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LOWER ANTHRACITE REGION.

Lehigh University, Ph.D., 1973
History, general

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Before the Molly Maguires; the Emergence of the Ethno-Religious
Factor in the Politics of the Lower Anthracite Region

by

William A. Gudelunas, Jr.

A Dissertation

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of Lehigh
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Table of Contents

		<u>Page</u>
Introduction	Parties and the People in Nineteenth Century America	4
Chapter I	Schuylkill County Pennsylvania, 1844-1872	17
Chapter II	Mass Voting Behavior in Schuylkill County, 1844-1872	44
	A. Democrats vs. Whigs, 1844-1853	44
	B. Democrats vs. Republicans, 1854-1872	76
Chapter III	Party Leadership in Schuylkill County, 1844-1872	105
	A. Whigs vs. Democrats	106
	B. Republicans vs. Democrats	120
Chapter IV	Conclusion	135
Appendix A	The Towns and Townships of Schuylkill County	145
Appendix B	Whig Leaders of Schuylkill County, 1844-1853	172
Appendix C	Democratic Leaders of Schuylkill County, 1844-1853	175
Appendix D	Republican Leaders of Schuylkill County, 1855-1872	177
Appendix E	Democratic Leaders of Schuylkill County, 1855-1872	183
Appendix F	Sources for Information on Party Leaders	186
Bibliography		188

An Abstract
of
A Dissertation
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American voting behavior has long been of concern to historians and political scientists. Many interpretations of the voting habits of nineteenth century Americans have been advanced. Traditionally, voting was thought to have been a function simply of economic position. Recent historical works concerning the nineteenth century have challenged these established views. This work attempts to define the major voting determinants in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania during the mid-nineteenth century.

There was no doubt the ethno-religious determinants were far more powerful than economic factors in influencing the patterns of voting in Schuylkill County during the years between 1844 and 1872. The four major ethno-religious groups found in Schuylkill County in the mid-nineteenth century polarized quite clearly in their political tendencies. The German Lutherans and Irish Catholics strongly favored the Democratic Party while the Welsh and English Protestants generally rejected the Democrats and supported the Whigs

and then the Republicans. The level of a person's affluence exerted little influence during these years. For example, there were rich and poor Welsh Protestants but they voted similarly. Likewise, the economic position of an Irish Catholic did not significantly alter his Democratic proclivities.

The leadership elites of the political parties in the county also reflected these ethno-religious cleavages. Few Irish Catholics entered the Whig or Republican organizations, but many achieved high positions within Democratic ranks. The Whigs and Republicans generally recruited their leaders from the Welsh and English Protestants of the county.

The simplest method of describing these divisions is to apply the categories developed by Gerhard Lenski in The Religious Factor. In Lenski's terms the "doctrinally orthodox" people of the county, the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans, were strong Democrats while the "devotionalists" of the county, the Welsh and English Protestants were basically anti-Democratic. The "doctrinally orthodox" relied on established churches and prescribed doctrines. The "devotionalists" emphasized individualistic or private religious practices. The activist style of religion practiced by the devotionalists led them to closely link religion and politics. Such a bond was an anathema to the "doctrinally orthodox." The most obvious manifestation of this dichotomy was the support the "devotionalists" gave to moralistic causes like temperance and sabbatarianism, programs which the "doctrinally orthodox" deeply detested.

Since the "doctrinally orthodox" outnumbered the "devotion-
alists" in Schuylkill County, they generally saw their Democratic
organization rule the county. The Democrats lost only when crucial
issues worked directly to their detriment. Such a situation occurred
only twice during the years under study. The first Democratic tumble
from power came in 1846 when James K. Polk, a Democrat, supported a
tariff bill which proved highly unpopular in Schuylkill County. The
second demise in Democratic strength came in 1858 when the voters of
the county rejected the pro-Southernism and tariff policies of another
Democratic President, James Buchanan.

Thus, an Irish Catholic-German Lutheran alliance generally
held control of political power in the county in the years between
1844 and 1872. The people who supported this coalition did so pri-
marily because of ethno-religious reasons. Supposedly grave economic
and sectional questions were clearly subordinated to these ethno-
religious factors when considered as political determinants.

Introduction: Parties and the People
in Nineteenth Century America

The anthracite regions of Pennsylvania have long been regarded as the scene of intense social conflict. Economic and occupational polarizations were as pronounced in the coal districts as in any other industrial area in the mid-nineteenth century United States. Mining entrepreneurs achieved fortunes comparable to the great railroad and oil magnates of the period, while mine laborers were among the most exploited workers in the country.¹ Unionization, fervently resisted by anthracite corporations, failed to rectify these abuses during any part of the nineteenth century.²

The most spectacular result of this exploitation of labor in the mining areas was the rise of the famous Molly Maguire associations.³ Most historians have perceived the ultimate goal of the Mollies as the betterment of the conditions of anthracite laborers in general, and have excused foibles such as the Negrophobia of the Molly Maguires, arguing that it stemmed from their fear that operators would eventually import Black labor to further undermine the working conditions in the anthracite area.⁴ Hence, the Mollies represented the

¹ Wayne C. Broehl, Jr., The Molly Maguires (Cambridge, 1965), p. 104. The deplorable working conditions faced by common mine laborers is discussed in Clifton K. Yearley, Enterprise and Anthracite: Economics and Democracy in Schuylkill County, 1820-1875 (Baltimore, 1961), pp. 172-173.

² Yearley, Enterprise and Anthracite, pp. 181-183.

³ In Enterprise and Anthracite Yearley viewed the Mollies as an organization which was in reality a labor union forced underground by corporate attacks upon overt unionism.

⁴ Broehl, The Molly Maguires, p. 87.

aspirations of poor laborers who opposed privileged mining entrepreneurs. However:

The Molly Maguire incidents, did not settle the basic labor-relations dispute nor have any real effect over the conditions in the coal fields which led to so much tension. The atmosphere was still that of the company town, the dangers of coal mining still as frightful, the rewards still low, and the life of the miner still depressing and debilitating.⁵

This situation naturally led these historians to interpret political behavior in the anthracite belt in relation to this economic conflict, the rich and poor would polarize politically just as they had economically and socially.⁶ They presented a picture of a political structure with one party attracting the laborers and its opponent concentrating its strength among the business classes. It was the age-old story of the "haves" opposing the "have-nots." The Molly Maguires were a manifestation of the frustrations suffered by the poor of the anthracite regions.⁷ In this way the Mollies have been related to American political and social development.

Traditional historical studies dealing with the composition of political parties in the mid-nineteenth century United States have

⁵ Ibid., pp. 360-361.

⁶ Ibid., p. 87.

⁷ The studies of the Molly Maguires are quite numerous. The most important include along with Broehl's book: Anthony J. Bimba, The Molly Maguires (New York, 1932); Walter J. Coleman, The Molly Maguire Riots: Industrial Conflict in the Pennsylvania Coal Region (New York, 1936); and Arthur H. Lewis, Lament for the Molly Maguires (New York, 1969).

in general seen some degree of class conflict contributing directly to the structure of political organizations.⁸ The voters of that era have been regarded as essentially rational, selecting their parties on the basis of the interests of their specific economic groups. In line with this reasoning, historians have depicted the Democrats as the party of the poor working men and the unprivileged farmers. Conversely, the Whigs and their successors, the Republicans, represented the privileged few and non-productive, speculative enterprise which existed at the expense of the toiling masses who actually produced our nation's wealth.⁹ In brief, class conflict underlay partisan behavior and politically polarized the rich and poor.¹⁰

The economic interpretation has been extended to explain party loyalties during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. The Republicans have been pictured as the party which appealed basically

⁸ Two famous works which deal with class differences in political parties are: Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York, 1927) and Wilfred A. Binkley, American Political Parties, Their Natural History (New York, 1943).

⁹ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston, 1945), pp. 15-18.

¹⁰ Works reflecting this "rich" Whig -- "poor" Democrat interpretation include: Dixon Ryan Fox, The Decline of the Aristocracy in the Politics of New York, 1801-1840 (New York, 1919); Claude G. Bowers, Party Battles of the Jackson Period (Boston, 1922); E. Malcolm Carroll, Origins of the Whig Party (Durham, 1925); and George Rawlings Poage, Henry Clay and the Whig Party (Chapel Hill, 1936).

to the business interests of the North.¹¹ While they rhetorically supported many idealistic programs, the Radicals in fact used these to conceal the true class basis upon which their activities were predicated. For example, the racial issue to conceal their true goal: the passage of legislation which would enhance the position of the American industrial community.¹² Economic cleavages were in essence responsible for political behavior among the voters in the United States.

Modifications of this economic political interpretation have emerged. A number of historians, for example, have challenged the idea popularized by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., that laborers generally supported the party of Jackson in the ante-bellum period. These revisionists have shown that Jackson and his party were unsympathetic to America's early labor movement and that the poorest wards of America's cities in this period were by no means inevitably

¹¹ For examples of works linking the Republicans to the business community, see: Beard, The Rise of American Civilization; and Reinhard Luthin, The First Lincoln Campaign (Cambridge, 1944). On economic explanations of Radical Republicans see: Howard K. Beale, "The Tariff and Reconstruction", American Historical Review, XXXV (January, 1930), pp. 276-294; Beale, The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction (New York, 1930); Matthew Josephson, The Politicos (New York, 1938); and C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (Boston, 1951).

¹² This theme is generally associated with the works of Howard K. Beale cited in the previous footnote.

Jacksonian.¹³ At the same time a related group of Schlesinger's critics argued that the Democrats of the 1830's and 1840's represented the rising or "expectant" capitalists while the Whigs befriended the older, more entrenched monied circles in the United States.¹⁴ Both of these groups of historians, while rejecting the simplistic economic interpretations of Schlesinger, saw economic conflict of a more complex sort which set the parties apart in a subtle rather than obvious way.

The parties of the Civil War era have also been reinterpreted in ways which challenge the simple economic argument. The Republicans have been depicted as rising entrepreneurs confronting people with divergent economic interests.¹⁵ Once again, economic

¹³ These include: Joseph Dorfman, "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis", American Historical Review, LIV (January, 1947), pp. 296-306; Richard B. Morris, "Andrew Jackson Strikebreaker," American Historical Review, LV (October, 1949), pp. 54-68; William A. Sullivan, "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?", Political Science Quarterly, LXIV (June, 1949), pp. 568-580; Edward Pessen, "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?: The Boston Story," Political Science Quarterly, LXIV (June, 1949), pp. 262-274; and Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class (Stanford, 1960).

¹⁴ Examples of "entrepreneurial" writers include: Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (New York, 1948), pp. 45-67; and Bray Hammond, Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War (Princeton, 1957). A slight modification of the entrepreneurial thesis is Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion (Stanford, 1957).

¹⁵ For an example of an "entrepreneurial" interpretation of the Republicans see Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition, pp.93-136. Similarly, Beale's interpretation of Reconstruction has been challenged by Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLVI (June, 1959), pp. 67-90; Robert Sharkey, Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of the Civil War and Reconstruction (Baltimore, 1959); and Irwin Unger, The Greenback Era: A Social and Political History of American Finance, 1865-1879 (Princeton, 1964).

factors were given credit for determining political behavior, but they were seen causing complex rather than obvious political cleavages.

The basic economic interpretation of ante-bellum parties has also been challenged from another perspective by historians who have denied the existence of acute social conflict in American state politics before the Civil War and perceived only broad sectional/cultural conflict on the national level.¹⁶ These people found little clearly definable economic differences between the parties of the era and viewed political conflict in relation to the quest for power on the part of political leaders seeking personal advancement.¹⁷ Parties were, therefore, similar in their social makeup and best understood as reflections of the desires of powerful leaders.

The class conflict arguments have most recently been challenged by historians who, while similar to the Nichols school, have emphasized ethno-religious factors as voting determinants. The seminal figure of this school was Lee Benson who studied Jacksonian

¹⁶ The foremost historian of this school was Roy F. Nichols. For examples of his work see: The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854 (New York, 1923); The Disruption of the American Democracy (New York, 1948); and The Stakes of Power (New York, 1961).

