readily yield up political power,³⁹ a charge which was apparently not totally inaccurate for in 1808 Hambright is recorded as having presided at a Federalist meeting in New Holland, and served as Federalist assemblyman from Lancaster County for four years during the second decade of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Numerous other examples could be cited of a similar nature.

Of great importance in the political life of Lancaster County in the early nineteenth century were the county's four newspapers. The English-reading populace was treated to a running conflict between the Federalist **Lancaster Journal** and the Republican **Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser**, while the German population witnessed a *Zeitungstreit* between the Federalist **Der Americanische Staatsbothe und Lancaster Anzeig-Nachrichten** and the Republican **Lancaster Correspondent**. Both editors Hamilton of the **Journal** and William Dickson of the **Intelligencer** evidenced considerable skill in the art of vituperative journalism. While accusing the **Intelligencer** of "the most vile partiality," Hamilton referred to his antagonist as "an ASS in a lion's SKIN" guilty of "jesuitical professions" and other falsehoods.⁴¹ Hamilton's opinion of the **Intelligencer**, and the tenor of Lancaster journalism during the early 1800s, may be sampled from the following:

"We defy the greatest admirer of that paper the *Intelligencer* to shew a single instance, where justice was fairly done to federalism, that it has not been withheld. It began with hints against the influence of our beloved Washington and proceeded with calling Mr. Adams a royalist, with asserting that Mr. Pickering and Dayton were public robbers — that Mr. Wolcott burnt the treasury, that the federal republicans were aristocrats and tories. It continues its course with no diminution of villainy. As to foreign intelligence it seldom publishes any thing favorable to England but what it selects from the *Aurora*; while the taking of a single vessel by the French occupies a column. Its poor deluded patrons believe it to be the very essence of republicanism — and will no doubt continue to be deceived till the blessed new order of things touches their purse-strings."⁴²

Dickson did not hesitate to reply to Hamilton's onslaughts with a similar sense of moral outrage utilizing equally pungent verbiage.

Similar recriminations were traded between editor Grimler of the *Federalist Staatsbothe* and the *Correspondent's* editor Hutter. The *Staatsbothe* gloried in the memory of "unsterblichen Waschington" and bewailed the fallen state of the country under Republican rule, whereas the *Correspondent* vigorously denounced "die stupidisten Lugen der Toriezeitungen." Smarting under Grimler's attack that he was an "offentlichen Lügner," Hutter bewailed the fact that the *Staatsbothe* was "vollend mit Infamie."⁴³ The circulation of the German papers was widespread throughout the county and provided powerful propaganda weapons for local politicians, as well as excellent publicity for political events.

The newspapers of Lancaster County provide the researcher with the most adequate picture available of the way in which the local Federalist and Republican parties regarded themselves and their opponents, and the matters which they considered to be political issues of primary importance. In order to deal with party images and issues on a manageable scale, this study will be limited to the period preceding the 1801 election for state assemblymen and local officers, the first election in which a sizeable number of Republicans secured the approval of the Lancaster County electorate.

To the Federalists, according to the *Lancaster Journal*, "tranquility and the security of property is a state of things to establish which they would cheerfully sacrifice many subordinate political advantages."⁴⁴ The Federalists viewed their party as the embodiment of "the utmost order and decency," and its members were characterized by "urbanity, moderation, and love of truth, which has ever distinguished them from their adversaries."⁴⁵ They were the defenders of "the pillars of religion and morality," supporters of the rule of law, and protectors of "all good government. . . . [and] the chain of civil society."⁴⁶

The Federalists accused the Republicans in contrast with having "made every exertion to destroy the very ligaments which held society together."⁴⁷ Their gatherings were depicted as scenes of "savage howlings," and Republicans could "only subsist amidst the obstreperousness of tumult, and the unnatural fluctuations of incessant and vexatious contention."⁴⁸ The democratic chaos was not surprising to the Federalists in view of the fact that the Republican leaders were "notorious for malignant dispositions, for chicanery, for drunkenness, and stupidity."⁴⁹ Furthermore, omnipresent in the Republican party was the jacobin, a "kind of mongrel

being — half-democrat, half-devil, whose sole purpose is to promote confusion and disorder among the people, that he made stride over their shoulders to the highest offices of state.”⁵⁰ Jacobins, according to the Federalists, had “a great spite to law and religion — the reason is evident; the one consigns them to punishment for villainies here, and the other to weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth hereafter.”⁵¹

In addition to possessing a unique devotion to a stable society and an honorable mode of life, the Federalists prided themselves in being solely capable of governing because of their wide experience in national administration and the hard headed realism with which they approached matters of public concern. The Federalist was a “man who has respect for the maxims of wisdom and experience, respecting, dividing and checking the branches of government.”⁵² He cherished no illusions about the inability of the masses to govern, recognizing that they were “liable to be directed by prejudice and passion.” From his study of the historic strivings of mankind, the Federalist had learned that when “liberty overflows its bounds, then it passes into licentiousness.”⁵³

The Republicans, however, were pictured by the Federalists as having adopted a position whose visionary irresponsibility contrasted strongly with the sober realism of their own point of view. In their desire to “have all power in the people and none in the laws,” the Republicans showed themselves “ignorant of the sound theory of free government, of the evidence of all history, and everything in human nature . . .”⁵⁴ The Federalists suspected that the Republicans were not completely honest in their asserted confidence in the ability of the average man to govern, for “a man may pass for a lover of the people, when he is looking only to his particular interest, or the interest of a party. The people is a great mass of the wise and foolish, the rich and poor, the virtuous and vicious . . . As he who caresses and flatters the people does not, therefore, love them, so he pays court to a particular portion or party of them, who exclusively serves their views, and fosters their passions, and neglects the rights, opinions and feelings of the remainder, establishes no claim to the character of a patriot.”⁵⁵ The true patriot should wherever possible represent all classes of society, but if he is constrained by his passion for justice to present the viewpoint of but one class, it certainly should not be that of the least worthy segment of society, which is most given to prejudice and easily misled. Indeed, recent events in the United States in many ways indicated to the Federalist that the trend toward popular government was getting out of hand.

