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Adams County History 2009

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Adams County History 2009

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ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



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Cover Illustrations: *This neckerchief from the Harrison-Tyler Whig presidential election Campaign of 1840 is an example of the quickening of American political life which we have called Jacksonian Democracy. It is one of the oldest artifacts in the Society's collection, having been given in 1950.*

ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



2009

Volume 15

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Dr. Michael J. Birkner, editor
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Statement of Purpose

The Adams County Historical Society is committed to the preservation of the social, political, and religious history of the county and to the promotion of the study of history. Expressing its commitment, the society maintains museum displays a valuable library of publications, and manuscript material which includes estate papers, deed books, land surveys, and newspapers. In addition, it publishes important historical studies and reprints of earlier studies on Adams County, a newsletter, and a journal.

The editorial board of Adams County History encourages and invites the submission of essays and notices reflecting the rich history of Adams County. Submission should be typed double spaced and available in a pc compatible word processing format. Contributors should include a hardcopy and electronic copy of their work on a CD-ROM. Generally, style should conform to the latest edition of the Chicago Manual of Style. Contributors should retain copies of the typescript submitted. If return is desired, a self-addressed envelope with postage should be included.

Submissions and inquires should be addressed to:

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Editor's Note

When Barack Obama was elected president in 2008 he made history. But the genuine enthusiasm his candidacy generated, along with a tidal wave of votes, did not change the historical trend line of presidential balloting in Adams County. As Charles Glatfelter demonstrates in "Adams County Votes for President," Countians have been enthusiastic participants in this great ritual, but they have not always mirrored the nation's preferences. Over the course of two centuries of presidential voting, under different systems and with different levels of enthusiasm, the majority poll in the county has favored losers more than winners. Adams said "no" in thunder to the popular Thomas Jefferson in 1804, to war president Abraham Lincoln in 1864, to Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944, among others. More recently the county lined up against Barack Obama and decidedly in favor of his Republican opponent, Arizona Senator John McCain.

Glatfelter's exegesis of voting trends in Adams County—the extension of several previous explorations of the subject during his years as Executive Director of the Historical Society—offers a wide lens on the business of presidential voting. He follows Adams County from its Federalist leanings in the early republic, to consistent adherence to Whigs, to intermittent Republican surges in 1860, 1872, and 1896. (It's not a local source of pride that Adams Countians preferred Democrat Gen. George B. McClellan to Republican Lincoln in 1864.) Since 1900, however, the County has evolved into a Republican stronghold, except for a few years where the Democratic nominee (Wilson in 1912, Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964), overwhelmed the opposition throughout the country. In those cases, Adams joined the pack.

Glatfelter highlights several themes: the rise of voter participation in the Jacksonian Era, the arrival of female suffrage in 1920, and fairly steady population growth but continued Republican dominance into the 21st century. Given Adams County's continued rural complexion, it is not difficult to grasp its adherence to Republican tickets in the modern era. Democrats have consistently run stronger in urban areas, while Republicans have prospered most in small towns, the exurbs and the hinterland.

The author of this article announces that this will be his last word on the topic. Let us hope that in this one case, he speaks without authority.

Our annual book review this year was produced by Gettysburg College reference librarian emerita Anna Jane Moyer. Herself a keen student of women's history, and author of papers on Elsie Singmaster and other women writers, Jane Moyer was the ideal reviewer for Susan Hill's new book. It is good to see Singmaster brought to life again as Ms. Hill has done, and for that work to receive the discerning attention it receives in the pages of *Adams County History*.

Michael J. Birkner
March 10, 2010

Adams County Votes for President, 1804-2008

By Charles H. Glatfelter

Preface

By Way of Background

The Constitution of 1787

The Federal Government, 1788-1804

A Federalist County, 1804-1828

Mania and Democracy, Jackson Style

A Whig County, 1832-1852

A Democratic County, 1856-1916

Election of 1860

Election of 1864

Election of 1872

Election of 1896

Election of 1904

Elections of 1912 and 1916

A Republican County, since 1920

All illustrations in this work are from the collections of the Adams County Historical Society unless otherwise noted.

Preface

This is the sixth occasion on which, under the auspices of the Adams County Historical Society, I have reported on the county's participation in the quadrennial election of a president of the United States. The first of these occurred in the form of a talk to the monthly meeting of the society on election night, November 7, 1972. The lengthy report of what was said there which appeared in the next day's issue of the *Gettysburg Times* shows that its basic outline is repeated in what follows. A second presentation followed on November 2, 1976 and a third on November 4, 1980. Apparently interest in this topic waned, because there was no fourth report until November 7, 2000, on which occasion, for good and sufficient reasons, I announced that it was the last time I would address the society on any topic. There are times when minds are changed.

This explains why a fifth presentation of Adams County votes for president was made at the society meeting on March 3, 2009. With much new material included, this sixth presentation takes the form of an essay rather than a talk and will certainly be my last venture into this interesting and important topic.

Readers should remember that this is the work of a college professor (long an emeritus but still a professor), one who still believes that it is his mission on occasions such as this to present the most credible facts possible, but not to usurp the reader's right, indeed obligation, to decide what conclusions should be drawn from the evidence.

In transforming a talk into an essay, I have benefited greatly from the support in various ways of the following staff members of the society: Executive Director Wayne E. Motts, Director of Historical Collections Benjamin K. Neely, Research Assistant Timothy H. Smith, and Administrative Assistant Jan Beebe. Among the society volunteers who have responded to my requests for assistance are Bonnie Abenshon, Dale Molina, Bonnie Richardson, and Linda Seamon.

Casey Ann Decker and Natalie Hinton of the Interlibrary Loan Department of Gettysburg College, as well as Lila Fourhman-Shaull, Archivist/Librarian of the York County Heritage Trust, have made available data from early presidential elections. Director Christy Depew of the York County Archives and Jonathan P. Stayer, Head of the Reference Section of the Pennsylvania State Archives, have satisfied me that certain early election information was simply not now available. Dr. Michael J. Birkner, editor of this journal, has encouraged me every step of the way. Sheryl Snyder has turned a not very legible script into this computer rendered document.

As work in transforming a talk given on March 3, 2009 into this essay was about to begin in earnest, I lost the person who stood beside me and supported me for more than sixty-two years, my wife, Miriam G. Glatfelter. She was at once my best friend and severest critic, a wonderful combination to have in a wife. The effects on me of my loss explain why this volume of the journal is many months late. I dedicate this essay to the memory of Miriam Grace Krebs Glatfelter.

March 3, 2010

Charles H. Glatfelter

By Way of Background

Adult male Europeans who were living in what is now Adams County, Pennsylvania, when York County was formed in 1749 could not vote to choose either their king or their governor. Thanks to the royal grant of 1682, their governor in 1749 took the form of two Penn proprietors, named Thomas and Richard. Thanks to the political principles of the first proprietor, William Penn, adult male Adams countians could participate in electing some of the officers responsible for the orderly operation of government in the province. They could vote for two representatives in the provincial legislative assembly, three York County commissioners, six county assessors, a sheriff, and a coroner. In the cases of the two latter officers, the voters nominated two candidates, of whom the governor commissioned the one of his choice.

Potential voters had to meet certain qualifications in the form of ownership of real estate or personal property. Strictly speaking, they had to be British citizens, but probably on some occasions Germans who had not been naturalized were permitted to cast ballots. Giving the vote to adult females was something far in the future.¹

Since surviving election returns from this period rarely give more information than the name of the winners, we do not know how many voters participated in these elections.

Adult Adams County males before the revolution could share other than by voting in the ways in which they were governed. Since every township in the province had officers who were appointed by the county commissioners or the courts to collect taxes, care for the poor, supervise roads, and maintain order (constables), since service in these offices was mandatory, and since terms were usually for one year, many early countians gained valuable experience in self-government. All thirteen provinces in British North America relied upon some measure of public participation in their day-by-day operations. As a result, on July 4, 1776 there was a large reservoir of experience in self-government in the United States, thanks in no small measure to what the British had long permitted the colonials to develop for themselves.

The thirteen provinces had begun to act together, however loosely, as early as 1774, when the First Continental Congress met. The Second Continental Congress, which assembled a year later, remained in operation prosecuting the war to its successful conclusion. It went out of existence only when what was called the "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union" between thirteen states went into effect in March 1781. The treaty of peace with Great Britain two years later recognized "the said United States" to be "free, sovereign and independent States," but it was one document, not thirteen, which the British signed.

One may debate how successful government under the Articles of Confederation was in meeting the needs of the 1780s and whether if allowed to continue beyond that decade it might have survived into a new century, but there is no doubt that by the summer of 1787 a convention summoned specifically to amend the Articles, nothing more, had produced an entirely new document and submitted it to the states for ratification. When New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution in June 1788, steps were taken immediately to put the new government into operation.

The Constitution of 1787

The delegates who met in Philadelphia between May and September 1787 had no access to European documents for use as guides in their deliberations. Neither Great Britain, France, Germany, nor even Switzerland could have sent copies of their written constitutions, if only because they had none. Something of value could perhaps have been learned from what was known about the experiences of ancient Greece and Rome, but certainly their most useful guide was derived from their own experiences as provinces in British North America. Each province had one or more written documents which a king or proprietor had issued and which could serve to some extent as a constitution. In the case of Pennsylvania it was the Charter of Privileges which William Penn granted in 1701.³

From the start, the framers agreed that any form of government they would approve and recommend to the states would have to rest finally on the will of the people themselves. The problem, which many if not most thought was nearly impossible to solve, was how to devise a set of provisions most likely to insure the use of what they called reason in governing and to minimize the use of what they called passion or faction.

While New Yorkers were debating whether to ratify the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote eighty-five articles strongly defending the document. These essays appeared in New York newspapers and were later published as *The Federalist Papers*. These men accepted that there are inevitable differences of opinion among free people. Like-minded ones form factions. We might call them political parties. In the famous essay number 10, James Madison asserted that “the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society.” When issues are to be decided, factions might use reason to approve what is the best possible course of action, although not the perfect one, in a particular instance, but they might even more often passionately adopt a course which ignores every interest but their own.⁴

None of the framers advocated adopting what they called a democracy, which they defined as a government in which the eligible voters assembled in person, debated, and then reached decisions. They believed that in a democracy it was tempting for unscrupulous leaders to arouse passion and turn it into what amounted to a mobocracy. They were also convinced that this form of government could never apply to any but very small areas and would never be lasting.

What was left, since monarchy was out of the question, was something the framers called a republic, in which eligible voters elected representatives who would then deliberate on their behalf and make decisions. It could be extended over large areas. The framers were realistic enough to believe that while this form of government might make it more difficult for passion to replace reason, that outcome was not assured.

Consequently, the framers undertook to craft a constitution which in their opinion would preserve the ultimate role of the people in their government, but which would

dilute that role by an elaborate system of checks and balances.

Article I vested all legislative power in a Congress of two houses, each of which had to approve measures before they became laws. The terms of Senators were six years; members were elected by state legislatures, not by the people. The terms of House members were two years; they were chosen by the voters, but each state determined who qualified to vote in its election. The President could veto bills, but the veto could be overridden.

Article II vested executive power in a President, elected for a term of four years. Several leading members of the convention, who believed that a strong executive power was needed, something which did not exist under the Articles of Confederation, argued for election by the people. They were in the minority. Other members of the convention believed that Congress should elect the President. They too were in the minority, since this would have destroyed the separation of powers, which the majority favored.

The compromise which was adopted called for the president and vice president to be chosen by a number of electors equal to the total number of members of both houses of Congress, to be chosen for each presidential election as each state legislature directs. Congress was authorized to determine the date of election of the electors and the date on which they would vote, "which Day shall be the same throughout the United States." The foregoing is a description of what we have always known as the electoral college, a term which does not appear in the Constitution.

Article III vested federal judicial power in one Supreme Court and such other courts as Congress would from time to time determine. The Constitution defined only the limits of federal judicial power, but left it to Congress to determine from time to time what the actual limits should be.

There are other examples of the system of checks and balances incorporated into the Constitution in 1787, but the ones cited here should be sufficient as context for the reported exchange between a lady and Benjamin Franklin soon after the convention adjourned. "Well, Doctor Franklin, what kind of government have you given us?" He reportedly replied: "A republic, if you can keep it."⁵

The Federal Government, 1788-1804

In response to a provision in the new Constitution, on September 13, 1788 Congress, still operating under the Articles of Confederation, ordered that the first presidential electors in each state were to be chosen on the first Wednesday in January 1789 (which was the seventh) and that they were to meet and cast their votes on the first Wednesday in February (which was the fourth). On October 4, 1788 the Pennsylvania legislature decided that the ten electors to which the state was then entitled were to be chosen, not by its members, as was the case in several other states, but by the voters. The 1776 Pennsylvania constitution then in effect specified that any person (the word used was freeman) twenty-one years of age or older who had lived in the state for one year and

paid what were called public taxes was entitled to vote in any election. These taxes could be on real estate, personal property (such as a horse or a cow), or on an occupation. In the case of a single person, payment of a small head tax would qualify him to vote.⁷

Even after an elected Pennsylvania convention had ratified the Constitution in December 1787, considerable opposition to the document remained in different parts of the state. Some argued it should be amended immediately. A few thought it should be repudiated.⁸

A conference which met in Harrisburg in September 1788, to nominate candidates for the House of Representatives, also selected some candidates for presidential electors, who if elected might have considered voting for someone other than George Washington as president. A conference which met in Lancaster in November chose ten electoral candidates who were strong supporters of the Constitution as adopted. On January 7, 1789 the voters gave an average of 6,297 votes to the Lancaster ticket and an average of 443 votes to the Harrisburg ticket.⁹

As the state law required, the ten electors met in Reading, not Philadelphia, on February 4, 1789. The Constitution directed each elector to “vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves.” When all of the votes cast have been counted, “the Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole number of Electors appointed.” The person having the next largest number shall be the Vice President. Provision was made for selecting both officers if these provisions were not met. The ten Pennsylvania electors voted for George Washington. Eight cast their second vote for John Adams and two for John Hancock.

Lacking a quorum until April 6, 1789, the Senate of the United States could not organize and count the electoral votes until that date. With ten states participating (not including in this first election Rhode Island, New York, and North Carolina), each of the 69 electors cast one vote for George Washington. John Adams received 34 of the second votes, enough to elect him vice president. The other second votes were cast for ten other persons.

Four years later, the first federal census had been taken. There were now 135 electors, 15 of whom were from Pennsylvania. Again there were two tickets, one which was described as supporting “the federal interest in Pennsylvania,” and the other which was labeled the “Rights of Man” ticket. The election occurred on November 6, 1792. The federal ticket received an average of 2,543 votes and the opposition received an average of 1,042. When the electors met on December 5, 1792, George Washington received 132 votes and John Adams, 77. Three electors, two from Maryland and one from Vermont, are not on record as having voted. Most of the second vote not cast for John Adams went to George Clinton, who was governor of New York from 1777 to 1795 and had opposed adoption of the Constitution. Having received the required majority, Washington and Adams were reelected.¹¹

The presidential election of 1796 was the first one in which George Washington was not a candidate. In his farewell address published in a Philadelphia newspaper on September

17, he explained why he was retiring from public office and urged his fellow countrymen to pursue policies at home and abroad intended to preserve their precious possession, which he termed “the union of the whole.” In what he called “the most solemn manner” he warned “against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.” He was surely aware that parties were even then rapidly developing as Americans differed sharply on issues such as responding to the French Revolution and resisting the 1791 federal excise tax on whiskey.

One likely candidate for president in 1796 was John Adams, completing his second term as Washington’s vice president and supporter of most of his policies. Another possible candidate was Thomas Jefferson, who resigned as Secretary of State in December 1793 because of his disagreement with those policies. Jefferson took no active role in advancing himself as a candidate. That task was left chiefly to his friend James Madison.

The author of an article which appeared in the October 26, 1796 issue of the weekly *Pennsylvania Herald and York General Advertiser* and addressed “to the citizens of York County” declared that the “approaching Election...must be considered a crisis of importance and general concernment, equal to any that has occurred, since the adoption of the present form of Government.” The reason for such concern, he wrote, is simple. “One part of the community,...manifest a degree of peevishness and discontent at every public measure entered into by our Government, whence it arrives that every transaction of the administration,...is arraigned, characters most eminent...are calumniated and reviled, their public conduct misrepresented, and every stratagem attempted to ruin them in the confidence of the people.”

This faction, which already exists “in every part of the United States,” knows that it can make no headway “as long as Washington holds the reins of Government.” Now it sees “an opportunity...to gain an ascendancy.” Its supporters have chosen as their candidate Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, “a man who has long been suspected inimical to our present Govern- ment.”

To oppose Jefferson, “the friends of Government, and its present prudent administration,” have presented as their candidate John Adams of Massachusetts, “a man of exalted talents, and inflexible integrity,” whose long service to his country in many capacities “justly challenge for him, the honor of becoming the successor of Washington.”

The author of this article reminded his readers that York County, “by its uniform zeal for the support of order and good Government, has acquired considerable reputation among that part of the community, denominated Federalists,” If its voters turn out in sufficient strength, the electors chosen in Pennsylvania should be of that party and John Adams should be elected. “The Federalists hope every thing from your exertions,” he wrote, “the Antifederalists and Democrats dread every thing from your unanimity.”¹²

At the election of November 4, the voters of York County cast 3,224 votes for the Federalist electors and 141 votes for their opponents.¹³ It quickly became apparent that at the state level the two emerging political parties were almost evenly balanced.