¹⁷ This is the theme generally espoused by Roy F. Nichols and his students who have often written about Pennsylvania because of Nichols' long tenure at the University of Pennsylvania. The important work produced by a Nichols product is Richard P. McCormick's The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era (Chapel Hill, 1966).

politics in New York State.¹⁸ Benson, arguing that economic interpretations were too simple, felt that human response to political stimuli reflected the effects of not one, but a combination of variables effecting the individual in many different ways.¹⁹ A person's voting behavior would often be determined by a "negative" or "positive" reference to a specific group or person.²⁰ Generally, Benson concluded that the voters of New York State identified most directly with ethno-religious groups; hence, ethno-religious factors were the primary determinants of voting behavior during the Jacksonian period in the state of New York.

Several recent writers have joined Benson in acclaiming the potency of ethno-religious factors in determining mid-nineteenth century voting patterns.²¹ These historians, who have focused on the analysis of voting in selected local areas, have indicated the importance of these factors in Northern politics throughout the entire nineteenth century. Most of these areas were affected by the same

¹⁸ Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case (Princeton, 1961).

¹⁹ Benson discusses his theory of voting behavior at length in The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, pp. 270-287.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 281.

²¹ Richard Jensen, "The Religious and Occupational Roots of Party Identification: Illinois and Indiana in the 1870's," Civil War History, XVI (December, 1970), pp. 325-343; Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900 (New York, 1970); and Ronald P. Formisano, The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861 (Princeton, 1971).

tensions which also influenced the anthracite areas of which Schuylkill County was a part.

Each of these various interpretations has affected historians' views of voting behavior in Pennsylvania in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, economic arguments were directly defended in many works which considered the Whigs of the 1830's and 1840's the high tariff party of the Keystone State. The high tariff Whigs were the party of the better classes while the Democrats represented the low tariff proclivities of the poorer groups in Pennsylvania. In the 1850's the principle of high protection gave support to the Republicans and was ultimately responsible for Lincoln's nomination and for Radical policy.²²

Several other writers influenced by Nichols and concerned primarily with Pennsylvania politics, could be best described as moderate economic determinists because while they accept the importance of economic interests they have generally been more concerned with the importance of political machines and powerful politicians.²³ Far

²² Henry Mueller, The Whig Party in Pennsylvania (New York, 1922); Reinhard Luthin, "Pennsylvania and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXVII (January, 1943), pp. 61-82; Richard Current, Old Thad Stevens: A Story of Ambition (Madison, 1942); Ira Brown, "William D. Kelley and Radical Reconstruction", Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXV (January, 1961), pp. 316-329.

²³ For examples of works in this Nichols tradition see: Philip S. Klein, Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832; A Game Without Rules (Harrisburg, 1940); Charles McCool Snyder, The Jacksonian Heritage- Pennsylvania Politics 1833-1848 (Harrisburg, 1958); and also Klein's student, John F. Coleman, "The Disruption of the Pennsylvania Democracy, 1848-1860", (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1970).

more aware than their predecessors of the web of social pressures and the variety of group allegiances influencing the voter, these historians turned to the machinations of politicians to explain political behavior.

One of the critics of Schlesinger's views concerning labor and Jacksonian Democracy also focused on the Keystone State. In a series of articles which eventually appeared as a book, William Sullivan found no strong link between common laborers and the party of Jackson in Philadelphia and several other cities.²⁴ This work challenged arguments which described clearly defined economic political divisions which pitted capital against labor.

Still other historical works directly or indirectly influenced by Lee Benson have already applied the outlines of the ethno-religious interpretation of voting behavior to Pennsylvania. These studies generally deny the salience of economic factors and lack even the moderate adherence to the economic interpretation associated with the Nichols school. These studies argue that economic matters were not the primary political determinants in Pennsylvania.²⁵ Even

²⁴ William Sullivan, The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840 (Harrisburg, 1955).

²⁵ William G. Shade, "Pennsylvania Politics in the Jacksonian Period: A Case Study, Northampton County, 1824-1844", Pennsylvania History, XXXIX (July, 1972), pp. 313-333; Roger B. Petersen, "The Reaction to a Heterogeneous Society: A Behavioral and Quantitative Analysis of Northern Voting Behavior, 1845-1870, Pennsylvania as a Test Case," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1970); Michael Fitzgibbon Holt, Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848-1860 (New Haven, 1969).

allegedly powerful national issues like slavery and secession were blurred by traditional patterns of ethno-religious voting which had been long established. People of specific ethno-religious groups usually identified with one party or the other and most issues traditionally conceived to be important had slight impact on these ties.

Interpretations of political behavior in Pennsylvania during the mid-nineteenth century were then as wide ranging as those concerning national politics. Some historians have viewed economic conflict as the prime factor upon which Pennsylvania politics was based. Others have modified the simplistic "rich versus poor" theme quite significantly by studying political machines or specific voting units. Finally, a few historians, following the lead of Lee Benson, have discounted the economic factor and detailed a political structure predicated upon the primacy of ethno-religious tensions and tradition.

Schuylkill County, located in the southern sector of Pennsylvania's anthracite district, reflected the economic and ethno-religious tensions naturally associated with a developing mining area. The very rich and the deplorably poor resided in the county; some were Protestants from Wales and many, particularly in the latter part of the period under examination, were Roman Catholics from Ireland. In brief, studying voting patterns in the county offers a chance to test the validity of the conflicting interpretations on voting behavior.

If the most simplistic economic arguments are valid, for example, mining communities with intense interest in the protective tariff should have been much more Whig or Republican oriented than the non-anthracite sectors of the county, and all mining magnates should have strongly opposed the Democrats throughout the entire period. Further the wealthy towns and townships should have exhibited similar voting habits. None of these patterns appeared in the county between 1844 and 1872.

If less obvious economic divisions separated established capitalists from rising entrepreneurs in the county, the county parties should have adopted clearly different policies in relation to such issues as the tariff and incorporation laws; and the middle level party leaders should have differed in background and status. Yet, the local political organizations took amazingly similar views on both of these issues and neither appears to have appealed to a distinct type of capitalist.

The Nichols school emphasizes the importance of party structures and leaders and denies the social basis of partisan difference. Elections were seen as reflections of the relative organizational strengths of the competing political faction and the abilities of political leaders to foster unity and partisan political effort. If this were true in Schuylkill County, parties and their leaders would have been consistently able to draw voters away from traditional political affiliations. Yet, even the most powerful local leaders were unable to do this.

Since none of the above arguments adequately explains voting patterns in Schuylkill County, the ethno-religious interpretation

seems to provide a plausible alternative hypothesis. For example, throughout the period between 1844 and 1872 German Lutherans and Irish Catholics seem to have identified overwhelmingly with the Democrats, while the county's two other major ethno-religious groups, the Welsh and English Protestants, made up the rank and file of their opponents. No single issue proved capable of permanently destroying these loyalties. Since the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans taken together comprised a majority of the county's voters, the Democrats were generally the majority party through most of the era.

During the entire period covered in this study political allegiances in Schuylkill County were related to economic factors. However, it seems apparent that at the same time ethno-religious differences served to polarize the county's voters. This meant that the political parties of Schuylkill County were not broad coalitions supporting electoral machines totally devoid of any significant social differences; nor, were they organizations which appealed simply to specific economic groupings. Even Wayne Broehl, who emphasized the economic aspects of the Molly Maguire movement, conceded that ethno-religious factors contributed significantly to the potency of the Mollies. Broehl stated in the conclusion of his study:

The ethnic dimensions of the Molly Maguire story are probably far more important than previously considered... In eastern Pennsylvania,...it was the Irish versus English and Welsh.²⁶

²⁶ Broehl, The Molly Maguires, p. 360.

In the context of the preceding three decades the Molly Maguires must be seen as militant Irish Catholics who resented Protestant domination of the society and culture as well as the economic order. They were a reflection of basic ethno-religious tensions which were becoming increasingly prevalent in Schuylkill County. These factors emerged in the county between 1844 and 1872 and came to effect all aspects of political behavior. They set the scene and drew the political battle lines that hardened in the depression of the 1870's and erupted into violence.

Chapter I

Schuylkill County Pennsylvania, 1844-1872

Schuylkill County, located in the eastern portion of Pennsylvania, has been generally associated in the minds of most people with coal mining, the Molly Maguires and labor unrest. However, this geographically diversified area offered social and religious contrasts which made the county an example of the effect of ethno-religious forces upon nineteenth century politics.

Schuylkill County is situated about thirty miles north of Reading, one hundred miles northwest of Philadelphia and fifty miles south of the Wilkes-Barre-Scranton area.¹ It comprised the southern sector of Pennsylvania's vast hard-coal district while the Wilkes-Barre area made up the more developed northern fields. Dauphin and Lebanon Counties bordered Schuylkill on the west as did Northumberland and Columbia Counties on the north, Luzerne and Northampton Counties on the east and Berks and Lehigh Counties on the south.

The geography and surface features of Schuylkill County were as peculiar and interesting as any in the state of Pennsylvania, consisting essentially of a succession of hills, valleys and mountain

¹In 1860, a trip to Philadelphia and back by train consumed nearly a whole day. Today, a two hour drive separates Pottsville, Schuylkill's county seat, and Philadelphia.

chains running in a nearly parallel fashion throughout the whole of the county. These topographical features were oriented basically in a northeasterly direction.² The western and southern peripheries of Schuylkill County were the only non-mountainous sectors of the county and were composed of highly arable farm acreage on which some of Pennsylvania's most lucrative and productive farms were located during the middle portions of the nineteenth century.³ These agricultural areas eventually grew and prospered primarily to complement the urban mining centers which tended to form near the geographic center of the county.

The streams of Schuylkill County were numerous and some possessed deep, wide beds; the rainfall in the county was equal to, or greater than, that in most every other area in the state and this water was supplemented by the natural flow which traditionally began in the mountain areas within the county.⁴ Yet this water supply was not heavily utilized for extensive manufacturing because of the rapidity of its flow. The water resources of the county were useful in cleaning coal and carrying on commerce. These were the two most important uses Schuylkill County had for its streams during the nineteenth century.

²W.W. Munsell, History of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania (New York, 1881), p. 32.

³The southern and western portions of Schuylkill County still are valuable farm areas and boast of having remained a prosperous area typified by independent, relatively small farms. Virtually all of the farms are single family farms.

⁴Munsell, History, p. 32.

The most distinguishing feature in any mining area is its mountain structure; Schuylkill County was certainly no exception to this rule. Its several mountain chains rose to as much as seventeen hundred feet above sea level. These rugged hills were usually paralleled by less defined ridges; between these mountains and hills were located the productive valley areas which so heavily influenced the county's economy and its population growth. These three geographic factors were complemented by an awesome ridge system which connected the mountains and hills and intersected the valleys.⁵ These geographical entities made nineteenth-century Schuylkill County's topography as rugged and varied as its nineteenth-century populace.

Three basic mountain chains intersected the county. The Blue Mountain, sometimes known as the Kittatinny, was the southernmost of these ranges. This chain was broken only by the Schuylkill River near the site of Port Clinton, which became vital to the canal trade. The two other chains running parallel to the Blue Mountain were the Second Mountain, not an overwhelming geographic factor, and the more pronounced Sharp Mountain still farther north. Two other mountains, Broad and Locust, were generally considered mere arms of the Sharp Mountain. While the Blue Mountain had but one gap, at Port Clinton, the Second Mountain and Sharp Mountain together possessed thirteen clearly passable natural gateways.

⁵Ibid., p. 34.

The major streams of the county flowed into three drainage systems--the Susquehanna, Schuylkill and Lehigh. The Schuylkill was most influential in the middle portion of the county; the Lehigh drained the county's eastern portions and the Susquehanna most influenced the northern and western sectors of Schuylkill County. As noted previously, the streams of the county afforded the basic means of coal transport through much of the period under consideration.⁶ Even when the railroad began seriously to challenge the canal, many tracks ran closely parallel to the old waterways simply because of the necessity of taking advantage of the gaps which penetrated Schuylkill County's otherwise solid wall of mountain barriers.

When the county was officially created out of Berks and Northampton Counties in 1811, it contained nine farming townships--Brunswick, Schuylkill, Manheim, Norwegian, Upper and Lower Mahantongo, and Pine Grove from Berks County and West Penn and Rush from Northumberland County.⁷ Eventually Brunswick split into two townships as did Manheim. Lower Mahantongo disappeared entirely, becoming part of Hubley, Hegins, Porter and Frailey Townships.⁸ These divisions of the three townships were completed by 1853.