“The steps of democracy to military tyranny are few and short, and their road is a turnpike. There will be no democracy without demagoguery nor demagoguery without ambition, aspiring to tyranny. The adherents of these demagogues constitute a faction in rivalry with the government, and if the government be weak, or the people run mad, or the vile and ignorant overawe the wealthy and virtuous, the faction prevails, and erects a ready, organized military tyranny. It is not liberty in the beginning, nor in the progress nor in the event of the struggle . . . Every patriot would detest the degraded condition and would risk his life to prevent it; and the federalists who best understand the nature of liberty, would be the foremost to make the efforts and sacrifices for its defense. But on the other hand, if the people will not erect any barriers against their own intemperance

and giddiness, or will not respect and sustain them after they are erected, their power will soon be snatched out of their hands, and their own heads will be broken with it — as in France.”⁵⁶

Although the prognosis for the future of responsible government appeared bleak to many Federalists, the *Lancaster Journal* did not overflow with the unrestrained pessimism which marked much Federalist writing in the early nineteenth century. An outstanding exception was an article under the signature of “A FRIEND OF PEACE” which, after bewailing the spread of political factionalism in the United States, the frequent incidence of earthquakes throughout the world, and the fact that nations were rising against other nations, declared that the prophesied end of the world was at hand. Pleading with his “honest friends of the United States” to “stand still, and pause,” the author concluded by warning that the “times appear to me dreadful: it seems to me, without prayers, as faithful as they have been in Ninevah, we shall not be saved.”⁵⁷ The Federalist press, however, was also frequently filled with affirmations of confidence, especially as far as the future of the party in Lancaster County was concerned. When publishing the results of an election in Massachusetts, the *Journal*’s headline exclaimed “Sun of Federalism again Rising!”⁵⁸ In its article on the ensuing election in the county, the *Journal* asserted that “at no period, greater unanimity and ardor has manifested itself previous to an election than at the one approaching,” and forecast that “the federal republican ticket will succeed beyond what has at any former period.”⁵⁹ The delegates to the Federalist “county convention,” in their “Address to the Electors of Lancaster County,” expressed that “however the cause of federalism may, from accidental circumstances, be weakened in other parts of the state, . . . the good people of the county of Lancaster will hold fast the ground upon which they have been so long and so firmly established, and never inconsiderably be led away, by the new doctrines which have threatened severely to divide us. . . .”⁶⁰ While these statements may represent the attempts of despondent local politicians to face the world with bold countenances, the paucity of Federal Jeremiads seems indicative of the possibility that the Federalists of Lancaster County realized that their support in the long run was firmly grounded in the socially conservative inhabitants of the county.

The *Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser*, by this time inured to Federalist charges that Republicanism had Jacobin leanings, retaliated deftly with a paragraph borrowed from the *Trenton True American*:

“The term Jacobin, though it continues to be fashionable among the pretended Friends of Order, is divested of its magical influence. Time has been, when the calling a Man a Jacobin, had as fatal an effect on his reputation, as calling a Dog Mad, has on his life; when it was considered a compendious Title for all the Crimes which human depravity had ever perpetrated, or to which human sagacity had affixed a name. But this Delusion has been dispelled by experience. The man opprobiously styled as Jacobins, are now acknowledged to be the most practical Christians, the most peaceable Citizens, and honest Men. And, instead of being considered by the Republicans as a term of Reproach, they regard it merely as a Substitute for Truth and Argument.”⁶¹

The Republican press was not content to remain on the defensive however. In a series of biting articles the *Intelligencer* pronounced that there were currently two political parties, the Republicans and the Antirepubli-

cans, which were the equivalent of the Whigs and Tories. Placing the Federalists securely in the latter category, the **Intelligencer** proceeded to declare that whereas the Federalists once claimed that a "Federalist is a Supporter of the Federal Executive," now that John Adams was out of a job "the Abusers of the Federal Administration are now Federalists. Their Conduct, on this occasion, draws the distinction between the real and the spurious one. The latter, though they arrogate the Name, are nevertheless implacable enemies to the Principles of genuine Federalism. A real Federalist is a real Republican. The Appellations are of synonymous import." And with the abandonment by the "Federalist" party of the principles which it had once supported, the Republicans viewed themselves as the sole remaining embodiment of true Federalist sentiment, and the erstwhile Federalists as having revealed their true colors — "old Tories," "apostates from Republicanism," and "men of desperate circumstances." Was it accidental that the "old Tories," who had opposed "the establishment of our Democratic Constitutions of Government," and "refused to pay their [Revolutionary War] Tax, for the support of the Government," had gladly rallied behind the Administration of John Adams when it demonstrated monarchical policies.

"Standing Armies and Navies, Plots and Lies, Sedition Laws and Patronage, with all their expensive and iniquitous appendages, were but experiments to explore the pulse of Society. The Elections struck terror into the most frontless Leaders of Federalism, and threw them, for a while, into despair. This last character was completely fulfilled, when, in the last agonies of expiring dominion, at the City of Washington, they opposed the Constitutional Voice of America.

