

NOTES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Preface

1. On racism, see Winthrop D. Jordan's *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago, 1961); William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-1859* (Chicago, 1966); Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, 1967); Leonard L. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing": *Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York, 1970).
On political opportunism and party management see Moisei Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, Vol. II, translated from the French by Frederick Clarke (New York, 1902); James Parton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. III, (New York, 1860); Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1966), *The Election of Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1963), and *Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party* (New York, 1959); Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* (Chapel Hill, 1966); Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840* (Berkeley, 1969); and Michael Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815-1828," *American Historical Review*, LXXIV (December, 1968), 453-91.
2. Michael A. Lebowitz, "The Jacksonians: Paradox Lost?" in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History* (New York, 1967), 69.
3. John Higham, with Leonard Krieger and Felix Gilbert, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1965) 171-97.
4. *Ibid.*, 179.
5. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), 43.
6. *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948).
7. *Ibid.*, 56-67.
8. Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *American Historical Review*, LXV (January, 1960), 288-301, was as responsible for the breakthrough as any. At the same time, however, McCormick was still occupied with an economic view in "Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments: A Study in Voter Behavior," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (December, 1959), 397-410.
9. Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York As a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961) 332-333. Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861* (Princeton, 1972). Formisano studied under Benson at Wayne State University. Richard P. McCormick, "Party Formation in New Jersey in the Jacksonian Era," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LXXXIII (1965), 161-173, touched on socio-economic cleavages in that state from 1824 to 1834.
10. For a similar study in another state, see Alexandra McCoy, "Political Affiliations of American Economic Elites: Wayne County, Michigan, 1844, 1860, As a Test Case" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1965). McCoy, another of Benson's students, concluded the elite had an economic interest that they translated into political action but were conditioned to an even greater extent by religion and culture. Frank O. Gatell, "Money and Party in Jacksonian America: A Quantitative Look at New York City's Men of Quality," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXII (June, 1967), 235-52, effectively dissents from McCoy's view.
11. John W. Ward, "The Age of the Common Man," in John Higham, ed., *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York, 1962), 96-97.
12. Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850*, Vol. III of *The History of the State of Ohio*, edited by Carl Wittke (Columbus, 1941).

13. Statistically, any inferences made from this data were valid only for the thirty counties. But since these counties were geographically spaced throughout the state they might be used, with caution, to suggest conclusions about the nature of Ohio politics.

1. Historians & Class Identity

1. Parton, Andrew Jackson, III, 699.
2. *The American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science*, I, January 1845, 95, as quoted in Douglas T. Miller, ed., *The Nature of Jacksonian America* (New York, Inc., 1972), 70.
3. *Ohio Star* (Ravenna), Sept. 9, 1830.
4. *Daily Cincinnati Chronicle*, Sept. 6, 1845.
5. *Western Herald & Steubenville Gazette*, April 20, 1831.
6. Daniel Aaron, "Cincinnati, 1818-1838: A Study of Attitudes in the Urban West" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1942), 21.
7. On the need for this kind of approach to historical concepts, see Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, *Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research* (New York, 1971), 15-23.
8. Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Beliefs* (Stanford, 1957), was the most convincing demonstration of the class-as-community concept. Still, Meyers admits that "the rich generally appear to have been disproportionately anti-Jacksonian." (139). For further examples of the Jacksonian appeal to virtue and a restoration of old republican 'morality,' see Miller, *Jacksonian America*, and Joseph L. Blau, ed., *Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy: Representative Writings of the Period 1825-1850* (Indianapolis, 1954).
9. Schlesinger, *Age of Jackson*, 339.
10. *Ibid.*, 306, 312-313.
11. Richard J. Jensen, "The Development of Quantitative Historiography in America," St. Louis, 1967, 1 (mimeographed), much of which was published in Jensen's "American Election Analysis: A Case History of Methodological Innovation and Diffusion," in *Politics and the Social Sciences*, ed. by Seymour Martin Lipset (New York, 1969), 226-43, and in Dollar and Jensen, *Historian's Guide to Statistics*, 3-7.
12. J. Franklin Jameson, "An Introduction to the Study of the Constitutional and Political History of the States," *Johns Hopkins University Series in History and Political Science*, IV (1886), 190-91, as quoted in Jensen, "Quantitative Historiography," 4.
13. Jensen, "Quantitative Historiography," 4.
14. *Ibid.*, 7.
15. *Ibid.*, 8-10.
16. Jensen, "Quantitative Historiography," 10-11. Works by Turner included: *The Significance of Sections* (1932), and *The United States: 1830-1850* (1935); Charles O. Paullin and John K. Wright, eds., *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington, 1932), had been planned by Jameson and Turner for a quarter-century; and Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, 1959). Allan G. Bogue has said of Curti's work that it was important that an established intellectual historian turned to quantification which lent it greater respectability ("United States: The 'New' Political History," *Journal of Contemporary History*, III [January, 1968], 17).
17. Jensen, "Quantitative Historiography," 11.
18. Turner, *The United States*, 13. For a more recent study that inadequately resurrects much of Turner's physiography, see Donald B. Cole, "The Presidential Election of 1832 in New Hampshire," *Historical New Hampshire*, XXI (Winter, 1966), 33-50.
19. Turner, *The United States*, 6-7, 116, 261-62, 287, 324-25, 414, 579, acknowledges ethnic and religious factors.
20. Jensen, "Quantitative Historiography," 12-15. Jensen lists correlation coefficients, sampling, time series trending, and measures of dispersion and

association as modern techniques. He also believes that the failure of the Turner tradition stemmed from Turner's neglect to communicate his ideas through publication. Jensen's essay emphasizes the importance of personal communication among historians, lest Turner's failure be repeated.

21. Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1913 and 1935), 1-4, 6; Benson, Turner and Beard, 95-96.
22. Lee Benson, *Turner and Beard: American Historical Writing Reconsidered* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960), 95, 116.
23. Beard, *Economic Interpretation*, 17-18.
24. Benson, Turner and Beard, 152-74.
25. Beard, *Economic Interpretation*, 283, 310-12, 16-17.
26. Benson, Turner and Beard, 154-55.
27. Fox, *Decline of Aristocracy*, 424. In an earlier work, "The Negro Vote in Old New York," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXII (June, 1917), Fox stated that "The Federalist Party was the party of the aristocracy." (253). Significantly, his authority for such a declaration was Charles A. Beard's, *Economic Interpretation of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1915). If it were true, as Fox said, that blacks in New York were Whigs "because their fathers had been Federalists," he implied that the same political translation was no more difficult for white Federalists (275).
28. Fox, *Decline of Aristocracy*, 430.
29. *Ibid.*, 43, 430-445.
30. *Ibid.*, 436. Negro suffrage was treated extensively in Fox's "The Negro Vote in Old New York," 254, 275.
31. Fox, "The Negro Vote in Old New York," 254, 275.
32. *Ibid.*, 254, 263-264, 274.
33. *Ibid.*, 437.
34. Henry R. Mueller, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1922) 244-45.
35. Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, ed. by Guy Stanton Ford (New York, 1910; reprinted, New York, 1951) 208-09.
36. Henry H. Simms, *The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia, 1824-1840* (Richmond, 1929) 36, as quoted in cave, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians*, 45.
37. Murray, *The Whig Party in Georgia, 1825-1853* (Chapel Hill, 1948) 179.
38. McWhiney, "Were the Whigs a Class Party in Alabama?" *Journal of Southern History*, XXIII (November, 1957), 512-13, 521-522. "Spearman's r" compares two variables which have been ranked according to intensity or frequency.
39. McWhiney, "Alabama Whigs," 514-21.
40. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854* (Gainesville, 1959), 63-67, 69-71.
41. Schlesinger, *Age of Jackson*, 143, 158, 209.
42. The earliest and most explicit challenge to Schlesinger was Joseph Dorfman, "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis," *American Historical Review*, LIV (January, 1949), 296-306. Professor Dorfman's conclusions were originally delivered as a paper at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1946.
43. Richard B. Morris, "Andrew Jackson, Strikebreaker," *American Historical Review*, LV (October, 1949), 54-68; William A. Sullivan, "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?" *Political Science Quarterly*, LXII (December, 1947), 569-80.
44. Edward Pessen, "Did Labor Support Jackson?: The Boston Story," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIV (June, 1949), 262-74. Pessen attributed Democratic success in 1832 to the presence of new voters among the workingmen who temporarily united with the Democrats on the Bank question. He fails, however, to note that nonworking-class wards also had new voters in 1832 who voted Democratic (268).
45. Bower, "Note on 'Did Labor Support Jackson?: The Boston Story,'" *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV (September, 1950), 441-44; n. 1, 443. Bower was a sociologist whose expertise in techniques of analysis was a result of his association with Paul F. Lazarsfeld at the Bureau of Applied Research, one of the pioneers of modern voting research. Bower's statistical device was the Pearson product-moment correlation co-efficient. For a description, see

- Kenneth R. Hammond and James E. Householder, *Introduction to the Statistical Method: Foundation and Use in the Behavioral Sciences* (New York, 1962), 174-216.
46. Key, *A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists* (New York, 1954), 123-124.
 47. William A. Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840* (Harrisburg, 1955); Rayback, review of *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840*, by William A. Sullivan, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (September, 1956), 311-12.
 48. Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837* (Stanford, 1960), 203-214. Hugins went beyond Fox (thanks to Bower's critique of Pessen) and evaluated the distribution of voting in each ward.
 49. McCormick, "Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments," 397-409.
 50. Benson, Turner Beard, 160. A delightful and much-needed perspective was restored to the Beard tradition in Paul Goodman's review of Carl Becker on *History and the American Revolution*, Robert E. Brown (East Lansing, 1970), in the *Journal of American History* LVIII (June, 1971), 140-42.
 51. Potter, "Explicit Data and Implicit Assumptions in Historical Study," in *Generalization in the Writing of History*, ed. by Louis Gottschalk (Chicago, 1963), 179.
 52. *Ibid.*, 180-81, 189-90.