⁶The Schuylkill Canal System served the coal transporters of the county. Unless otherwise noted, a reference to the "canal" means the Schuylkill System. A further discussion of the canal is found later in this chapter.

⁷Herwood Hobbs, "The Origin of the Names of Towns and Townships in Schuylkill County," Publications of the Historical Society of Schuylkill County, VI (1947), p. 43.

⁸Ibid., p. 44.

The major towns of the county were all incorporated by 1872. On the whole, the towns came into existence after the townships were well established because of the relative lateness of the anthracite booms in specific areas of the county. These booms usually initiated the formation of new boroughs. By 1867, twenty boroughs were officially created out of the townships of the county. Of these twenty towns, fifteen were located in or near the coal districts of Schuylkill County. Schuylkill Haven, Cressona, Auburn, Orwigsburg and Port Clinton were situated in the agriculturally oriented southern tier of the county and stretched five to fifteen miles south of Pottsville, which was very near the geographic center of the county. Pine Grove Borough was nestled among the farm acres that comprised the southwestern extremity of Schuylkill County.

The first development in the population growth of the county resulted from the influx of German farmers from neighboring Berks County. These tradition oriented people, generally Lutheran in religion, entered the county along its highly arable southern and western extremities. This pastoral area soon became known as the "red barn" or "Dutch" region.⁹ The less penetrable and less fertile mountainous sections of the county were not developed until the later anthracite coal booms. When the search for the valued "black diamonds" necessitated the opening of the rugged coal regions of the county,

⁹The Germans of the county are still referred to as Dutchmen. They were associated with conservative, well painted barns which were often red and decorated with symbolic hex signs.

settlement generally took place in the valleys which were found at the base of the mountain slopes. The geography of the area dictated that these valley anthracite settlements would be isolated from each other, as well as from the farming-oriented zones of the county.

Hence, Schuylkill County was in a sense composed of "islands" of settlement, geographically separated by the mountain ridges which bisected the county. Virtually all of these areas were wholly farming or mining oriented. Not a single township could claim both a well developed farm and anthracite enterprise. Where mines existed, farmlands simply did not.

Schuylkill County can be described clearly by dividing it into four types of economic districts: farming townships, farming-oriented boroughs, mining townships and mining-oriented boroughs. Such an economic pattern meant that isolated, homogeneous population groupings would be the rule rather than the exception in mid-nineteenth century Schuylkill County because specific types of people would move into these clearly defined economic areas. However, the geographical pattern which set farmers and miners apart also separated people who were of different ethno-religious backgrounds. This would prove very critical to the political history of the county.

The actual settlement of what became Schuylkill County began before the American Revolution. The early maturation of the region, predicated upon agricultural development, occurred quite slowly. As late as 1828, a speculator who traveled over the future boundaries of Schuylkill County reported passing only three crude dwellings in a

TABLE IA

ECONOMIC GROUPINGS OF SCHUYLKILL COUNTY

<u>Farm Townships</u>	<u>Mining Townships</u>	<u>Mining-oriented Boroughs</u>	<u>Farm Oriented Boroughs</u>
Barry	Blythe	Ashland	Auburn
East Brunswick	Branch	Mahanoy City	Cressona
Eldred	Butler	Middleport	Orwigsburg
Hegins	Cass	Minersville	Pine Grove Borough
Hubley	East Norwegian	Mount Carbon	Port Clinton
North Manheim	Frailey	Port Carbon	Sch. Haven
Pine Grove	Foster	Pottsville	
Rahn	Mahanoy Twp.	St. Clair	
Ryan	New Castle	Shenandoah	
South Manheim	Norwegian	Tamaqua	
Union	Porter	Tremont Borough	
Upper Mahantongo	Reilly	Yorkville	
Washington	Rush		
Wayne	Schuykill		
West Brunswick	Tremont Twp.		
West Penn			

Figure 1a

Farm Districts and Farm Oriented Boroughs of Schuylkill County

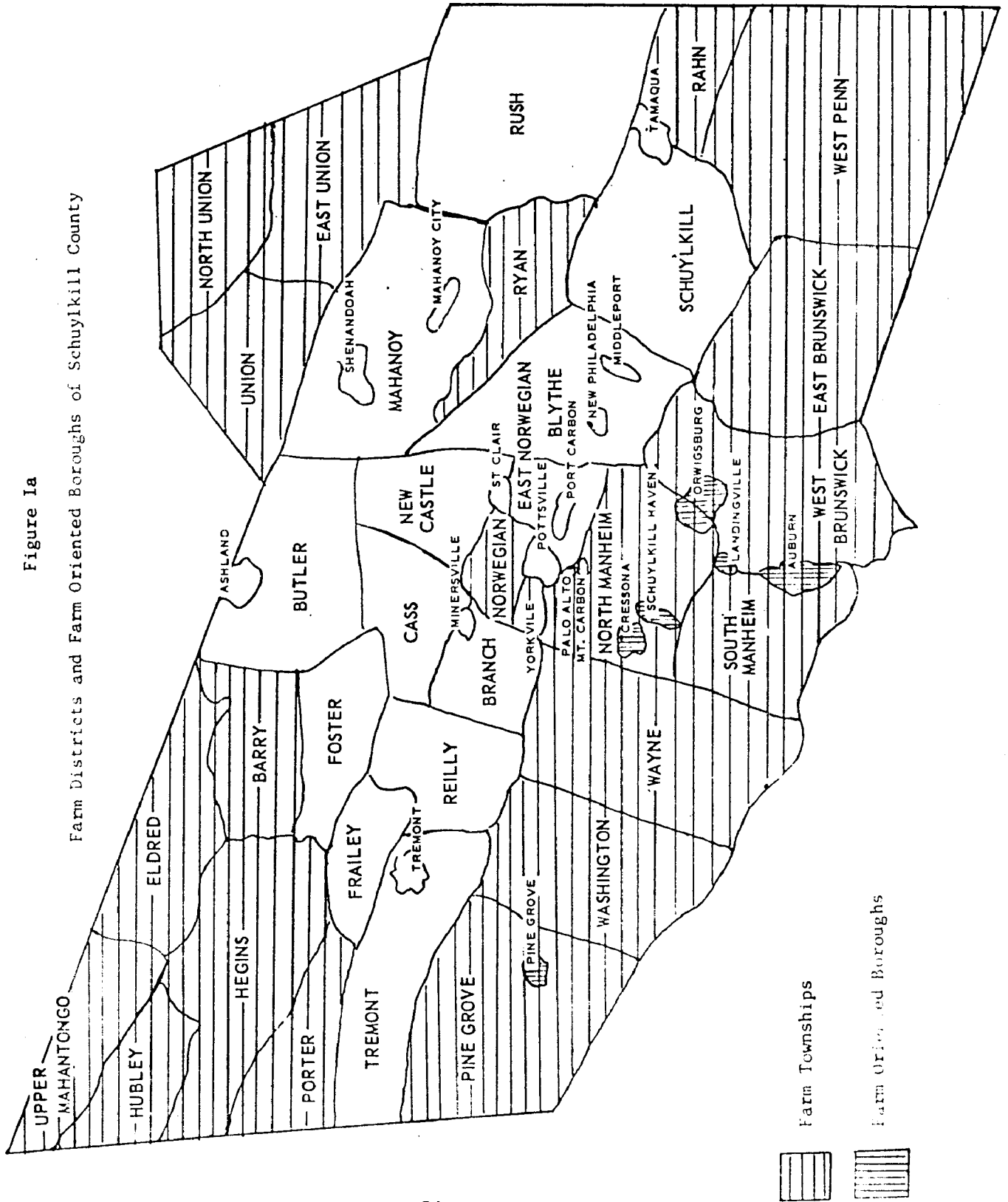
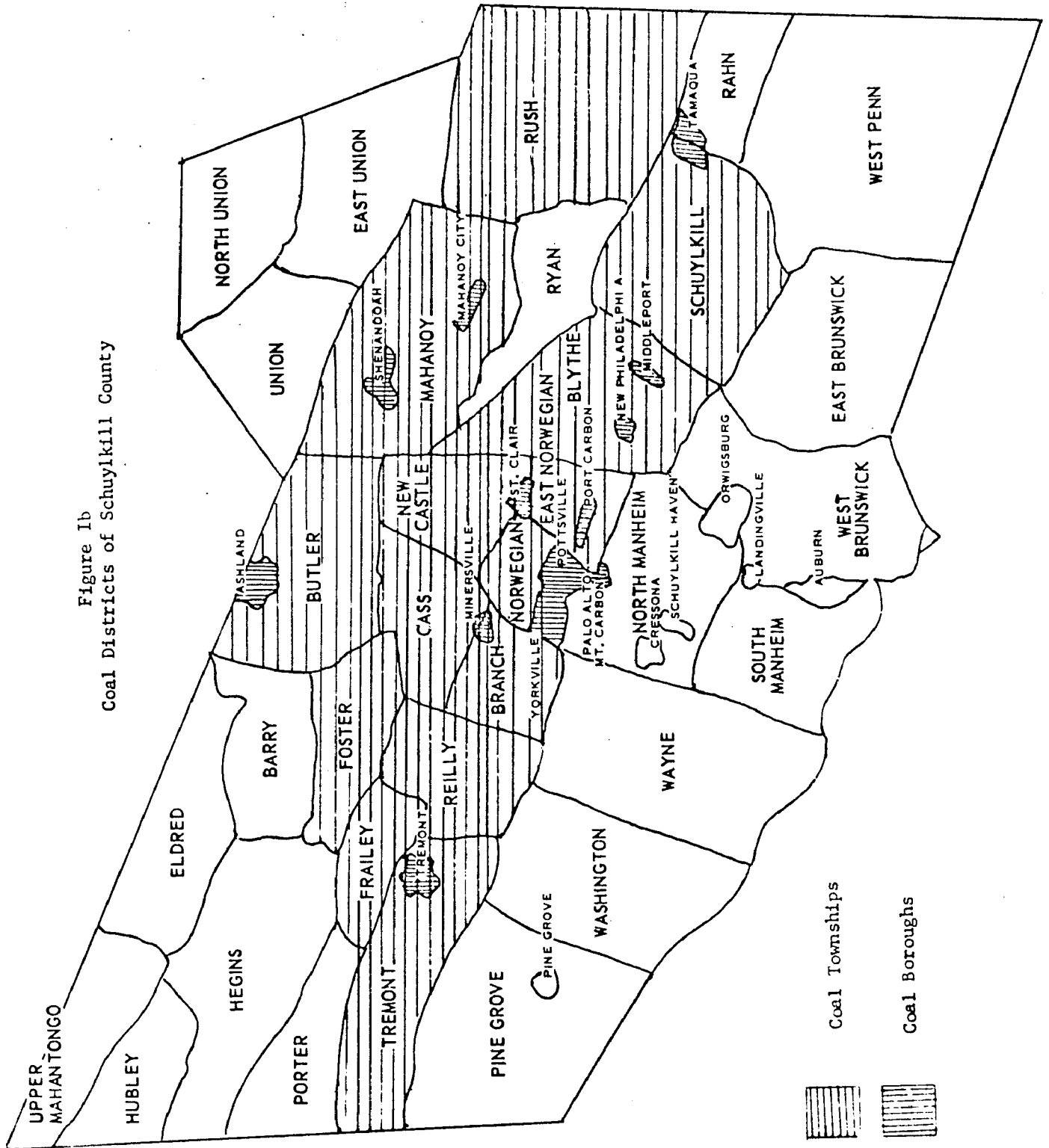


Figure 1b
Coal Districts of Schuylkill County



Coal Townships
Coal Boroughs

journey of thirty-five miles.¹⁰ The ending of this idyllic situation had been foreshadowed since the late 1820's when the county began producing half the anthracite tonnage of the United States.¹¹ This same period witnessed the coming of the county's first transportation network--the Schuylkill Navigation Company.¹² This canal system led to the rapid maturation of the coal trade which in turn started a tide of speculation that closely resembled the gold rushes into California and the Klondike.