"Thus Federalism made its exit from the stage of Government, in the full display of the measures, without daring to assert the name, of Monarchy. The People of America now perceive that Monarchy was the mover of the complicated machine. And I challenge the very wisest of their Politicians to define their Federalism, abstracting from Monarchy."⁶²

In contrast to the Federalists, whom they thus portrayed as riding rough-shod over the will of the populace on their ill-disguised road to monarchy, the Republicans depicted themselves as honest, temperate men eagerly pursuing the ideal of an egalitarian society in which all should be happy. The voters were advised to look "at the Republican, and you are sure to see an honest Man. He is willing that his Neighbour and his Fellow-Citizen should have an equal share, in the Affairs of the Public, with himself. The moderate Man, who has Reason for his Guide, and Conscience for his Check, is always a Republican."⁶³ In contrast to the strife which was prevalent during the rule of Adams, the Republicans pointed with pride to a government whose goals were the "Happiness of the People" and "Harmony in the intercourse of Society."⁶⁴ The "stable" and "decorous" Federalists had not produced as much.

The Federalists in the propaganda battle prior to the election of 1801 concentrated more heavily on the image of their party and matters of state politics and personalities than did the Republicans, who dwelt at greater length on national issues. A prime target of Federalist venom was Tench Coxe. On July 25, 1801, the editor of the **Journal**, William Hamilton, averred in a rather obliquely worded column that a high Republican leader had in the past several weeks executed a draft on persons in France for

the considerable sum of 800,000 livres. Hamilton stated that the money was not "secret service money; nor have we any particular reason to believe that there is anything improper in the transaction; yet we are confident, had a federalist been placed in similar circumstances, his reputation would have suffered in every part of the union, — let his defence have been ever so ample."⁶⁵ The gauntlet thus cast down was picked up gingerly by "A Civil Officer of Pennsylvania" in the following issue of the **Journal**. The officer stated that Hamilton's allegations were utterly false, and that he was able to prove his assertion, but provided no evidence to bolster his case. Hamilton, in an article printed immediately below the officer's statement, replied that the officer, whom he openly addressed as Tench Coxe, had not said in which particulars the charge was untrue, and repeated his demand for evidence.⁶⁶ The **Intelligencer** then entered the fray, heatedly charging that Hamilton's allegations were "destitute of Foundation."⁶⁷ Thus began an altercation which was to last the next two months. Hamilton pursued his reluctant opponent from all angles, accusing him simultaneously of an unhealthy "fondness for the French government, . . . [and] well known jacobinical principles," and being an "old Tory."⁶⁸ The attack was brought to a triumphant conclusion on September 26, when Hamilton announced:

"Good News—Great News—Glorious News! Let the harsh trumpet sound — ring the loud clarion and the peeling bells. Let children squall, dogs bark, cats mew, cocks crow, horses neigh, cows bellow, grogs croak, hogs grunt, pigs squeak and turkeys gabble. Let every bird and beast and creeping thing extend its lungs and roar jocundity (sic). Let the people of this once happy borough rest from their labors and join in rejoicing, for the happy event: **TENCH COXE** is to leave **LANCASTER** — in a few days, —we hope never to return."⁶⁹

Coxe must have departed with his tail between his legs.

A second Republican personality who was vigorously attacked by the Federalist press was Governor Thomas McKean. McKean had been galled bitterly by the slurs which had been cast on his character and principles during the gubernatorial election of 1799, and expressed his displeasure in no uncertain terms after his election was assured. Declaring that the opposition to his election had included "Traitors, Refugees, Tories, French aristocrats, British agents, and British subjects, and their corrupt dependants (sic), together with not a few apostate Whigs,"⁷⁰ McKean proceeded to dismiss pre-emptorily those office holders whom he believed had opposed his election, greatly irritating to the Federalists. The **Lancaster Journal** grumbled that "Purity of character, official correctness, long and meritorious services, either to the state or to the Union, have been considered alike unimportant. If the individual has a conscience not precisely co-extensive with the standards of his excellency, he is guilty of an unpardonable sin, and his democratic vengeance, equally prompt and unrelenting makes him a certain victim."⁷¹ At a later date the **Journal** accused "this proud old T*****" of giving an "outrageous insult to a peaceable citizen" on the street, an action which may only be explained by the fact that "perhaps an hour had not elapsed since the bottle was removed."⁷²

Although Hamilton (since his conversion to Federalism following the 1796 election) had found little to say of a positive nature about Jefferson for some time, he was charmed by Jefferson's gracious parting words to the Senate promising the continuation of constitutional government, and completely beguiled by his first inaugural address.⁷³ Although applauding it as a "model of eloquence," Hamilton felt that "the moderation and good temper, which it discovers, entitles it to much higher commendation. — What a dignified contrast to the petulant, intolerant, ranting, angry speeches, of governor M'Kean. . . ." However, the political creed which Jefferson set forth was singled out for highest praise. "It is sound, correct doctrine. — It is high, and I suppose, studied eulogium upon the past measures of the federal government; and a keen and sarcastic censure upon the clamours of the jacobins. — To the federalists, if he is sincere, and we ought not to doubt it, it is a source of high exultation. — To the jacobins, of cruel mortification."⁷⁴ In the comfortable glow of the post election period, Hamilton adopted Jefferson's phrase—"We are all Republicans—We are all Federalists" as the motto for the **Journal**.⁷⁵

The honeymoon was short-lived, and the **Journal** soon began listing those Federalists who were "Dismissed from office by the President of the United States, on account of their political opinions. . . ." ⁷⁶ Hamilton complained that the Jeffersonians were showing no moderation in their patronage policy, and asked:

"is federalism, though it seems 'we are all federalists, all republicans,' is federalism in credit with their party, or is it even tolerated by them? Are they not more than ever virulent against the federalists as a body, against their late administration of government, and even against any poor soul in office, whose bread of office is now bitter in his mouth with its dread of being snatched from him . . . these things shew a spirit of violence beyond any thing ever exhibited in our country. They shew a fixed resolution to carry matters with a high hand."⁷⁷