2. Ohio: Early History & Politics

1. Homer C. Hockett, "Western Influences on Political Parties to 1828: An Essay in Historical Interpretation," *The Ohio State University Bulletin*, XXII (Aug., 1917), 9.
2. William T. Utter, *Frontier State, 1803-1825*, Vol. II of *The History of the State of Ohio*, ed. by Carl Wittke (6 vols.; Columbus, 1942), 3, 32, 296.
3. *Ibid.*, 3-13. The texts of the Enabling Act, the counter proposals, the Journal of the Convention, and the Constitution were collected in Daniel J. Ryan, "From Charter to Constitution," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, V (1897), 1-164. St. Clair's point of view was represented in Arthur St. Clair, *The St. Clair Papers*, ed. by William H. Smith (2 vols.; Cincinnati, 1882).
4. The Supreme Court consisted of three justices appointed by the legislature for a period of seven years. A provision requiring them to hold a session at least once a year in every county seat was incredibly burdensome. By 1813, there were 44 counties, and the number had increased to nearly ninety before a new court system was provided for in the Constitution of 1851. In addition, courts of common pleas and justice courts were set up at the county and township levels. (Utter, *Frontier State*, 15).
5. Several states had repealed acts giving force to the English common law because of a growing feeling that the common law was a badge of subservience to the former mother country. This spirit was particularly noticeable in the period of Anglophobia prior to the War of 1812 (*Ibid.*, 39). See also, W. T. Utter, "Ohio and the English Common Law," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (Dec., 1929), 321-33.
6. As quoted in Utter, *Frontier State*, 39-40.
7. *Ibid.*, 43-52. A more detailed account of the question of judicial review was Utter's, "Judicial Review in Early Ohio," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (June, 1927), 3-24.
8. The best account was Utter's, "Saint Tammany in Ohio: A Study in Frontier Politics," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XV (Dec., 1928), 321-40.
9. Utter, *Frontier State*, 55-62.
10. Harold E. Davis, "Social and Economic Basis of the Whig Party in Ohio, 1825-1840" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1933), 22, 31. On the rise and decline of household and shop manufacturing, see George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860*, Vol. IV of the *Economic History of the United States*, ed. by Henry David, et al. (New York, 1951), 207-20.

11. James S. Matthews, *Expressions of Urbanism in the Sequent Occupance of Northeastern Ohio* (Chicago, 1949), 27, 49-51.
12. Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860: A Study of Industrial History* (Chicago, 1917), 180-81.
13. Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, 1957), 170. A recent account of the MEC is, Anthony J. Deye, "Ohio's First Bank" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1965). Ohio banks in 1814: Cincinnati (2), Marietta, Chillicothe, Steubenville, Warren, Dayton, and Zanesville. (Clarence c. Huntington, "A History of Banking and Currency in Ohio Before the Civil War," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXIV [July, 1915], 257-64).
14. Early banking experience in Ohio supports Bray Hammond's belief that the role of the poor debtor has been overemphasized. The biggest debtors were businessmen who wanted easier money (*Banks and Politics*, ix).
15. Huntington, "History of Banking," 261,264-265.
16. This idea must be coupled with a word of caution: The early national years were not *laissez faire* in banking. The issue was between complete prohibition and state control. There was no thought at that time of free enterprise in banking. Some historians believe that this was a major contribution of the Jacksonians themselves—the so-called anti-bank men (Hammond, *Banks and Politics*, 185-86). The fact that Ohio's economy, as well as that of other states, was not *laissez faire* is a major theme of Harry N. Scheiber's *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820-1861* (Athens, 1969).
17. Hammond, *Banks and Politics*, 145.
18. Huntington, "History of Banking," 275-79. After 1818, no more banks were chartered until 1829. Suspension of specie payment was welcomed by Cincinnati's leading citizens as a means of restoring confidence in the banks. There was a significant resentment against Eastern banking which was draining the specie reserves of the Ohio banks (Deye, "Ohio's First Bank," 22). The state simultaneously attacked unauthorized banking (which had sprung up after 1814 and added to the currency inflation) and enacted the "bonus law," in part, to bring the competition of the unauthorized banks under control. See, *Acts Passed at the First Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the State of Ohio, Dec. 1816, Vol. XV* (Columbus, 1817), 10, 77, hereafter cited as *Laws of Ohio*.
19. Huntington, "History of Banking," 281.
20. *Ibid.*, 282-84; Deye, "Ohio's First Bank," 32-33; Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), 407-08; Gorham A. Worth, "Recollections of Cincinnati, From a Residence of Five Years, 1817-1821," *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, XI (April-July, 1916), 33-34.
21. Utter, *Frontier State*, 283, 277.
22. *Ibid.*, 283-88; *Supporter* (Chillicothe), Aug. 26, 1818; *Niles' Register*, XV, Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 12, 1818; *Liberty Hall*, May 14, 1819, Nov. 10, 1818.
23. Utter, *Frontier State*, 281, 287. Hammond was connected to a state Bank in St. Clairsville, which might have caused his hostility. Perhaps his sense of justice was outraged as he saw the havoc wrought by the reversal of Bank policy.
24. *Niles' Register*, XVII, Oct. 30, 1819. Hezekiah Niles was an outspoken opponent of the Bank and a national spokesman for the Whig Party. A central theme of Niles's was his opposition to organizations. He was a true anti-party Whig. See also, Charles T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 574.
25. Kenneth E. Davison, "Forgotten Ohioan: Elisha Whittlesey, 1783-1863" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1953), 45.
26. Utter, *Frontier State*, 309; *Western Herald Steubenville Gazette*, Oct. 23, 1819.
27. The standard account is Daniel J. Ryan, "Nullification in Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, II (June, 1888), 413-22.
28. *Ibid.*, 415-17; Utter, *Frontier State*, 301-04; *Western Herald Steubenville Gazette*, Mar. 20, May 1, Oct. 16, 1819; *Liberty Hall*, Aug. 6, 1819; Benjamin Tappan to E. A. Brown, Steubenville, July 7, 1821, Brown MSS.

29. *Niles' Register*, XV, Aug. 29, 1818.
30. Ohio, General Assembly, House, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1818, 98, hereafter cited as *House Journal*.
31. Ohio, General Assembly, Senate, *Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio*, 1818 100, hereafter cited as *Senate Journal*, as quoted in Ryan, "Nullification," 418-19.
32. Ryan, "Nullification," 419-22.
33. Utter, *Frontier State*, 311-312.
34. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, 207.
35. *Cleveland Gazette Commercial Register*, Oct. 13, 1818, Aug. 3, 1819.
36. The two most recent examinations of party organization in Ohio were Harry R. Stevens, *The Early Jackson Party in Ohio* (Durham, 1957); and Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System*.
37. *Liberty Hall*, Sept. 28, Oct. 14, 1819; Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 574; *Supporter*, Sept. 22, 27, Oct. 6, 1819; *Niles' Register*, XVII, Nov. 6, 1819.
38. *Western (Cincinnati)*, Aug. 17, 1820; *Liberty Hall*, Aug. 19, 1820.
39. *Liberty Hall*, Sept. 6, Oct. 7, 1820.
40. *Niles' Register*, XV, Oct. 24, 1818. The right of instruction became a favorite topic of Niles's editorials in the 1820s. He was also vehemently opposed to the caucus system and attacked it with his powerful verbiage throughout 1823 and 1824.
41. *American Friend (Marietta)*, Oct. 5, 1821.
42. Some historians believe it was Jackson's Bank Veto message which caused the alarm. Lynn L. Marshall, "The Strange Stillbirth of the Whig Party," *American Historical Review*, LXXII (January, 1967), stated that "This issue expressed a reaction to threatened changes in party organization and the role of political leadership.... The Consortium all too clearly recognized that the veto message and its direct orientation to voters represented a new approach to politics and new roles for political leaders. It was precisely this that produced their carefully planned Consortium alignment." The "Kitchen Cabinet" was particularly threatening since it was "designed to perform the special function of electioneering and channeling. . . votes" (445, 449-450). See also, Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War: A Study in the Growth of Presidential Power* (New York, 1967), Chap. III.
43. The Bank's attorneys in the Osborn case were Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and William Wirt. Harry R. Stevens, "Henry Clay, the Bank, and the West in 1824," *American Historical Review*, LX (July, 1955), 843-48; Eugene H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (1917), 153-224; *Ohio Monitor (Columbus)*, Mar. 1, 1823; *Hamilton Intelligencer*, Feb. 24, 1823; *Steubenville Gazette*, Mar. 22, 1823.
44. Hockett, "Western Political Influences," 98-99; *National Intelligencer*, as quoted in the *Supporter*, April 7, 1819.
45. *Niles' Register*, XVIII, May 14, 1825.
46. *Resolutions of Sundry Friends of the Administration, Columbiana County, Ohio*, In favor of the measures of the executive Against the BUS, June 24, 1834, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., Doc. 475, was typical.
47. *The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States After the Panic of 1837* (New York, 1970), 188.
48. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era*, 156-58, 179.