The law required the governor to certify the names of the fifteen electors having the highest number of votes within fourteen days of the election, but at the end of the day on November 18 three western counties – Westmoreland, Fayette, and Greene – had not yet reported. Only after consulting legal advice and receiving the Westmoreland and Fayette returns did he act on November 24 to certify the names of the fifteen persons with the highest number of votes. Thirteen were supporters of Jefferson and two of Adams. Of these, fourteen cast their vote for Jefferson and one for Adams. The highest vote cast for a Jefferson elector was 12,306 and for an Adams elector 12,217.¹⁴

Tennessee having been admitted to the Union on June 1, 1796, there were 138 electors chosen for this presidential election, eligible to cast a total of 276 electoral votes. Their performance was not a repeat of what their predecessors had done in 1789 and 1792. The presence of a party division already evident in those elections emerged full blown now, but their organization for this election had not developed to a point which would give either of their candidates the results they desired. John Adams received 71 votes; Thomas Jefferson 68; Thomas Pinckney, a Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr, a Democrat, 30; and nine other candidates, some of them Federalists and some Democrats, the remaining 48 votes. Since John Adams received one more than the required majority “of the whole number of Electors appointed,” he was elected president and Thomas Jefferson, having received the next highest number of votes, became vice president. Is this what the framers intended?¹⁵ One would expect that some of them believed it would happen, and more than once.

After an effort lasting about ten years, Adams was separated from its parent York County on January 22, 1800. Gettysburg became the county seat. In 1790 the population of York County was 37,747. Ten years later York had 25,643 residents and Adams 13,173. Government in the new county began to function almost immediately. The governor appointed the first row officer on January 24. The first courts met in June. County officers were elected in October. Some residents at least must have looked forward to participating in their first presidential election as Adams countians in the fall. Had they been eligible at the time they could have voted as York Countians – and perhaps they did – in the presidential elections of 1789, 1792, and 1796.

In preparation for the election in 1800, Congress directed that presidential electors were to be chosen, however the state legislatures might determine, in early November and that the electors were to meet and vote on December 3. When the Pennsylvania legislature opened its regular annual session in December 1799 and began planning for the election, it quickly became clear that the two houses were able to agree on only one thing: as in the three previous presidential elections, the voters should choose the electors. The House of Representatives, with a large Democratic majority, insisted on continuing to use the general ticket method. Having carried the day in several recent state elections, they believed this method might well give them all fifteen of the state’s electors. The Senate, with a small and decreasing Federalist majority, insisted on using the district method for choosing electors, which had not been tried before, although it had been considered, in the belief that they could choose at least several electors in the Federalist sections of the

state, presumably including York and Adams counties. After repeated efforts to reach a compromise on this matter had failed, the legislature adjourned on March 17 without taking any action and without setting a date on which to reconvene.

The two contenders for the presidency in 1800 were the incumbent president, John Adams, and the incumbent vice president, Thomas Jefferson. The *York Recorder*, which began publication on January 29 of that year, in its issue of September 24 reported on a recent meeting of "Federal Republicans of the Counties of York and Adams" in an Abbottstown tavern, which not only recommended candidates for Congress and the state Senate, but also named a committee to prepare and publish an address "on the subject of the ensuing Election."¹⁷

Over the signatures of thirty-four persons, this address "to the electors of York and Adams Counties "was published on October 1. After praising the wise, virtuous, and enlightened policies of "the immortal Washington" and his "wise and virtuous successor," they warned that a party which had "united art, intrigue, and industry, to promote the election of Mr. Jefferson," if successful, will result in "an immediate and total change of measures," resulting in "all those evils and calamities, from which...we have hitherto been preserved."

They condemned "those pretended Republicans" in the legislature who rejected " that just mode of electing by Districts, when the public voice would be truly expressed," insisting instead on the general ticket, thus "unjustly arrogating to themselves,...the sole and exclusive right of appointing all the Electors from this State." If they succeed, the committee contended, they will "exclude the Federal part of the State from vote or representation in that important transaction." They urged voters to elect the Federalist candidate for their state Senate seat and everywhere "continue those men who have grown old in the public service."

At the state election on October 14 the Democrats increased their majority in the legislature. Four days later the governor called that body to meet in special session on November 5. Obviously it was no longer possible to authorize the voters to elect fifteen electors. If there was much of a delay of any kind, Pennsylvania would not be able to participate in the election in any way. After several weeks of wrangling, on December 1 the legislature passed a law directing each house to name eight persons, who did not need to be members. Each house would then vote, the Senate first and then the House of Representatives, for fifteen persons on that list. The ones who received the largest numbers would become the electors. On the next day the governor appointed the fifteen highest, who met in Harrisburg on December 3. Of these, eight voted for Thomas Jefferson and seven for John Adams. By holding firm, the Federalists had denied their political opponents of "the sole and exclusive right of appointing all the Electors from this State." In fact, the Federalists surely gained more electoral votes in Pennsylvania than they would have had if the district method had been adopted.

When all of the electoral votes were counted, it was found that Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, Democrats, each had 73 votes. For the Federalists, John Adams had 65 votes, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had 64, and John Jay had 1. During the preceding

four years the two parties had learned that each of their electors should cast his two votes for the candidates they had already agreed on for president and vice president, but now no one had the required majority of votes cast. According to the Constitution the House of Representatives had to choose between Jefferson and Burr. For this purpose each state had one vote. Not until February 17, 1801 and the thirty-sixth ballot, did Thomas Jefferson obtain the ten votes needed. He became president and Aaron Burr vice president.¹⁸

A Federalist County, 1804-1828

Year	Federalist	Democratic	Total
1804	<u>250</u> Pinckney	209* Jefferson	459
1808	366 Pinckney	<u>414</u> * Madison	780
1812	<u>746</u> Clinton	410* Madison	1156
1816	<u>448</u> King	205* Monroe	653
1820		330* Monroe	330
1824	348 Adams	<u>390</u> * Jackson	747
1828	<u>1461</u> Adams	1242* Jackson	2703

The 1824 vote includes 9 cast for Clay electors.

County majority or plurality vote underlined. Asterisk indicates national election winner. Other party vote given only when it exceeded 99. Sources: Gettysburg newspapers, Pennsylvania Manual, Adams County Bureau of Voter Registration and Elections. Totals may vary from one source to another.

The presidential election of 1804 was the first in which the voters of Adams County helped elect the electors.

In 1804 the county by state law was divided into five election districts, in four of which the elections were conducted in taverns. By 1828 the number of districts had been increased to fourteen.¹⁹ Under the constitution of 1790 voters had to be twenty-one years of age, a resident of the state for two years (under the constitution of 1776 it was one year), and a state or county taxpayer during that time.²⁰ There was no voter registration in advance of the election. Possession of a tax receipt was sufficient evidence. The law stated that elections were to be by ballots, but these were not instruments prepared and made available by the county. Rather, they were either what were called tickets, prepared by the parties and given to voters to cast or they were simply pieces of paper to be dropped into the ballot box.

The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, designed to prevent a reoccurrence of what had happened four years earlier, was ratified in June 1804. Now the presidential electors were required to “name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and

in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President.” Then they were instructed to prepare “distinct lists” of all persons voted on for each office. A majority of “the whole number of Electors appointed” was required for election to either office. Provision was made for choosing either officer if a majority was not obtained.

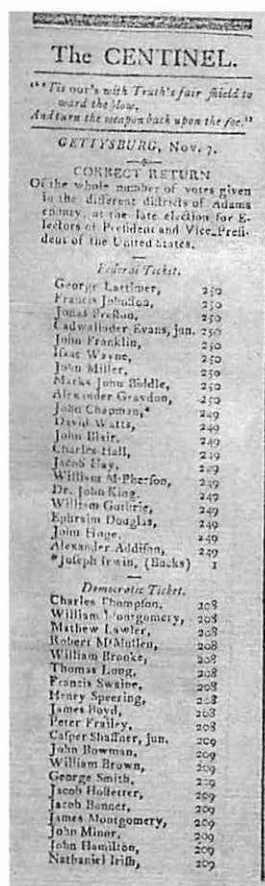
Sanford W. Higginbotham entitled his 1952 work on Pennsylvania politics during the years 1800-1816 *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch*. He took his title from the term which some contemporaries gave to the administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.²¹ There was no popular vote in Pennsylvania for the president in 1800, but in the three following elections the Democrats garnered 113,345 votes to 41,944 for their Federalist opponents. The most reliable Democratic areas in the state were in Philadelphia and the southwestern counties in which the resistance to the whiskey tax had been centered. The most reliable Federalist areas were in southeastern counties from Bucks to Lancaster, and included Adams.

During these years, as they had been since the Washington administration, Americans were divided in their attitude toward the French Revolution, especially after the French declared war on England and other countries in 1793. Washington issued a proclamation declaring that the United States was neutral in the conflict. When after a period of uneasy peace war resumed in 1803 the Jefferson administration tried to preserve the rights of neutral shipping and end impressment of American seamen. These efforts were largely unsuccessful and, at Madison’s request, Congress declared war on Great Britain in June 1812. Most of the Federalists opposed the administrations’ policies and did not support the war effort.

Adams County was definitely not part of the Democratic arch. Before 1800 it was included in what was then a decidedly Federalist county. As already noted, in 1796 the presidential electoral vote in York County was 3,224 to 141. In 1802, in their first gubernatorial vote since becoming a county, Adams voters strongly supported the Federalist candidate for that office: 944 votes to 648.²²

In 1804, when there was a minimal Federalist effort to oppose the reelection of Thomas Jefferson, a letter to the editor appeared in the Adams Sentinel for October 17, only sixteen days before the election, announcing that

a respectable number of the citizens of Adams County having met accidentally at the house of James Gettys, Esq. in Gettysburg, and (in a desultory conversation) having taken into view the very great importance of the ensuing election for President and Vice-President of the United States



In November 1804 the Sentinel reports the results of Adams County's first presidential electoral election.

had presented a ticket of twenty electors, drawn from counties extending from Philadelphia to Washington. They explained they had acted because of “the apparent negligence of those to whom, it might be supposed, we ought to look for some direction and assistance in so critical a period of our political concerns.” The editor appended a notice to “the different printers in this state,” asking them to give the letter “a place in their respective papers, as early as possible.”²³ Adams County in 1804 had the distinction of being the only one in Pennsylvania opposing Jefferson’s reelection. The vote in the state was 22,311 to 1,429 in his favor. In Adams County it was 209 to 250 against.²⁴

Sanford W. Higgenbotham wrote that “the election of 1808 was a significant demonstration of the depth and strength of Pennsylvania Republicanism.”²⁵ The presidential candidates in that year were Secretary of State James Madison and veteran Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. After the state elections in October and before the choice of presidential electors on November 4, the editor of the *Sentinel* wrote that

Adams County, ever steady in her attachment to Washingtonian politics, is again faithful found among the faithless. Whilst almost every county in the state evidences an increase of democratic votes, we here can boast of an increased strength in favor of genuine federal republican sentiments.

The editor was probably more than a little disappointed to have to report in the issue of November 9 that the county had voted, by a tally of 414 to 366 votes, for Madison over Pinckney. In this election Delaware was the only county to give the Federalists a majority. The statewide vote for electors was 42,518 for Madison and 11,735 for Pinckney.²⁶ The presidential election of 1812 occurred five months after Congress had declared war on Great Britain. Defenders of Madison in his bid for reelection argued that the British attack on America’s rights as a sovereign nation justified, even required, war. His opponents insisted that those rights could, and should, have been defended successfully without war. In Adams County the Federalists gained 746 votes to Madison’s 410. Five counties joined Adams in this election to go Federalist. A total of 49,392 votes were cast for Madison electors and 29,461 for the Federalist candidate, De Witt Clinton.²⁷

The war with Great Britain which ended in 1815 was followed by a period of rapid economic growth, in which all sections of the country participated. Developments in manufacturing marked the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the United States. The production of cotton increased fivefold between 1814 and 1830 and about tenfold by 1840. Wheat and corn became staple crops in the rapidly growing west. The large extent of the country required roads and canals, and within a generation railroads. Business needs called for changes in the system of money and banking. New industries sought tariff protection from foreign competition. By 1815 the Federalist party, which had not controlled the presidency since 1801 and had opposed the war, was largely discredited. It was a Democratic administration which in 1816 revived the United States Bank, whose charter it had allowed to lapse in 1811; passed a protective tariff in the same year; and recognized the need for internal improvements, while questioning whether without a constitutional amendment federal support of them was authorized.

While these developments were occurring, there were serious questions whether the political arrangements worked out by the framers and others since 1787 were any longer adequate. Were the checks and balances designed to preserve while diluting the popular will in effect making it too difficult for that will to prevail? A chief complaint was that while in local situations many of those concerned could meet and select nominees for office, in the state and nation there was no satisfactory way to nominate candidates for governor or president. The usual method of using legislative and congressional caucuses for those purposes was no longer acceptable.

In 1816 a congressional caucus, by a vote of 65 to 54, nominated Secretary of State James Monroe for president. Rufus King, an able and experienced Federalist leader, was his opponent. The *Sentinel* for October 23, 1816 identified the fifteen electors pledged to Monroe as Democrats who had been nominated "by the Members of the Legislature of Pennsylvania." It referred to the opposing nominees, not as Federalists, but as the "Independent Electoral Ticket Formed by the Carlisle Convention."²⁸ The Adams County vote, true to form, was 205 for Monroe and 448 for King. The Pennsylvania vote was 25,609 for Monroe and 17,457 for King. The total here was smaller than it had been in the two preceding elections, in 1808 and 1812.²⁹

In the early spring of 1820 a Democratic congressional caucus met in Washington to nominate candidates for president and vice president in the election later that year. James Monroe and Daniel Tompkins had been popular executives and could look forward to a second term, but the caucus method of choosing candidates had become so unpopular that few congressmen appeared at this meeting. Those who did decided to take no action.

The Monroe and Tompkins names were presented to the Pennsylvania public by a convention of Democrats who met in Lewistown, Pennsylvania, in March. There was no formal Whig party nomination, but some of the president's opponents in the Philadelphia area did put together an electoral ticket of twenty-five names, which was placed before the voters in some, but not all, Pennsylvania counties.³⁰

Readers of the two competing newspapers in Adams County in the summer and fall of 1820 would scarcely learn from them that there was a presidential election plan in

The Centinel.

GETTYSBURG;

Wednesday, November 8.

Gen. Hiester's majority is 1686.—
We expect to publish the official return next week.

Electoral Election.

The following is the return of the Election in this County for Electors of President and Vice-President :

Thomas Leiper,	326
Paul Cox,	324
Daniel Groves,	330
Chandler Price,	330
Pierce Crosby,	329
Andrew Gilkeson,	329
John Hamilton,	330
James Kerr,	327
William Mitchell,	330
Daniel W. Dingman,	330
Gabriel Hiester, sen.	330
John Tod,	327
Phillip Benner,	330
James S. Sanderson,	326
William Clinghan,	330
Melchior Rahm,	330
George Barnitz,	327
James Giffen,	327
John Miley,	310
George Plumer,	330
George Webb,	329
Andrew Sutton,	330
Joseph Huston,	329
Hugh Davis,	328
Patrick Farrelly,	329

In 1820 there was but one presidential ticket in Adams County

progress. There were no addresses to the county voters and no editorial comments. Both the *Sentinel* and the *Compiler* reported weekly on the vigorous contest for governor between William Findlay and Joseph Hiester. They had run against each other in 1817. The former won and now they were competing again. As before, the campaign was a vigorous, sometimes bitter, one.

Only on November 1 did the *Compiler* remind its readers that “on Friday next the citizens of Adams County will have an opportunity to show their respect for ‘Revolutionary Sufferings and Services’ by supporting the Monroe-Tompkins ticket.” The editor added that “Mr. Monroe was an officer in the Revolutionary army, and was wounded at the battle of Trenton, in December, 1776.” The *Sentinel* limited its comment on the same day to the statement that “there will be no opposition in this County to the Democratic Electoral Ticket settled at Lewistown.”

In the gubernatorial election on October 10, Adams County voters cast a total of 2,731 votes, 1,940 of which went to Hiester, who should be considered by spirit, if not in name, the Federalist candidate. When they had the opportunity to return to the polls for the presidential electoral vote on November 3, only 330 votes were cast. This was the smallest number in any presidential election in the history of the county.³¹

The names of John Quincy Adams and De Witt Clinton have been associated with the second ticket in this election, but it is not clear why. The *York Gazette* called it the antislavery ticket. Votes for it were cast in at least eight counties, most of them in southeastern Pennsylvania. The votes in Philadelphia city and county were 1,389, in Lancaster county 147, and in York 60.³²

The electoral college awarded James Monroe 231 votes and John Quincy Adams 1. Several electors died before their votes could be cast. It was long believed that one elector voted for Adams because he thought that George Washington should be the only president ever to be elected unanimously. The New Hampshire elector who voted for Adams may have done so because he disagreed with the policies of James Monroe. Convincing proof is lacking.³³

+ + +

By 1820 not only was the keystone in the democratic arch gone, but also the arch itself had collapsed. After only about a quarter century the first two-party system in America had become a thing of the past. What remained were factions among Democrats and former Federalists, sometimes leaguings with each other, if only temporarily, in an effort to gain or keep power.

To some, both then and since, these years appeared to have been an era of good feelings, but appearances were deceiving. In the first issue of his new Gettysburg newspaper, the *Compiler*, on September 16, 1818, Jacob Lefever wrote that “though there has been a great deal said about the ‘Era of good feelings,’ and the ‘Union of parties;’ yet, it is believed that circumstances may occur which will revive political contentions; if, indeed, they are not already much more violent, between parties calling themselves Republican, than is consistent with the repose and happiness of our country.”³⁴

In his 1940 sequel to the Higginbotham volume, entitled *Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832: A Game Without Rules*, Philip Shriver Klein discussed how, after “a decade of flux and disorder,” there emerged “a new partisan division based on new national issues.” Until the new division was in place, politics could be described as a game without rules. The old ones had been discarded. The new ones were yet to be worked out.³⁵

+ + +

As the presidential election of 1824 approached, the nation was betwixt and between. One thing was certain: no candidate was at all likely to repeat the performance of James Monroe and win every electoral vote but one.