Although he had long known Jefferson to be a lout, Hamilton complained that Jefferson's smooth talking upon his accession to the presidency had caused him to feel that constitutional principles would not be abandoned. But

"we have seen those virtuous principles abandoned. We have seen rancour shut the eye of benignity and affection, break the balances of justice, command the tongue to thunder the declamation of determined vengeance, and the arm of fatal power to execute it. These are the first boilings of the 'tempestuous sea of liberty.' "⁷⁸

Jefferson was further castigated for the expense and dishonor involved in ordering that Tom Paine be brought back to the United States in a national vessel, and for interfering in the Duane trial in Philadelphia by issuing a writ of **nolle prosequi**.⁷⁹ The two Federalist papers in the county resurrected a Jeffersonian statement in the **Notes on Virginia** describing the detrimental effects of unrestricted immigration upon domestic political stability for vastly differing purposes. The **Journal** credited Jefferson with "discernment [which] amounts to a spirit of prophecy," and commented bitterly that the immigrants "are nine in ten insurgents against all regular government; and nineteen in twenty atheists and deists."⁸⁰ The **Staats-bothe**, on the other hand, capitalized on Jefferson's statement by castigating him for his insulting reference to immigrant behavior.⁸¹

The *Intelligencer* dealt with the charge in which the Federalists vent the greatest amount of spleen, that of the dismissals from office, by pointing out that John Adams also had dismissed those whom he considered to be his opponents, and that the discontent of the Federalists "serves only to show, that their political Principles are wholly governed by pecuniary Interest; that Ambition is with them a substitute for Patriotism; and that the same acts which they approved, when committed by Mr. Adams, they censure in Mr. Jefferson."⁸²

In addition, the Republican press made profitable use of a glaring Federalist *faux pas*. On September 26 the *Journal* reprinted a letter to the editor of the *Washington Federalist* concerning the current state of Pennsylvania politics. It claimed that

"Muhlenberg has the Germans in his favor, a numerous body, but ignorant, unsuspecting and credulous to a proverb. Let Duane ply them well with lies for three months previous to the next election, and the work is done. The Germans are the most industrious inhabitants of the states; but the ignus fatuus of liberty, the popular cant of the Aurora, perverts their honest minds, and will at any time make them subservient to the basest views."⁸³

A letter in the *Intelligencer* on September 30, signed "A DUTCHMAN" cried "How long will the Germans bear such insults!"⁸⁴ Editor William Dickson responded with greater point a week later.

"... a few days ago, the People of this County (I say the People of this County; for they are chiefly Germans) were called in the [*Journal*], ignorant Dutchmen. Is there any German in the County so lost to the feelings of a Man, or even the forms of a Gentleman, as to submit to be at once the Object and Dupe of such complicated Insults and Artifice. It was enough, if it could be done, in the most stretching policy, to have deceived him with the specious Name of Federalism: But it was too much, to add Insult to Treachery. The understanding of a respectable Class of Citizens is arraigned! The *doctum doctorum* of Federalism has passed sentence on their 'Ignorance!' What a *pas*."

"The Germans, I trust, will claim the privileges of their Birth, and assert the Rights of their Government, on the day of Election. They will prove, that those who have wantonly abused their Character, shall not obtain their Confidence and Support. They know well, that good Government constitutes the Happiness of Society; and that those who, unprovoked, affix invidious and national Aspersions, adopt them as a malignant Alternative, when Deception has lost its Charm; and their attacks upon the wholesome measures of our Government, evince nothing but their Virulence and Impotence."⁸⁵

Hamilton, attempting to squirm out of the uncomfortable position into which he had unwittingly stumbled, retorted vitriolically.

"Dickson wishes to impress the public with an idea that I hold the Germans to be ignorant. It is to be regretted that some of them have been so ignorant as to be duped by the oily tongues of office hunters: but even those possess too much honesty to go to the lengths of the party. It is however extraordinary to hear Dickson preach about enmity to Germans, when there is not perhaps a greater foe to all Germans whatever. He is of Irish connections, residing in a neighborhood where the Germans are foolishly and wickedly despised unless at the moment of craving their votes. In this situation what friendship is supposed Mr. Dickson can possess for the Germans."

"The situation is directly the reverse with me. Married into one of the first German families in the county, with very extensive German connections, it is not reasonable to suppose I would be willing to abuse them. But the fact is, Dickson knows I have 600 German subscribers, while he has not 100, and he would very gladly make the 600 discontented with my paper."

"The Germans compose two-thirds of the state industry and the wealth of the state. They are honest and virtuous. It is to them we must greatly look for assistance in checking the ruinous system of jacobinism. We trust that they will not remain at home on the day of election on any account whatever."⁸⁶

It is not known whether the German voters responded to this elaborate kowtow. The Republican German-language paper, the **Correspondent**, surprisingly made no mention of the incident. Nor were any appeals by either party directed to the conscientious objectors (Mennonites and Quakers) in Lancaster County, although in the 1808 election the Federalists made a concerted attempt to influence the votes of "the People Religiously Scrupulous of Bearing Arms."⁸⁷

The chief concern of the Republican press in the 1801 election, however, was the national issues. The country, according to the **Intelligencer**, had been in serious trouble under the Adams regime, but was now enjoying a period of unprecedented "peace and prosperity." Under the Federalists, "the Trumpet of War was blown through every corner of our Land," and as a result "our money was extorted, without consideration, and lavished, without discretion."⁸⁸ Furthermore the

"new taxes levied, the large loans raised, the immense addition to the Public Debt created, and the innumerable unnecessary Offices formed, during the four years of Mr. Adams' Presidency, prove the Extravagancy and Profligacy of the late Administration, and evince its total disregard to the Welfare of the People at large; provided its particular Friends and Favorites could amass Wealth and acquire Power."⁸⁹