3. Occupation, Locale & Voter Choice: I

1. Edgar A. Holt, *Party Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850* (Columbus, 1930), 9.
2. Weisenburger, *Passing of the Frontier*, 272.
3. Percentage calculated from figures in the *Liberty Hall Cincinnati Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1832, hereafter cited as *Liberty Hall*.
4. Benson, *Concept*, 157.
5. Sharp, *Jacksonians versus the Banks*, 166-172. Some wealthy men and entrepreneurs became Democrats. Micajah T. Williams, the canal enthusiast and later Canal Commissioner as well as President of the Cincinnati and

Whitewater Canal Company, was an ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson. Moses Dawson, an unrelenting advocate of the Jacksonian cause, strongly approved of Ohio's canal program and only reversed himself after the credit structure of the state collapsed (Charles Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," *Cincinnati Commercial*, Dec. 13, 1869).

6. Sharp, *Jacksonians versus the Banks*, 174, 176-178.
7. Benson is explicit about the need for using small electoral units: "With few exceptions anywhere [New York] in the same county, many towns with roughly the same degree of prosperity varied widely in their voting patterns, and the towns with the same voting patterns varied widely in their degree of prosperity. In some counties a tendency existed for economically low-ranking units to be the low ranking democratic units, but in others, economically low-ranking units tended to be high ranking Democratic units" (Concept, 148).
8. Sharp, *Jacksonians Versus the Banks*, n. 1, pp. 342-43. For another critique of the use of county data as opposed to that of townships and wards, see Thomas B. Alexander, et al., "The Basis of Alabama's Ante-Bellum Two-Party System," *The Alabama Review*, XIX (Oct., 1966), 243-76. Frank O. Gatell has said that "When strongly correlative patterns can be matched against the votes of small units such as townships, the results allow for something more than guesswork about class and party within that constituency." *Essays on Jacksonian America*, ed. by Frank O. Gatell (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), 109. Thomas A. Flinn, "Continuity and Change in Ohio Politics," *Journal of Politics*, XXIV (Aug., 1962), 251, agreed with Sharp: "The county is obviously the unit with which one works in seeking to identify party followings over any considerable period across an entire state. Use of smaller units involved very severe difficulties: the returns were not readily available; the number of units became so large as to make analysis very difficult or, at least, very expensive; demographic data were unavailable or else difficult to manipulate."
9. Sharp, *Jacksonians versus the Bank*, 336, 168.
10. Lebowitz, "The Jacksonians: Paradox Lost?" 73. In all fairness to Benson he did recognize the need for spatial data. See his "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in Mirra Komarovsky, ed., *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, 1957), 114, and Turner Beard, 200; Samuel P. Hays, "Archival Sources for American Political History," *American Archivist*, XXVIII (Jan., 1965), 17-30, also stressed the need for spatial data.
11. Total taxable property includes the value of lands and houses, the value of town lots with buildings, the value of horses, cattle and pleasure carriages. *House Journal*, 31st Gen. Ass., 1832, following p. 28; *Laws of Ohio*, XXXV, 1837, following p. 678; *Laws of Ohio*, XLIII, 1845, following p. 18; and *Laws of Ohio*, XLVII, 1849, 54-57, 66-69.
12. Harry R. Stevens, *The Early Jackson Party in Ohio* (Durham, NC, 1957); Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1966). Ratcliffe's criticism of McCormick is reminiscent of Robert E. Shalhope, "Jacksonian Politics in Missouri: A Comment on the McCormick Thesis," *Civil War History*, XV (September 1969), 210-25.
13. Ratcliffe, "Voters and Issues," 848-49.
14. *Ibid.*, 860.
15. *Ibid.*, 865.
16. *Ibid.*, 857.
17. *Ibid.*, 867.
18. *Ibid.*, 855-56.
19. *Ibid.*, 857. For detailed electoral statistics see *Cincinnati Advertiser*, November 3, 1824.
20. Ratcliffe, "Voters and Issues," 860. Kim T. Phillips, "The Pennsylvania Origins of the Jackson Movement," *Political Science Quarterly*, XCI (Fall 1976), 489-508, suffers from the same ambiguity, though to a lesser extent than Ratcliffe. For example, for Phillips to say that "fundamentally shaping the course of [Jackson's] original supporters was their conviction that the once noble party of Jefferson had sunk into moral and ideological bankruptcy" (p.499), or that "Democrats of the Old School predicted that unrestrained banking would have

disastrous moral and social consequences," is not the same as agreeing with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., that "economic reform [restraint of the business community] was at the heart of Jacksonianism" (p.491).

21. This exemplified a pro-Democratic, pragmatic bias not unique to Ratcliffe. Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), evidenced their ambivalence toward democratic idealism and democratic pragmatism as well. Like Ratcliffe, the Beards were disinterested in the moral threat inherent in the changing natures of parties and politicians' traditional roles. When John Quincy Adams reportedly sought to keep public service "untainted by the vulgar odor of loot and spoils," they accused him of being "out of lockstep in matter[s] of political patronage" (p.551). Legislative caucuses, they said, were "submerged in the tossing waves of democracy" (p.546); yet, "the grand convention was ruled mainly by officeholders and aspirants for office. While election of the President was vested in the people legally, the choice of candidates . . . passed from the congressional monopoly to professional politicians" (p. 547). The Beards and Ratcliffe's resignation to what Richard Hofstadter terms the "mastery and control" of politicians may be founded in the Democrats' own ambivalence, for as Ronald P. Formisano, "Political Character, Antipartyism, and the Second Party System," *American Quarterly*, XXI (Winter 1969), 685, notes, "If there is a paradox about [Democrats] it lay in their passion for laissez faire in government and society combined with pragmatic submission to the Organization."
22. Ratcliffe, "Voters and Issues," 860-61, 865-66 (italics added). Meyers, *Persuasion*, 18-24, suggests the use of the word "aristocracy" did not necessarily refer to a socioeconomic class, but implied a moral quality.
23. "Why Jackson attracted the support of the 'Pennsylvania Dutch' in 1824 remains a mystery," Ratcliffe, "Voters and Issues," 863.
24. Samuel T. McSeveney, "Ethnic Groups, Ethnic Conflicts, and Recent Quantitative Research in American Political History," *The International Migration Review*, VII (Spring 1973), 14-33, discusses recent multivariate electoral studies; Allan G. Bogue, "United States: The 'New' Political History," *Journal of Contemporary History*, II (January 1968), 5-27, is an earlier description and evaluation.
25. Donald Ratcliffe, "The Experience of Revolution and the Beginnings of Party Politics in Ohio, 1776-1816," *Ohio History*, LXXXV (Summer 1976), 186-230, is far more attentive to the moral sensitivity of Ohioans than the article under inspection here. He acknowledges that many Federalists and Republicans were disillusioned with partisanship prior to 1824; that many such men opposed the people's 'right of instruction' for moral reasons; that the word 'aristocracy' was often used to denote officeholder tyranny rather than socioeconomic status; that much of Jacksonian politics arose from earlier, non-economic issues; and that the conflict between party regularity and anti-partyism was itself a 'dual' party system.

4. Occupation, Locale & Voter Choice: II

1. Richard T. Farrell, "Cincinnati in the Early Jackson Era, 1816-1834" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1967), 177-79, 223-25.
2. Walter S. Glazer, "Cincinnati in 1840: A Community Profile" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968), 175-79.
3. Aaron, "Cincinnati, 1818-1838," 213, cited the need to underscore the forces that bound Cincinnatians together, irrespective of their sectional origins. Alexandra McCoy effectively argued this same point in her study of Michigan, "Political Affiliations of American Economic Elites," 199, 193-95, 197.
4. Meyers, *Jacksonian Persuasion*, 8.
5. Benson, *Concept*, 142.
6. McCormick, "New Perspectives," 300. McCormick estimated voter turnout for non-census years by interpolating the decennial census. I use the quadrennial state census and find that participation levels were even higher in Ohio than McCormick calculated, although relative increased and decreased from year to year were not substantially different. While McCormick found participation

in the 1828 election to be 75.8 percent, I find it to be nearer eighty-five percent. State census returns were computed from the following: National Republican (Cincinnati), Jan. 22, 1828; Aurora (New Lisbon), Aug. 9, 1832; Ashtabula Sentinel, Mar. 12, 1836; Ohio Statesman (Columbus), Nov. 13, 1840; Ohio, Executive Documents, Annual Report of the Auditor of the State 1855, Vol. XX, Part II, 86-88; Weekly Herald (Cleveland), Dec. 20, 1847.