There was more than one likely candidate. One was John Quincy Adams, who after a long and distinguished career was serving as Monroe’s Secretary of State. He was willing, but would not initiate a drive for the office. Another was William H. Crawford, who after a long and distinguished career was serving as secretary of the treasury. Friends had tried unsuccessfully to get a congressional caucus to nominate him for president. A third was Henry Clay, who had been a member and speaker of the House of Representatives and a negotiator of the Treaty of Ghent. He very much wanted to be president. A fourth was Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Battle of New Orleans and commander of an expedition which invaded Florida just prior to its purchase from Florida in 1819. Jackson’s usual answer to requests that he seek the presidency was that he did not want to hold public office, but that he does do his duty when called upon.

In March 1824 delegates from 47 Pennsylvania counties met in Harrisburg to choose what was called “a Republican electoral ticket” for the office of president. After considerable skirmishing, by a vote of 124 to 1, they chose Jackson.³⁶

At least in Adams County, once it began the campaign was not an acrimonious one. In the *Sentinel* for October 27, the Clay committee declared it was “not disposed to detract from the merits of any of the other distinguished citizens who have been nominated for the exalted station of President.” While we do respect their character and public service, they said, they do believe that Clay “unites in himself more of the necessary qualifications for that great office; that there is more to hope, and less to fear from him, than from either of the other candidates.” To the voters of one of the most Federalist of counties in the state, in the *Sentinel* also on October 27 the Adams committee claimed that “the old political divisions and distinctions, are not in Pennsylvania arrayed against each other. The candidates being all of the Republican party are severally supported by their friends, without regard to old political connexion or discrimination.”

On election day, which was October 29, 1824, the Jackson ticket in Adams County received 390 votes, the Adams ticket 348, and the Clay ticket 9. Announcing the results in the *Sentinel* for November 3, the editor reported that “the Jackson Ticket, it will be perceived, has carried by a small majority. The opposition to it throughout the State, would be, generally speaking, but trifling.” The state vote was as follows: Jackson, 35,929; Adams, 5,436; Crawford, 4,182; and Clay, 1,705.³⁷

When the electors met, they cast 99 votes for Jackson, 84 for Adams, 41 for Crawford, and 37 for Clay. Under the Twelfth Amendment the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where the choice had to be made among the three highest candidates and where each state had one vote.³⁸

Philip Klein wrote that “exactly what happened in Washington in the interim between the meeting of the Electoral College and the vote by the House of Representatives will probably never be known.” What is known is that Clay invited his friends to vote for Adams. Some did. On February 9, 1825 in the House thirteen states voted for Adams, seven for Jackson, and four for Crawford. Adams was elected and after he took office appointed Henry Clay his secretary of state. Almost immediately Jackson supporters accused Adams and Clay of a “corrupt bargain.” If there was a bargain, what made it corrupt was never explained. For those who believed it, explanation was probably never necessary.

In Pennsylvania, as well as in other states, the contest for the presidency in 1828 began as soon as the disputed election four years earlier was settled. John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were bound to face each other again.

In some states the Adams supporters called themselves Republicans or National Republicans. The Jacksonians called themselves Democrats. These terms were not used in the *Sentinel* or the *Compiler*. Here we read about the Adams or Administration ticket and the Jackson ticket.

On September 27, 1828 the Jackson supporters, described as “very numerous,” met in the county courthouse, elected a president, three vice presidents, and two secretaries. They then named a committee of five to draft a series of resolutions, which were adopted unanimously before the meeting adjourned.

The resolutions pledged the meeting to use “all honorable and honest means” to defeat Adams, in part because of “the manner” in which he was finally elected and then because of the “prior corrupt understanding” as a result of which he named Henry Clay secretary of state. The resolutions then condemned the president’s economic and foreign policies, charging him and his advisers with abandoning their duties for “electioneering purposes.”

As was to be expected, there was a second set of resolutions. Every member of the meeting pledged to use “all honorable and honest means” to help elect “General Andrew Jackson to the next Presidency.” He is now as he was in 1824 “decidedly the choice of the people.” It was “corruption and faction” that had excluded him from the office to which the Constitution and the voice of his fellow citizens entitle him. The resolutions then enumerate the reasons he deserves to be elected: his services as a soldier, talents as a statesman, commitment to reform, rejection of any “prior bargain and secret contract,” and good character.

The meeting then appointed a “committee of vigilance,” whose duties were not defined, but whose names were published in both papers. Drawn from the borough of Gettysburg and thirteen townships, the list includes some 500 names.⁴⁰ Similar lists of such details from other campaigns have not been found.

Commenting on the state elections, which were held on October 3, the editor of the Sentinel observed on October 22 that the voter turnout and customary majority were smaller than they might have been but

notwithstanding the Jackson mania which appears to pervade Pennsylvania, our little County retains that steadiness of character, for which she is proverbial. She cannot be fastened to the car of a "Military chieftain." She will, we hope, for the honor of the county, on the 31st, record her vote, firmly and undauntingly in favor of the candidate, in whose Administration she sees every thing done, that can be done for the good of our common country—and in opposition to one, from whom we have nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. Let us show to the world, that "if Rome must fall, we are innocent."

At the electoral election on October 31, 1828 the Adams ticket carried ten of the county's fourteen districts and polled 1,461 votes. The Jackson ticket carried the remaining four and polled 1,242. The turnout was the largest yet in a presidential electoral election and almost four times greater than the one in 1824.

In the issue of November 5, the editor of the Sentinel had this final commentary:

The majority for the Administration Ticket in this county, is not so large as we had calculated upon. It would be, indeed, surprising, that we had a majority at all—considering the Jackson mania which pervades Pennsylvania—were it not that our County is proverbial for her steadiness in the support of Constitutional principle.

We have been informed by gentlemen residing in different Districts, that there was scarcely one friend of Jackson in their districts, who did not attend the polls on Friday last! That a sufficient number of the Friends of the Administration turned out to keep them, notwithstanding, in the minority, is very gratifying. Every one had yielded Pennsylvania to Jackson—and this fact, we were fearful would keep



THE COMPILER.

GETTYSBURG, NOVEMBER 5, 1828.

The following are the *Official* returns of the election held in Adams county, Penn. on the 31st of October, 1828, for Electors of President and Vice President of the United States. The names of Zephaniah Herbert and William Bell were substituted for those of William Watts and George Weber, by one friend of the Administration; and 4 votes at the York Springs, and the whole 43 in M'Sherystown, were given for James S. Mitchell, and those in the other districts for James L. Mitchell. With these exceptions the tickets ran together, throughout; and it is, therefore, unnecessary to publish the names of the candidates.

	Adams	Jackson
1st. Dis. Gettysburg	197	155
2d. Littlestown	69	155
3. New Oxford	124	62
4. York Springs	177	153
5. Millerstown	213	135
6. Berlin	51	81
7. Menallen	105	102
8. Hunterstown	108	73
9. Franklin	105	71
10. Conowingo	45	75
11. Heidlersburg	63	38
12. Mountjoy	73	65
13. Benningtown	78	39
14. Hampton	54	72
	1461	1242
	219	

From the above it will be seen that there were 2703 votes given—about 380 more than at the late general election, and more than have ever been given in the county, except at two or three elections—yet the Administration majority is reduced from 385 to 219. If the old General has lost his friends as far, throughout the state, as he did in this county, his majority will be 50 or 60,000.

We have reports of the Election held on Friday last, from several districts in York and Franklin Counties, which are considerably more favorable—and from Cumberland, which are somewhat less favorable—to General Jackson, than the late General Election.

Ohio.—Accounts and reports from 30 counties give a majority of about 2400 for Mr. Campbell, the Jackson candidate for Governor; but there are 23 counties yet to hear from, and we think the result very doubtful.—Eight members of Congress are Jacksonians, and six friends of the Administration.

The 1828 election was the first in which the results were reported by district.

back too many of our friends; but we are pleased to find so many recording their votes in favor of the present wise and upright Administration.

The “mania” the editor referred to yielded Andrew Jackson 101,652 votes in Pennsylvania. John Quincy Adams electors polled 50,848. Adams carried only five of the fifty-two counties, and one of them (Beaver) by only thirty-one votes. Nationally the electoral vote tally was 178 to 83.⁴²

Mania and Democracy, Jackson Style

The Jackson mania which the editor of the Sentinel found everywhere in Pennsylvania in 1828 and which yielded a two-to-one vote there in favor of the General was not universal. Nationally, the total popular vote for him and again in 1832 was about 56 percent of the total, short of the usual definition of a landslide. In New England he had only about a quarter of the popular vote. In the Middle Atlantic states outside of Pennsylvania the vote was very close, which explains why the New York electors in 1828 gave 16 of their 36 votes to Adams and why Maryland gave him 6 of their 11 votes. It was in the South and West, where he was the native son as well as the hero of New Orleans, that he had the greatest appeal, but even in such states as Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana the vote was reasonably close.⁴³ The outcome in Pennsylvania may be related to its having been the keystone in the democratic arch. Some voters there may have believed they had found similarities in policy and practice within the banner of such different standard bearers as Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

+ + +

On March 4, 1829 Andrew Jackson delivered a brief inaugural address, in which he listed the constitutional duties of the president and promised to “keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive power.” He promised to respect the rights of both the Congress and the states in carrying out his duties.

The recent demonstration of public sentiment, he declared, had committed him to “the task of reform, which will require particularly the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections.” Some of his listeners may have believed that the task of reform should require immediate efforts in other directions. For example, some states had already begun removing property and similar requirements as they moved toward universal manhood suffrage. In 1800 there were still ten states in which the legislature, not the voters, chose presidential electors. That number had been reduced, but was still six in 1824. In 1829 citizens interested in elections and governing, especially in state and federal elections, still had no satisfactory method of nominating candidates for office to replace the now discredited legislative or congressional caucus.

Andrew Jackson chose to announce his own program of reform in his first annual message, which was sent to Congress on December 8, 1829. Included in a lengthy and

detailed report of the workings of the federal government during the preceding year were three major changes in its operation which he was advocating.

First, declaring that “the first principle of our system...[is] that the majority is to govern,” he urged passage of an amendment to the constitution removing “all intermediate agency in the election of the President and Vice-President.” Believing that the people have the right to elect these officers, without an electoral college or a house of Congress which can act against their wishes, he argued that the office of president should not “be conferred upon any citizen but in pursuance of a fair expression of the will of the majority.” He thought it advisable to limit a president to a term of four or six years.

Second, declaring that rotation in office “constitutes a leading principle in the republican creed,” he recommended that appointments to office be limited to four years. An office, he believed, is often seen as a sort of property, to be used to promote the holder’s own interests. “I can not but believe,” he wrote, that “more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience.” The duties of all offices can be made so simple, he argued, that intelligent men can easily qualify for them.

Third, insisting all admitted that the Bank of the United States “has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency.” Jackson urged Congress to begin considering “the constitutionality and expediency” of the law creating the bank long before its charter expires in 1836. If such an institution is needed, he urged Congress to consider one with much more limited powers and duties than the existing one.⁴⁴

Andrew Jackson continued to call for a constitutional amendment which would provide for the direct election of the president and vice president in each of his eight annual messages. This has never occurred.

Jackson is considered the author of the spoils system, but several previous presidents had used it, as had state governors. As rotation in office became more general, the quality of performance in the civil service deteriorated markedly. Later presidents often complained bitterly about the time and effort required of them, meeting with office-seekers. Federal civil service reform legislation first became effective only in 1883.

In July 1832 Jackson vetoed a bill renewing the bank’s charter. Its supporters were convinced that in a presidential election year he would have to sign it or be defeated. The veto was sustained and he won reelection. The argument used in his message was that when laws are passed to make “the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government,” which should “shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor.” The arrangements which the Jackson and successor administrations made in the fields of money and banking left much to be desired into the twentieth century. The present Federal Reserve system was established in 1913.⁴⁵

The term Jacksonian Democracy is sometimes used to describe the changes made in the American political system both before, during, and after the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829-1837). These changes represented the transition from the republicanism carefully devised by the framers of the constitution to a more democratic system, one

with fewer impediments to the working of the will of the people. For example, with few exceptions universal white manhood suffrage existed in the United States by the 1830s. When Delaware began popular election of presidential electors in 1832, only South Carolina persisted in legislative election. Beginning in 1832 and 1836 the two major political parties used national conventions to nominate presidential candidates and, importantly, to adopt platforms. National conventions were not model democratic innovations, but then the framers were among the first years before to remind us that no human devices are perfect.

The transition to a more democratic system required the active participation of an increasing number of persons in the political process. This increase could scarcely be sustained without concerted efforts to encourage, perhaps goad, persons to remain involved from one election to the next.

Among the many devices widely used to generate interest and bring out the voters were badges and ribbons of many kinds; banners; cartoons; slogans; songs; political clubs; parades and processions, usually with speeches; debates; and campaign biographies. Both daily and weekly newspapers were now more involved than before in the political process.

A Whig County, 1832-1852

Year	Whig	Democratic	Total
1832	<u>1362</u> Clay	1071* Jackson	2433
1836	<u>1520</u> Harrison	1186* Van Buren	2706
1840	<u>2453*</u> Harrison	1628 Van Buren	4081
1844	<u>2609</u> Clay	1891* Polk	4500
1848	<u>2576*</u> Taylor	1762 Cass	4363
1852	<u>2725</u> Scott	2018* Pierce	4774

County majority or plurality vote underlined. Asterisk indicates national election winner. Other party vote given only when it exceeded 99. Sources: Gettysburg newspapers, Pennsylvania Manual, Adams County Bureau of Vote Registration and Elections. Totals may vary from one source to another.

A second two-party system began taking shape in the United States soon after Andrew Jackson became president in 1829. The major precipitant was the president himself. He and his policies had been and remained controversial. Most of his followers began to call themselves Democrats. In 1834 their opponents officially adopted the name Whigs. These names were not immediately used in Adams County. In 1832 the *Sentinel* called the Henry Clay ticket the National Republican, while the *Compiler* referred to the Jackson and Anti-Jackson candidates. Four years later the *Sentinel* listed the William Henry Harrison ticket without any party identification. The *Compiler* called the Van Buren ticket Democratic Republican.

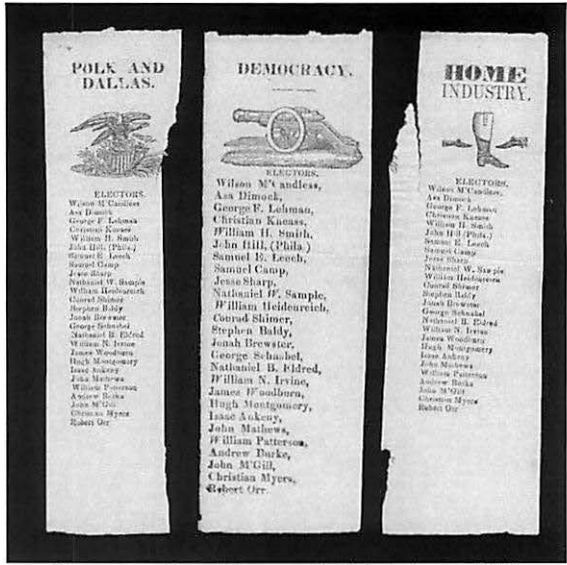
On six occasions between 1832 and 1852 Adams Countians voted for Whig presidential electors, in each case by comfortable margins. The total Whig vote in these elections was 13,245, compared to 9,556 for the opposition. The Whig vote was about 58 percent of the total, almost a landslide.

During these two decades the first third parties appeared. In 1829 the Anti-Masonic party nominated Joseph Ritner for governor of Pennsylvania. Defeated that year, he was elected in 1832 and reelected three years later. In 1831 the national convention of this party was the first to nominate candidates for president and vice president and adopt a platform. Its candidate, William Wirt, carried the state of Vermont in 1832.⁴⁶ One of the national Anti-Masonic leaders was Gettysburg resident Thaddeus Stevens.⁴⁷

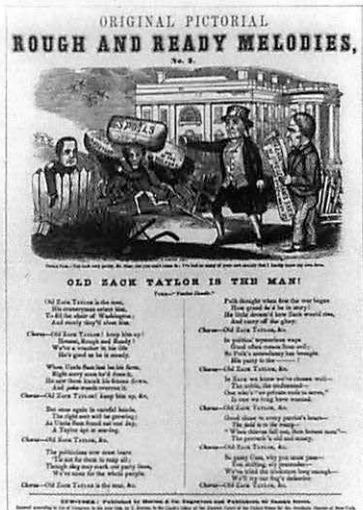
During the 1830s he and several other countians were elected to local and state offices. He was also instrumental in establishing the *Star*, an Anti-Masonic newspaper, in Gettysburg, in 1830. The party put forth no presidential candidate in 1836. Most of its members eventually became Whigs. Two other third parties were the Liberty (1839) and the Free-Soil (1848).

As interest in participating in the political process at all levels grew, more and more votes were cast in gubernatorial elections, especially where there were major issues at stake.⁴⁸ The same was true in presidential elections. Gone were the days when fewer than one thousand went to the polls to choose presidential electors. From 747 in 1824 the total reached 4,000 first in 1840 and 5,000 in 1856. Since there was still no registration of voters, the only good guide to measure the level of participation is to relate it to total population. The percent taje increased from about 13 in 1832 to about 18 in 1852. The average figure for the decade or two after World War II was 40 percent.

This period saw the first widespread use of the devices associated with what we have called Jacksonian Democracy, intended to develop and maintain public interest both during and between campaigns.



There were three Democratic tickets in the 1844 presidential election.