The error of these measures was compounded by the Sedition Act, which forbade Americans "to speak Truth, under the penalty of Fine and Imprisonment."⁹⁰

The Jeffersonian administration, however, was pictured as having ushered in a new era of free and responsible government. Under the guidance of a prudent President, "the danger of a foreign and domestic War has long vanished from the peaceful clime of America."⁹¹ As a result, there are no "standing Armies to support, at the expense of 2,000,000 of Dollars per year; with the corruption of the Morals of our Citizens." Furthermore, the nation was asserted to be prospering both agriculturally and commercially. The "Agriculture is not impoverished by the abduction of its hands to parade in mercenary Corps at the nod of a Tyrant. The Farmer, in the abundant harvest of his labour, rests at ease under his own vine and fig-tree; while peace and harmony hover round his unoffending cot, and the growing demand for his produce amply compensates his toil." The commerce of the nation was flourishing, "in security, through every clime, without the support of a Navy, except a few frigates in the Mediterranean." The national government was conducted with "salutary frugality." Whereas "Mr. Adams strengthened himself and enriched his Friends, by impoverishing and oppressing the People; Mr. Jefferson's attention is wholly directed to lessening the national Expense, lightening the public burdens, and thus increasing the happiness of his Fellow-citizens generally . . ." The inspectors required to collect the direct tax were relieved of their employment, at a saving of \$19,000 per year, and "two foreign Embassies, a part of the pageantry of the last Administration, have been lopped off."

"Every man is allowed the free exercise of his own political Opinion, and the sociable communication of that Opinion to others, without insult, violence, or danger. Harmony in the intercourse of Society is cherished; Enmity to political Opponents is banished; past Outrages forgotten; and Reconciliation invited."

Happy days were here again, and the voters were requested to give their stamp of approval to that which had been done "that their Interest and their Prosperity may be completed."

A third major area of contention in the Lancaster newspapers during the summer and autumn of 1801 was that of the candidates which had been nominated to fill Lancaster County's quota of six state assemblymen, one county commissioner, and three directors of the poor. The Republicans presented the voters with a ticket consisting of four Germans, two Scotch-Irish, one Englishman, one Welshman, and two of uncertain ethnic origins, but said little about them. The voters were informed merely that the nominees were "Men whose Talents are adequate to the several Stations for which they are proposed. Their Integrity is unimpeachable. They are faithful to the Principles of our happy Governments."⁹²

The Federalists, in contrast, dwelt at considerably greater length upon the virtues of their candidates. In recommending a slate consisting of three Germans, three Scotch-Irish, one Englishman, and three of uncertain extraction, the Federalists claimed that they had "been governed by no local considerations, but have nominated characters in whose patriotism and zeal, for the public good, our fellow-citizens may safely confide."⁹³ In an election day extra, the **Journal** set forth the credentials of the Federalist assembly candidates in greater detail. General Edward Hand was depicted as an "old and well-tried patriot" and Revolutionary War hero to whom "we are chiefly indebted for our success in capturing the Hessians at Trenton." General Hand was "one of the most active officers under General Washington, who always placed implicit confidence in him, and continued to be his intimate friend till the lamentable period of his death. . . . [General Hand] has received and amply improved a classical education. He possesses sound judgment, a virtuous and benevolent heart." The other candidates were dealt with in a more summary fashion, the elements of experience, education and honesty being most frequently emphasized. John Miller had served as sheriff and state senator, and was widely recognized as a "truly upright man. . . . [who] is well acquainted with the interests of the county. . . ." Daniel Buckley was "an old and well known member," Brice Clark a "good, honest man. . . . [who] served the country some years ago, in the assembly, with honor," and Patterson Bell "a true whig [who] served in the American cause at the age of nineteen" and who had received "a regular and classical education." Charles Smith was presented as a "lawyer of considerable eminence. In the present period of political perversion his talents as a speaker may be of essential service."⁹⁴

The Republican press took a dim view of the Federalist candidates. Noting that in 1796 Hamilton of the **Journal** had characterized Charles Smith as a man of virulent disposition who had made himself the "Opposer of the Rights of the Citizen," Dickson asserted that Smith and Hamilton had now become "yoke-fellows in the Federal Vineyard. Until we are convinced their Union has been the fruit of their Virtues, we must set a Watch

on the Conjunction.”⁹⁵ The **Correspondent** expressed distrust of Smith because he was a lawyer, and therefore capable of cleverly defending bad causes.⁹⁶ General Hand was one of nineteen Federalist revenue inspectors who had been deprived of their useless positions by Jeffersonian frugality, and he was placed on the Federalist ticket “with an intent to show the President that he has acted wrong, in this plan of his Economy.”⁹⁷ Patterson Bell was also to be regarded with suspicion because of his ties to the Federalist cause through the bonds of patronage, and Brice Clark and Daniel Buckley were constant opponents of both Jefferson and the Republican policies in general. The Republicans attacked John Miller with extreme care, however. As the sole German on the Federalist ticket running for the state assembly, the **Correspondent** credited Miller with “unspotted rectitude in private life,” a man to whom “we cannot deny our respect and love as a neighbor and citizen” but who had unfortunately supported the Adams administration during his term as state senator.⁹⁸

The **Journal** dealt curtly with the Republican slate of candidates.