Pottsville, in the heart of the mining area, became the mecca for the usual gathering of adventurers, nascent capitalists, and even more corrupt characters normally attracted to boom areas. Pottsville's incredible growth paralleled similar developments in the other mining sections of the county, but in that town alone the number of permanent buildings increased sixfold in the three years between 1826 and 1829.¹³ The county continued to grow through the 1830's when the boom conditions were given a further stimulus with

¹⁰Clifton Yearley, Enterprise and Anthracite-Economics and Democracy in Schuylkill County 1820-1875 (Baltimore, 1961), p.24.

¹¹Ibid., p. 15.

¹²For the story of the early canal trade development see H. Benjamin Powell, "Pennsylvania's Transportation Policy 1825-1828," Pennsylvania History, XXXVIII (April, 1971) pp. 134-151. Also see Walter Sanderlin, "The Expanding Horizons of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, 1815-1870," Pennsylvania History, XXXVI (April, 1969), pp. 174-191.

¹³Yearley, Enterprise and Anthracite, p. 15.

the advent of railroading in the region. The first primitive rail lines were opened in the county as early as 1829, but rail construction attained notable levels during the 1830's. Two significant lines, the Mt. Carbon and the Little Schuylkill, commenced full scale operations prior to 1833.¹⁴

The real dawning of the railroad era in the county began in January of 1842 when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad officially reached Pottsville and the heart of the anthracite region. This quite naturally precipitated an immediate reduction in the cost of coal transporting and consequently made hard coal economically available to more people, especially those residing in concentrated population centers like Reading and Philadelphia.

The year 1842 also marked the beginning of economic dominance in the county by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company (or the Reading Company). For the next thirty years, the Reading battled against the spirit of individual enterprise which was so firmly entrenched in Schuylkill County. Most county residents vehemently opposed the consolidation of their private collieries, because this ran counter to the general trends in the other coal areas of the state.¹⁵ The Reading Company, however, gradually bought out individual operators until the company achieved a virtual monopoly of Schuylkill County's anthracite commerce in 1871.

¹⁴Munsell, History, p. 46.

¹⁵George Korson, Black Rock (Baltimore, 1960), p. 89.

The man most responsible for the demise of the individual operators in the county was Franklin B. Gowen, who organized the Reading Company in the area and led the battle against the individual operators. At first, he acquired the friendship of mine laborers by offering written contracts and company benefits in all Reading Company collieries.¹⁶ After weakening individual owners by winning the confidence of the miners, Gowen abandoned his "progressive" stance toward labor and concentrated solely on enriching the Reading Company.¹⁷

This rapid economic development which took place in the county between the late 1820's and the early 1870's caused an equally rapid population growth which drastically altered the ethno-religious composition of the region.¹⁸ What was until the 1820's nearly a homogeneously Pennsylvania German area suddenly received an influx of anthracite miners from other areas of Europe. The first of these newcomers to arrive in significant numbers were the Welsh and English, people who had acquired basic mining skills in their homelands. The Welsh and English arrived through the 1830's and 1840's in large

¹⁶Marvin Schlegel, Ruler of the Reading: The Life of Franklin B. Gowen, 1836-1889 (Harrisburg, 1947), passim.

¹⁷Gowen was an active county Democrat. He was also the man who hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency to infiltrate and destroy the alleged Molly Maguire organization.

¹⁸The best concise discussion of the anthracite region's social structure can be found in Rowland Berthoff, "The Social Order of the Anthracite Region, 1825-1902," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIX (July, 1965), pp. 261-291. Berthoff's book, British Immigrants in Industrial America (New York, 1953), is also highly useful in detailing Welsh and English immigration.

TABLE 1B
POPULATION GROWTH OF SCHUYLKILL COUNTY

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Increase During Decade</u>
1830	20,744	82%
1840	29,053	40%
1850	60,713	106%
1860	89,510	48%
1870	116,428	28%

Notes:

By 1860 the county had assumed roughly these population percentages based on Census figures:

40% English and Welsh

30% German

25% Irish

5% Others

The foreign born percentage of the county was 30% in 1860 and 26% in 1970. By 1870, the above figures changed only in that the Irish percentage rose to about 30% while the German, English and Welsh percentages dropped about 2% each.

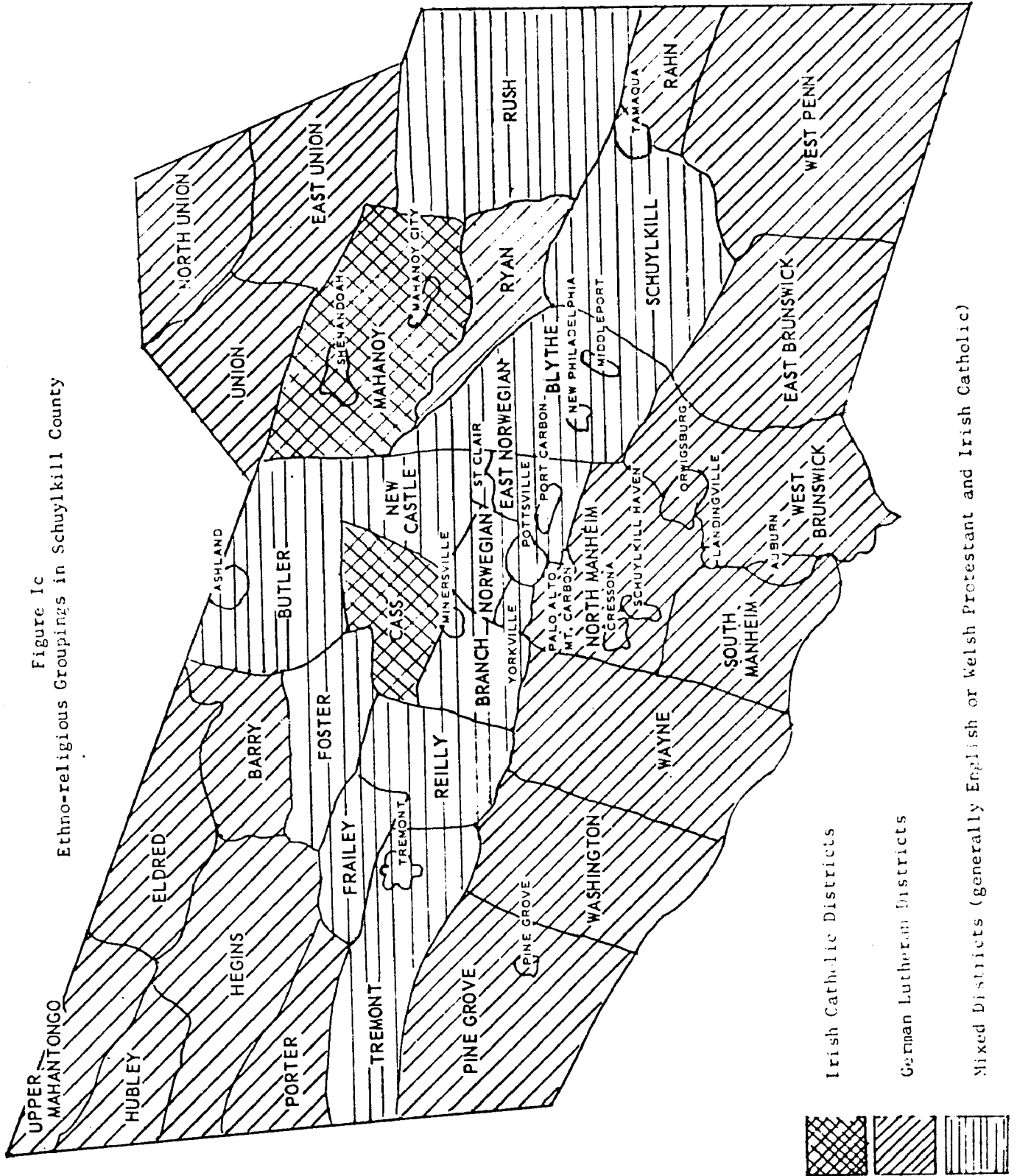
TABLE 1C
 NATIVE BORN PERCENTAGES IN SUBDIVISIONS
 OF SCHUYLKILL COUNTY

<u>District</u>	<u>Native Born % in 1870</u>
Upper Mahantongo	100
West Penn	100
West Brunswick	99
Hegins	99
Washington	99
Eldred	98
Hubley	98
Pine Grove Boraugh	98
Pine Grove Township	97
Wayne	97
Orwigsburg	97
East Brunswick	96
South Manheim	96
Union	95
Barry	93
Port Clinton	92
Cressona	91
Schuylkill Haven	90
Ryan	89
Porter	86
North Manheim	81

TABLE 1C Continued

<u>District</u>	<u>Native Born % in 1870</u>
Pottsville	78
Frailey	75
Tremont	74
Branch	73
Tamaqua	73
Schuylkill Township	71
Minersville	68
Ashland	66
Blythe	66
Norwegian	65
New Castle	64
East Norwegian	63
Rush	63
Cass	62
Foster	62
Butler	61
St. Clair	60
Reilly	59
Mahanoy Township	58
Shenandoah	57

Figure 1c
Ethno-religious Groupings in Schuylkill County



numbers and then their influx tapered off as the Civil War approached. During the 1830-1840 decade, the county's population rose 40% owing largely to this immigration from the Protestant areas of the British Isles.

The next group to be attracted to the county by the burgeoning mining enterprise were the Irish Catholics who left their homeland in great numbers during the famines and political unrest between 1840 and 1860. During these years the population of Schuylkill County rose an amazing 200%, increasing from roughly 30,000 inhabitants to 90,000. Many of the newcomers who arrived during these years were the Irish Catholics.

No other major ethno-religious group entered the area in significant numbers prior to 1872 and the county thus broke down into four distinct ethno-religious groups: the German Lutherans, Irish Catholics and Welsh and English Protestants.¹⁹ Economics and geography tended to isolate these people. The German Lutherans were largely farmers and lived in the productive southern and western peripheries of the county.²⁰ The English and Welsh were predominantly

¹⁹German Reformed were mixed with the Lutherans, but the Lutherans were by far the larger group. A scattered group of Scotch and Scotch-Irish, German Catholics, and French entered the region, but none of their groups was ever significant. Of these groups, only the German Catholics founded places of worship anywhere in the county. The English and Welsh Protestants were largely Methodists or Presbyterians with a few Congregationalists also included. The Black population in the county never approached 1% of its total.

²⁰Some Germans mined, especially early in the development of the coal trade, but they were quickly thrust aside by the English, Welsh, and Irish. For a discussion of German mining pioneers see Korson, Black Rock, pp. 102-108.

miners who settled in the urban coal regions of the county. Pottsville, Minersville, Port Carbon and Llewellyn quickly acquired large Welsh and English populations. The Irish Catholics, who could find work only in mining areas, also lived in the coal towns and townships of the county. Areas like Cass and Reilly Townships, just north of Pottsville, became almost wholly Irish Catholic by the 1850's. The Irish also settled in the mining boroughs like Pottsville, Minersville, and St. Clair, which were located close to the major collieries. The fact that the Irish were forced to live relatively close to their traditional Welsh and English enemies caused natural animosities to develop.²¹

This bitterness among the Irish Catholics and the English and Welsh was aggravated by the fact that the Protestants were normally made foremen in the mines. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the Irish of the county remained mine laborers. At first, the experience of the non-Irish miners justified such a situation, but later the hierarchy was maintained simply because non-Catholic mine owners discriminated against the Irish Catholics.

Throughout the turbulent period between 1844 and 1872 the German Lutherans lived in an undisturbed, homogeneous society. No Irish were attracted to the farm sectors of the county and the Welsh and English who migrated to the region came to dig hard coal and not

²¹Alan Conway (ed.), The Welsh in America (Minneapolis, 1961), p. 168.

till the soil. Consequently, the German farmers still constructed large, well painted barns, strongly resisted mixing with their mining neighbors, and even continued to speak their native language. They continued to venerate frugality, traditionalism, and economic independence.²² The county Germans never quite trusted the modernity which was associated with the county's coal regions. This skepticism long characterized most Pennsylvania German farmers.²³

The clannish Germans of the county were largely Lutheran with a small minority belonging to the Reformed Church. These were the "Church" Germans and not the "sect" Germans like Moravians, Mennonites, Amish and Schwenkfelders.²⁴ The Church people emphasized an institutionalized religion and thus gave considerable attention to matters such as grace, official clergy, sacraments and religious education of youths.²⁵ The sect Germans lacked the dogmatic rigidity of their churched counterparts; instead, they gave preference to liberty

²²Russell W. Gilbert, A Picture of Pennsylvania Germans (Gettysburg, 1947), p. 42.