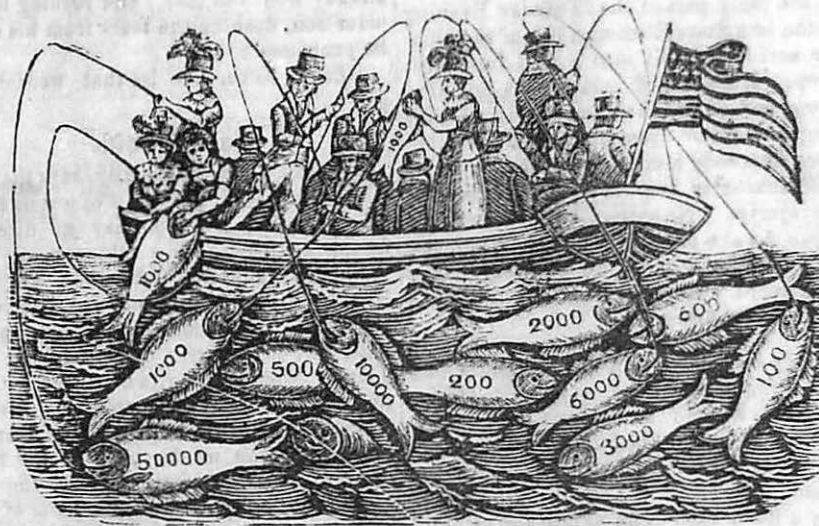
A Zachary Taylor campaign song in 1848. Image from the Library of Congress



Penelope

This feature of the quickening of political life which has been called Jacksonian Democracy was the employment of cannon to help celebrating political victories. After having been used for some years to serve other purposes, Penelope was pressed into use by the Democrats about 1840. She reached her zenith during the turmoil of the 1850s, during which Adams County became a Democratic County. Not being outgunned, in 1855, the newly organized American Party acquired its own field piece and named it Sam. During the Democratic victory celebrations in November 1855, Penelope's barrel burst open. In the words of the Sentinel, "her iron form,....gave way, and was scattered in fragments to the four winds of winds." What remained of her was brought together and placed in front of the Compiler office, with only the breech visible. It can still be seen in front of 126 Baltimore Street. The democrats soon purchased a successor and named it Penelope Ann.

HO! FOR SALT RIVER!



The Low-rigged-black-working Schooner "Disunion"

Up Salt River

This phenomenon has been traced to the early years of the quickening of political life which we have called Jacksonian Democracy. After a spirited political campaign, what should we do with the defeated candidate and party? We might send them up a river called Salt to end in a lake called oblivion. Some there were no generally accepted rules for this exercise, it took many forums. This is one described in the Star and Banner for November 9, 1860, following the election of Abraham Lincoln. Among the crew of this schooner were prominent Democrats as Editor Edward J. Stahle of the Compiler. The Gettysburg Times for November 16, 1912, after the election of Woodrow Wilson, describe the "joyous ride up Salt River which the Democrats had given their "Republican friends." It was "a big success, made largely by the manner in which victors and vanquished entered into the spirit of celebration."

A Democratic County, 1856-1916

Year	Republican		Democratic		Other	Total
1856	2345	Fremont	<u>2637*</u>	Buchanan		5006
1860	<u>2724*</u>	Lincoln	2644	Douglas		5442
1864	2362*	Lincoln	<u>2886</u>	McClellan		5248
1868	2917*	Grant	<u>3170</u>	Seymour		6087
1872	<u>2735*</u>	Grant	2581	Greeley		5320
1876	2921*	Hayes	<u>3439</u>	Tilden		6372
1880	3137*	Garfield	<u>3752</u>	Hancock		6889
1884	3080	Blaine	<u>3530*</u>	Cleveland		6674
1888	3371*	Harrison	<u>3794</u>	Cleveland		7243
1892	3384	Harrison	<u>3716*</u>	Cleveland		7170
1896	<u>4170*</u>	McKinley	3794	Bryan	221	8185
1900	<u>3718*</u>	McKinley	<u>3967</u>	Bryan	147	7832
1904	<u>4017*</u>	Roosevelt	3812	Parker	102	7931
1908	3685*	Taft	<u>4034</u>	Bryan	130	7849
1912	819	Taft	<u>3682*</u>	Wilson	2709	7210
1916	3290	Hughes	<u>3962*</u>	Wilson	266	7519

County majority or plurality vote underlined. Asterisk indicates national election winner. Other party vote given only when it exceeded 99. Sources: Gettysburg newspapers, Pennsylvania Manual, Adams County Bureau of Voter Registration and Elections. Totals may vary from one source to another.

True to its Federalist and Whig heritage, in six elections between 1832 and 1852 Adams countians gave majorities to Whig presidential electors and in nine elections between 1832 and 1854 to Whig candidates for governor.⁴⁹ Then something happened. A majority of Adams countians switched their political allegiance. Between 1856 and 1916 the record shows clearly that Adams had become and remained a Democratic county.

In attempting to explain what had occurred, the author of the political chapter in the 1886 history of the county explained that the Federalist and then the Whig party had “held its power and mastery in the county until 1856, when that remarkable political episode, Know-nothingism, swept over the county. That contest sealed the fate of the Whig party in Adams County, and gave the ascendancy to the Democracy, which it has maintained to this day.”⁵⁰

There is a lot more than that to the story.

In May 1854 a Democratic Congress approved a bill which authorized the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska and specified that all or part of either could eventually be admitted into the Union “with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.” The bill specifically repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, on the ground that the Compromise of 1850 had established the policy that Congress could not interfere with slavery in either states or territories. President Franklin Pierce, a Democrat, signed the bill in May 1854.⁵¹ The reaction to it was swift and powerful. Most Whigs denounced the act as the violation of understandings by many that slavery would not be expanded anywhere beyond its present limits. Democrats who chose to defend it argued that the residents of an area

should be able to decide for themselves what institutions they wanted to have. Some called this popular sovereignty.

Even before the Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, Americans became aware of the existence of a recently organized secret society, apparently begun in New York and rapidly spreading into other parts of the country. If one learned about a group whose members and purposes were unknown to them, and began asking questions, the reply might be either “don’t know” or “know nothing.” To the extent that anything could be learned about this society, it was evident its members were opposed to the role which they were convinced foreigners, and especially the Roman Catholics among them, were playing in American life.

The Know Nothing movement made its appearance as immigration into the United States was on the rapid increase. The annual number of immigrants reached 100,000 first in 1842, 200,000 first in 1847, 300,000 first in 1850, and 400,000 first in 1854. The total for the years 1851-1855 alone was about 1,750,000 newcomers, most of whom were from Ireland and Germany. Most were Roman Catholics.⁵²

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In the spring of 1854, Adams County readers of the *Sentinel* (a Whig newspaper edited by Robert G. Harper), the *Compiler* (a Democratic newspaper edited by Henry J. Stahle), and the *Star and Banner* (also a Whig newspaper, successor to the *Anti-Masonic Star*, edited by David A. Buehler) were able to read about the growing opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the vessels regularly bringing foreigners to our shores, and the mysterious organization known as the Know Nothings.



Robert G. Harper (1799-1870) publisher and editor of the *Sentinel*, 1816-1867



Henry J. Stahle (1823-1892) publisher and editor of the *Compiler*, 1845-1892



David A. Buehler (1821-1887) publisher and editor of the *Star and Banner*, 1843-1857 and the *Star and Sentinel*, 1867-1887.

Image courtesy of Gettysburg College

On June 23 Editor Buehler informed his readers that “it seems to be generally understood that we have an active [Know Nothing] organization in Gettysburg, as also in other parts of the county.” Believing that an article recently appearing in a Chambersburg newspaper

was as accurate as an outsider's source could be, Buehler reported on evidence of Know Nothing involvement in local elections from New England to Louisiana. Unexpected candidates win, with unexpected majorities. Winners may not know in advance they have had Know Nothing backing. Members of the order are said to think, act, vote, and triumph alike. Their major purpose apparently is to resist the election of foreigners and Catholics to office. As of June 1854, it appeared they had not yet succeeded in determining the outcome of a state election.

+ + +

As the campaign of 1854 began in earnest, Editor Harper played the moderate role he much preferred. As he later explained, he had "but little disposition to figure in politics," other than to present the "open, firm avowal of his political principles, which cannot be put on and off with the ease and grace of modern politicians."⁵³

The responsibility for forcefully arguing the case for the opposing sides of the Know Nothing issue fell to his two colleagues. Buehler charged that for years the Democrats (he used the derisive name for them: Locofocos) had successfully won what he called the foreign vote and were now secretly in league with the Know Nothings trying to keep or increase it. In rebuttal, Stahle insisted that the Whigs, not the Democrats, were the ones secretly in league with the Know Nothings, trying to entice Whig Catholics and naturalized citizens to vote for them.

On September 1 Buehler stated he had reliable information that the Know Nothing organization in Gettysburg (he called it a lodge) was organized by a Democrat, that several of its officers had always been Democrats, that the other lodges in the county had been organized by Democrats, and that most Democratic voters in Gettysburg were Know Nothing members. When Stahle demanded to be told either the sources of this information or the names of the members, Buehler replied that his colleague well knew about the oath of secrecy Know Nothing members took, but he did state that "we have it 'upon reliable information' that the names of fifty-seven Democratic voters of the Borough of Gettysburg are enrolled as members of the Know-Nothing lodge in this borough."⁵⁴ To which Stahle replied that several persons "whose veracity in political matters is more reliable than the Star's, and whose recent connection with that order enables them to speak by the book," have told him that fewer than half of fifty-seven borough Democrats were members, several of whom are about to withdraw.⁵⁵

With the use of such words as reckless, demagogue, falsehood, and scurrilous, what Buehler called the Know Nothing mania continued to the eve of the election.

More than 4,000 Adams countians went to the polls on October 10, 1854. To be elected were a governor, Supreme Court justice, canal commissioner, representative in Congress, member of the state house, and eight county officers (for example, commissioner and sheriff).

Commenting on the returns in the October 16 *Sentinel*, Editor Harper said they "present a strange appearance, so far as compared with former elections. There were elements at work, which threw matters into considerable confusion, and produced the singular

result.” In the *Star and Banner* three days earlier, Editor Buehler wrote that “we have the mortification to-day to record a result of the election in our county, altogether unfamiliar to our columns. Locofocoism, by the aid of the Foreign and Catholic vote, has achieved a partial triumph in Adams County...The efforts of the Locofoco leaders to excite the prejudices of Catholic voters and adopted citizens against the Whig party have been entirely successful.”⁵⁶

In Adams County the Whig candidate for governor, James Pollock, defeated the Democratic governor and candidate for reelection, William Bigler, but by only 38 votes. Three and six years earlier, the Whig candidates for that office carried the county by more than 500 votes. During the campaign just closed, both candidates were accused of being Know Nothing members. Pollock won statewide by 37,000 votes.⁵⁷

In the race for a position on the state Supreme Court, the Know Nothings ran their own candidate. The Democrat won reelection, but only narrowly. In Adams County he had more votes than his two opponents, but it was a plurality, not a majority.⁵⁸

County vote, 1851-1854, 10 districts

1851, 1854 for governor
 1852 for president
 1853 for county commissioners

	1851		1852		1853		1854	
	D	W	D	W	D	W	D	W
Littlestown	87	93	101	103	68	71	75	96
Union	85	49	100	58	32	27	110	36
Conewago	75	72	82	84	48	43	103	32
Hamilton	119	88	126	93	73	77	127	71
Reading	102	100	113	113	78	71	117	81
Berwick	62	88	73	64	46	62	80	47
Oxford	59	97	124	50	46	82	106	42
Mt. Pleasant	127	128	198	38	57	86	213	46
Straban	140	127	174	109	133	102	147	124
Mt. Joy	76	78	110	62	46	60	98	69

D – Democrats W - Whigs

Editor Buehler claimed it was “generally understood that the ‘Know-Nothings’ voted, with some exceptions,” for thirteen persons, whom he proceeded to name. Ten of the thirteen won. Some of them were elected by fewer than 100 votes. Both Buehler and Harper called attention to three of the races, in which they believed the wide, even unprecedented, majorities could be attributed only to the Know Nothings.⁵⁹

Editor Stahle had yet to be heard from for his evaluation of the election. In the October 16 *Compiler* he pronounced “the result of last Tuesday’s election...as gratifying to all lovers of the Constitution as it is unusual in occurrence. It shows that our citizens are

beginning to see through the schemes of unprincipled demagogues and disappointed office seekers who would establish intolerance and proscription throughout the land, so that their own selfish and base purposes [can] be accomplished.”

+ + +

The political issues before Adams countians in 1855 were similar to those they faced in the previous year. Attempts to organize territorial government in Kansas were leading to strife and bordering on civil war. Although immigration was only half of what it had been in 1854, it was still of much concern to many. The Know Nothing lodges remained active and were preparing to identify the candidates they were going to support in the fall election.

The national Democratic party was still intact, but the future of the Whigs was everywhere uncertain. In September Robert Harper was an active participant in the Whig state convention in Harrisburg. The resolutions which were adopted committed the party, at least in Pennsylvania, to religious liberty and freedom of conscience, but opposed the immigration of paupers and convicts. They urged naturalization laws which would “prevent the operation of alien influence upon our political affairs.” They condemned the Kansas-Nebraska Act and urged reenactment of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which would restore “the exclusive rights of free labor in the Territories.”⁶⁰

This convention nominated a Whig candidate for the state office of canal commissioner, but Editor Harper had to respond (September 17) to the many inquiries about a county Whig ticket by stating that as far as he had “any knowledge in the matter, no Whig ticket will be settled.” None was.

Observers of what Editor Buehler called the Know Nothing mania noted that at first the members of this secret society had no political party of their own, but deliberately chose to work through the two existing ones. This changed in June 1855. Editor Harper reported on a national convention held in Philadelphia, whose purpose “appears to have been to form a National Party of the ‘Know-Nothings,’ ...and to enter the presidential race in 1856. When platform discussions began, the members could not agree on how to deal with the slavery question. Some fifty-three delegates from twelve free states, not including Pennsylvania, left the convention and pursued their own course.

In early July several Adams countians were among about 300 delegates who attended an American state council meeting in Reading. They approved a lengthy platform, which pledged complete commitment to the Constitution and the union, as well as “reverential obedience to the laws.” All but about twelve delegates, who withdrew, were finally able to agree on a statement concerning slavery, which was brief and carefully worded. Significantly, the delegates also agreed that each member was “at liberty to make known the existence of the [Know Nothing] Order, and the fact that he himself is a member.” It also recommended that the places of their meetings no longer be concealed. Soon after this meeting, a branch of the American party was organized in Adams County. The

Star and Banner announced its ticket of six candidates for state and county offices on September 21.⁶¹

On September 28 Editor Buehler published in the *Star and Banner* the text of an address prepared by the executive committee of the recently organized American party of Adams County, presenting to the voters “the claims of the American movement to your confidence and support at the approaching Election,” which was only eleven days away. Editor Harper of the *Sentinel* made it very clear when he published the address on October 1 that he was doing so only in specific response to the party’s request. There is no evidence that Editor Stahle was asked to do the same for the *Compiler* or that he did.

Because this address can be taken to represent the considered judgment of several influential countians, including Editor Buehler, as it existed for them in the early fall of 1855, on a topic of wide community interest, it is reprinted in full in Appendix A.

In language similar to what one would expect of the Know Nothings, these eleven men presented the problems arising from the annual immigration of what they described as “no less than half a million strangers,” possessed of “sympathies alien to the spirit which alone sustains our peculiar, temperate and complicated system of freedom.” The problem is worsened because “a very large portion” of the immigrants are Roman Catholics, “professing at least a moral allegiance to a foreign and absolute power,” which has purposes “at variance with the institutions and national spirit of the American people.” The authors were especially critical of the “selfish political aspirants and demagogues” who were accused of using the immigrants to their party’s advantage. They may have had the Democrats in mind.

To correct what was wrong, the American party “demanded” changes in the immigration and naturalization laws in order to welcome the “honest immigrant,” while keeping out the felon and pauper. It also demanded that “all political stations – executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic” be closed to all who hold any allegiance to any foreign power and who are not American “by birth, education and training.” Their announced motto was that “Americans only must govern Americans.”⁶²

A document such as this appearing in 1855 would not be complete without proclaiming the stand of its authors on the question of slavery. The Americans in Adams County demanded repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, restoration of the Missouri Compromise, and “resistance to the further expansion of Human Slavery in this Republic.”

At the election on October 9, 1855, the entire Democratic ticket was elected: one canal commissioner, a member of the assembly, and four Adams County officers. By a margin of about 180 votes, every member of the American party ticket was defeated.⁶³ Editor Harper explained on October 15 that “a large number of Whigs did not go to the polls, their feelings not allowing them to fraternize with the ‘new movement,’ nor to join the Democracy.” From a review of election results elsewhere in the state, he concluded it was “very certain that the ‘new movement’ is powerless to cope with the Democracy,” and that some new issue would have to emerge before there can be a change.

In the *Star and Banner* on October 12 Editor Buehler acknowledged that his new party had been beaten, but argued that it was not dismayed. “Foreign bayonets helped the enemy to beat your patriot sires in their earlier struggle for independence,” he explained, “just us foreign votes aided the enemy on Tuesday last to beat you.” Since he had learned during the closing days of the campaign that efforts were being made “to poll the entire Catholic vote for the Anti-American ticket,” defeat had not surprised him.⁶⁴ He was certain that “sooner or later” the party’s fight “in behalf of Civil and Religious Freedom and the purity of our Republican Institutions” could result in victory.⁶⁵

In his issue of October 15, Editor Stahle sent a message to all of the sister counties of Adams that “for the first time in her existence, she can boast of a clear Democratic victory.” The margin of victory was “enough for all practical purposes – and enough to give Adams a proud position in the Democratic column of the State.”⁶⁶

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At the time of the 1855 election there had been Know Nothing activity in Adams County for only about eighteen months. There was a recently organized political party calling itself American which had developed from the Know Nothings.