“Of all the democratic candidates, not one, we believe, has ever belonged to any public body. Several of them, have scarcely any education, one of them can scarcely write his name in English. We shall say nothing against the characters of Messrs. Steele, Roberts, Cooke, or Kaufman as honest men—but we wish them possessed of more talents and information, before they get into the assembly. As to Mr. Hambright, it is impossible that any decent man, who knows his character, can vote for him; and as to Mr. Mohler, there is a very odd story going about in his neighborhood, which we have only in part from a respectable source. It amounts to his being a cheat and a swindler.”⁹⁹

Not being content with this general defamation of “THE great general Henry Hambright,” the **Journal** pointed out that he was an unprincipled office hunter whose language was uncouth, “as might be expected from a man bred upon a tanyard among negroes.” Totally unstable in private life, he had “pursued one of his neighbors with a naked scythe” and was generally an unscrupulous nasty man.¹⁰⁰

The party images established, election issues debated, and candidates criticized, the two parties prepared to go to the polls. Both parties appealed for careful and disinterested consideration of the merits of each side. A Republican appealed to the farm vote asserting that farmers too often allow themselves to be dominated by those who adopt patronizing attitudes toward them. “By these means you will, indeed, merit the application of the ‘swinish Multitude!’ tacitly acknowledging that there is a race of Beings superior to your selves, whose minds, more enlightened, better qualify the possessors to manage the intricate springs of Government, and promote your welfare!) But, away with such aristocratical Ideas.” The essence of good government is in fact uncomplicated, and “‘Quite comprehensible to the meanest understanding.’” The Lancaster County farmers were therefore urged to scrutinize the facts, and to determine carefully where their best interests lay.¹⁰¹ The Federalists, meanwhile, while urging “the federal republicans . . . [to] exert themselves this day in the common cause of preserving the country from the rapacious and destructive grasp of jacobinism,” reaffirmed their faith that “the federal republican ticket will succeed beyond what it has at any former period.”¹⁰²

The election was held on Tuesday, October 13, 1801, at six polling centers throughout the county. A Republican victory soon became evident. Although the **Intelligencer** on October 14 expressed this view with some caution, on October 17 the **Correspondent** exploded with jubilation:

"Triumph! Triumph! Triumph! Truth, virtue, and republicanism have conquered, Lancaster County need no longer bear the shame of being called the Tory county. The last election day has shown that the betrayer and liar and monarchical British printer can no longer lead the inhabitants of the county around by the nose and instill the belief that aristocrats and lawyers know more about what is good for the farmer, than the farmer himself. Der Herr hat uns geholfen . . ."¹⁰³

Federalist reaction was officially suspicious. The **Journal** stated:

"We have endeavored, in vain, to get an exact return of the late election in this county. We can only at present state, that all the democratic candidates, except col. Hambright, have succeeded in the election. John Miller for representative, is the only federal man elected. We shall not at this time, attempt to trace the causes of federal defection. It is, however, not amiss to mention that a number of ILLEGAL votes were received in the borough box; and at Elizabethtown, Irishmen and others, paid a tax which was never assessed on them, and voted."¹⁰⁴

The Republican candidates, with the exception of Hambright, had made a clean sweep of the election, triumphing throughout the county by margins ranging from approximately 140 to 190 votes. The discipline of party voting was less strict than in other Lancaster County elections, with the leeway between votes given by an election district to the different candidates of each party at times being quite large. The most extreme example of this is evident in the defeat of Henry Hambright; whereas the fifth election district (Cocalico and Elizabeth townships) was giving his Republican confreres between 238 and 242 votes each, Hambright was inexplicably able to secure only 105. Elsewhere his totals compared favorably with those of the other Republican candidates.¹⁰⁵ As a result of Hambright's fall the Federalist candidate with the highest total of votes, the German John Miller, was sent to the assembly along with the five Republicans. In any event, the election was an impressive triumph for Republicanism in a stronghold of Federalism.

The Republican victory is difficult to explain. The Federalist candidates were better known throughout the county, and could certainly boast a more impressive background of public service than could the Republican candidates. By 1801 the Federalists had developed political techniques which were largely equivalent to those of the Republicans. The total vote of the 1801 election was similar to that of most off-year elections, evidencing neither a popular surge which might explain the move toward Republicanism, nor a significant drop in the number of votes cast, thus enabling a well-disciplined minority of Republican enthusiasts to triumph over their complacent opponents.

If the Republican victories between 1801 and 1804 in Lancaster County are to be accounted for, it seems to the writer that they must be viewed in the light of a wider trend toward Republicanism throughout the nation. McKean's success in the gubernatorial campaign of 1799, followed closely by Jefferson's victory in 1800, had set the stage for a similar Republican **coup** in Lancaster County in 1801. The program of the new administration, except for the dismissals of Federalists from office, elicited but a weak

rejoinder from the Federalist press and apparently the Jeffersonian program, accompanied by "peace and prosperity" for the nation in fact as well as in slogan, was nearly as popular in the Lancaster area as it was elsewhere. Strong as was the residual strength of Lancaster County Federalism, it was momentarily unable to compete with the tremendous groundswell of Republican sentiment.

The Republican ascendancy in Lancaster County was not to last, however. Successful at the polls through the election of 1804, the Republicans were toppled by a resurgent Federalism in 1805 and, despite a brief **renaissance** of power in 1810-11, were to remain harmlessly in the background until the mid-1820s, while the Federalists further developed their political organization and broadened the base of their power. Lancaster County was basically a Federalist county, and was to remain so, the protests of the **Intelligencer** notwithstanding.

This paper has merely scratched the surface of Lancaster County politics during the years 1799-1810. Several of its conclusions, especially those referring to the degree of German participation in politics and the relatively optimistic nature of the county's Federalism, are frankly based on incomplete evidence and invite further testing and perhaps refutation. An adequate treatment of the parties' positions on the various election issues would have to deal with a far broader sampling of the journalism of the period than this writer has had time to do. By limiting his attention to the election of 1801 the writer has been able to learn something about the way in which the parties viewed themselves and the election issue which were prevalent in the parties' reaction to and development in a given election, but the broad sweep of the first decade of the nineteenth century is of necessity missing from this paper. Other subjects, such as the strength of Quiddism in Lancaster County, or the reactions of the presses of an inland city to the Anglo-French-American hassles leading up to the War of 1812, would prove both interesting and instructive. The writer feels, however, that his conclusions on the voting preferences of the townships, and therefore of the various ethnic groups, are both valid and illustrative of a wider trend throughout the nation.