²³Ibid., p. 41.

²⁴The best discussion of "Church" and "sect" Germans can be found in the January, 1942 edition of Pennsylvania History. See H.M.J. Klein, "The Church People in Colonial Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania History, IX (January, 1942), pp. 37-47; Raymond Albright, "The Sect People in Colonial Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania History, IX (January, 1942), pp. 48-53. (The articles are further discussed on pages 54 and 55 of the same journal in relation to their presentation to the Pennsylvania Historical Association.)

²⁵H.M.J. Klein, "The Church People", p. 37.

and individualism in religion. The sects therefore could more easily tolerate dissent from established beliefs.²⁶ The sects opposed the worldliness and ritualism of the established churches.²⁷

The Church Germans of the county and the Irish Catholics could be categorized as "orthodox" in religious style if the classification method of Gerhard Lenski is followed.²⁸ Lenski defined "doctrinal orthodoxy" as the "orientation which stresses intellectual assent to prescribed doctrines."²⁹ This refers to the passive, consenting religious style associated with orthodoxy. Thus, the German Lutherans and Irish Catholics relied on an established Church and clergy and rejected individualistic or private religious practices. The ritualisms and institutionalized formalities associated with doctrinal orthodoxy has led some to determine that religious style as "high Church".³⁰ For example, German Lutheran services are more like the Catholic mass than are the more simplistic services of Methodists or Congregationalists. One reflection of this is the Catholic and German Lutheran belief in transubstantiation rather than consubstantiation.

²⁶ Albright, "The Sect People", p. 48.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 52. (The Irish Catholics were "Church" people in the sense that they, too, emphasized formalisms such as an official clergy, elaborate rituals and the sacraments.)

²⁸ Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor. A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life (New York, 1961), p. 25.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Richard Jensen, "The Religious and Occupational Roots of Party Identification: Illinois and Indiana in the 1870's," Civil War History, XVI (December, 1970), pp. 325-343. (Jensen termed high church people as "liturgical" rather than as the "orthodox".)

The "orthodox" would reject attempts to reform society by religious means and resented the mixing of religion and politics in general. They were not moralizers or crusading zealots. Religion existed clearly apart from politics in the lives of the religiously orthodox.³¹ This passive attitude manifested itself quite clearly in Schuylkill County; for example, the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans never supported the temperance or sabbatarian movements during the mid-nineteenth century. Their formal religions also dictated that they defend parochial schools through which their young could be properly educated. The German Lutherans were also the only non-Catholic group which gave no support to the nativist movements of the period.

The Welsh and English Protestants of the County did not fit into Lenski's "doctrinal orthodoxy" category. They were more like the "devotionalists" described by Professor Lenski. He defined devotionalists as people who emphasized the "importance of private, or personal, communion with God."³² Devotionalists, to Lenski, practiced a more behavioral or active style of religion. These people did not regard their religion as an incidental aspect of life and were more receptive to semi-religious crusades such as temperance and sabbatarianism. In county politics, the Welsh and English did form

³¹ Albright, "The Sect People", p. 51.

³² Lenski, Religious Factor, p. 25.

the backbone of all reform movements which were related to religion.³³
Passivism was regarded as sinful, in a sense, to the devotionalists.³⁴

The ethno-religious groups in the county could also be categorized as "orthodox" and "devotionalist" based on the definitions of Lenski. The Welsh and English constituted the latter group while the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans represented the orthodox classification. Recent works have recognized the importance of this polarization in the political arena.³⁵

Geographically, the county divided into nearly homogeneous German Lutheran farming townships which were areas of strong religious orthodoxy. There were also mining oriented boroughs where Irish Catholics lived near the Welsh and English. In these "mixed" or heterogeneous districts the tensions existing between devotionalists and the religiously orthodox were most intense. Thirdly, there were heavily Irish Catholic areas. Cass Township, just north of Pottsville, best exemplified this type of religious subdivision in the county.

³³ Devotionalists often saw such participation as in reality an act to please God.

³⁴ The Welsh and English Protestants of the county were also for less formalized and ritualistic than the Lutherans and Catholics.

³⁵ Ronald Formisano termed devotionalists "evangelicals", and Lee Benson saw a "Puritan versus non-Puritan" dichotomy. See Ronald Formisano, The Birth of Mass Political Parties (Princeton, 1972), pp. 137-164; Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy--New York as a Test Case (Princeton, 1961) pp. 198-207. A concise description of devotionalism can be found in Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (New York, 1957), pp. 251-252.

Finally, there were four farming oriented boroughs, Schuylkill Haven, Cressona, Orwigsburg and Pine Grove, which were originally heavily Lutheran (orthodox); however, they gradually acquired an influx of English, Welsh and sect Germans and assumed a more cosmopolitan ethno-religious character.

These ethno-religious contrasts within Schuylkill County were obviously capable of influencing the political situation in the region. At a time when religion so deeply affected secular activities like voting, these differences had to be given consideration. This is not to deny the influence of economic differences in a county which was composed of distinct economic groupings. To a certain extent, economic matters probably did wield a degree of political potency in the county. However, the crucial political alliance in the county was composed of miners and farmers, and there was no political reason for miners and farmers to support similar economic programs.

Therefore, it appears possible that ethno-religious factors represented an important variable in the political behavior of mid-nineteenth century Schuylkill County. The impact of ethno-religious matters would transcend socioeconomic matters as well as geographic voting determinants. The political milieu in the county could be fully understood only when the devotionalist-orthodox factor was adequately understood. As long as the Democrats remained the party of the orthodox religious style, they were the unchallenged rulers of the county.

The main task of their Whig and Republican rivals was to destroy this coalition. The foes of the Democrats could not permanently accomplish this between 1844 and 1872.³⁶

³⁶The Democrats lost permanent control of the county during the politically volatile 1890's when the German Lutherans abandoned the party. The Democrats have won few elections in the county since the turn of the century. Historians account for this partly by assuming that William Jennings Bryan was not an "orthodox" person in his religious style. This was resented by the German Lutherans who were already upset at the party because of Grover Cleveland's depression policies. For an excellent analysis of this situation see Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1890 (New York, 1970). He feels that "pietists" (devotionalists) accepted Bryan while "religious traditionalists" (orthodox) found McKinley more appealing in 1896.

Table ID

The Villages of Schuylkill County Established
Prior to 1872

<u>Village</u>	<u>Township Location</u>
Barnesville	Rush
Big Mine Run	Butler
Branch Dale	Branch
Brandonville	East Union
Coal Dale	Rahn
Delano	Rush
De Turkville	Washington
Donaldson	Blythe
Drehersville	East Brunswick
Elwood	Pine Grove
Forestville	Cass
Fountain Springs	Butler
Friedensburg	Wayne
Gearytown	Rahn
Gilberton	Mahanoy
Gordon	Butler
Heckscherville	Cass
Hecla	East Brunswick
Heginsville	Hegins

Table Id--Continued

<u>Village</u>	<u>Township Location</u>
Helpfenstein	Eldred
Hometown	Rush
Honey Brook	Klein
Kepnersville	West Penn
Klingerstown	Upper Mahantongo
Leibysville	West Penn
Lewistown	Schuylkill
Llewellyn	Branch
Locust Dale	Butler
Lorberry Junction	Tremont
McKeansburg	East Brunswick
Mahanoy Plane	Mahanoy
Maizeville	Mahanoy
Mantzville	West Penn
Mifflin	Pine Grove
Mt. Laffee	New Castle
New Castle	New Castle
Newkirk	Schuylkill
New Town	Reilly
North Penn	West Penn
Patterson	Schuylkill
Pitman	Eldred

Table Id--Continued

<u>Village</u>	<u>Township Location</u>
Quakake	Rush
Reevesdale	Schuylkill
Ringtown	Union
Rock	Washington
St. Nicholas	Mahanoy
Silverbrook	Klein
Summit	Klein
Summit Station	Klein
Swatara	Rush
Tamanend	Rush
Taylorsville	Barry
Torbert	East Union
Tower City	Porter
Tuscarora	Schuylkill
Wadesville	New Castle
William Penn	Mahanoy
Valley View	Hegins

Chapter II

Mass Voting Behavior in Schuylkill County, 1844-1872

A. Democrats Versus Whigs, 1844-1853

Schuylkill County was strongly Democratic throughout most of the nineteenth century. During the decade before 1852 the Whigs frequently attracted less than 40% of the vote. In its formative, agriculturally oriented years, the Democratic strength was logically attributed to the large numbers of German Lutheran farmers who inhabited the county.¹ The development of the coal trade attracted people of English, Welsh and Irish lineage in the mid-1840's and ushered in the first period of two party competition in county history.

While there were clear differences between the response of the farm districts and the mining districts in terms of their political preference, the basic differences between the Whigs and Democrats do not seem to be related to the wealth of their constituencies. This can be seen by ranking the county's voting districts according to wealth and according to political preference (Table IIA).²

¹ Approximately 60% to 65% of the county was German Lutheran until the coal developments in the late 1840's. It must be kept in mind that Schuylkill County was once homogeneously agricultural.

² A more detailed use of this rank-correlation method can be found in Shade, "Jacksonian Period Politics", pp. 319-323. Only the townships which had county taxes listed in I. Daniel Rupp, History of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon and Schuylkill Counties (Harrisburg, 1845), pp. 249-271, were included in Table IIA. The major towns were excluded, but the figures listed were sufficient, hence no estimates were made concerning the excluded voting districts. The political ranking is based on an average of the elections from 1844 to 1846.

TABLE II A

Wealth and Political Preference in Schuylkill County

<u>District</u>	<u>Rank in Democratic Strength</u>	<u>Tax/Capita</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Upper Mahantongo	1	\$.80	8
West Brunswick	2	.89	5
Lower Mahantongo	3	.94	4
Union	4	.64	12
West Penn	5	.47	14
East Brunswick	6	.81	7
Wayne	7	.79	9
Barry	8	1.15	2
Pine Grove Borough	9	.60	13
Schuylkill	10	1.08	3
Pine Grove Township	11	.74	11
Branch	12	.85	6
Manheim	13	2.84	1
Porter	14	.75	10

TABLE II B

Voting Percentages in Schuylkill County, 1844

<u>District</u>	<u>Religious Type</u>	<u>Democratic %</u>
Upper Mahantongo	German Lutheran	89
Brunswicks	German Lutheran	84
Lower Mahantongo	German Lutheran	80
West Penn	German Lutheran	71
Barry	German Lutheran	69
Rush	German Lutheran	69
Minersville	mixed	43
Port Carbon	mixed	43
Mount Carbon	mixed	41
Pottsville	mixed	40

It appears as though wealth had no appreciable effect on the political orientations of the townships. For example, the four strongest Democratic areas varied widely in terms of their wealth. Upper Mahantongo, which gave nearly 90% of its votes to the Democrats, ranked eighth in average wealth, while the second strongest Democratic area, West Brunswick, ranked fifth. The third area, Lower Mahantongo, ranked fourth economically, but the fourth most heavily Democratic area, Union, had an economic rank of twelfth. Although they included the richest township in the county, the weakest Democratic areas also differed widely in their economic positions with the strongest Whig township, Porter, also being quite poor, ranking tenth. Thus, relative wealth of a specific township had virtually no effect on an area's political tendencies. This situation merely lends further support to ethno-religious voting theories in reference to describing political behavior in the 1840's.

The main weakness of the economic interpretation was its disregard of pressures other than economic. The political parties in the county centered around ethno-religious groups not economic classes. As in Pennsylvania in general, the Democrats tended to be the majority party in Schuylkill County; however, they owed their strength in the region not simply to the support of the producing masses, but especially to German Lutherans and Irish Catholics who firmly adhered to the party of Jackson. No issue was able to cause this allegiance to falter between 1844 and 1853.