Adams was one of the smaller in size and population of Pennsylvania’s then 65 counties. In 1855 the population was about 27,000 (it was 25,981 in 1850 and 28,006 ten years later). The largest town and the county seat was Gettysburg, with a population of 2,180 in 1850. Smaller towns such as Abbottstown, East Berlin, Littlestown, and York Springs had fewer than 500 residents.

The United States census of 1850 was the first which listed the name of every person and, in addition to giving other information such as age and sex, indicated the place of birth. The form was specific: “naming the State, Territory, or Country.” There were 728 foreign-born persons in the county in that year. This was 3.77 percent of the total population. More than half of them lived in the borough of Gettysburg and the townships of Franklin, Mountpleasant, and Union. About 80 percent were born in Germany. Fewer than 15 percent were natives of Ireland. See Appendix B for more detailed information from the census record.⁶⁷ All of the districts in the county had adopted the common school system by 1850. The census reported 133 public schools, enrolling 6,429 pupils. In all but two districts the school term was four or five months long. Attendance was not compulsory. Schools were governed by elected directors and supported by property taxes. The census record identifies no church controlled schools in the county, although there may have been several.

There were about fifty religious congregations in the county in 1850. In terms of numbers the largest churches were Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, and Presbyterian. A Lutheran theological seminary began operating in Gettysburg in 1826 and a Lutheran-related college there in 1832. There were four Roman Catholic churches. Conewago chapel dated from the 1740s; St. Aloysius, Littlestown, from the 1790s; St. Ignatius in Buchanan valley from 1816-1817; and St. Francis, Gettysburg, from 1830. During

the 1850s Catholic congregations were organized in Fairfield, New Oxford, and Bonneauville.

As a reminder of the political situation in the county about 1850, one need only note that it went Whig in the gubernatorial elections of 1848 and 1851, as well as in the presidential elections of 1848 and 1852. At a time when the voters chose one of the three county commissioners each year, and not all three in one election, what was probably only the second Democrat since the county was founded was elected to that office in 1853.

The members of the American party executive committee who addressed the voters of Adams County just before the 1855 election had three major concerns.

First, the “ever-swelling tide” of immigrants “is visible in every community.” The newcomers have formed “a distinct estate” which is an ultimate threat to our freedom.

Second, the many Catholics among immigrants owe “at least a moral allegiance to a foreign and absolute power.” We oppose the political action of the church in the United States. Their priests have fought the Bible “as a text book in our Common Schools” and even “the Common School system itself.” They seek to replace it with sectarian schools.

Third, both selfish political leaders and Catholic priests have “cajoled, flattered, and seduced the immigrants to do their bidding.”

Nothing in the statement which was addressed specifically to the voters of Adams County, indicated whether this analysis of the situation was meant to apply to the entire nation, to the state, or to Adams County. Did it apply to Philadelphia, with 117,891 foreign born; to Alleghany County, with 43,414; to Baltimore, with 39,503; to York County, with 2,788; to Franklin County, with 1,558; or did it apply everywhere?⁶⁸

Were the foreign born in Adams County “a distinct estate” to themselves? A glance at the 1850 census returns demonstrates that in many instances the head of the family was the only member who was foreign born. In other cases it was the husband and wife, but none of the children. The foreign born are scattered throughout this census and only rarely are they found in groups of twenty or more.

It is evident from the three Gettysburg newspapers that the two parties vied hard for the votes of the foreign born, presumably after they had become naturalized citizens. Since there was no registration of voters until long after the 1850s, and in the absence of formal exit polls, it is prudent to avoid making unequivocal statements. We can read the official returns of each election in each district and draw whatever conclusions we believe the evidence warrants.

Robert G. Harper was the oldest of the three Gettysburg editors of the 1850s. He never hesitated to announce that he had always been a conservative and to admit, to use his own words, that he was an “old fogey.” His two fellow-editors were young enough to be his sons. During the debate which preceded the 1855 election, this staunch Presbyterian layman had this to say, in the *Sentinel* for September 24, about the many Adams County Catholics whose forbears had come into the area even before there was an Adams County and who would in no way qualify as foreigners:

The Whig party is a conservative party—it holds the religion of the citizen as too sacred to be soiled with the muddy waters of political strife. Is it the object of the “Star” to drive that respectable and numerous body of Native Whig Catholics in this county into the embraces of Locofocoism? If so, it could not find means or policy better suited to its purpose. With perfect and entire respect to all others, we ask what more quiet, thrifty, law-loving, honorable and pure portion of community than the original native Catholic population, exists within our County? Who dare call himself more American than they? Many of them are willing to go just as far as the farthest to preserve and protect our Country and our Institutions from alien influences.—They love their Country and their Institutions. They yield to none in loyalty and patriotism—while they do not vaunt professions of those virtues which they esteem but simple duties. That they should be sensitive when their religion is attacked and stigmatized, is not strange. Would we act differently if places were reversed? If not, the true line of political conduct is to proscribe no man for his religious belief—to leave that to his conscience and his God.

+ + +

Editor Stahle might well celebrate the Democratic victory of 1855 in Adams County and expound on what he thought it meant for the county and the state, but to determine whether it was perhaps the beginning of a long-term departure from the county’s Federalist and Whig traditions or simply an aberration not to be repeated, we should examine the outcomes of the presidential election of 1856 and the gubernatorial election of 1857.

At the beginning of the year 1856 the Democratic party in Pennsylvania was still the strongest, but it was losing adherents who believed its stand against the expansion of slavery anywhere in the country was too weak for them. There still was a Whig party which held meetings and made statements, but it was in no position to affect the outcome of elections. The American party adhered to its position on the foreign and Catholic vote and hoped to offer a serious contender for the presidency in 1856, but its attempts to agree on a platform plank describing the power of Congress to regulate slavery continued to result in secessions of members.

In the *Sentinel* for August 13, 1855, Editor Harper announced a convention to meet in Pittsburgh on September 5, “for the purpose of organizing a Republican party in this State, which shall give expression to the popular will on the subjects involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and cooperate with other organizations of a similar character in other States.” Thaddeus Stevens was one of the fourteen signers of the call. The Know Nothings gained control of this convention and the party played no role in the 1855 election.⁶⁹ It was revived in 1856 and remained in control of persons who invited all those opposed to the policies of the Pierce administration to join in

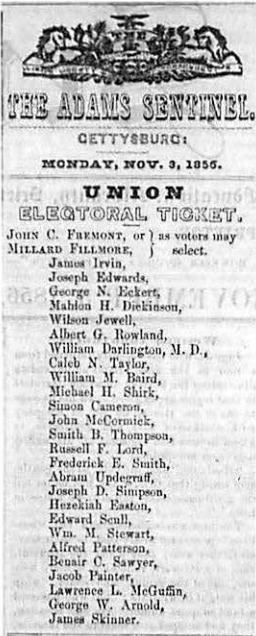
nominating candidates for president and vice president. The call was broad enough to include Whigs, unhappy Democrats, even Know Nothings (who would not however be in control), and many others.

Adams countians intending to participate in the presidential election on November 4, 1856 had more than one choice when they went to the polls.

First, they could secure and cast a ticket for the Democratic candidates, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky.

The *Sentinel* stated that there was also available what is described as a “Union electoral ticket,” which included John C. Fremont, or Millard Fillmore, “as voters may select.” The former was the Republican candidate and the latter was the American party candidate.⁷⁰ A few days after the state election in October the leaders of these two parties met and agreed on a union, or fusion, ticket as the only possible way to defeat Buchanan.

Voters could secure and cast a ticket listing the names of John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton as well as twenty-seven presidential electors, one of whom was Fremont. This was the voter’s second choice. He could also secure and cast a ticket listing the names of Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson, as well as twenty-seven electors, one of whom was Fillmore. This was the voter’s third choice.⁷¹



Union or Fusion ticket from the 1856 Campaign



Ribbon from the 1856 Campaign

There was a fourth choice for the Adams County voter. This was to secure and cast what Editor Harper called “a pure Fillmore Electoral ticket.” He accused the Democrats of distributing such tickets to prospective voters. They would not count as Union tickets and, he claimed, were being used by the Democrats to garner every vote they could for themselves.

In the *Compiler* for November 10, Editor Stahle described the campaign just ended as “a warm, a fierce contest—more so than any other which ever preceded it. Every foot of ground was hotly disputed—inch by inch and hence there is double glory in the magnificent result.”

The “magnificent result,” as far as he was concerned, was that James Buchanan won just under 54.5 percent of the 5,206 votes cast in Adams County. He won 2,837; the

Fremont Union ticket won 1,120; the Fillmore Union ticket won 1,225; and the straight Fillmore ticket won 24. The total county vote was about 10 percent larger than in the presidential election of 1852. The Fillmore American ticket won more votes than the Fremont Republican ticket.⁷²

In his issue of November 10, Editor Harper wrote that “we were not prepared for this result, we candidly acknowledge—and we are at a loss to know how it was brought about. One fact is very evident, however, that there being no particular central point for the Opposition to rally around, their energies were somewhat cramped, and the Buchananites marched along as a unit. We trust this temporary lodgment in the arms of the Democracy will, when another battle comes, arouse our friends to a successful effort to redeem the county.”

In 1857 the Democrats named as their candidate for governor William F. Packer, a former newspaper publisher and editor, and a state legislator who had served as speaker of the House of Representatives. He had also been auditor general (1842-1845) and a canal commissioner.

The Republicans nominated David Wilmot, who had served as a Democrat in the United States House of Representatives (1845-1851). Early in his tenure there he introduced what has been known as the Wilmot Proviso, which if passed would have forbidden slavery in any territory acquired from the Mexican War. He was one of the founders and first leaders of the Republican party, including authorship of its first platform. In 1857 he was presiding judge in one of the state’s judicial districts. He did not have the full support of all of the elements in his party.

Packer carried Adams County with a 54.5 percent of the vote. He polled 2,363 votes; Wilmot had 1,900; and Isaac Hazlehurst, the American party candidate had 59. In the state Packer had 188,846 votes; Wilmot 146,139; and Hazlehurst, 28,168.⁷³

In the October 19 issue of the *Sentinel*, Editor Harper observed that “the Democrats have ‘swept the board,’ electing all their candidates by considerable majorities.” This included all thirteen candidates, other than the governor, for state and local offices. As a result, the Democrats had “the whole patronage of the county in their hands,” something which meant jobs for the faithful. Harper attributed the Republican loss to what he called “an unusual apathy” on the part of members of the Union (note that he did not call it Republican) party, something he regarded “worthy of being pondered over by those who look forward to the day when Adams shall be redeemed from the hands of the Democracy.” It was a long wait, one of about sixty years.

County Vote, 1854-1857, 10 Districts

1854, 1857 for governor
 1855 for county commissioner
 1856 for president

	1854		1855		1856		1857	
	D	W	D	W	D	U	D	W
Littlestown	75	96	78	51	133	92	97	63
Union	110	36	62	27	139	59	106	37
Conewago	103	32	100	25	115	42	109	7
Hamilton	127	71	90	54	150	82	136	67
Reading	117	81	87	57	13	88	124	49
Berwick	80	47	58	52	106	58	73	64
Oxford	106	42	90	41	131	53	124	50
Mt. Pleasant	213	46	146	22	247	56	198	38
Straban	147	124	137	93	176	120	174	109
Mt. Joy	98	69	72	66	116	81	110	62

D- Democrat, W-Whigs, U – Union

Comments on several presidential elections, 1860 – 1916

The Election of 1860

In a sense this presidential election was a repeat of the one four years earlier. The main difference was that now the nation was on the verge of a long and bloody civil war. In 1856 the Democratic was still a united party and had one candidate for the presidency, while the opposition had two. At the last minute in October 1856, the supporters of John C. Fremont and Millard Fillmore in Pennsylvania formed a union or fusion ticket in an effort, unsuccessful it turned out, to gain a majority. In 1860 the Republicans were united in supporting Abraham Lincoln, while the Democrats were hopelessly divided. As late as October 22 Editor Stahle listed no Democratic presidential ticket in the *Compiler*. Only a week later, less than ten days before the election and after the Pennsylvania supporters of Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge agreed to merge their efforts, could the *Compiler* announce and pledge its support of a Democratic electoral ticket, based



From the 1860 Campaign. The word Republican does not appear

on a state (not a federal) platform drawn up in Reading the previous spring.

Election day, November 6, brought a record number of 5,442 voters to the polls, about 8 percent more than in 1856. There was an increase in each of the six districts into which the county was divided for a study of the presidential elections. The Democrats carried most of their usual districts and picked up Franklin for the first time. See Appendix C. The Democratic vote in 1860 was larger by 81 votes than Buchanan's vote in 1856, but Lincoln's vote was 379 larger than the union or fusion vote in that year.

In 1860 Lincoln received 2,724 votes in Adams County, more than any previous candidate and 87 more than Buchanan four years earlier. The Democratic union or fusion ticket received 2,644 votes; the Constitutional Union candidate John Bell received 38; and the straight Douglas ticket, which was not part of the fusion and was actually withdrawn from the race, received 36 votes. If a majority of the total vote, 5,442, is 2,722, Lincoln's majority in this election was 2.⁷⁴

The vote in Pennsylvania was 268,030 for Lincoln; 178,871 for the Democratic fusion ticket; 12,776 for John Bell; and 16,765 for the straight Douglas ticket.⁷⁵

The Election of 1864

This was the second presidential election under the Constitution of 1787 which was conducted in wartime. It occurred sixteen months after the battle of Gettysburg, with its pain and suffering for the county residents, major damage to real estate and personal property, all in addition to the costs for all of the battle participants themselves. It occurred almost a year to the day after the dedication of Soldiers' National Cemetery. By November 1864 the war was going well for the Union armies, but it was definitely not over.

On September 1, 1863 Thaddeus Stevens complained in a letter to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that since the battle Union soldiers and their officers were treating the residents of the battlefield area so unfairly that they were beginning to regard their own military as more of an enemy than the Confederates. He cited several examples and assured Stanton he could provide hundreds more. Without restitution he believed the administration would soon suffer seriously at the polls.⁷⁶

For the above and perhaps other reasons, would Adams County, which gave Abraham Lincoln the thinnest of majorities in 1860, return to its recent Democratic course four years later or would the voters reverse it?

In the election on November 8, 1864 Lincoln faced General George B. McClellan, the Democratic candidate. The total Adams County vote was 5,248, which was about 200 less than in 1860. McClellan received 55 percent of the vote: 2,886 to 2,362 for Lincoln. In the state Lincoln had 296,391 votes to 276,316 for McClellan.⁷⁷

In Adams County the Lincoln vote was down in almost every one of the twenty-one districts. See Appendix C. Four districts with Republican majorities in 1860 slipped into the Democratic column. Of the five districts in which most of the battle occurred, Cumberland township went Democratic for perhaps the first time in its history. Mountjoy,

which narrowly went Republican in 1860, returned to the Democrats four years later. In Gettysburg Lincoln received 259 votes in both 1860 and 1864, but the Democratic vote in the borough dropped by almost fifty in the latter year. In Straban Township either the reported Lincoln vote is in error or about forty people who had voted for him in 1860 stayed home.

Both Robert Harper and Henry Stahle had their evaluation of the results of this election. In the *Sentinel* for November 15 Harper offered this judgment of what it meant:

The result of the election means that the loyal people of this nation are determined that the great democratic doctrine that the majority shall govern, shall be maintained, and that minorities must submit. It was against this that the traitors took up arms. It was against this that the democrats became their allies. The latter have been signally defeated at the polls. The former will be as surely defeated at the cannon's mouth.

Where Harper saw hope, in the *Compiler* of the preceding day Stahle saw only apprehension:

We are firm in the belief that hundreds of men in this county voted for Lincoln who already regret it. For a time forgetting their own and the country's best interests, they allowed themselves to be swayed by their office-holding and office-hunting party leaders into supporting his re-election. But they already fear that when more taxes and more drafts come, these leaders will be of no service to them—fear that they have been deceived to their own irreparable injury. There is much ground for the apprehension.

On August 25, 1864 the legislature passed and the governor signed a detailed law making it possible for “any of the qualified electors” of the Commonwealth who were in “any actual military service” to vote in general elections. Voting took place on election day in all units with Pennsylvania soldiers. The results were submitted to return judges in each county and were counted three weeks after the election. In Adams County the return judges determined on November 25 that 250 votes had been cast for Lincoln and 130 for McClellan. They were not included in the “official vote” which appeared in the *Sentinel* on November 15.

The Election of 1872

As they had done in 1856 and 1864, in 1868 the voters of Adams County gave a majority of their votes to the Democratic candidate for president, who was Horatio Seymour, former governor of New York. The majority preferred him to the Republican candidate, General Ulysses S. Grant.

Four years later Grant was a candidate for reelection. There was enough graft and corruption in his administration that some leading members of his own party, who came to be known as Liberal Republicans, planned to nominate their own candidate. Rejecting several well-qualified possibilities, they eventually chose Horace Greeley, for many



In the carriage with President Grover Cleveland in May 1885 was Vice President Thomas A. Hendricks, Pennsylvania Governor Robert E. Pattison, and former Governor Andrew G. Curtin. Isn't that somewhat unusual?

age for president, and a member of the House of Representatives for two terms (1891-5).