7. I am indebted to the advice and work of Ron Formisano for suggestions as to the use of this method. See his, "Social Bases of American Voting Behavior," and "Analyzing American Voting, 1830-1860: Methods," Historical Methods Newsletter, II (March, 1969), in addition to Appendix A of this study.
8. Several sources provided information on occupations, skills, trades, and wages: Wesley C. Mitchell, A History of the Greenbacks (Chicago 1903), 470-567; Edith Abbott, "The Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States, 1850-1900," Journal of Political Economy, xiii (June, 1905), 321-67; Bessie Louise Pierce, From Town to City, 1848-1871, Vol. II of A History of Chicago (New York, 1940), 499-500; Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860: American Consumption Levels on the Eve of the Civil War (Chicago, 1942), 407-16 and passim; Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (Boston, 1924, paperback reprint by Quadrangle Books, Chicago: 1964), passim; James C. Bonner, "Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community," American Historical Review, XLIX (July, 1944), 671; and Paul S. Lazarsfeld, et al., Presidential Campaign, 3rd ed. (New York, 1968), 20.
9. Sources for the electoral data presented in this section can be found in Appendix B.
10. Jordan, "The People of Ohio's First County," Ohio American Historical Quarterly, XLIX (Jan.- March, 1940) 36, 20.
11. Burnet, Notes, 44.
12. Alford, "Class Voting in the Anglo-American Political System," Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives, ed. By S. M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (New York, 1967), 69-70.
13. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, 1960), 220-21.
14. Township descriptions may be found in: Warren Jenkins, The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveler's Guide, rev. ed. (Columbus, 1841); Charles E. Frohman, A History of Sandusky and Erie County (Columbus, 1965), 20; Clark Waggoner, ed., History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York, 1888, v. 2), 851, 858-874; The History of Marion County, Ohio (Chicago, 1883), 989-90; and The History of Clinton County, Ohio (Chicago, 1882), 795.
15. Turner, Rise of the New West, 66.
16. Lipset, Political Man, 205-06.

5. Religious Identity & Voter Choice

1. Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays, Vintage Books (New York, 1967), 89-90.
2. Matthews, Ohio and Her Western Reserve (New York, 1902), as quoted in Margaret J. Mitchell, "Religion as a Factor in the Early Development of Ohio," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, IX (1915-1916), 89.
3. Herbert Erskowitz and William G. Shade, "Con-sensus or Conflict? Political Behavior in the State Legislatures during the Jacksonian Era," Journal of American History, LVIII (Dec., 1971), 593.
4. John Cotton, "Christian Calling," in The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry, ed. by Perry Miller, Anchor Books (Garden City, 1956), 173.
5. John Robinson, "Diligent Labor and the Use of God's Creatures," in Tensions in American Puritanism, ed. by Richard Reinitz (New York, 1970), 66-67.
6. Donald G. Mathews, Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845 (Princeton, 1965), vii; Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900 (New York, 1970), 72-73.
7. William W. Sweet, Revivalism in America (New York, 1844), 159; Richard F. O'Dell, "The Early Antislavery Movement in Ohio" (unpublished Ph.D.

Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1948), 41. The affinity of revivalists for antislavery may be found most prominently in Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933); Louis Filler, *The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860* (New York, 1960); Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939), and *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor, 1961); Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (Dec. 1957), 423-44, and *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, 1960); Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War*, Harper Torchbooks (New York, 1962); Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, 1950); Charles c. Cole, Jr., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860* (New York, 1954); Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1887* (Chapel Hill, 1960); Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America* (Boston, 1958); John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848* (Princeton, 1954); Franklin H. Littell, *From State Church to Pluralism: A Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History*, Anchor Books (Garden City, 1962); William G. McLaughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959); John L. Thomas, *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1963); Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York, 1957; revised subtitle: *American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*); and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland, 1969).

8. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 10, 133. See Formisano, *Birth of Mass Parties*, and Kleppner, *Cross of Culture* for a corrective of this deficiency. Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeves, trans., ed. by Phillips Bradley, Vintage Books (New York, 1945), I, 320; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 283; Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers*, xii; Bernard Bailyn, "Puritan Social Ideals and the Dilemma of the New England Merchants," in Reinitz, *Tensions*, 56.
9. Seymour M. Lipset, "Religion and Politics in American History," in *Religious Conflict in America: Studies of the Problems Beyond Bigotry*, ed. by Earl Raab (New York, 1964), 60.
10. Tocqueville, *Democracy*, I, 314-317. Cole, a student of evangelist influence, was much impressed with the extra-religious activities of these men. He finds that they were very effective molders of opinion and prejudice in a large segment of the American public. They campaigned through sermons, books, pamphlets, letters, and diaries for political, economic, and social ends (*Northern Evangelists*, 3-4); Berelson, et al., *Voting*, 66.
11. Kleppner, *Cross of Culture*, 71. Kleppner defined the "ritualistic" perspective as one that stressed intellectual assent to prescribed doctrine. Ritualists were generally passive, unemotional worshippers, who emphasized formal doctrine and ritual. The ritualist viewed sin as something that must be accepted rather than molded. The central theme of the ritualist was right belief, a kind of regimented faith. The pietist on the other hand was one with a vital and personalized faith. The pietistic perspective concentrated on conversion, personal piety, and relative informality in worship. The pietist also saw sin, but unlike the ritualist did not accept sin's permanency. Rather than right belief, the pietist emphasized right behavior for himself as well as the rest of society (73-74). See also, McLaughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 8; Benson, *Concept*, 199-201. Kleppner finds, for example, that religious groups that gave strong support to the Republicans were more pietistic—or evangelical—in their orientation than those who supported the Democratic party.
12. Benson, *Concept*, 206.
13. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 77.
14. Ely, *The Duty of Christian Freemen to Elect Christian Rulers: A Discourse Delivered on the 4th of July, 1827, in the Seventh Presbyterian Church*, in

- Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1828), 11, 14; Charles McCarthy, "The Antimasonic Party: A Study of Political Antimasonry in the United States, 1827-1840," American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1902, Vol. I; Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan, 47. Much of our understanding of the Antimasonry phenomena came from the luminescent pen of David B. Davis in "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLVII (Sept., 1960), 205-224; Cross Burned-over District, *passim*.
15. Emerson, *Essays: Second Series* (Boston, 1886), as quoted in Miller, *Nature of Jacksonian Society*, 140.
 16. Formisano, "Social Bases," 245.
 17. Wyatt Brown, Tappan, 272.
 18. *Ibid.*, 28.
 19. Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton: The Struggle for Democracy in America* (Boston, 1925), 145.
 20. Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition: 1775-1818* (rev. ed., Middletown, Conn, 1963), 207-215; Shaw Livermore, Jr., *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830* (Princeton, 1962), 4-5; Lewis Tappan to Benjamin Tappan, March 8, 1827, Benjamin Tappan Papers, Library of Congress, as quoted in Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 16.
 21. James G. Birney to Gamaliel Bailey, April 16, 1843, in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857* (2 vols.; New York, 1938), I, 733;
 22. Foster, *Errand of Mercy*, 179; Shapiro and Miller, *Drake*, xxi.
 23. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition*, 208; Wyatt-Brown, Tappan, 46, 55; Lewis Tappan to William H. Seward, March 18, 1842, w. H. Seward MSS, Rochester University Library, as quoted Wyatt-Brown, Tappan, 274.
 24. Wyatt-Brown, Tappan 55; Foster, *Errand*, 179-180.
 25. Weisberger, *They Gathered*, 76; Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition*, 262.
 26. Sweet, *Religion and Culture*, 100; Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 162-63; William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (rev. ed., New York, 1939), 306-07, 375; Helen F. Yeager, "The Rise, Spread, and Influence of Religion in Ohio from 1788 to 1815" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1942), 12-13; Sweet, *Religion and Culture*, 101.
 27. Weisberger, *They Gathered*, 85.
 28. *Ibid.*, 26, 106; Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 5; Foster, *Errand*, 123-124; Filler, *Antislavery Crusade*, 29; Sweet, *Religion and Culture*, 146-148; Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 5; Formisano, "Social Bases," 246-47.
 29. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 13-14; Smith, *Revivalism*, 17; Sweet, *Story of Religion*, 327-32; J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington, 1854), 133.
 30. Benson, *Concept*, 192-93.
 31. *Ibid.*, 200.
 32. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 4-5; Loveland, "Evangelicalism and Emancipation," 186.
 33. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 63-64; Stewart, *Giddings*, 25-27; Wyatt-Brown, Tappan, 35; Foster, *Errand*, viii, 255-57; Bodo, *Protestant Clergy*, 182-83.
 34. Bodo, *Protestant Clergy*, 9; Littell, *State Church*, 61; Weisburger, *They Gathered*, 78; McLaughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 100-101, 103; Shapiro & Miller, *Drake*, viii, xxii.
 35. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 143-44; Tocqueville, *Democracy*, II, 34. McLaughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 5-6.
 36. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 7, 96; Sweet, *Story of Religion*, 395-96; Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, 3; Smith, *Revivalism*, 15, *Story of Religion*, 411; Cross, *Burned-over District*, *passim*.
 37. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 97, 131. Blue Laws were the greatest single preoccupation of early Ohio lawmakers, but even that was not so successful as the religious revivalism which later swept the state (Utter, *Frontier State*, 362).
 38. Weisenburger, *Passing*, 161-62; Weisberger, *They Gathered*, 156-57.
 39. Bodo, *Protestant Clergy*, 176-81; Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 111, 187-190
 40. John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York, 1925), 67-68; McLaughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 54; Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, 316, 308; Smith, *Town in*