The English and Welsh Protestants were often hostile to the Democratic party and soon comprised the backbone of the opposition

Whigs. Many writings have especially noted the anti-Democratic propensities of the Welsh.³ However, the coal boom also lured Irish Catholics into the area and provided the Democrats with new voters. The Irish Catholics were noted for their strong Democratic leanings.⁴ Their Democratic proclivities originated in the anti-British positions assumed by the Jeffersonians and their heirs in the late eighteenth century. Nothing proved capable of permanently disrupting this German Lutheran and Irish Catholic support for the Democrats until 1853; consequently, the Whigs yearly faced an uphill battle in their attempt to become the county's majority party.

The years before 1844 in Schuylkill County generally saw Democratic victories which can be attributed to the continuing loyalty of the county's German Lutherans who composed a majority of Schuylkill County's populace. For example, the Democrats garnered 67% of the vote in 1836 and 60% in 1838.⁵ Martin Van Buren, though defeated nationally, received a solid 54% of Schuylkill County's vote in 1840. By 1841, the Democrats had regained full strength and attracted 63% of the ballots cast.

In the ten fall elections held in the county between 1844 and 1853, the Democrats emerged victorious seven times. The Whigs

³ Benson, Concept, pp. 167-169.

⁴ Ibid., p. 171; William Shannon, The American Irish (New York, 1963), p. 47.

⁵ All election results, unless otherwise specified, were taken from official results published in the Miners' Journal.

received better than 50% of the vote only in 1846, 1847 and 1848.⁶ The elections of 1844 and 1845 were "maintaining" elections which continued past political patterns.⁷ The elections of 1846, 1847 and 1848 "deviated" from typical election outcomes in the county; however, further analysis also proved that permanent restructurings of the political organizations also took place as a result of these three elections. Therefore, they could be more properly termed realigning elections. The year 1849 saw the altered parties return to a new period of Democratic control. The elections of 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1853 maintained this Democratic hegemony, but the new Democratic coalition was markedly different than the organization which had controlled the county until 1846.⁸

⁶ The Democratic percentages during the decade ran as follows:

1844 - 57%	1849 - 51%
1845 - 65%	1850 - 51%
1846 - 47%	1851 - 55%
1847 - 46%	1852 - 52%
1848 - 43%	1853 - 55%

⁷ The terminology here is from Angus Campbell, et.al., The American Voter (New York, 1960), and Angus Campbell, "Surge and Decline: A Study of Electoral Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Fall, 1960), pp. 397-418. Campbell hesitated to apply his concepts to nineteenth century America but they seem to fit precisely the situation in Schuylkill County.

⁸ Campbell might have termed the election of 1849 as a "reinstating election" in that it returned the Democrats to power and ushered in a new maintaining period. However, the term is not applicable to this thesis since the realigning elections of 1846, 1847 and 1848 restructured the political coalitions which had existed until 1846. For a discussion of this terminology see Philip E. Converse, Angus Campbell, Warren Miller, Donald E. Stokes, "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," American Political Science Review, LV (June, 1961), pp. 269-280.

The issue which had created an electoral surge for the Whigs in 1846 was the Walker Tariff, a low tariff passed by the Democratic Polk Administration in direct defiance of promises made by the Pennsylvania Democrats that Polk favored a continuation of protection as outlined in the 1842 Whig Tariff Law. This tariff uproar caused the first significant shift in the political behavior of Schuylkill County in its history. However, even these changes in the late 1840's tended to reinforce ethno-religious differences between the parties because the Welsh and English Protestants tended to be the coal operators and more directly benefitted by the tariff than the Irish Catholic mine laborers or German Lutheran farmers.

The seminal election of this study is the significant one of 1844 which, nationally, saw James K. Polk become the third man to thwart Henry Clay's presidential ambitions.⁹ Many historians saw the election of 1844 as the first major sectional contest in our history because Clay's ownership of slaves and ambiguous position on the annexation of Texas forced an abolitionist party, the Liberty Party, into the field. This anti-slavery party then took enough New York State votes away from Clay to cost him the electoral votes of the Empire State and the Election.¹⁰ This thesis has been challenged by Lee Benson who asserted that local, ethno-religious factors formed the focus of the parties and actually decided the outcome of this

⁹ Clay had lost in 1824 and 1832 previously. John Quincy Adams eventually won the Presidency in 1825 and Andrew Jackson in 1832.

¹⁰ For examples of interpretations emphasizing sectional differences and the Texas question see: Charles Wiltse, The New Nation, 1800-1845 (New York, 1961), p. 187; Poage, Henry Clay and the Whig Party, p. 151.

crucial election in New York State. The introduction of the Texas issue had little effect.¹¹

The election of 1844 in Schuylkill County tended to confirm Benson's thesis. The Democrats carried about 57% of the vote for Polk and all their local candidates, as the Whigs proved utterly incapable of making any headway in the German Lutheran districts of the county.¹² The Whigs were competitive only in those urban areas of the county where Welsh and English Protestants resided (Table IIB). The Democrats amassed less than 50% of the vote in only four districts: Pottsville, Mount Carbon, Port Carbon and Minersville. All four of these coal oriented districts possessed heavy Welsh and English populations. The gains the Whigs did make since 1841 could be logically attributed to their increased efforts in this important election year and to the presence of Henry Clay at the top of their ticket. Clay was always popular in the county because of his tariff policies.

The Democrats, while losing in four Welsh and English districts, managed to poll at least 40% of the vote in all these areas. The Whigs failed to receive better than 31% of the vote in any of the German Lutheran areas. The Democratic strength in the Whig areas could most logically be attributed to the presence of a small but growing bloc of Irish Catholic votes and to the fact that not all English Protestants were voting anti-Democrat. The

¹¹ Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, passim, especially, pp. 254-267. For a review of the sectional and Benson arguments see, Joel Silbey, "The Civil War Synthesis in American History", Civil War History, X (June, 1964), pp. 130-132.

¹² The Democratic leanings of German Lutherans are discussed in many places including: Sharp, Jacksonians Versus the Banks, p. 326; Robert Remini, The Election of Andrew Jackson (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 104; Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, pp. 173-174; Shade, "Jacksonian Period Politics", pp. 325-327; Petersen, "Reaction to a Heterogeneous Society", p. 121.

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Whigs were probably controlling the Welsh vote, not so solidly receiving the English vote while losing the German Lutheran and Irish Catholic votes rather overwhelmingly.

The issues discussed by the local parties in 1844 were linked to these ethno-religious political polarizations. Only ethno-religious issues served to distinctly separate the parties. The Whigs, for example, condemned "foreign religious influences" and lamented the fact the Irish Catholics voted blindly Democratic.¹³ In fact, the Whig Miners' Journal ultimately blamed Clay's county defeat on the "naturalized Catholic vote."¹⁴ The county Whigs pursued this anti-Catholicism further by advocating an extension of the naturalization period and stricter enforcement of voting laws. Benjamin Bannan, chief Whig spokesman and editor of the Miners' Journal, even proposed that the Whigs assume a more openly nativistic stance in future local elections.¹⁵

An ethno-religious issue which clearly differentiated the local parties was sabbatarianism. The Whigs firmly supported Sunday laws. Bannan editorialized:

The most powerful obstacle to the progress of morality is this prevalent disregard of the Sabbath, and it seems to us that no other single cause is so potent in counter-acting the influence of religious truth.¹⁶

¹³ Miners' Journal, November 16, 1844, p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

The Democrats, conversely, refused to support the sabbatarianism, opposed extending the naturalization period, pleaded for "tolerance in religion and politics," rejected nativist schemes against the foreign born and vowed to defend the county's aliens and Roman Catholics.¹⁷ The Democrats constantly stated that prejudice and intolerance would eventually tear down the American governmental structure.

The only economic issue to receive wide attention in local politics during the 1844 campaign was the tariff question.¹⁸ However, both local parties strongly supported high protection and the tariff question was then not capable of clearly setting them apart. The Democrats claimed to be the tariff party and vowed never to support free trade. They accused Henry Clay and other national Whigs of having unclear tariff views.¹⁹ The local Whigs, however, also assumed the guise of the county's "tariff party" and called the tariff the key issue of the 1844 campaign "at all levels."²⁰ Bannan even argued that Whig tariff programs made them the party of the common man.²¹ Overall, much editorial space was given to the tariff question, but

¹⁷ Pottsville Emporium and Colliers' Democratic Register, June 29, 1844, p. 2. (This paper will hereafter be cited as the Emporium.)

¹⁸ Snyder, Jacksonian Heritage, pp. 171-186, emphasized the importance of the tariff question during the election of 1844 in Pennsylvania.

¹⁹ Emporium, July 13, 1844, p. 2.

²⁰ Miners' Journal, March 30, 1844, p. 2.

²¹ Ibid.

both parties were merely trying to appear more zealous than their opponent in supporting the protection principle.

Sectional issues were then noticeably absent from the campaign rhetoric in Schuylkill County. Not a single mention was made of the Liberty Party, nor did it receive a single vote locally. The Texas question and Polk's expansionist proclivities received only passing approval in the Democratic press and minor disapproval from the Miners' Journal. However, the expansion issue clearly aroused no stormy political passions in the county. The questions which actually turned the 1844 election in Schuylkill County were sabbatarianism, naturalization laws and anti-Catholicism, issues which tended to polarize the devotionalists and religiously orthodox of the county.²² The Democratic program appealed mainly to the religiously orthodox. Since these people outnumbered the county's devotionalists, this assured a Democratic victory.

The local Whigs were then only incidentally the party of Clay; they actually were the organization that appealed to anti-Catholics, nativists, Sabbatarians and people of the devotionalist type. The county Democrats were not the party of Polk and Texas, but the party of religious and political toleration, the organization which appealed to the religiously orthodox. Henry Clay lost Schuylkill County, not because of Texas or the Liberty Party, but because German Lutherans and Irish Catholics voted heavily against him. No issue peculiar to the election of 1844 in Schuylkill caused any significant shift in its traditional voting habits or in those of its German Lutheran and Irish Catholic residents.

While the results of 1844 in Schuylkill County permit no large generalizations to be made, it appears as though the sectional

²² These terms were defined in Chapter I.

interpretations of the contest were completely refuted in the county. The local voting patterns indicate that studies like Benson's are necessary in order to correctly ascertain reasons for mass voting behavior. Economic questions, like the tariff, and sectional matters, such as the annexation of Texas, served only as surface issues since they really did not serve to set the local parties distinctly apart. The political coalitions were not altered in any fashion. As in 1844, the Whigs lost because of their inability to attract votes in German Lutheran areas, and because the Democrats could still complement their German Lutheran vote with Irish Catholic votes. The Democrats averaged just under 65% of the vote in all races held in 1845. Both parties again were pro-tariff and no national question arose to separate the local parties. The absence of Henry Clay from the top of the Whig ticket undoubtedly contributed to their losses relative to 1844.

Bannan and the Whigs again emphasized the sabbatarian issue. The Miners' Journal aggressively asserted that the Democrats in effect sanctioned immorality by refusing to condemn immoral activities on the Sabbath. The county Whigs appeared determined to reform society morally. The local Democrats, supported basically by the "orthodox" German Lutherans and Irish Catholics, avoided the sabbatarian question completely. The only people who could logically support the Whig positions were the "devotionalists." In Schuylkill County, the English and Welsh Protestants were the two groups who could positively respond to the Whig rhetoric.

The Democratic orientation of Schuylkill County appeared assured by 1846; then a sudden and quite startling change of events took place. The Whigs swept to victories in 1846, 1847 and 1848

before control of the state once again returned to the Democrats in 1849. Historians have generally accounted for this Whig rise in Pennsylvania wholly in terms of the tariff question. The Polk Administration sponsored the Walker Tariff which reduced the rates previously imposed by the Whig Tariff of 1842 passed during the Tyler Presidency. Only one Pennsylvania Democrat in Congress, David Wilmot, supported the Walker Tariff of McKay Bill as it was sometimes termed.²³ The ironic twist for Pennsylvania's pro-tariff Democrats was that George Dallas, a Pennsylvania Democrat then serving as Vice-President, broke a tie vote in the Senate which ultimately passed the McKay Bill into law. This represented a double embarrassment for state Democrats. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that the Democrats had posed James K. Polk as a staunch friend of protection during the presidential campaign of 1844.²⁴ The Whig presses of the state, including the Miners' Journal, now gleefully divided the Democrats into pro-tariff and anti-tariff camps. "Which is the Democratic party?" Bannan snidely remarked, "Both cannot be."²⁵

The elections of 1846 in Pennsylvania proved utterly devastating to the Democrats. Whigs won seventeen of twenty-four Congressional seats and control of both houses of the state legislature.²⁶ The tariff issue took stage center in the political circles of

²³ Snyder, Jacksonian Heritage, p. 194.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 196.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 197; Miners' Journal, Pct. 3, 1846, p. 2.