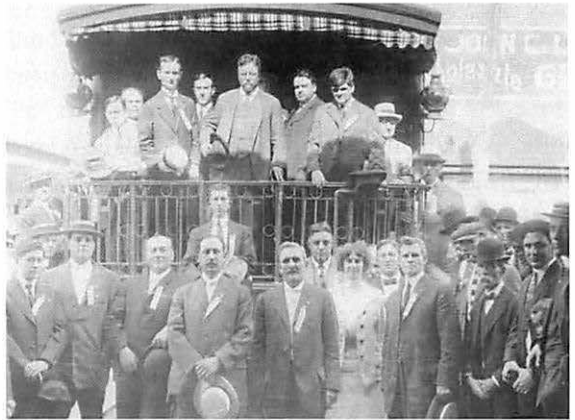
McKinley stayed home and campaigned from his front porch. Supporters said he was the advance agent of prosperity. Bryan campaigned in at least twenty-nine states, traveled as many as 18,000 miles, and made as many as 600 speeches.

On election day, November 3, a record 13,910,203 voters went to the polls, about 80 percent of those eligible to vote. Bryan received 6,492,559, about 1,000,000 more than any previous presidential candidate. McKinley obtained 7,102,246, about 600,000 more than his opponent. For the first time in more than twenty years a presidential candidate received a clear majority of the total popular vote. McKinley carried 23 states, only one more than Bryan, but his were in the northeast and north central states and included California and Oregon. That was where most of the electoral votes were.⁸⁰ His victory ushered in about thirty years of Republican ascendancy. Except for Woodrow Wilson, there was no Democratic president between Grover Cleveland and Franklin D. Roosevelt. During the intervening years the Republicans controlled one or both houses of Congress.

In 1896 Adams County departed from its usual Democratic preference to vote for McKinley over Bryan, by a vote of 4,167 to 3,767. The Democrats had majorities in thirteen districts, including Reading, Mountpleasant, McSherrystown, and Franklin, but they could not overcome the broad support McKinley enjoyed in all parts of the county.⁸¹

The Election of 1904

Theodore Roosevelt was an exceedingly popular president from 1901 to 1909. He was so popular in Adams County that for one of the few times between 1856 and 1916 the voters preferred a Republican to the Democratic candidate.



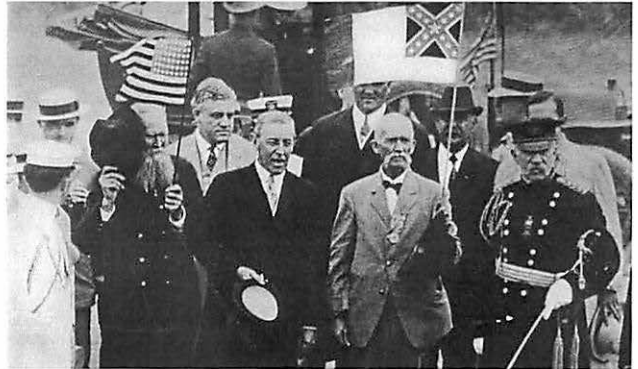
Before running for president on the Progressive Ticket in 1912, former President Theodore Roosevelt came to Gettysburg in May 1912. Image from the Gettysburg National Military Park

The Elections of 1912 and 1916

Adams voters gave a majority of their votes to Woodrow Wilson in both of these years, but when Teddy was running on the Progressive party ticket in 1912 he ran far ahead of the Republican candidate, William Howard Taft, in Adams County.

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Between 1856 and 1916 the United States took several major steps in the direction of political democracy. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) abolished slavery. The Fourteenth (1868) provided the first constitutional definition of citizen and prohibited the states from depriving any person “of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law” or of “equal protection of the laws.” The Fifteenth (1870) in a few words declared that the right of citizens to vote “shall not be denied or abridged...on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” This was a clear and direct commitment long deferred. The Seventeenth Amendment (1913) substituted election of United States senators by the people for the original constitution’s way, by the state legislatures. The Nineteenth Amendment (1920) will be discussed in the next section.



During the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, President Woodrow Wilson appeared and delivered an address. Image from the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg.

A Republican County, since 1920

	Republican		Democratic		Other	Total	%
1920	<u>5323*</u>	Harding	3852	Cox	174	9349	
1924	<u>5778*</u>	Coolidge	4840	Davis	300	10918	
1928	<u>9656*</u>	Hoover	4635	Smith		14349	
1932	6084	Hoover	<u>7185*</u>	Roosevelt	225	13494	
1936	8313	Landon	<u>8336*</u>	Roosevelt	761	17410	
1940	<u>8609</u>	Willkie	7354*	Roosevelt		15983	
1944	<u>8787</u>	Dewey	5881*	Roosevelt		14735	
1948	<u>7988</u>	Dewey	5409*	Truman	105	13502	
1952	<u>11016*</u>	Eisenhower	5691	Stevenson		16737	
1956	<u>12250*</u>	Eisenhower	6281	Stevenson		18531	
1960	<u>12933</u>	Nixon	7895*	Kennedy		20854	
1964	8617	Goldwater	<u>11148*</u>	Johnson		19860	
1968	<u>11303*</u>	Nixon	5993	Humphrey	1579	18875	
1972	<u>13593*</u>	Nixon	5529	McGovern	243	19365	
1976	<u>12133</u>	Ford	8771*	Carter	418	21322	
1980	<u>13760</u>	Reagan	7266	Carter	1378	22404	85
1984	<u>16786</u>	Reagan	7289	Mondale		24174	84
1988	<u>15650</u>	Bush	8299	Dukakis	156	24105	84
1992	<u>13552</u>	Bush	9576*	Clinton	6373	31501	88
1996	<u>15338</u>	Dole	10774*	Clinton	3396	29508	73
2000	<u>20848</u>	Bush	11682	Gore	903	33433	69
2004	<u>28247</u>	Bush	13764	Kerry	217	42228	73
2008	26134	McCain	17475*	Obama	507	44116	71

% - Percentage of registered voters

County majority or plurality vote underlined. Asterisk indicates the national election winner. Other party vote given only when it exceeded 99. Sources: Gettysburg newspapers, Pennsylvania Manual, and Adams County Elections and Voter Registration.

In 1920 the voters of Adams County left the Democratic fold of which they had been a part, with but four exceptions (1860, 1872, 1896, and 1904) since 1856. They returned to the fold that had once been Federalist and then Whig, and was now represented by their successor, the Republican party. With but three exceptions (1932, 1936 and 1964), ever since they have given that party a majority of their votes. In contrast, the state of Pennsylvania, which voted Republican in every presidential election but one (1912) between 1856 and 1932, has gone Democratic in eleven of the nineteen since 1936.

The Adams County switch from 1916 to 1920 was accomplished without turmoil similar to that of the 1850s. The votes for Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916 were scarcely an indication of what was about to happen politically. The United States entered the world war in 1917 and contributed significantly to the defeat of Germany

in November 1918. President Wilson was unable to persuade the United States Senate to consent to the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with the covenant of the League of Nations attached on his terms. A serious illness during the last eighteen months of his term prevented him from providing the leadership necessary to move the nation smoothly from the wartime mobilization of its resources to peacetime conditions. By this time there was probably the expected reaction to the reform program which his administration had pursued since it began in 1913. While one might not have predicted in 1916 what was going to happen in the next presidential election, what did happen in 1920 was not surprising.

+ + +

Between 1920 and 2008 there was a major increase in the population of Adams County. After decades of slow growth, and occasionally of no growth at all, eventually Adams became one of the fastest growing counties in the state. From 34,583 in 1920 it has almost tripled, reaching an estimated 101,119 in 2008, according to the United States Census Bureau.⁸²

Action completed just before the election of 1920 made possible the doubling of the American electorate. Formally proposed by President Woodrow Wilson in January 1918, an amendment to the United States Constitution was soon approved by the House of Representatives and eventually overcame the stubborn resistance of Southern senators

so that it could be submitted to the states for ratification. The Nineteenth Amendment reads that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."



On August 18, 1920 the *Gettysburg Times*, then an afternoon daily newspaper, announced that on that day Tennessee had become the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment and that women could therefore participate in the presidential election to be held in less than three months. On the very next day the *Times* noted that the county commissioners were already preparing books and papers, as well as developing procedures, to register potential women voters. "This is a gigantic task," the paper believed, "and will be difficult to perform."⁸³

The same rules which applied to men when they registered applied to women. They had to prove they were citizens, that they had resided in Pennsylvania for at least a year and in their election district for at least two months, and that they had paid either a state or county tax at least one month before the election. The only women who were previously taxed were those few who owned real estate in their name or who had taxable investments, such as bonds or mortgages. The commissioners had to devise a value for the occupational assessment of housewife, which is what most of those being registered

were going to be. In order to be able to vote, a woman had to complete her registration by early September and pay her taxes by early October.⁸⁴

Election day was November 2, 1920. The *Times* for that day found that “the advent of suffrage here caused scarcely a ripple on the surface of the sea of politics.” The presence of “women political workers” in the polling places for the first time was something new. In the second ward, which met in the barroom of the Eagle hotel, things were different in part because there were women present, but also because prohibition was now in effect.⁸⁵

The total presidential vote cast in Adams County was 9,349. This broke a record set in 1896, which was 8,125, and which had not been surpassed in twenty-four years. The Republican vote, cast for Warren G. Harding, 5,323, was 56 percent of the total, and was over 1,000 more than was ever cast for a Republican candidate. The Democratic vote, cast for James M. Cox, 3,852, was close to the average for that party for more than a quarter century.⁸⁶

The Republican victory in 1920 was nationwide. It included control of Congress and of many state offices. Harding had 16,147,249 votes to 9,140,864 for Cox.⁸⁷ Harding was the first and one of only four presidents thus far to receive more than 60 percent of the popular vote. In retrospect, while his twenty-nine months in the White House may not have been as much of a failure as long thought, he is still uniformly ranked as one of our least successful presidents.⁸⁸

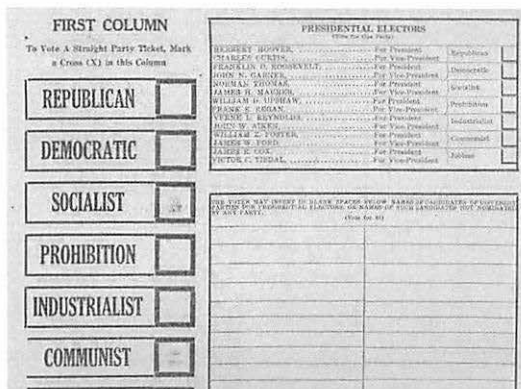
In the issue of November 6, the editor of the *Star and Sentinel* wrote that he was convinced that women voters played a large role in the Harding victory. It claimed, without offering proof, that many more women registered and presumably voted Republican than Democratic. Women, it claimed, had “come to the conclusion that the Republican party stands for ‘America First.’” Its leaders will not enter into “a binding alliance with the nations across the water which are always fighting one another and will continue to fight one another for innumerable years.”

In his issue of November 6, the editor of the *Compiler* tried to determine how many voters of either sex had voted in the election, believing that “a very large number of eligibles” had not gone to the polls. Convinced that there were 9,000 assessed males and 6,000 newly assessed females, he wrote that “it would be a safe guess” that of the 15,000 eligible to vote, 7,000 males and 2,200 females actually had gone to the polls.⁸⁹

The *Times* for November 2 did record the names of the first woman to vote in the first ward (Edna Z. Hartzell), in the second ward (Kate Nixon), and in the third ward (Lily B. Dougherty). Two voters in the third ward, not necessarily the first, were Keziah Cuff and Priscilla Bolding,⁹⁰ both African American, remembered because they were “thought to be around the century mark.”

+ + +

In August 1920 the editor of the *Times* wrote that “a large number” of women had stated that they had no intention of registering and voting. This writer knew several who lived into the 1980s and never changed their minds on this subject.⁹¹ For all others,



The Presidential Election Ballot of 1932 was the first which did not list the names of each elector

the Adams County registration procedures had to continue to be available. Into the 1970s the number of males registered slightly exceeded the number of females. Many of the first women registered nonpartisan. The number in 1924 was about 30 percent of the total. Since the early 1990s the number of registered voters has doubled, reaching 62,075 in 2008.⁹²

The percentage of registered voters who actually cast their ballots in a particular presidential election has varied considerably since 1920. Not all campaigns generate the same level of interest. In 1924 the percentage was 56. In the Hoover-Smith campaign of 1928 it was 71. One might have expected a larger turnout in the depression year of 1932, but it had dropped to 64. The percentage for Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 was 86 and for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, 80. Later percentages are given in the table at the head of this section.

Since 1920 the solid and dependable Republican strength in the county has continued to be in the northern and western sections, including the townships of Huntington, Latimore, Tyrone, Menallen, Butler, Cumberland, Straban, Mountjoy, Freedom, Highland, Liberty, and Hamiltonban, as well as the boroughs of Arendtsville, Bendersville, Biglerville, Fairfield, Gettysburg, Littlestown, and York Springs.

Until the 1930s there were a few more registered Democrats than Republicans in the county. Their base was located in eastern townships, including Reading, Hamilton, Berwick, Oxford, Mountpleasant, Conewago, Union, and Germany, as well as the borough of McSherrystown.⁹³

In each presidential election since 1920, there have been more than two parties in the race. None has had a major effect on the outcome in Adams County. In 1924 Robert M. LaFollette, candidate of the Progressive party, received a total of 4,831,289 votes nationwide, but only 300 in Adams County. In 1968 George C. Wallace won 1,579 votes as candidate of the American Independence party. The largest third-party claim on



Franklin D. Roosevelt arriving in 1938 to dedicate the Eternal Peace Light Memorial

the Adams County voter was made by H. Ross Perot, running as an independent in 1992 and as a reform candidate in 1996. He received 6,373 county votes in 1992 and 3,396 four years later.⁹⁴

The campaign of 1928 pitted the Republican Herbert C. Hoover against the Democrat Alfred E. Smith, the first Roman Catholic nominated by one of the major parties. One of the issues was prohibition. Smith favored repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. He carried only four districts (Conewago, McSherrystown, Mountpleasant, and Oxford). Hoover won 67 percent of the votes cast in Adams County.



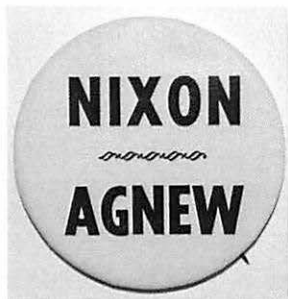
President and Mrs. Eisenhower registering to vote in Adams County

In 1952 and again in 1956 Dwight D. Eisenhower defeated Adlai E. Stevenson, winning 65 percent of the vote cast in the two elections. Eisenhower established Gettysburg as his voting residence when the Eisenhowers registered on February 4, 1956. His vice president, Richard M. Nixon, easily carried Adams County in 1960, but lost the election to John F. Kennedy.

In 1964 the presidential candidates were President Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater. Johnson carried Adams County, winning more than 55 percent of the vote. He carried 22 of the 33 districts, including several which had not gone Democratic in any election since 1920 (including Freedom and Latimore Townships and the boroughs of Fairfield, Gettysburg, and Littlestown) and several which had once been Democratic, but not in recent years (including Franklin and Reading townships and the boroughs of Abbottstown, East Berlin, and New Oxford).



President Kennedy and his wife with Jacob M. Sheads (third from left) on a guided tour of the battlefield in March 1963



A pin from the campaign for 1968 or 1972



A mug from the campaign of 1996

The display of Democratic strength shown in the election of 1964 has not been repeated. Only two districts went for the party in 1968 and only one in 1972. Five districts went for Jimmy Carter in 1976, but in several subsequent elections McSherrystown was the only one to do so. In 1996, 2000, and 2004 it went Republican.



A pin from the campaign of 1984

In the election of 2008 Conewago Township and the boroughs of Gettysburg and McSherrystown gave

a majority of votes to the Democratic candidate, Barack Obama. For Gettysburg, this has been a major departure, begun in 2000 and continued in 2004, from its Federalist, Whig, and Republican record. Except for 1964, these were almost certainly the only times since the county first voted in a presidential election in 1804 that the seat of its government left its traditional fold.

AGREE OR DISAGREE

How often did the choice of Adams County voters for president agree with those of the electoral college? In 52 elections between 1804 and 2008 Adams County agreed on 27 occasions and disagreed on 25 occasions. Remember that in 1824 the House of Representatives made the decision, choosing the candidate with the second highest popular votes, as did the electoral college in 1876, 1888, and 2000.

+ + +

Four amendments to the Constitution since 1920 have had the effect of moving the United States in the direction of greater political democracy. The first, the Nineteenth, in 1920, has already been discussed. The second, the Twenty-third, ratified in 1961, granted the residents of the District of Columbia a role in presidential elections. The third, the Twenty-fourth, ratified in 1964, barred the use of “any poll tax or other tax” as a requirement for voting in federal elections. The fourth, the Twenty-sixth, ratified in 1971, states that “the right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of

age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.” The Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized the federal government to act to secure the rights granted by the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. This was a commitment at long last being fulfilled.

HOW DID ADAMS COUNTY VOTERS TREAT THE FIFTEEN PRESENTLY HIGHEST RANKING PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES?

In 2009 C-Span conducted a Historians Presidential Leadership Survey, ranking the leadership characteristics of 42 presidents. Historians and political scientists did the ranking, using ten specified leadership characteristics. This was the latest in a series of more than twelve such surveys conducted since the famous Schlesinger poll in 1948.

<u>Survey Ranking</u>	<u>Adams Yes Vote</u>
1. Abraham Lincoln	1 of 2 elections
2. George Washington	2 of 2 elections
3. Franklin D. Roosevelt	2 of 4 elections
4. Theodore Roosevelt	1 of 2 elections
5. Harry S. Truman	0
6. John F. Kennedy	0
7. Thomas Jefferson	0
8. Dwight D. Eisenhower	2 of 2 elections
9. Woodrow Wilson	2 of 2 elections
10. Ronald Reagan	2 of 2 elections
11. Lyndon B. Johnson	1
12. James K. Polk	0
13. Andrew Jackson	1 of 3 elections
14. James Monroe	1 of 2 elections
15. Bill Clinton	0

In 1789 and 1792 voters in York County, which then included Adams, chose electors who then voted for George Washington.

www.c-span.org Click on “presidential survey.” (2010)

+ + +

In 1787, we have seen, the framers of the Constitution crafted a document which was intended to rest finally on the will of the people, but the working of that will would be achieved by a system of checks and balances.