NOTES

1. Wayland F. Dunaway, "Pennsylvania as an Early Distributing Center of Population," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**, LXVI (1942), p. 135; A. G. Seyfert, "Migration of Mennonites of Lancaster County to Waterloo County, Ontario, Canada, 1800-1825," **Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society**, XXX (1926), *passim*; H. W. Kriebel, "German Migrations in the United States and Canada," **The Pennsylvania-German**, VIII (1907), pp. 3-4.
2. The estimates of the ethnic composition of the townships has been based upon a perusal of names contained in the tax assessment lists preserved in the Lancaster County Historical Society, and from the "1800 Census Population Schedules, Lancaster County," **National Archives Microfilm**. Of significant assistance has been H. F. Barker, "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by Surnames in the Census of 1790," **American Historical Association**, Annual Report, 1931, I (Washington, 1932), *passim*.

3. County population statistics have been drawn from Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, **History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania** (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 358-9. **Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1857** (Washington, 1960) has provided the statewide figures. A further study of the relationship between population growth and political alignment on the township level would be useful. In a brief examination of the 1800 census listings in comparison with Ellis and Evans' township figures for 1810, it was discovered that the strongly Federalist area of Caernarvon and Earl townships evidenced growth rates of but 14% as compared to Republican Colerain's increment of approximately 20%. As the growth rates of these substantially rural townships are (on incomplete evidence) apparently significantly smaller than the county-wide total of 24%, it may be surmised that the most rapidly growing area of the county during this period was the Lancaster borough area, which generally voted Federalist by a slight margin.
4. **Lancaster Journal** (henceforth **Journal**), October 17, 1801; October 23, 1802; October 22, 1803; October 19, 1804.
5. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1805.
6. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1810.
7. As all elections were determined by the total votes of the county, the local districts had significance only as convenient places for the voters to meet, and lacked any other political function.
8. **Journal**, October 28, 1808.
9. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1810.
10. Shaw Livermore, Jr., **The Twilight of Federalism** (Princeton, 1962) pp. 4-6.
11. Election returns have been drawn from the following newspapers: **Journal**, October 19, 1799; October 25, 1800; October 17, 1801; October 23, 1802; October 12, 1803; October 19, 1804; October 18, 1805; October 23, 1807; October 28, 1808; October 17, 1809; October 20, 1810; **Der Americanische Staatsbothe, und Lancaster Anzeigs-Nachrichten** (henceforth **Staatsbothe**), October 29, 1806.
12. For this point of view see Robert L. Brunhouse, **The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790** (Harrisburg, 1942), p. 2; C. H. Martin, "Early Presidential Elections in Lancaster County," **Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society**, XLVI (1943), p. 93.
13. Statewide voting percentages are drawn from J. R. Pole, "Election Statistics in Pennsylvania, 1790-1840," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**, LXXXII (1958), p. 219. In obtaining the percentage figures for Strasburg (1810) and Donegal (1811) townships the tax assessment lists in the Lancaster County Historical Society and the voting results contained in the newspapers cited above have been utilized. The tax assessment list for Martic township (1807) has been conveniently reproduced in Ellis and Evans, p. 972.
14. Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, and Alex. Harris, **A Biographical History of Lancaster County** (Lancaster, Pa., 1872).
15. Howard F. Barker, *op. cit.*, has provided invaluable assistance in the identification of personal nomenclature.
16. **Journal**, August 24, 1799; September 25, 1799.
17. *Ibid.*, August 24; August 31; September 11; September 25, 1799.
18. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1799.
19. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1803.
20. *Ibid.*, August 30; September 6; September 27, 1800.
21. **Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser** (henceforth **Intelligencer**), August 26, 1801.
22. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1801.
23. *Ibid.*, September 6; September 20, 1808.
24. **Journal**, August 26; September 2, 1808.
25. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1808.
26. **Intelligencer**, August 16, 1808.
27. **Journal**, August 19, 1808.
28. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1808.
29. Philip S. Klein, "Early Lancaster County Politics, 1814-1829," **Pennsylvania History**, III (1936), pp. 100-2.
30. Samuel Eliot Morison, **The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis**, I (Boston, 1913), pp. 289-296.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