- American, 150. Sweet noted that there was little difference between the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists as far as their emphasis on discipline was concerned (Religion Culture), 144; Shapiro & Miller, Drake, xxx-xxxii.
41. Foster, Errand, 167-68, 173; Liberator, Aug. 17, 1833.
 42. Supporter, Jan. 4, 1812; Utter, Frontier State, 383; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 319-21, 324, 26.
 43. Weisenburger, Passing, 163, 127-28; Wyatt- Brown, Tappan, vii; Stewart, Giddings, 27; Charles Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," Cincinnati Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870, 12.
 44. Littell, State Church, 56; Weisberger, They Gathered, 150; Charles K. Whipple, Relations of Anti-Slavery to Religion (New York, 1856), 1. Immediate emancipation had a close connection to religious revivalism as well. Many abolitionists concluded that man was a moral agent who had the ability to choose freely between good and evil. If he did not do so, it was because he lacked the will, not the ability. Therefore, the answer was to regenerate the will through evangelical religion. Immediate emancipation, noted Amos Phelps, "was immediate repentance applied to this slavery." (Phelps, Lectures on Slavery and Its Remedy [Boston, 1834], 179).
 45. Sweet, Story of Religion, 412-13; O'Dell, "Early Antislavery," 3.
 46. Foster, Errand, 255, 263; Smith, Revivalism, 88-89, 91-92; Utter, Frontier State, 372. Timothy L. Smith lists four main religious groupings in the United States on the basis of the theological position of each: 1) Traditional, made up of the High Church Episcopalians and Old Lutherans; 2) Orthodox Calvinist, rapidly dying, made up of Old School Presbyterians, anti-mission Baptists, some of the most conservative Congregationalists and a few other Presbyterian sects; 3) Revivalistic Calvinist, the New School Presbyterians, most Congregationalists, Low Church Episcopalians, Regular Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and some Lutherans; and 4) Evangelical Arminian, the Methodist, German Wesleyans, Friends, many Lutherans, Cumberland Presbyterians, and Free Will Baptists (Revivalism, 33).
 47. Victor B. Howard, "The Anti-Slavery Movement in the Presbyterian Church, 1835-1861" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1961), 55-59, 87, 340; Sweet, Religion and Culture, 206-208, Story and Religion, 375.
 48. O'Dell, "Early Antislavery," 184-190.
 49. Weisenburger, Passing, 364; Howard, "Anti-slavery and Presbyterianism," 2.
 50. Weisenburger, Passing, 370; Howard, "Anti-Slavery and Presbyterianism," 144, 152; Smith, Revivalism, 26-27.
 51. Howard, "Anti-Slavery and Presbyterianism," 96, 102-103.
 52. Ibid., 112-114; Sweet, Story of Religion, 444; Stewart, Giddings, 29; Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing," 4. Weisenburger, Passing, 371-72, noted that one of the most prominent anti-abolitionist societies in Ohio was in Granville, Licking County, where a large element of New England Congregationalists had settled. They opposed anti-slave activities, fearing it would disrupt the Union.
 53. Sweet, Story of Religion, 314-315, 323, 426, 429, and Religion and Culture, 340; Smith, Revivalism, 24-25; Utter, Frontier State, 378.
 54. Sweet, Story of Religion, 317. Sweet adds this somewhat exaggerated Turner irony to the success of the Methodists in the West: "It is indeed strange that the highly centralized Methodist system of government could win its way in the New West, the most democratic section of the nation. The Methodists, however, preached a democratic gospel while they were under a monarchical form of government; on the other hand, the Presbyterians and Baptists had a more democratic form of church government but preached a monarchical gospel.... New winds were blowing over the American people in the thirties and forties. A new democracy had arisen. And withal it was a period of immense optimism. This had come about with the elevation of the common people to place and power" (319, 374); Foster, Errand, 263; Utter, Frontier State.
 55. Utter, Frontier State, 375; Formisano, "Social Bases, 343-345; O'Dell, "Early Antislavery," 182-183, 56; Weisenburger, Passing, 164; James A. Thome to Weld, March 31, 1836, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds.,

- Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844 (2 vols.; Gloucester, 1934, reprinted by Peter Smith; 1965), I, 284; *Ibid.*, I, n. 3, p. 284; J. A. Thome and J. W. Alvord to Weld, Feb. 9, 1836, *Ibid.*, I, 258.
56. Benson, *Concept*, 27, 284-286, Chap XIV; Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, 1957), 234; Formisano, "Social Bases," 367; Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, 490.
 57. Foreign-born denominations such as the Lutherans never took revivalism seriously. Catholics and Episcopalians had little or no inclination for the revival either. Others, such as Quakers and Unitarians, were not smitten by the revivalists since they did not make man's depravity and regeneration the core of their faith (Weisberger, *They Gathered*, 140); Tocqueville, *Democracy I*, 311-12.
 58. Kleppner, *Cross of Culture*, 74-75; Lipset, "Religion and Politics," 64.
 59. Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850* (New York, 1943), 7, 226-227, 231, 32-33.
 60. Roland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *American Historical Review*, LXV (April, 1960), 512, argued that the reformers of the 1830s resisted excessive individualism. The Jacksonian Tappan brother, Benjamin, rejected his New England orthodoxy in religion and politics. In 1793 he graduated from Harvard "with Voltaire as his 'theologian' and the 'Rights of Man' as his political creed." In Ohio he was a thoroughgoing Jeffersonian, a deist, and a man of broad intellectual and scientific interests (Wyatt-Brown, Tappan, 13); Bodo, *Protestant Clergy*, 25-26, 52; Post, *Freethought*, 197, 200-201.
 61. Post, *Freethought*, 197-98, 118-19, 208.
 62. Fox, *Decline of Aristocracy*, 340; Charles McCarthy, "Antimasonry," 537-538, 540-543; Aaron, "Cincinnati: 1818-1838," 170-171; Davis, "Whig Party in Ohio," 147.
 63. *Ohio Luminary* (Jefferson), Sept. 11, 1829, Sept. 4, 1830. Hofstadter, *Idea of a Party System*, argued that fear of intellectual subservience to something less than the general welfare was a strong element in early American anti-partyism. See also, David B. Davis, ed., *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present* (Ithaca, 1971).
 64. McCarthy, "Antimasonry," 547, and especially the map on 529; Cross, *Burned-over District*. Minor exceptions were certain German sects, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, and the Quakers; Stewart, Giddings, 12-13; Benson, *Concept*, Chap II.
 65. Stewart, Giddings, 10-11, 13-14; Wyatt-Brown, Tappan, 47.
 66. Davis, "Whig Party in Ohio," 284; McCarthy, "Antimasonry," 25-26, 528-530.
 67. Theodore C. Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York, 1897), 23-25. Joseph G. Rayback, *Free Soil: The Election of 1848* (Lexington, 1970), is the most recent account.
 68. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing," 58-62; Experiment (Norwalk), Sept. 9, 1835; Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," *Cincinnati Commercial*, Feb. 7, Mar. 14, 1870.
 69. *Painesville Republican*, Oct. 19, 1837.
 70. Bernard E. McClellan, "Cincinnati's Response to Abolitionism, 1835-1845" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1963), 84-85, 81-82; Weisenburger, *Passing*, 384-85.
 71. *Extra Globe*, Sept. 19, 1840, 272. Corwin became nationally famous for a speech he made in the United States Senate in opposition to the Mexican War in which he suggested to the Mexicans that they welcome Americans to their soil with bayonets and graves. See Norman A. Graebner, "Thomas Corwin and the election of 1848: a Study in Conservative Politics," *Journal of Southern History*, XVI (May, 1951).
 72. Lewis Tappan to Giddings, July 24, 1841, J.R. Giddings, MSS, Ohio Historical Society, as quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Tappan, 274; *Ibid.*, 269; *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus) Sept. 20, 1843.
 73. *Ohio Sun* (Batavia), Oct. 11, 1841. Oberlin, in Lorain County, was settled primarily by families from New England as well as a few from New York. Most significantly, it was claimed that all in Oberlin were Whigs, people committed

to a life of simplicity, devotion to church and school, and Christian benevolence who believed that it was “almost as necessary to be Whigs as to be Christians.” Later, like other areas of Ohio populated from the northeastern states, abolitionism swept Ohio. It supported the Liberty Party in 1840 and 1844, the Free Soilers in 1848, and was almost exclusively Republican after 1854 (J. H. Fairchild, *Oberlin*, 109, as quoted in Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 185-87).