Reportedly, we have seen, Benjamin Franklin told that inquiring lady he and the other framers had given us a republic, if we can keep it.

It turned out that we have not wanted to keep it, at least not in the form in which it was delivered to us.

In *M'ulloch v. Maryland* (1819), a famous Supreme Court case for which he wrote the majority opinion, Chief Justice John Marshall wrote that the Constitution –the one written and signed in 1787 and ratified in 1788 – was “intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs.”

By amending the Constitution, beginning with the Bill of Rights in 1791 and continuing into our own time, as well as in other ways, those charged with the responsibility for the working of the will of the people have acted to adapt this basic organic law of ours to respond to what might well be called “the various crises of human affairs.” They have taken us toward greater political democracy. The electoral college remains as one of several rules to remind us of what we might call our pure republican past.

In 1918, during World War I, William Tyler Page, a veteran employee of the United States Capitol, won a nationwide contest for composing a brief summary of what he called “the American political faith.” He drew upon the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and other sources in preparing a document which the United States House of Representatives accepted.

One phrase in Page’s American Creed echoes a main theme in this account of Adams County’s vote for president over two centuries: The United States of America has become and is “a democracy in a Republic.”

The American Creed

“I believe in the United States of America, as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.”

Appendix A

Address of the American Executive Committee to the voters of Adams County

FELLOW CITIZENS:

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Party of Adams County, the undersigned were instructed to address you upon the claims of the American movement to your confidence and support at the approaching Election. In discharging this duty it is not our purpose to enter into an elaborate argument in defence of that movement, but simply to submit to you a brief, frank and candid statement of our principles, our aims and objects. It is one of the beautiful evidences of the beneficent workings of the Free Institutions bequeathed us by our patriot sires that the American people, as has been more than once illustrated in the past history of the country, however much they may differ on minor political topics, stand ready to respond promptly to the call of patriotism and duty whenever confronted by a sense of danger to the country, or to the cherished principles that underlie and form the ground work of its glorious political Institutions. Hence the alacrity with which the patriot citizen abandons the workshop, the plough, the counting-room—every field of labor—when the national honor is to be vindicated or its wrongs redressed by an appeal to arms. Hence the readiness of our people to abandon long cherished political organizations and form new political alliances as questions of vital moment to the Republic start into being and challenge popular attention. In this noble, patriotic spirit of paramount devotion to the country and the country's good, the American movement claims its birth.—Originating in a sense of imminent danger to our Free Institutions and an ardent, earnest desire to perpetuate those Institutions intact and unimpaired as we received them—without any of the formal baptismal ceremonies by which cunning politicians are wont to usher into being new political combinations—relying solely upon the intrinsic excellency of its principles and its aims—and appealing to the judgment and patriotism of the people—it has noiselessly worked its way to popular confidence, and now stands forth among the leading parties of the day boldly challenging public scrutiny as to its claims to popular support.—What are those claims?

As its name necessarily implies, the American Party seeks to Americanize the feelings and habits of our people and the policy of our Government. It declares its main objects to be to “re-assert the original purpose of the Republic, to revive the national spirit of the country, to crush the factions which have converted party warfare into a mere struggle for the power of dispensing patronage, and above all, to resist the increase of Foreign influence in the United States.” The danger to our Institutions from this source was deeply felt in the earlier days of the Republic, when the immigration from foreign ports did not exceed five thousand a year, and was composed mainly of those who, attracted by the beacon light of liberty lighted upon our shores, sought them as a refuge from despotic kings and princes.—The immortal WASHINGTON deeply felt it, and with a heart pulsating with naught but the purest love for the cause to which he had devoted his noblest energies, he earnestly besought his countrymen to be ever on their guard against

“the insidious wiles of Foreign Influence, as one of the most baneful foes of a republican government.” The keen sighted JEFFERSON felt it, when, with a spirit reflecting that which breathes through the great charter of Freedom drawn by his own pen, he uttered the fervent wish that “there were an ocean of fire between this and the old world.” It needs no active imagination to conceive what the counsels of these Fathers of the Republic would now be, could their noble spirits appear in our midst in these latter days, when, instead of five thousand, no less than HALF A MILLION strangers are annually driven by poverty or misrule to swell our population, most of them ignorant of the institutions, the laws, and even the language of the country, and animated with a spirit very different from that of American citizens.

This immigration, thus annually poured upon our shores, and speedily invested with the elective franchise and the exercise of political power, furnishes what may, without much exaggeration of phrase, be called the “distinct estate” in our Republic. Its ever-swelling tide is visible in every community. It is banded into combinations, more or less apart from our long known and familiar masses of native citizens, by ties of foreign kindred, by unforgetten and ever cherished nationalities and by sympathies alien to the spirit which along sustains our peculiar, temperate and complicated system of freedom. Worse than this it has caught the notice and stimulated the craft of selfish political aspirants and demagogues who have too easily found it a pliant resource for party use, and have cajoled, flattered, and seduced it into the ranks of partisan strife, and thus imparted to it a consequence and an influence most powerful to aid a perverse ambition, but utterly powerless to accomplish any honest end for which the highest prerogatives of citizenship were designed. To correct these evils, the American party demand—a radical revision and modification of the laws regulating immigration and the naturalization of foreigners—offering to the honest immigrant, who, from love of liberty or hatred of oppression, seeks an asylum in the United States, a friendly reception and protection,—but unqualifiedly condemning the transmission to our shores of felons and paupers.

But the views of the American party do not stop here. They observe that a very large portion of this annual immigration belongs to the Church of Rome—professing at least a moral allegiance to a foreign and absolute power, and organized in a peculiar manner for the promotion of Roman Catholic objects at the expense of those very liberties which these persons exercise and enjoy. The American party, therefore, proclaims that it takes its stand against the political action of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, from a conviction that the tendency of that Church is to embody its adherents in a party, the objects of which are at variance with the institutions and national spirit of the American people.

We need not here re-capitulate the series of aggressions of the Catholic Priesthood in this country—first in its war upon the Bible as a text book in our Common Schools—then upon the Common School system itself—its efforts to divide the funds set apart for educational purposes—to break down our system of universal Free Education and establish sectarian schools instead—its bold efforts to control the legislation of the country by holding in reserve the heavy vote under its control, and casting it for the party

promising best to secure its purposes. Those have become familiar historical facts—have aroused the fears of the friends of Civil and Religious Freedom throughout the land—and call for action at the hands of those who are unwilling to see these institutions thus stricken down and destroyed. To meet this requirement, the American Party affirm, as part of their principles—

“Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church in our country, by the advancement to all political stations—executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic—of those only who do not hold civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education and training—thus fulfilling the maxim:--‘AMERICANS ONLY MUST GOVERN AMERICA.’

The protection of all citizens in the legal and proper exercise of their civil and religious rights and privileges; the maintenance of the right of every man to the full, unrestrained, and peaceful enjoyment of his own religious opinions and worship, and a jealous resistance of all attempts by any sect, denomination or church, to obtain an ascendancy over any other in the State, by means of any special privileges or exemption, by any political combination of its members, or by a division of their civil allegiance with any foreign power, potentate, or ecclesiastic.

And, inasmuch as Christianity, by the Constitutions of nearly all the States: by the decisions of the most eminent judicial authorities; and by the consent of the people of America, is considered an element of our political system; and, as the Holy Bible is at once the source of Christianity, and the depository and fountain of all civil and religious freedom, we oppose every attempt to exclude it from the schools thus established in the U States.

In thus avowing our principles we wage no war against any man because of his political or religious belief. We accord to every citizen the right to worship his God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to avow such opinions as to him may seem right.—We propose no enactments to deprive any citizen of the right to vote or hold office. With our convictions of the dangers of Foreign influence and the political tendencies of Romanism, as they have been developed in this Country, we decline giving them our suffrages, preferring American born citizens to make our laws and fill our offices, and voting only for those who hold views in accordance with our own. In this we only act out the convictions of duty and the suggestions of honest policy, and disavow proscription, civil or religious, other than that which every political party does and must endorse, when selecting as candidates for office those who sympathize with it in views of governmental policy.

There is still one other principle which the American Party of Pennsylvania has avowed, and upon which they ask a verdict of the people of the State. The repeal of the time-honored Missouri Compromise and the threatened extension of Human Slavery into the territories solemnly consecrated to Freedom meets our entire emphatic condemnation. We demand repeal of the Kansas Nebraska act—the restoration of the Missouri Compromise—and a resistance to the further extension of Human Slavery in

this Republic.

Such are the principles avowed by the American party, and for which they ask your approval. It has its origin in a sincere, earnest desire to see these principles adopted as the policy of the country, and to this end they invite the honest votes of all parties to unite with them. We welcome all—recognize no past political distinction—and stand ready to work heartily, honestly, earnestly, on common ground, with all who may be willing to go with us. The enemies of Americanism—banded together by common interests—and controlled by corrupt partizan

demagogues, are straining every nerve to crush it by means of reckless denunciation, misrepresentation, and falsehood. It is for you, equally interested with us in the determination of these great issues, to say whether they shall succeed. With you we leave the matter, confident in the assurance that on the second Tuesday of October next, you will record your verdict on the side of Right and Truth and Justice.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves, in behalf of the American Executive Committee,

E. G. FAHNESTOCK,
D. A. BUEHLER,
JOHN BURKHOLDER,
Wm. B. MEALS,
SAMUEL METZGAR,
D. WILLS

September 27, 1855.

Your Fellow Citizens,
D. KENDLEHART
Wm. B. McCLELLAN,
Wm. F. WALTER,
E. HUNTER,
W. L. CAMPBELL,
Committee.

Star and Banner, Sept. 28, 1855; *Sentinel*, Oct. 1, 1855

Appendix B Foreign Born, Census of 1850, Adams County

Township/Borough	Germany	Ireland	Other	Total
Berwick	20	2	France, 3	25
Conewago	36	9	England, 1; Switzerland, 2; Belgium, 1; Ocean 1	50
Cumberland	52	10	France, 1; W. Indies, 1; Ocean, 1	65
Franklin	73	7	England, 1	81
Freedom	1	6	England, 1	8
Germany	33	0	France, 3	36
Gettysburg	130	14	England, 3; France, 1; Austria, 1; Italy, 1; Canada, 1; Upper Canada, 1	152
Hamilton	19	2		21
Hamiltonban	8	5	England, 1	14
Huntington	3		England, 4	7
Liberty	9	16		25
Menallen	10			10
Mount Joy	20	2		22
Mount Pleasant	73	8	St. Domingo, 1	82
Oxford	12	16	England, 1; Switzerland, 1; Netherlands, 1	31
Reading	3	1		4
Straban	17	3		20
Tyrone	1		England, 1	2
Union	73			73
Total	593	101		728

Appendix C

Adams County Presidential Vote, 1856, 1860, 1864

	1856			1860			1864		
	Union	Buchanan	Total	Lincoln	Other	Total	Lincoln	Other	Total
Huntington	374	180	554	439	166	605	368	210	578
Reading	88	137	225	108	152	260	88	160	248
Tyrone	100	78	178	100	72	172	72	99	171
	562	395	957	647	390	1037	528	469	997
Berwick				41	55	96	13	81	94
Berwick Boro	58	106	164	52	31	83	37	23	60
Hamilton	82	150	232	88	163	251	61	172	233
Oxford	53	131	184	100	144	244	84	154	238
	193	387	580	281	393	674	195	430	625
Conewago	42	115	157	41	126	167	82	97	179
Union	59	139	198	53	135	188	50	162	212
Germany	92	133	225	116	173	289	118	164	282
Mt. Pleasant	56	247	303	66	242	308	71	262	331
	249	634	883	276	676	952	321	685	1004
Butler	128	106	234	138	96	234	125	130	255
Menallen	194	115	309	216	71	287	204	91	295
Franklin	175	153	328	186	205	391	140	214	354
	497	374	871	540	372	912	469	435	904
Millerstown	225	226	451	278	276	504	172	170	342
Highland							49	31	80
	225	226	451	278	226	504	221	201	422
Cumberland	138	103	241	134	100	234	122	140	262
Gettysburg	224	182	406	259	225	484	259	178	437
Freedom	56	44	100	60	47	107	57	43	100
Mt. Joy	81	116	197	114	107	221	93	122	215
Straban	120	176	296	135	182	317	97	183	280
	619	621	1240	702	661	1363	628	666	1294
Total	2345	2637	4982	2724	2718	5442	2362	2886	5248

Endnotes

¹ An act passed on Jan. 12, 1706 prescribed in detail the procedures to be followed in conducting elections in provincial Pennsylvania. Acts of the Pennsylvania legislature beginning in 1682 have been published in a number of compilations, one of which is available at the Adams County Historical Society. Hereafter cited as ACHS.

² Lists of the township and county officers elected and appointed in York County between 1749 and 1800 have been compiled by and are available at the ACHS.

³ For the Charter of Privileges, see the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume 1, 118-125.

⁴ The Federalist papers have often been republished and are readily available. For example, *The Federalist papers: Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay*, with an introduction by Clinton Rossiter (New York, 1961).

⁵ One handy place to find the text of the original Constitution and the amendments is an edition of the annual *World Almanac*.

⁶ As already noted, the text of the laws of Pennsylvania, from 1682 into the twentieth century, is available at the ACHS.

⁷ The text of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 is available in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume 3, 627-648. Under the act of Jan. 12, 1706, residence in the province for two years was required for voters.

⁸ All six York County members of the convention, two of whom were from what is now Adams County (John Black and Henry Slagle), voted to ratify the Constitution.

⁹ Merrill Jensen and Robert A. Becker, editors, *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788-1790*, Volume 1 (Madison, Wis., 1976), 390-1. The fact that there were two tickets in this first election is evidence of faction or party even before the new government went into effect. The number of votes for each ticket given here is the average cast for ten Lancaster and nine Harrisburg candidates. The voter voted for each candidate separately, not for one slate. Except where indicated otherwise, the number given in later instances is usually the number cast for the first candidate listed.

¹⁰ Stefan Lorant, *The Glorious Burden: The American Presidency* (New York, 1968), 905, reprinted the page from the United States Senate Journal for Apr. 6, 1789 which records that the ten Pennsylvania electors cast ten votes for George Washington, eight for John Adams, and two for John Hancock. Hereafter cited as *The Glorious Burden*.

¹¹ *The Glorious Burden*, 905, includes the page from the Senate journal for Feb. 13, 1793, which lists the votes cast by the electors in 1792. The average votes cast for the members of the two tickets were taken from Record Group 26, Box 1, Department of State, Bureau of Commissions and Elections, Pennsylvania State Archives.

¹² Clearly newspapers have played a prominent role in presidential politics from the very beginning. John Edie, member of an early Adams County family and a Revolutionary War hero, was sheriff of York County before he became an editor of the *Pennsylvania Herald and York General Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper whose first issue was dated Jan. 7, 1789. Hereafter cited as *York General Advertiser*.

¹³ *York General Advertiser*, Nov. 9, 1796; the Philadelphia Gazette for Nov. 18, 1796 includes the votes cast for electors in all but the three missing western counties.

¹⁴ In *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801* (Harrisburg, 1950), 162-174, Harry Marlin Tinkcom discusses the 1796 campaign in Pennsylvania and the failure to report its results on time. Hereafter cited as *Republicans and Federalists*.

¹⁵ *The Glorious Burden*, 906.

¹⁶ In his first inaugural address Thomas Jefferson may have said that we are all Republicans we are all Federalists, but it may be a bit simpler for us to use another name for one of the two parties from the beginning. As we have seen, as early as 1796 John Edie called the Antifederalists Democrats. In this work we are going to use the familiar name Federalist to describe the party of Washington and Adams, and we are going to call the Jeffersonians or Antifederalists Democrats. In that way we can identify one of the two main parties with one name from Thomas Jefferson through Andrew Jackson to this day.

¹⁷ The last known issue of the *York General Advertiser* was dated Aug. 29, 1798. John Edie was also the editor of the *York Recorder* when it began less than two years later.

¹⁸ See *Republicans and Federalists*, 243-256, for a discussion of the events between Oct. 1800 and the election of Jefferson.

¹⁹ Act of Jan. 31, 1801.

²⁰ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume 4, 115-35. Text of the Constitution of 1790.

²¹ Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800-1816* (Harrisburg, 1952), 1, 337. Hereafter cited as *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch*.

²² *The Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933 (Harrisburg, 1933), 391. The state vote was 47,879 for Thomas McKean, and 17,037 for the Federalist James Ross. This volume of the *Manual* includes all the votes cast for governor between 1790 and 1930.

²³ Called *The Adams Centinel* from its first day of publication on November 12, 1800, this newspaper became the *Adams Sentinel* on Feb. 8, 1826. The first issue in the ACHS files is Volume 1, Number 2, and is dated Nov. 19, 1800. In this work it is consistently referred to as the *Sentinel*. It was a Federalist, then a Whig, and finally a Republican paper.

²⁴ The state vote returns have been taken from the *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 387. The local returns are from the *Adams Sentinel*, Nov. 7, 1804. Vote totals often differ slightly from source to source.

²⁵ *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch*, 176.

²⁶ *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 387.

²⁷ *Adams Sentinel*, Nov. 4, 1812; *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 388.

²⁸ Note that there was no ticket identified as Federalist.

²⁹ *Sentinel*, Nov. 6, 1816; *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 388.

³⁰ Philip Shriver Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832: A Game Without Rules* (Philadelphia, 1940), 105; *York Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1820. Hereafter cited as *A Game Without Rules*.

³¹ *Sentinel*, Oct. 18, 1820 and Nov. 8, 1820.