²⁶ Mueller, Whig Party, p. 133.

Schuylkill County and the results were equally as disastrous to the county Democrats. The local Whigs benefitted from the electoral surge created by the protection turmoil.²⁷ The average county election saw the Democratic county candidate beaten by a 53% to 47% margin; this represented a Whig gain of approximately 18% over the 1845 campaign.

Providentially for the Whigs, coal production had risen twofold between 1842 and 1845 after it had remained stable between 1837 and 1842.²⁸ Bannan and the Whigs naturally credited the Tariff of 1842 for this large increase and predicted a dire turnabout now that the Walker Bill was in force.²⁹ This situation could only compound the political agony of the Democrats. Rallying behind a popular issue, the Whigs in Schuylkill County carried every local office and swept to clear majorities in every contested election. The Whigs pledged their entire local ticket directly to the principles of the Tariff of 1842. Bannan labeled the McKay Bill a "free trade" abomination, and insisted that the Whigs would always prefer the workshops of the United States to those of Europe.³⁰

²⁷ Campbell, "Surge and Decline", pp. 397-418.

²⁸ The actual county coal production was as follows:
1837 - 540,000 tons
1842 - 572,000 tons
1845 - 1,132,000 tons

²⁹ Miners' Journal, August 22, 1846, p. 2. Snyder, Jacksonian Heritage, p. 197.

³⁰ Miners' Journal, Aug. 22, 1846, p. 2. Only minor mention was made of the Mexican Campaign though the paper did warmly applaud the exploits of Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, two Whig heroes.

The county Democrats could counter these tariff blasts only by frankly apologizing for the actions of Polk, Dallas and their national brethren and espousing "modification" of the Walker Bill as fellow Pennsylvanian James Buchanan had suggested.³¹ The Democrats were obviously forced to the unpopular side of a damaging issue through no fault of their own. The county Whigs could now quite logically claim to be the only true friends of protection on both local and national levels.

If the tariff question actually caused an electoral surge capable of undoing political tradition in the county, the Whigs should have increased their strength relative to 1845 most noticeably in areas directly influenced by the reduction in protection schedules. Tables IIC and IID indicate that this is exactly what occurred.³²

The Whigs made their most appreciable gains in the districts of the county directly influenced by the protection of American anthracite. In not a single non-mining district did the Whigs manage to make a significant gain over their 1845 showing. A 9% increase in Upper Mahantongo was their best showing. However, Whig gains in the coal regions ranged from 19% in Pottsville to 41% in Branch. Assuming that other factors had remained roughly constant since 1845, the Whig victory must be credited to the effect of the tariff issue.

³¹ Snyder, Jacksonian Heritage, p. 198.

³² The mining districts of course were most influenced by the 1846 tariff changes which lowered the rates imposed on competing British coal and iron products.

TABLE IIC

1846 Vote in the Mining Districts of Schuylkill County

<u>District</u>	<u>1845 Whig %</u>	<u>1846 Whig %</u>	<u>% Gain or Loss</u>
Branch	33	74	+41
Tamaqua	11	50	+39
Minersville	23	60	+37
Mt. Carbon	38	66	+28
Port Carbon	52	72	+20
Pottsville	49	68	+19

TABLE IID

1846 Vote in the Major Farm Districts of Schuylkill County

<u>District</u>	<u>1845 Whig %</u>	<u>1846 Whig %</u>	<u>% Gain or Loss</u>
Upper Mahantongo	4	13	+9
West Penn	23	31	+8
Barry	21	27	+6
Union	11	17	+6
Lower Mahantongo	20	25	+5
Schuylkill	30	28	-2

The Democratic Emporium attempted to play down the protection question and desperately sought other reasons for the dramatic 1846 turnabout. One of the alibis used by the frantic Democrats even involved the weather. It had rained heavily in the county on election day. The Emporium lamented:

In the densely populated Boroughs in the region - - strongholds of Federalism (Whiggism), where there is but a step or two to the election grounds the voters were nearly all out, whilst in the sparse county districts, where our party polls its strong vote, and where voters have to go three or four miles to vote, it will be perceived that our friends did not come out in consequence of the bad weather.³³

Tables IID and IIE giving voter turnout in both urban and rural districts in 1845 and 1846 show that the Emporium's excuse had some basis in fact. The coal regions increased their turnout 23% while the strongly Democratic rural areas actually declined 3% from their 1845 vote total. The losses were especially larger in isolated Upper Mahantongo Township where voters traveled up to seven miles to a polling place. However, the Whigs also carried the county in 1847 and 1848, years of pleasant election day weather. Weather, therefore, was only partially the reason for the massive Whig triumph.

There can be no doubt that the tariff issue was the main reason for the change of political fortunes. This critical issue obviously would make Whigs of swing voters and motivate previously apathetic Whigs to become more diligent. Judging from the remarkable number of county Whig meetings in 1846, the tariff question also forged a more efficient Whig organization. This was the first year

³³ Emporium, Oct. 10, 1846, p. 2.

Table IIE

Vote in Urban Districts in 1846

<u>District</u>	<u>Total Vote 1845</u>	<u>Total Vote 1846</u>	<u>Increase Or Decrease</u>
Minersville	198	300	+102
Port Carbon	186	272	+86
Pottsville	969	1044	+75
Tamaqua	89	161	+72
Llewellyn	150	189	+39
Mt. Carbon	<u>40</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>+13</u>
Total	1632	2019	+377 (+23%)

Table IIF

Vote in Rural Districts in 1846

<u>District</u>	<u>Total Vote 1845</u>	<u>Total Vote 1846</u>	<u>Increase or Decrease</u>
Schuylkill	55	97	+42
Barry	57	75	+18
Union	71	99	+28
West Penn	145	151	+ 6
Lower Mahantongo	125	111	-14
Upper Mahantongo	<u>139</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>-78</u>
Total	592	574	-18 (-3%)

in which Bannan did not loudly complain about Whig apathy. The Walker Tariff thus hurt the county Democrats in two vital ways: it damaged their popularity; and it stimulated the political activities of their opponents.

Benjamin Bannan attributed the county Whig victory wholly to the tariff question. He called the election a "tariff triumph."³⁴ However, the dynamic editor admitted that the demise of the independent nativist movement and its merger with the Whigs also played a key role in the Whig rout of the Democrats.³⁵ The county Whigs were finally attracting most anti-Catholics into their camp. This consolidated their strength and presented the further proliferation of voters opposed to aliens. Both the tariff and anti-Catholicism were causing shifts away from the Democrats. As a consequence, the Whigs were gaining firmer control of Welsh and English voters, people generally engaged in mining and affected by the tariff who were, at the same time, anxious about the growing numbers of Irish Catholics they confronted in their urban residence.

The election of 1846 was crucial for the development of party conflict in Schuylkill County. It could properly be described as a realigning election. The Whigs had moved close to consolidating a devotionalist, Protestant front. Their tariff polemics and evangelical-nativist rhetoric were rapidly winning them votes in Welsh and

³⁴ Miners' Journal, Oct. 17, 1846, p. 2.

³⁵ Ibid., August 29, 1846, p. 2. (This statement is based upon predictions and analyses made by Bannan prior to the actual October elections of 1846.) The independent Native movement had been quite small since the local Whigs were nativistic. It never actually attracted a significant number of votes when separate from the Whigs.

English regions. The German Lutherans, largely isolated from the Irish Catholics, rejected nativism and anti-Catholicism and remained solidly Democratic. The realignments in the party coalitions then saw the English Protestants swinging heavily to the Whig fold to join the Welsh Protestants who had always been heavily anti-Democratic. This isolated the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans and caused a nearly complete political polarization of devotionalists and the religiously orthodox.

Thus, even the crucial state election of 1846 and the tariff issue had ethno-religious overtones in Schuylkill County. The devotionalists of the region were more motivated by the tariff question than the orthodox of the county. The Whig victory in Schuylkill County could also be attributed in part to the anti-Catholicism and nativism which were growing locally because of the influx of Irish Catholics seeking jobs in the coal fields. These latter two issues appeared to be capable enough to push previously wavering English Protestants into the Whig organization.

Polarization of another sort emerged by 1846 in Schuylkill County. The Whig "style" of politics was now noticeably different from that of the Democrats. The Whigs, as exemplified by Bannan, undertook moralizing crusades not just campaigns. Politically, this meant that the Whigs felt a deep concern for the social and moral well being of their community. Their ultimate goal was to achieve a moral society through active participation in politics. They were, in a sense, "fanatical pietists" endeavoring to rectify the evils

of American society as they perceived them.³⁶ The Whigs were as quick to support anti-Catholic laws and sabbatarianism as the tariff. Many Whigs of the county would also sanctify society by abolishing the sale of alcoholic beverages.

The Democrats of the county lacked this revivalistic fervor. They favored a more passive governmental structure in which there would be a minimal interference with individual freedom. To the Democrats, the politicians were not instruments of potential perfection. The Democrats favored a form of what Lee Benson has termed "negative liberalism."³⁷ The government should ideally be laissez-faire in style and tolerate all forms of political and religious behavior which was not detrimental to society in general. This meant that Democrats rejected governmental regulation of Sunday Sales and alcoholic consumption as undue paternalism. In short, the Whigs were devotionalistic and the Democrats were not. This factor still set the county parties apart more than anything else.

The elections of 1847 and 1848 brought a continuation of Whig success in Schuylkill County. The tariff remained the crucial issue which kept the once powerful county Democrats on the defensive. However, other questions continued to exert appreciable potency in determining voting behavior. For example, a critical local issue

³⁶ This "fanatical pietists" term was used by Richard Jensen in, "Religious and Occupational Roots of Party Identification", pp. 330-332.

³⁷ See: Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, pp.86-109.

in 1847 was the question of the removal of the county seat from rural oriented Orwigsburg to Pottsville located in the heart of the anthracite region. The Whigs favored such a move while the Democrats opposed it. Ultimately 3,551 (53%) voted for and 3,092 (47%) opposed this relocation. The transfer was duly completed by 1851 when Pottsville officially became the county seat. The Whigs then identified themselves with the numerically popular side of yet another crucial local issue. They apparently retained most of the voters who had switched to their party the previous year and swept to victories in 1847 similar to those in 1846.

The Whig tide also flowed into 1848 when both the Whig presidential and gubernatorial candidates won easily with Taylor garnering 57% and the other Whig candidates averaging 56% of the Schuylkill County ballots. Bannan and the Whigs continued to concentrate largely on the tariff issue. The Walker Tariff was continually assailed in the Miners' Journal as the "British Tariff of 1846."³⁸ Lewis Cass and the Democrats were referred to as the "Free Trade Starvation Ticket."³⁹ This discussion of the tariff issue in 1848 need really be carried no further; a succinct paragraph from the Miners' Journal vividly exemplified just how important the county Whigs thought the tariff was:

³⁸ Miners' Journal, October issues, 1848.

³⁹ Ibid., Sept. 30, 1848, p. 2.

In the great battle to be fought in the next Congress, in repealing the British Bill of 1846, and restoring the Protective Policy of the Country on a permanent basis, which will secure for the laborer a just reward for his toil. . . .⁴⁰

The county Whigs endeavored to convince the voters that only through protection could the average American worker achieve just economic rewards. The strategy was successful in the sense that it undoubtedly appealed to the marginal mining region electorate not already solidly committed to a specific party.