74. Formisano, “Social Bases,” 305, 309.
75. *Ohio State Journal*, Sept. 28, 1842.
76. Smith, *Free Soil*, 90-93; Holt, *Party Politics in Ohio*, 89-90.
77. *Daily Cincinnati Chronicle*, Sept. 26, 1845; *True Democrat (Cleveland)*, Jan. 14, 1848.
78. Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (Garden City, New York, 1961), 311, 186; Formisano, “Social Bases,” 313-14.
79. Benson, *Concept*, 207.
80. Association in this case means more than simple membership. Rather, it referred to the acceptance of a set of beliefs and cultural attitudes that added a greater dimension to life than mere physical presence at the place of worship.
81. Philip A. Nordquist, “The Ecology of Religious Denominational Preference in the United States: 1850” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1964); and Formisano, “Social Bases.” Nordquist developed the use of the 1850 census for measuring denominational preference but used only county data. Formisano applied the technique, plus the concept of religiosity to townships. I am also indebted to Formisano for his suggestions in the search for Ohio’s Social Statistics.
82. *True Democrat*, Jan. 4, 1848; Smith, *Free Soil*, 128, 152-153, 179; *National Era*, July 20, 1848; Rayback, *Free Soil*, 214.
83. Smith concluded that for all practical purposes the Free Soil Party in Ohio ceased to exist in 1849 (*Free Soil*, 187).
84. Nordquist analyzed only those counties with denominational pluralities. He omits many counties with significant numbers of other sects. This study includes all counties in which there was a representative percentage of the denomination being examined to account for the total sectarian influence.
85. (Seattle, 1965), 3-10.
86. These figures referred to groups rather than individual evangelicals. Other influential religious bodies in the community might have shown the same political tendencies for the same or perhaps other reasons. In that case, it is difficult, outside of correlation analysis, to distinguish the political affiliation of one group from another within the same heterogeneous unit. Thus, it is desirable to isolate and emphasize patterns found in higher preference areas. Other inferences from this data must await thorough dissection of smaller, more homogeneous political units.
87. McCoy, “Political Affiliations,” 143.

6. Ethnic Identity & Voter Choice

1. Tocqueville, *Democracy*, II, 99-113; Glazer, “Cincinnati in 1840,” 3-9.
2. *The Social Contract: A Personal Inquiry into the Evolutionary Sources of Order and Disorder* (New York, 1970), 3.
3. Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years; Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636–1736* (New York, 1970), 5, 17-18, 51, 165.
4. Benson, *Concept*, 165; Kleppner, *Cross of Culture*, 36.
5. Chaddock, *Ohio Before 1850*, 5-7, 52, 54.
6. Hansen, “Remarks,” in *Sources of Culture in the Middle West*, ed. by Dixon R. Fox (New York, 1934), 103-110; Smith, *Town in American*, 44-45; Jordan, “Ohio’s First County,” 39; Lottich, “The Western Reserve and the Frontier Thesis,” 45-57.
7. *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), 52-53; Aaron, “Cincinnati: 1818-1838,” viii; Mary E. Moses, “Factors Influencing the

- Population and Areal Growth of Selected Ohio Cities" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1954), 10.
8. Smith, Town in American, 17-20, 30, 32-33, 36.
 9. Lewis D. Stilwell, Migration from Vermont, Vol. V of the Growth of Vermont, ed. by Earle w. Newton (Montpelier, 1948), 143, and note, p. 143.
 10. Benson, Concept, 165.
 11. Sharp, Jacksonians versus the Bank, 178, 342.
 12. O'Dell, "Early Antislavery," 31; William T. Hutchinson, "The Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927), 182; Martin R. Andrews, ed., History of Marietta and Washington County, Ohio, and Representative Citizens (Chicago, 1902), 100; Utter, Frontier State, 138.
 13. Ruhl J. Bartlett, "The Struggle for Statehood in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XXXI (July, 1923), 475-76; U.S. Congress, Annals of the Congress ... 7th Cong ... 1st Sess ... 1801-1803 (Washington, 1851), 1161-62.
 14. Benson, Concept, 167, 169, 171, 173-76.
 15. Seventh Census Sketches and Statistics of 1850; Charles Cist, Cincinnati in 1851 (Cincinnati, 1851), 46-47.
 16. Benson, Concept, 166.
 17. Albert B. Faust, The German Element in the United States (2 vols., Boston, 1909), 126-27; Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio (3 vols., Columbus, 1889-91), II, 264-68, as quoted in Sharp, Jacksonians versus the Banks, 183; Francis P. Weisenburger, "A Brief History of Immigrant Groups in Ohio," In the Trek of the Immigrant: Essays Presented to Carl Wittke, ed., by O. Fritof Ander (Rock Island, 1964), 83; Aaron, "Cincinnati: 1818-1838," 239, 241-42. Specific Irish communities were harder to identify than German ones. Early Irish emigration to Ohio came from the need for canal labor in the 1820s and 1830s. They settled in the more urban regions: Newark, Defiance, Akron, Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland, and Toledo. Rarely did large groups of Irish settle in rural areas. (Scheiber, "Internal Improvements," 184-85; Weisenburger, "Ohio Immigrants," 83, and Passing, 54). William T. Utter suggests that much can be learned of German Protestantism from a study of the Lutheran ministry. In 1806, these Germans scattered themselves widely throughout southern Ohio, the largest concentrations being in Highland, Warren and Montgomery counties. (Frontier State, 394. See also, B. F. Prince, "Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XXIII [1914], 268-83). In 1817, there were enough Germans in the state to get political attention. That year the General Assembly authorized the publication and distribution of Ohio's Constitution and Laws in the German language according to the proportion of Germans in each county. The largest number went to Fairfield and Trumbull counties, with Hamilton and Pickaway next, followed by the Backbone counties of Columbiana, Stark, Richland, and Knox. (Supporter, Sept. 30, 1817). The Backbone was also one of the major centers of Amish-Mennonites in the United States; other such settlements developed in the northwestern part of the state alongside close-knit German Catholic communities. In 1817, Separatists from Wurtenburg established the Zoar communitarian settlement near Dover in Wayne, another Backbone county. Moravians located in Tuscarawas County. (Weisenburger, "Ohio Immigrants," 82, 85; Faust, German Element, 249).
 18. William A. Baughin, "Nativism in Cincinnati Before 1860" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1963), 84-85.
 19. Ohio People's Press (Columbus), June 15, 1836; Hamilton Intelligencer, Aug. 18, 1836; Ohio State Journal, Aug. 27, 1836.
 20. Davis, "Counter-Subversion, 223; Aaron, "Cincinnati: 1818-1838," 237, 239, 258-59.
 21. Aaron, "Cincinnati: 1818-1838," 240. Glazer, "Cincinnati in 1840," 176-78, notes that the Democrats could claim twice as many Germans as the Whigs by 1840, the same year that foreign groups actively began to associate with the Democrats in Cincinnati politics.
 22. E.D. Mansfield, Personal Memories: Social, Political, and Literary, with Sketches of Many Noted People, 1803-1843 (Cincinnati, 1879), 322;