³² *York Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1820; *Lancaster Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser*, Nov. 25, 1820; and *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 388. The compilers of the data in the latter source gave 30,313 votes to Monroe and attributed 1,893 to "John Q. Adams, opposition."

³³ *The Glorious Burden*, 908.

³⁴The *Republican Compiler* was the first Adams County newspaper to offer sustained competition to the *Sentinel*. The earlier *Gettysburg Gazette* lasted less than a year and the *Sprig of Liberty* only three. Although the word *Republican* was part of its name, except for one week, until 1857, it was the county's Democratic newspaper as the nation was abandoning one two-party system and slowly constructing another. In this work it is called the *Compiler*.

³⁵*A Game Without Rules*, iii.

³⁶*Ibid*, 163-5.

³⁷*The Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933 (Harrisburg, 1933), 388. Popular votes cast for presidential candidates before 1824 have rarely been published in general works dealing with the subject, possibly giving the impression that earlier such votes were not available. Long before 1933 the compiler of the *Manual* did include returns assembled from state records and other sources, including newspapers, going back to 1789. These earlier records are often incomplete.

³⁸The address of the Clay committee to the people of Pennsylvania, which appeared in the *Sentinel* on October 27, claimed it was by then "universally admitted, that none of the candidates will receive a majority of the electoral votes." Because of his support in several parts of the country, the committee believed Clay would be one of the three candidates to be considered by the House of Representatives, of which he had once been Speaker.

³⁹*A Game Without Rules*, 175.

⁴⁰We would expect to find this document published in the *Compiler*, as it was on Oct. 1, 1828. In the *Sentinel* for Oct. 8 the editor wrote that "in compliance with the request of the Jackson meeting, we have given place to part of their proceedings this week—the address we shall probably commence next week." He did include the names of the vigilance committee and then stated they included some Adams friends. In one township, he believed, there were more committeemen than voters.

⁴¹*Sentinel*, Nov. 5, 1828.

⁴²*A Game Without Rules*, 409; *The Glorious Burden*, 909.

⁴³*Ibid*, 909.

⁴⁴*A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of The Presidents* (New York, 1897), Volume III. The first inaugural address is on 999-1001. The first annual message is on 1005-25.

⁴⁵The bank veto message is on 1139-54 of *ibid*.

⁴⁶The *Sentinel* for Nov. 6, 1832 reports the "official return" of the presidential vote in Adams County without crediting any to Wirt. The *Compiler* for Nov. 20 calls the entire Clay vote a Wirt vote.

⁴⁷For a recent and thorough treatment of Thaddeus Stevens during his Anti-Masonic years, see Bradley R. Hoch, *Thaddeus Stevens in Gettysburg: The Making of an Abolitionist* (Gettysburg, 2005).

⁴⁸For the votes cast in eight gubernatorial elections between 1832 and 1851, see *The Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 391-2.

⁴⁹*Ibid*.

⁵⁰*1886 History of Adams County, Pennsylvania*, reprint edition (Gettysburg, 1992), 115.

⁵¹The text of the Kansas-Nebraska Act is available in one of many editions of *Documents of American History*, edited by Henry Steele Commager.

⁵²U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970...* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 105-6. Hereafter cited as *Historical Statistics*.

⁵³*Sentinel*, Sept. 24, 1855.

⁵⁴ *Star and Banner*, Sept. 8, 1854

⁵⁵ *Compiler*, Sept. 11, 1854

⁵⁶ In his work on Pennsylvania politics during this period, *The Disruption of the Pennsylvania Democracy, 1848-1860* (Harrisburg, 1975), John F. Coleman wrote (74) that “the election of 1854 was among the most bitterly contested in the history of the State, and its outcome among the most extraordinary.” Democrats were elected where Whigs were expected to, and vice versa. Among the issues was a statewide referendum on prohibition, which failed, but only narrowly. Hereafter cited as *Disruption of the Democracy*.

⁵⁷ For the county results, see the *Sentinel*, Oct. 16, 1854. The countywide vote on prohibition was 1,236 for and 2,584 against. The only district in favor was Gettysburg, 300 in favor and 70 against.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Star and Banner*, Oct. 13, 1854 and *Sentinel*, Oct. 16, 1854. Both editors thought it was most unusual that in the race for canal commissioner the vote was 3,052 to 1,153, for coroner it was 3,374 to 839, and for register and recorder it was 2,521 to 805 (a write in) and to 734. All three winners were on Buehler’s list of Know Nothings who also ran as Democrats.

⁶⁰ Harper printed the minutes, including the resolutions, of the Whig Convention of Pennsylvania in the *Sentinel* for Sept. 24, 1855.

⁶¹ *Star and Banner*, July 13, 1855. In his edition of June 18, Editor Harper reported that Edward McPherson of Gettysburg had begun publishing the Pittsburgh *Evening Times*, a daily paper for which he “has hoisted the flag of the American party.” Harper wished him well, even though at times he had found this young man a bit too ardent and progressive for his tastes.

⁶² In the Sept. 28 issue of the *Star and Banner* Buehler included a long article on the Know Nothings which had appeared in the *Lutheran Observer* a year before, on Sept. 22, 1854. The *Observer* was a weekly newspaper of the Lutheran church, published in Baltimore. As an active Lutheran layman, Buehler probably read the article when it was published. The author was Benjamin Kurtz, editor of the *Observer* for almost thirty years. He wrote that there was a necessity for something of the kind in our country, “in part because of the Roman Catholics and the actions of politicians to win them over to their respective parties.” He opposed secret societies, but if this one is “for the single purpose of preventing the undue interference of Foreigners and Papists in our political affairs, it can do only good so long as it is confined to this object.”

⁶³ Responding to Know Nothing claims that there had been a few of their members on Democratic tickets, Stahle published the pledge which all members of that ticket were required to sign, giving their “sacred word of honor” that they had no connection with the Know Nothings and never will, and that they belong only to the Democratic party. Returning to this matter after the election, Stahle called the Know Nothings “the dark lantern order.” *Compiler*, Sept. 24 and Oct. 15, 1855.

⁶⁴ After Buehler joined the American party, Harper believed his neighbor at the *Star* had “worked himself into a pitch of wrath, wherein reason no longer has control.” Harper believed although the Whigs had no ticket in the election, there were still Whig members whose beliefs were as sound and useful as ever. *Sentinel*, Oct. 8, 1855

⁶⁵ On the Saturday evening after the election, the American party had what Buehler described as “a very large and enthusiastic meeting” in the courthouse. He and others spoke about “the strength of our cause” and “triumph in the future.” They appointed a committee of nine, down from eleven, to draw up new statements and resolutions for future use. *Star and Banner*, Oct. 19, 1855.

⁶⁶ All three editors noted that this total vote in 1855 was less than in 1854 and other recent elections. They tried to explain why and how with a little effort the result might have been different. No one explained that 1854 was a hard-fought gubernatorial election year. Stahle observed that while in many townships the Democrats were “not out” in 1855, “the figures nevertheless foot up beautifully.” *Compiler*, Oct. 15, 1855.

⁶⁷ Information on the foreign born was derived from the microfilm of the United States Census of 1850, for Adams County, available at the ACHS.

⁶⁸ Numbers of foreign born by county at the time of the census of 1850 are given in *The Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1853), xcv-cii. The ACHS has records of more than 1000 persons who sought naturalization as American citizens in Adams County between 1802 and 1907. *Listing of Naturalization Papers...*, compiled by Elwood W. Christ, 1995-6

⁶⁹ *Disruption of the Democracy*, 84.

⁷⁰ Fremont was nominated by a Republican convention in June. Fillmore, who was not a Know Nothing, had been nominated by an American convention in Feb.

⁷¹ The two parties agreed on how they would cast the electoral votes to which they would be entitled after the election was over.

⁷² *Sentinel*, Nov. 10, 1856. In the state and county election on Oct. 14, the Democrats won ten of the thirteen contests, all by margins under sixty votes. They lost in the race for associate judge, state assembly, and district attorney. *Sentinel*, Oct. 20, 1856

⁷³ *Sentinel*, Oct. 19, 1857; *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 392

⁷⁴ The total votes reported in the *Sentinel*, *Compiler*, and *Star and Banner* are all slightly different. The one in the *Sentinel* has been accepted for our purposes as “official.”

⁷⁵ *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 388.

⁷⁶ Thaddeus Stevens to E. M. Stanton, Lancaster, Sept. 1, 1863, in Beverly Wilson Palmer, editor, *The Selected Papers of Thaddeus Stevens*, Volume 1 (Pittsburgh, 1997), 405-6.

⁷⁷ *Sentinel*, Nov. 15, 1864; *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 388.

⁷⁸ *Sentinel*, Nov. 29, 1864; *Compiler*, Dec. 5, 1864.

⁷⁹ In 1867, when the editor of the *Star* died, that paper and the *Sentinel* were combined as the *Star and Sentinel*, published in Gettysburg.

⁸⁰ *Historical Statistics*, 1073.

⁸¹ *Star and Sentinel*, Nov. 10, 1896.

⁸² Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, 1992), 447.

⁸³ The Gettysburg *Times* began publishing as a daily newspaper in Sept. 1905. Since it was an afternoon paper, it could announce Tennessee’s ratification of the amendment on the day it occurred.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, Aug. 20, 1920.

⁸⁵ The Volstead Act, passed to provide laws to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, went into effect on Jan. 16, 1920.

⁸⁶ *Compiler*, Nov. 6, 1920.

⁸⁷ *The Pennsylvania Manual*, 1933, 386.

⁸⁸ Accepting that 60 percent of the popular vote is a reasonable definition of a landslide, then four presidents have been elected by a landslide: Warren G. Harding in 1920, Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, and Richard M. Nixon in 1972. Harding received only 56 percent of the vote in Adams County. The C-Span 2009 Historians Presidential Leadership Survey ranked him 38th among 42 presidents. C-Span.org/Presidential Survey (2010).

⁸⁹ Using the 1920 Census as its source, the 1921-22 *Smull's Legislative Hand Book and Manual* (Harrisburg, 1922), 412, listed 9,494 males and 10,217 females in Adams County who were 21 years of age and over.

⁹⁰ Mrs. Hartzell, who died in 1972, was later active in Republican politics. Miss Dougherty, who died in 1933, was active in Democratic politics.

⁹¹ In the years after 1920, Adams County women began to appear in county offices, on school boards, and in similar positions. The first woman jury commissioner took office in 1957 and the first register and recorder in 1971.

⁹² Information on registered voters in Adams County, with sex and party affiliation, is available in successive issues of the *Pennsylvania Manual*.

⁹³ Until Bonneauville became a borough in 1961, there were 32 election districts in the county. Several not mentioned in this list, including Abbottstown, East Berlin, and New Oxford, as well as Franklin township, voted Democratic less often between 1920 and 1964 than the ones named. The numbers of votes given in each election district in any election are easily available from official and unofficial lists published in newspapers available on microfilm at the ACHS.

⁹⁴ *Historical Statistics*, 1073. Both Wallace and Perot received some votes in each of the election districts. In Wallace's case in all but three the number was less than one hundred. In 1992 Perot received more than 300 votes in seven districts located in different sections of the county. *Pennsylvania Manual, Volume 111* (1993, 7-37).

HEART LANGUAGE: ELSIE SINGMASTER AND HER PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN

By: Susan Colestock Hill. Foreword by Charles H. Glatfelter.

Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series. The Pennsylvania German Society.

The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009.

Reviewed by Anna Jane Moyer, Librarian Emerita, Gettysburg College

A new century with all its energy and expectations had slipped into place and challenged Americans with fresh promises. The year was 1900. Elsie Singmaster had spent two years at Cornell University immersed in writing classes, and she would return home to Gettysburg eager to write. Her professors had been encouraging. She would always remember one of them who commented on her work for the day by exclaiming, "Who are these queer, unreal people?"

"They're NOT queer!" Elsie retorted. "And they're very real. They are my people living in the traditional ways of their ancestors."

"Then," he urged "write more about them!"

Thus began a writing career that stretched for almost half a century as Elsie Singmaster (1879-1958) became a regional writer who achieved national recognition especially for depicting the life, culture, and history of the Pennsylvania Germans. Hers was a prodigious output: more than 350 short stories and articles and more than forty books.

It is with this incident between professor and student that Susan Colestock Hill opens *Heart Language: Elsie Singmaster and Her Pennsylvania German Writings*. The book contains Hill's skillfully written literary biographical sketch (pp. 1-73) that serves as an introduction to Singmaster and her work and a springboard to a selection of sixteen short stories by Singmaster that follows (pp.79-264). Hill's work is carefully researched, thoughtfully written, and extensively documented. She writes to provide a context for the stories, to re-examine Singmaster's legacy, and to discuss her work and its place in American literature.

With her, the reader considers three major influences that shaped Singmaster's literary output: her Pennsylvania German family heritage, her Lutheran background with its close ties to the Church, the social and cultural environment of the late Victorian era in the United States.

The Singmasters (originally Zangmeister) could verify their entry in America at the port of Philadelphia as 1749. Genealogical records exist that trace the family back to 1415 in Germany. Elsie's father John Alden Singmaster became a Lutheran pastor serving congregations in Schuylkill Haven, Macungie, Brooklyn NY, and Allentown. In 1900 he accepted a position as a professor at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg; from 1906-1926 he served as President. Except during her marriage (1912-1915) to Harold Steck Lewars, Elsie as a young woman and a widow resided at the Singmaster home on campus during her active adult life. Dr. Singmaster, a graduate of both the College and the Seminary at Gettysburg, was a prolific writer and a keen

storyteller. He encouraged and supported his daughter's early aspirations to become an author, and he became a strong influence in her life.

Elsie Singmaster's first short story as a professional writer, "The Lese-Majeste of Hans Heckendorn," was published by Scribner's in 1905 while she was completing her college education at Radcliffe; it centered on the reaction of a German immigrant family to life in America. Within a few years her short stories could also be found regularly in the pages of such periodicals as *Century Magazine*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Outlook*, *Lippincott's Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *McClure's Magazine*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Collier's*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Youth's Companion*.

As a setting for some of her Pennsylvania German characters Elsie Singmaster created the village of Millerstown, based on Macungie (formerly known as Millerstown), a place where she had lived as a child and a place where she and her four brothers delighted in returning for summer vacations. The fictional village of Lanesville also became a background for her stories. Having absorbed the customs, the lore, and the language of the Pennsylvania Germans from childhood, Elsie Singmaster often incorporated people and places she knew into her stories. Sometimes her characters reappear. Often she wrote of women---women old and young---of their strength, their support in time of trouble, their courage. She described their shawls and bonnets, their Sunday dresses. She wrote of women and their work---the baking and the cooking and the canning and the way they kept their houses and their families. Susan Hill discusses the Victorian concept of "woman's sphere" and its orbit of home and family as it relates to the women in Singmaster's work. She points out that Singmaster "portrays these women in traditional roles but also creates situations that challenge their customary ways and social limitations." With them we experience their struggling to hold on to the old ways, yet sensing their need to yield to change.

While shaping the lives of her characters, Elsie Singmaster wrote of fertile Pennsylvania farmlands---the rich brown earth freshly plowed and planted in springtime, the cattle grazing languidly in pastures, the work horses sweaty from their labors in the summer sun. She wrote of large red barns that gave to the landscape a touch of warmth. She wrote of neat, trim houses, their parlors stiff and formal with heavy, dark furniture and their country kitchens alive with country talk and the pungent aroma of freshly baked bread and pies.

Adept at using detail, Elsie Singmaster had the ability to create word pictures that enable the reader to enter a room, meet new people, and step into a story in another place, another time. Her Pennsylvania German stories in Hill's well chosen collection offer the reader an opportunity to sample Singmaster's writing by exploring a variety of characters and situations. Singmaster's ability to evoke a sense of place and the lifestyle and customs of the people who inhabit it puts her among the writers and artists of local color working in the early part of the twentieth century. Hill discusses this regional American literary genre in relation to Singmaster's short story writing and its capturing of the ethnic identity of the Pennsylvania Germans and their folkways.

Elsie Singmaster used dialog skillfully. The speech of her Pennsylvania German characters is often tinged with patterns of word order, pronunciation, idioms, and accent that carry over from the Pennsylvania German dialect into their use of English. Susan Hill comments on the thoughts of Donald Radcliffe Shenton on fiction about Pennsylvania Germans presented before the Institute of German Studies. She writes, "He distinguished between the 'Heart' and 'Head' languages of the Pennsylvania German community and said that the dialect, the 'Heart' language, protected the Pennsylvania German value system and way of life from the outside world. Its general unintelligibility in the English world created an intentional and effective cultural barrier, slowing assimilation of Pennsylvania Germans into the English mainstream....Elsie Singmaster translates the Heart language across the barrier of dialect." It is from this comment that Susan Hill takes the title of her book.

Readers interested in Adams County history will want to note the material in the book concerning Elsie Singmaster's community service. Warmly known locally as Mrs. Lewars, she made significant contributions of time and leadership to the Adams County Chapter of the Red Cross, the Adams County Public Library, the Adams County Historical Society, and the effort to retain women as students at Gettysburg College.

A close look at the "Bibliography of Elsie Singmaster's Work" (pp.265-275) will guide the reader to other short stories about the Pennsylvania Germans as well as to Singmaster's stories related to Gettysburg at the time of the Battle and to her historical novels.

Widely read during her day, Singmaster would experience the waning of her popularity as an author as times changed and literary tastes changed with them. Susan Hill's book affords readers an opportunity to revisit Singmaster's work and her contributions. Hill writes, "It is my hope that readers of the stories reprinted in this volume will recognize that Singmaster has earned a place in the local color canon and in Pennsylvania studies.... Her legacy must now be reclaimed from the margins so that Singmaster may once again be appreciated on the merits of her life and work, and for her contribution to the preservation of the American experience."

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