33. **Intelligencer**, August 7, 1804.
34. **Ibid.**, August 19, 1801; June 28, 1808.
35. **Journal**, July 11, 1801.
36. **Intelligencer**, July 15, 1801.
37. **Ibid.**, August 19, 1801.
38. **Journal**, October 18, 1801.
39. **Ibid.**, October 10, 1801.
40. **Ibid.**, August 19, 1808; Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
41. **Ibid.**, March 28, April 18, 1801.
42. **Ibid.**, October 10, 1801.
43. **Staatsbothe**, September 30, 1801; **Der Lancaster Correspondent** (henceforth **Correspondent**), August 8; August 22, 1801.
44. **Journal**, March 28, 1801.
45. **Ibid.**, July 11; October 17, 1801.
46. **Ibid.**, August 29; March 24, 1801.
47. **Ibid.**, August 29, 1801.
48. **Ibid.**, July 11; March 28, 1801.
49. **Ibid.**, August 29, 1801.
50. **Ibid.**, September 26, 1801.
51. **Ibid.**, August 29, 1801.
52. **Ibid.**, September 26, 1801.
53. **New England Palladium**, quoted in **Journal**, September 12, 1801.
54. **Journal**, September 26; March 7, 1801.
55. Quoted from **New England Palladium** in **Journal**, September 12, 1801.
56. **Journal**, March 7, 1801.
57. **Ibid.**, February 21, 1801.
58. **Ibid.**, September 12, 1801.
59. **Ibid.**, October 10, 1801.
60. **Ibid.**
61. **Trenton True American**, quoted in **Intelligencer**, September 16, 1801.
62. **Intelligencer**, August 12; August 5; October 7, 1801.
63. **Ibid.**, August 5, 1801.
64. **Ibid.**, September 23, 1801.
65. **Journal**, July 25, 1801.
66. **Ibid.**, August 1, 1801.
67. **Intelligencer**, August 5, 1801.
68. **Journal**, September 5, 1801.
69. **Ibid.**, September 26, 1801.
70. Cited in S. W. Higginbotham, **The Keystone in the Democratic Arch** (Harrisburg, 1952), p. 27.
71. **Journal**, February 28, 1801.
72. **Ibid.**, August 8, 1801.
73. **Ibid.**, March 10; April 18, 1801.
74. **Ibid.**, April 18, 1801.
75. **Ibid.**, April 27, 1801.
76. **Ibid.**, August 15, 1801.
77. **Ibid.**, August 22, 1801.
78. **Ibid.**, September 26, 1801.
79. **Ibid.**, September 19; September 25, 1801.
80. **Ibid.**, May 9; September 12, 1801.
81. **Staatsbothe**, September 30, 1801.
82. **Intelligencer**, August 12, 1801.
83. **Journal**, September 26, 1801.
84. **Intelligencer**, September 30, 1801.
85. **Ibid.**, October 7, 1801.
86. **Journal**, October 10, 1801.
87. **Ibid.**, October 3, 1808.
88. **Intelligencer**, October 7, 1801.
89. **Ibid.**, September 23, 1801.
90. **Ibid.**, October 7, 1801.
91. This and the following citations are drawn from **Intelligencer**, September 23; and October 7, 1801.
92. **Intelligencer**, September 23, 1801.

93. **Journal**, October 10, 1801.
94. The above descriptions are drawn from **Journal**, October 13, 1801.
95. **Intelligencer**, October 7, 1801.
96. **Correspondent**, October 10, 1801.
97. **Intelligencer**, October 7, 1801.
98. **Correspondent**, September 26; October 10, 1801.
99. **Journal**, October 10, 1801.
100. **Ibid.**
101. **Intelligencer**, October 7, 1801.
102. **Journal**, October 13; October 10, 1801.
103. **Intelligencer**, October 14, 1801; **Correspondent**, October 17, 1801.
104. **Journal**, October 17, 1801.
105. Voting totals from **Journal**, October 24, 1801.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

- 1800 Census Population Schedules, Lancaster County, National Archives Microfilm.
- Tax Assessment Lists, various townships of Lancaster County, ca. 1800.
Assorted bundles in the Lancaster County Historical Society.
- Der Americanische Staatsbothe, und Lancaster Anzeigs-Nachrichten.**
- Lancaster Correspondent.**
- Lancaster Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser.**
- Lancaster Journal**

B. Secondary Sources

- Barker, Howard F., "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by Surnames in the Census of 1790," **Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1931**, v. I, Washington, 1932.
- Brunhouse, Robert L., **The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790**, Harrisburg, 1942.
- Dorpalen, Andreas, "The German Element in Early Pennsylvania Politics, 1789-1800, A Study in Americanization," **Pennsylvania History**, IX (1942).
-, "The Political Influence of the German Element in Colonial America," **Pennsylvania History**, VI (1938).
- Dunaway, Wayland F., "Early Welsh Settlers in Pennsylvania," **Pennsylvania History**, XII, (1945).
-, "The French Racial Strain in Colonial Pennsylvania," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**, LIII (1929).
-, "Pennsylvania as an Early Distributing Center of Population," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**, LV (1931).
- Ellis, Franklin, and Samuel Evans, **History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania**, Philadelphia, 1883.
- Eshleman, H. Frank, "The Meaning of Lancaster County's Two Hundred Years of History, 1710-1910," **The Pennsylvania-German**, XII (1911).
- Harris, Alex., **A Biographical History of Lancaster County**, Lancaster, Pa., 1872.
- Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957**, Washington, D.C., 1960.
- Higginbotham, Sanford W., **The Keystone of the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800-1816**, Harrisburg, 1952.
- Johnson, W. T., "Some Aspects of the Relation of the Government and German Settlers in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1683-1754," **Pennsylvania History**, XI (1944).
- Klein, Philip S., "Early Lancaster County Politics, 1814-1829," **Pennsylvania History**, III (1936).

- Klett, Guy S., "The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians Along the Susquehanna River," **Pennsylvania History**, XX (1953).
- Krebiel, H. W., "German Migrations in the United States and Canada," **The Pennsylvania-German**, VIII (1907).
- Livermore, Shaw, Jr., **The Twilight of Federalism**, Princeton, 1962.
- Martin, C. H., "Early Presidential Elections in Lancaster County," **Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society**, XLVI (1943).
- Morison, Samuel Eliot, **The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis**, I, Boston, 1913.
- Pole, J. R., "Election Statistics in Pennsylvania, 1790-1840," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**, LXXXII (1958).
- Rothermund, Dietmar, "The German Problem in Colonial Pennsylvania," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**, LXXXIV (1960).
- Seyfert, A. G., "Migration of Mennonites of Lancaster County to Waterloo County, Ontario, Canada, 1800-1825," **Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society**, XXX (1926).
- Tinkcom, Harry M., **The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801**, Harrisburg, 1950.
-

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Alan Kreider of Goshen, Indiana, was born into a family to which scholarly research was second nature. Alan has been studying at Princeton University, and will spend the summer of 1963 at the University of Heidelberg in Germany.