- Cincinnati Daily Gazette, Mar 7, 1840; Baughin, "Nativism in Cincinnati," 89, 90, and Troy Times, Oct. 14, 1840.
23. Troy Times, Oct. 26, Dec. 7, 1842; Experiment, Oct. 9, 1842; Oct. 12, 1842. A newspaper in Ross County aired the same complaint. Whigs proposed an educational program for the Germans to rescue them from the spoilers and put them in a condition "to act independently as free citizens" (Scioto Gazette [Chillicothe], Oct. 20, 1842); Cincinnati Daily Gazette, Oct. 24, 1844; Cincinnati Enquirer, Oct. 29, 1844.
 24. Cincinnati Enquirer, Oct. 12, 18, 22, 29, 1844. The same expression was true of Ohio Democrat (New Philadelphia), Sept. 15, 1844; Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, *Nativism in the Old Northwest, 1850-1860* (Washington, 1936), 60; Paul E. Swisher, "Immigrant Groups in Hamilton County Before 1850" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1946), 42; Holmes County Whig (Millersburg), Oct. 12, 1844; Germans worked openly for the Democratic ticket in Fairfield County (Ohio Eagle [Lancaster], Oct. 15, 1846); Baughin, "Nativism in Cincinnati," 114-15.
 25. Formisano, "Social Bases," 380-84.
 26. Baughin based his estimates on Henry A. and Kate B. Ford, comps., *History of Hamilton County, Ohio* (1881), 91, and *Presbyterian of the West*, Mar. 2, 1848. Estimates were that there were 85,000 members, 75 churches, 30 chapels and stations, and 80 priests in the Cincinnati Catholic Diocese in 1851. The Cleveland Diocese had 30,000 Catholics, 45 churches, and 40 priests (Metropolitan Catholic Almanac [1851], 224).
 27. Benson, *Concept*, 167-71; Formisano, "Social Bases," 429-31; B. J. Lossing, comp., *A Pictorial Description of Ohio* (New York, 1849), 67; William H. Jones, "Welsh Settlements in Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XVI(1907), 194; Utter, *Frontier State*, 396; Jones, "Welsh Settlements," 202, 206, 214; Bert S. Bartlow, et al., eds., *Centennial History of Butler County, Ohio*, 352; Jones, "Welsh Settlements," 209.
 28. George W. Ogden, "Letters from the West," in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1905), XIX, 80, 92-93.
 29. Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, note, p. 178; John Kilbourn, *The Ohio Gazeteer or Topographical Dictionary* (2nd ed., Columbus, 1816), 29; Wyatt-Brown, *Tappan*, 101. Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 181, says that in Portage County the two upper tiers of townships were so remarkably like New England that a native of any other state was rarely found there. In the southern part of the county New Englanders were mixed with Pennsylvanians and a few families from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. Timothy Flint, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley* (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1828), II, 362; Smith, *Free Soil*, 326-27.
- Detailed histories of groups in the Reserve may be found in the following: Lewis Cass Aldrich, ed., *History of Erie County, Ohio* (Syracuse, 1889); A.J. Baughman, *History of Huron County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1909), I; *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1878); *History of Portage County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1885); *History of Trumbull and Mahoning Counties* (Cleveland, 1882), II; Crisfield Johnson, comp., *History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio* (1879). D. J. Lake, *Atlas of Ashtabula County, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1874); Samuel P. Orth, *A History of Cleveland, Ohio* (Chicago, 1910); Henry Perrin, *History of Summit County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1881); Charles Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland, Ohio* (Cleveland, 1887); Frederick G. Wright, *A Standard History of Lorain County, Ohio* (2 vols., Chicago, 1916); and Matthews, *Urbanism in Northeastern Ohio*.
30. Hutchinson, "Bounty Lands," note p. 181; Henry H. Bennet, ed., *The County of Ross* (Madison, 1902), 48-49, 52; Lossing, *Pictorial Description*, 36, 50, 65, 75, 84, 94; Howe, *Historical Collections*, 96-97, 100-01; Weisenburger, "Ohio Immigrants," 81; James E. Campbell, "The Scotch-Irish in Ohio," *The Scotch-Irish in America, Proceedings*, 1890 (Cincinnati, 1890), 195, 203; William L. Fisk, Jr., "The Scotch-Irish in Central Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LVII (April, 1948), 112; *The History of Brown County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1883), 299; I. F. King, "Introduction of Methodism in Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, X (1901-02), 181; Bennet, *Ross County*, 343.

31. H. J. Eckley and William T. Perry, eds., *History of Carroll and Harrison Counties, Ohio* (Chicago, 1921), I, 229; William C. Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio, from 1813-1840* (Cincinnati, 1895), 119, 99-100; Charles A. Hanna, *Historical Collections of Harrison County, Ohio* (New York, 1900), 4. See also, *Lossing, Pictorial Description*, 68, 78; *Chaddock, Ohio Before 1850*, 14, 34.
32. *History of Columbiana County, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1879), 106-07; *Lossing, Pictorial Description*, 44, 91, 66; Howe, *Historical Collections*, 105; William H. Perrin, ed., *History of Stark County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1881), 202, 463-66, 517-19, 568-69; Ben Douglass, *History of Wayne County, Ohio* (Indianapolis, 1878), 178, 581-92; Eckley & Perry, *Carroll County*, 122. Faust, *German Element*, 422-23, noted the names of towns and townships of distinctive German background. For Quaker settlements, see C. B. Galbreath, "Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX (Oct., 1921), 357. Harry R. Stevens, *Jackson Party*, 93, points out that the first Jacksonian political stirrings in 1823 occurred in the Backbone counties.
33. *Burnet, North-Western Territory*, 44; Julia P. Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1890), 24; Thomas Ashe, *Travels in American*, 1806 (London, 1808), 122-23; Ogden, "Letters from the West," 18; *Kilbourne, 1816 Gazetteer*, 12; *Lossing, Pictorial Description*, 95; *Chaddock, Ohio Before 1850*, 112; *Marietta and Washington County*, 221, 223; Jordan, "Ohio's First County," 36, 15-16, 20, 26.
34. Howe, *Historical Collections*, 84; *Lossing, Pictorial Description*, 40-42; Moses, "Growth of Ohio Cities," 12; Wilfrid G. Richards, *The Settlement of the Miami Valley of Southwestern Ohio* (Chicago, 1948), 19-20; *A History of Butler County, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1882); *History of Montgomery County; A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio* (Boston, 1812), 46; *Chaddock, Ohio Before 1850*, 36-37; Wilfred B. Langhorst, "The Puritanic Influences in the Northwest Territory, 1788-1803" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1933), 22; *The History of Warren County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1882), 337; *Howells, Recollections*, 197-98.
35. Benson, *Concept*, 177, as quoted from David M. Ellis, "The Yankee Invasion of New York, 1783-1850," *New York History*, XXXII (Jan., 1951), 3. See also Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (4 vols., New Haven, 1821), III, 267; Dwight, *Travels*, IV, 527; Glazer, "Cincinnati in 1840," 176; Formisano, "Social Bases," 384; Benson, *Concept*, 177-84.
36. *Portage County*, viii, 229, 409.
37. Glazer, "Cincinnati in 1840," 177.
38. McCoy, "Political Affiliations of Economic Elites," 160-61; Kleppner, *Cross of Culture*, 62.
39. *Lockridge, New England Town*, 177, 179.
40. Benson, *Concept*, 184-85, Benson did not try to estimate the relative strength of the ethnic make-up of the areas for which he estimated party strength. Hence, when he guessed that Yankees split their vote, 55 percent Whig and 45 percent Democratic, it is not clear how thoroughly Yankee those political units were. Sociologists and political scientists have understood the importance of group membership to the voting act for some time. See especially, Lazarsfeld, *The People's Choice*, Chapter 15, "The Political Homogeneity of Social Groups."

7. To Party or Not to Party

1. Richard P. McCormick, *Second American Party System*; J. R. Pole, "Constitutional Reform and Election Statistics in Maryland, 1790-1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LV (1960), 275-92, "Election statistics in Pennsylvania, 1790-1840," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXII (1958), 217, "Representation and Authority in Virginia from the Revolution to Reform," *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (1958), 16-50, "Suffrage and Representation in Massachusetts from 1776 to 1810: a Statistical Note and Some Reflections," *Journal of Southern History* XXIV

(1958), 218-25, "Suffrage and Representation of Massachusetts: A Statistical Note," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (1957), 560, XV (1958), 412-26; Chambers and Burnham, *The American Party Systems*; Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System*; Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party," Remini, Andrew Jackson and the Bank War, and *The Election of Andrew Jackson*; Joel H. Silbey, *The Shrine of Party: Congressional Voting Behavior, 1841-1852* (Pittsburgh, 1967); Chilton Williamson, *American Suffrage From Property to Democracy, 1760-1860* (Princeton, 1960); and Stevens, *Early Jackson Party in Ohio*. David Hackett Fischer cautioned that the apparent correlation between party strength and structure did not imply a simple causal relationship. Like the proverbial 'chicken and the egg,' strength encouraged structure and vice versa (*The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy*, Harper Torchbook [New York, 1965], 80).

2. Formisano, "Social Bases," 160.
3. Martin Van Buren, *Inquiry into the Origins and Course of Political Parties in the United States* (New York, 1867, 1967), 61.
4. Hofstadter, *Idea of a Party System*, 16-17, 23. The latter quote is from Bolingbroke's, *A Dissertation upon Parties*, in his *Works* (1734), II, 48, as quoted in Hofstadter, *Idea of a Party system*, 23.
5. Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.*, Vintage Books (New York, 1955), 215, 259-60.
6. McCormick, *Second Party System*, 267, 270, recognized that the Whigs in Ohio achieved a balance with the Democrats and that this development preceded that of many other states.
7. Chambers, "Party Development and the American Mainstream," in Chambers and Burnham, *American Party Systems*, 10. Donald E. Stokes comments that "like all good prejudices, the electorate's basic dispositions have a tremendous capacity to keep people behaving in accustomed ways" ("Party Loyalty and the Likelihood of Deviating Elections," *Journal of Politics*, XXIV [Nov., 1962], 689-90).
8. Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party," 470, 483-84.
9. Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 235; Van Buren, *Inquiry*, 7.
10. Stokes, "Party Loyalty," 691; Campbell, *American Voter*, 66-67, 201, concluded that once made, partisan choice tends to be maintained long after its political sources have faded into oblivion; Smith, *Town in American*, 114-15.
11. Hyman, *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior* (Glencoe, 1959), 19.
12. Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party," 481.
13. Chaddock, *Ohio Before 1850*, 56. Jacob Burnet, the Cincinnati Federalist, adamantly opposed liberalized suffrage laws (North-Western Territory, 323, 363); Pole, "Constitutional Reform in Maryland," 218; Williamson, *Suffrage*, 216-17; Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 228-30.
14. John D. Barnhart, *Valley of Democracy: The Frontier Versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818* (Bloomington, 1953), 150-53, 155; William T. Utter, "Ohio Politics and Politicians, 1802-1815" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929), 54.
15. Charles Cist, *The Cincinnati Miscellany* (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1845-46), I, 60; Ryan, "Nullification in Ohio," 413-14; *Ohio Federalist* (St. Clairsville), as quoted in the *Express* (Zanesville), Aug. 15, 1816.
16. Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party," 478, 17.
17. Utter, "St. Tammany," 327-28, 333, 335-36.
18. Fischer, *Revolution in Conservatism*, 110, 119; Utter, *Frontier State*, 114-15; John Jay to Jedediah Morse, Jan. 30, 1799, in *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, ed. by Henry P. Johnston (4 vols., New York, 1890-93, IV, 252-54; Alexander Hamilton to James A. Bayard, April, 1802, in *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. by Henry Cabot Lodge, *Federalist Edition* (12 vols., New York, 1904), X, 432-37; William B. McGroarty, "The Washington Society of Alexandria," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, IX (1928), 152, as quoted in Fischer, *Revolution in Conservatism*, 114.

19. Fischer, *Revolution in Conservatism*, 151, 169; *Mt. Hope Eagle* (Bristol, R.I.), Feb. 21, 1807, as quoted in Fisher, *Revolution in Conservatism*, 181.
20. Charles s. Sydnor, "The One-Party Period of American History," *American Historical Review*, LI (April, 1846), 439-51, is the best treatment of party structure in this period. Hofstadter, *Idea of a Party System*, treats the continuity of anti-partyism as a basic American attitude from 1780 to 1840.
21. Utter, *Frontier State*, and McCormick, *Second American Party System*, were the most authoritative; *Laws of Ohio*, XVII, 45-46; XVIII, 46-60, 94-100; XXII, 29-32. The reforms covered fraud, polling procedures, election dates, qualifications of presidential electors, construction of ballot boxes, duties of election officials, how to break ties, penalties for bribery, and penalties for taking advantage of illiterate voters; Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," *Cincinnati Commercial*, Dec. 6, 1869.
22. *Niles Register*, May 3, 1823, Oct. 21, 1820, Mar. 30, 1822.
23. Estwich Evans, "A Pedestrian Tour...1818," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 282-83.
24. *Liberty Hall*, Dec. 2, Aug. 26, 1823.
25. McCormick, *Second American Party System*; Stevens, *Early Jackson Party*; Eugene H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (1917), 153-224; Homer J. Webster, "History of the Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest, 1824-1840," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1915), 1-120; McCormick, *Second American Party System*, 263, should be compared to the maps presented by Roseboom, "Election of 1824" and Davis, "Whig Party in Ohio."
26. Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," *Cincinnati Commercial*, Dec. 13, 1869.
27. *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1869; Webster, "Democratic Organization," 13-15; *National Republican*, Sept. 13, 1825.
28. Farrell, "Cincinnati in the Early Jackson Era," 205. *Cincinnati Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1827, noted the suspected connection between Jackson and local committees and stated that the Administration had no party ticket. See the same paper, Oct. 7, 1827, for an editorial against the practice of joining national and local politics. Ostrogorski's critique can be found in his *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, II, 33-34, 41-42, 54, 278-79, 288-89. James s. Chase, "Jacksonian Democracy and the Rise of the Nominating Convention," *Mid-America*, XLV (Oct., 1963), 245, 247-48, offers the view that the convention was an undemocratic contrivance; *Western Cornet (Xenia)*, Oct. 19, 1827.
29. *Ohio State Bulletin* (Columbus), Aug. 12, 26, 1829; Webster, "Democratic Organization" 27-28; *National Republican*, May 27, July 8, Aug. 26, 1828; *Liberty Hall*, Aug. 21, 1828; Farrell, "Cincinnati in the Early Jackson Era," 173-76; McCormick, *Second American Party System*, 13, *passim*. One should also be aware of Robert E. Shalhope's critique of the McCormick thesis which stressed the distinctive qualities of the two parties rather than their organizational similarities ("Jacksonian Politics in Missouri: A Comment on the McCormick Thesis," *Civil War History*, XV [Sept., 1969], 210-25).
30. The competitiveness index follows McCormick, "New Perspectives," note 18, p. 299.
31. Cole, *Northern Evangelists*, 151; Whittlesey to Joshua R. Giddings, July 21, 1828, Giddings MSS, as quoted in Stewart, *Giddings*, 19-20. In 1832, the National Republican Party in Ohio withdrew its gubernatorial nominee in favor of the Antimasonic candidate. The Antimasons adopted the National Republican slate of presidential electors the same year (*Niles Register*, Oct. 10, 1832).
32. *Kraditor, Means and Ends*, 25-26; Wayland, *Limitations of Human Responsibility* (Boston, 1838), 188; Bushnell, *Politics Under the Law of God* (Hartford, 1844), 11-12.
33. Formisano credits the Antimasons in Michigan with the precedents in party regularity ("*Social Bases*,"¹¹ 173).
34. Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," *Cincinnati Commercial*, Jan. 3, 1870; Webster, "Democratic Organization," 36-37.

35. Cleveland Herald, Aug. 26, 1830; Farrell, "Cincinnati in the Early Jackson Era," 210; Western Herald & Steubenville Gazette, Dec. 4, Nov. 6, 1830.
36. Western Reserve Chronicle (Warren), Oct. 7, Sept. 30, 16, 1830.
37. Laws of Ohio, XXIX, 44-56; see note 27.
38. Western Post & Perry Advertiser (Somerset), Aug. 31, 1833, Oct. 21, 1835; Ashtabula Sentinel (Jefferson), Oct. 12, 1833; Advocate of Tuscarawas (New Philadelphia), Oct. 5, 1835; Daily Cleveland Herald, Oct. 14, 1835.
39. For corroboration of Whig organization in 1834, see Cleveland Herald & Gazette, Oct. 3, 1838.
40. Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson, 1870," 27; Cincinnati Commercial, Jan. Niles Register, Sept. 6, 1834.
41. Cleveland Whig, Oct. 8, 1834.
42. An example of the reaction to removal of the deposits was Mansfield, Personal Memories, 284-85. See also the many petitions forwarded to Congress in 1834, of which some were published in Washington by Gales & Seaton in 1834, and others by the United States House of Representatives, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess, 471-73, 475-76, 502.
43. Davis, "Whig Party in Ohio," 223; Reed, "Whig Party," 245-47, 375-76.
44. Chardon Spectator, Oct. 25, 1834; Ohio State Journal, Oct. 18, 1834.
45. Davis, "Whig Party in Ohio," 231-32.
46. Webster, "Democratic Organization," 52-54, 62-66, 106-07, 88-91.
47. Castigator & Democratic Expositor (Ripley), Sept. 28, 1836; Ohio News (Hillsborough), Aug. 25, 1837.
48. Western Star (Lebanon), Sept. 30, 1836; Ohio City Argus, Oct. 20, 1836; Ohio State Journal, Oct. 15, 1836. The Liberty Hall emphasized office-holder despotism. See the Oct. 13, 1838 issue.
49. Oct. 5, 1837; Ohio Repository (Canton), Oct. 3, 1839; Guernsey Times (Cambridge), Oct. 14, 1837; Ohio Statesman, Oct. 15, 22, 1839; Ohio State Journal, Oct. 18, 22, 1839; Scioto Gazette, Oct. 3, 10, 17, 1839.
50. Oct. 14, 1837; Guernsey Times, Sept. 29, 1838; Circleville Herald, Sept. 29, 1838, Sept. 14, 1839; Howells, Recollections, 195. See also Aurora, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1841; Newark Gazette, Oct. 19, 1843; Western Telegraph & Hamilton Intelligencer, Sept. 22, 1842.
51. Williamson, Suffrage, 263, 266-67, 287.
52. Electoral law and commentary on it can be found in the following: Laws of Ohio, XXXV, 55-56; XXXVII, 79-80; House Journal, 1844-45, 309, 393, 554, 590, 663, 751, 844, 850, 854, 910, 924, 929; Troy Times, June 5, 1839, Oct. 6, 1841; Cincinnati Gazette, Sept. 23, 1844, Oct. 13, 1847; Watchman (Circleville), Sept. 19, 1845; and Cincinnati Enquirer, Sept. 18, 19, 1845, Oct. 3, 6, 1846, Oct. 29, 1848.
53. Union Star (Marysville), Oct. 15, 1841; Wooster Democrat, Oct. 13, 20, 1841; Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 7, 1841; Circleville Herald, Oct. 15, 1842; Ohio Star, Oct. 18, 1843; Holt, Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850, 17; Liberty Hall, Oct. 1, 1840; Scioto Gazette, Nov. 5, 1840.
54. The distinction here is between my own findings in Ohio and Hofstadter, Idea of a Party System, 265, 269.