Bannan discussed other national issues relevant to the campaign of 1848 though none even approximated the emphasis which he placed upon the tariff. The Whigs of the county applauded Taylor's restraint in the utilization of his veto power. They also supported his proposal to distribute federal funds realized by sales of public lands. The county party further gave occasional approving reference to Taylor for being a non-extensionist and a supporter of internal improvements.⁴¹ Yet, the amount of space that the Miners' Journal gave to these latter issues indicated they were afterthoughts. The tariff was the bellwether issue in forging a Whig victory and the astute Bannan knew this. Oddly, Bannan rarely discussed the character or charisma of Taylor. He, of course, referred to his gallantry at Buena Vista and Palo Alto, but Taylor's tariff views appealed far more to Bannan and his readers.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Sept. 23, 1848, p. 2.

⁴¹ Ibid.

The Miners' Journal never mentioned the Free Soil movement except to remind its readers that Van Buren had long been personally associated with a low tariff policy. Apparently, the county Whigs could actually find little to oppose in the Free Soil Platform and decided to emphasize the defects in the Democratic positions. This refusal to openly deride at least some aspects of the Free Soil movement made it conceivable that Bannan and his fellow Whigs could be won over to a program similar to the one being espoused by the Free-Soilers. In fact, Mr. Bannan later became a Republican and defended the principles of free land and non-extension.

Several other factors are worth noting concerning the 1848 race in the county. First, the Whigs were still winning primarily because of their percentages in the areas in which the English and Welsh were residing. The Whig devotionism and tariff positions were appealing to these people both religiously and economically since they were largely devotionals and miners. For example, Pottsville, Minersville and Port Carbon alone gave Taylor 1,642 votes to Cass' 669 for a majority of 973. His overall county majority was 1,239. There was no doubt that the Whigs were winning because they were increasing their victory margins in areas where they had been a majority party. Secondly, Van Buren and the Free Soilers received literally no votes in Schuylkill County. This lack of Free Soil appeal undoubtedly accounted for the sparcity of Bannan attacks upon Van Buren and his fellow non-extensionists.⁴² Thirdly, the German Lutherans and

⁴² Another conceivable reason for the lack of Free-Soil appeal was that German Lutherans were always strongly anti-Free Soil. See: Petersen, "Reaction to a Heterogenous Society," pp. 221-222.

Irish Catholics did not respond as aggressively to the tariff issue as did the English and Welsh. These Lutherans and Catholics were basically motivated by traditional religious and ethnic considerations. Consequently, the Whigs had the advantage during the period when the tariff had created an electoral surge situation.

The years between 1849 and 1853 saw a return to power by the Democrats in Schuylkill County. The Democratic coalition now appeared to be centered solely around Irish Catholics and German Lutherans. No longer could the Democrats depend upon their share of English Protestant support. However, the continuing influx of Irish Catholics into the region appeared to be compensating for these losses. The county's population had skyrocketed 106% between 1840 and 1850, and Irish Catholics represented a sizable portion of this increase. By the late 1850's, the Irish Catholics comprised about 25% of the county's population.⁴³ Nearly every Irish Catholic who received the franchise voted Democratic; hence, it is easy to comprehend why the new Democratic coalition, even though virtually devoid of devotionalistic support, was as powerful as the Democratic machine which dominated the county prior to 1846.

An indication of the growing power of Irish Catholic votes in the county can be easily demonstrated. The Democrats were generally

⁴³ See Table IB for population figures. English and Welsh miners also arrived between 1840 and 1860 but not in such numbers as did the Irish Catholics. It must be remembered that Ireland was undergoing serious political and economic unrest during these years. As the Irish, Welsh and English entered the county, its German proportions naturally dropped in relation to the other ethnic groups.

and sometimes overwhelmingly being supported in the newly established voting districts in the county. All of these districts were founded officially between 1848 and 1852, and all contained significant Irish Catholic populations. Table IIG shows the proportions of votes given to the Democrats in these areas.

Clearly, the voting pendulum in Schuylkill County had shifted to once again favor the Democrats. The emerging Irish Catholic political strength was largely responsible for the shift. This situation augured well for the Democrats since the Irish Catholics were still arriving in the county in large numbers. The Democrats of course could still rely on heavy support in the German Lutheran districts of the county. Thus, the altered Democratic coalition appeared to be prepared for a long period of dominance in Schuylkill County.

The Democrats were then managing to increase the percentages in the established coal regions, areas into which most Irish Catholics moved, gaining heavy majorities in the newly forming Irish Catholic coal districts and continuing to dominate in the German Lutheran regions.⁴⁴ The only negative aspect of this situation was that the English and Welsh Protestants were now overwhelmingly rejecting the new Democratic coalition. In general, the continuing German Lutheran support of the Democrats combined with the growing Irish Catholic vote to assure Democratic supremacy in Schuylkill County between 1849 and 1853.

⁴⁴ In 1849, the Democrats garnered 75% of the vote in West Penn and 89% of the vote in Upper Mahantongo, two key German Lutheran districts.

TABLE IIG*

Vote in Districts Incorporated Between 1848 and 1852

<u>District</u>	<u>Approximate % of Irish Catholics Residing in District in 1850</u>	<u>1852 Democratic %</u>
Mahanoy Township	75 - 80	93
Cass	60 - 65	66
Butler	50 - 55	67
Frailey	45 - 50	59
St. Clair	35 - 40	42

* Proportions based on figures given in 1850 and 1860 census reports.

TABLE IIH

Democratic Strongholds, 1853

<u>District</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Democrat %</u>
Eldred	German Lutheran	95
Upper Mahantongo	German Lutheran	94
Mahanoy	Irish Catholic	81
Cass	Irish Catholic	77
West Brunswick	German Lutheran	75

As the political coalitions were becoming more intensely ethno-religious oriented, the political issues discussed directly reflected this development. For example, in the early 1850s the temperance question surpassed the tariff in local importance. Leading Whigs like Bannan, Edward Parry, John Wren and George Jennings were central figures at county temperance meetings.⁴⁵ The local Whigs felt that Pennsylvania's "greatest single need" was the passage of a prohibitory liquor law.⁴⁶ The tariff was relegated to a secondary position. The exact Whig stand on prohibition was quite succinct:

We are daily becoming more and more persuaded that nothing short of a prohibitory law can ever reach the root of the evil, or effectually cure this moral leprosy in Schuylkill County.⁴⁷

By 1853 the county Whig ticket was directly committed to temperance as the most important issue of the campaign. The ticket next pledged itself to battle on behalf of sabbatarianism, another devotionalistic program.⁴⁸ Bannan constantly referred to the Whigs as the "Maine Law supporters" which directly linked them to the successful Maine prohibition movement.⁴⁹ The Whig editor felt the temperance and sabbatarianism were capable of restoring the "good Puritan notions of the country."⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Miners' Journal, July 30, 1853, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., July 2, 1853, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., Oct. 1, 1853, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

By 1853, the Whigs of Schuylkill County were notably less tariff conscious. They had become a devotionalist, Protestant party. The issues of temperance and sabbatarianism, especially temperance in the early 1850's, appeared to represent "symbols" which set the urban, native, Protestant Whigs apart from the immigrant, Irish Catholics of the region.⁵¹ Only occasionally did the local Whigs speak for a protective tariff or against the extension of slavery into the territories. These allegedly salient national issues were superfluous at best to the local followers of Whiggery.⁵²

A growing sense of open anti-Catholicism also began to permeate the Whig platforms in the early 1850's. This reflected the spread of nativism among the Whigs. Direct anti-Catholic slurs now began to regularly appear in the Miners' Journal along with the constant calls for temperance. The Miners' Journal, for example, ran a weekly column concerning "papist superstition and its consequent mummery."⁵³ Bannan once discussed the Catholic issue in disgust by asserting that, "at least 7/8 of the Catholics and native German farmers of the county voted for Pierce in 1852."⁵⁴ The Whig setbacks in 1852 and 1853

⁵¹ For a discussion of temperance as an ethno-religious political symbol see: Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade - Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Urbana, 1963), pp.6, 36.

⁵² Joseph Gusfield in, Symbolic Crusade, saw a definite link between temperance and abolitionism, p. 54. In Schuylkill County, the Whigs definitely emphasized temperance, but neglected abolition statements in the early 1850's.

⁵³ Miners' Journal, Sept. 17, 1853, p. 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., August 15, 1853, p. 2.

frequently moved Bannan to making strongly anti-Catholic statements such as:

We will never appeal to the Catholic vote again, so long as we conduct a newspaper. This depending on the Foreign Catholic vote, is like destroying our own market for produce and then depending upon foreign countries to take it. We agree with General Jackson that we must become a little more Americanized.⁵⁵

The county Democrats completely rejected the Whigs' support of temperance, sabbatarianism, nativism and anti-Catholicism. Instead, they pleaded causes more popular to their principal constituents. The Democratic press of the county, rather than condemning Irish Catholics, appealed to their sensitivities. For example, the local Democrats stood squarely against British landlords and for the Irish peasants in the domestic turmoil then plaguing Ireland:

It is full time that, while the landlord is protected in his right to his property, the tenant should be protected from extortion, spoilation and from expulsion from his farm.⁵⁶

The local Democrats condemned statements by Whigs which asserted that "it would be a great blessing if every Whiskey Factory in the country could be closed up."⁵⁷ They viewed enforced temperance as an usurpation of individual liberty. Sabbatarianism came under

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ The Pottsville Register and Democrat, Sept. 28, 1850, p. 2. (This paper will hereafter be cited as the Register.)

⁵⁷ Miners' Journal, June 8, 1850, p. 2.

similar fire from local Democrats. In essence, the county Democrats continued to defend "negative liberalism." They were not out to reform or moralize society through politics.

The returns from the election of 1853 clearly indicated where the political strengths of the Democrats rested. The five strongest Democratic districts were either heavily Irish Catholic or German Lutheran. (see Table IIH). The Whigs managed to poll solid votes only in those urban coal areas like Pottsville, Branch and Minersville, which had large English and Welsh populations.

The only way to overcome Democratic supremacy by 1853 appeared to be the completion of a merger among all the devotionalist and anti-Catholic forces then exerting such powerful influence in the county. A coalition which offered a platform calling for prohibition, sabbatarianism, immigration restrictions and general anti-Catholicism could well run strong enough in the Welsh-English sectors of the county to overcome Democratic majorities in Irish Catholic and German Lutheran centers. However, the Irish Catholic influx into the emerging coal townships of the region was daily rendering the consumation of such a coalition more and more difficult and further frustrating the already anxious Welsh and English Protestants.

Any study which emphasized the primacy of sectional or economic issues in the early 1850's can find little support in Schuylkill County. The local Whigs based their program primarily on temperance, sabbatarianism, nativism and anti-Catholicism and only secondarily on the tariff and opposition to slavery extension. The local Democrats continued much as they were prior to 1849, they mimicked the Whigs

in being pro-tariff and basically anti-Southern; however, the county Democrats felt that the advantages devotionalist proposals such as temperance would bring were not worth the sacrifices to individual liberty which they would necessitate.

B. Democrats Versus Republicans, 1854-1872

The years between 1854 and 1872 presented political patterns in Schuylkill County strikingly similar to those between 1844 and 1853. As in the earlier period, the Democrats were the majority party through most of the era. This supremacy was interrupted only in the elections of 1858, 1859 and 1860 when the Democrats were weakened by an internal split involving the Kansas question and their alleged pro-Southern proclivities. Only when the Democrats were not united and faced with critical issues to which their responses were unpopular with local voters, were the Republicans able to garner a plurality of the votes cast in the county.

The county elections between 1854 and 1857 tended to maintain the basic political coalitions which had solidified by 1853. The Democrats were backed by Irish Catholics and German Lutherans while their foes could count on only the support of the Welsh and English Protestants. The critical contests of 1858, 1859 and 1860 caused a realignment of these coalitions. Impressionistic evidence indicates that the Democrats lost these elections partly because of the unpopularity of the Buchanan administration which wavered in Kansas and passed an unfavorable tariff bill in 1857. As a consequence some Germans now began supporting the Republican party. These Germans appear to have been urban, commercialized, and often non-Lutheran Germans who lived in five towns located in the county's southern and western tiers.

By 1861, the Republicans could then boast of Welsh, English and some German support. The unpopularity of the war in the county

and the continuing increase in Irish Catholic voters, however, upset this brief Republican dominance in 1862. The Republicans never regained control of the county until well after 1872. Thus, a new realignment had taken place in the county's political structure by the close of the Civil War. The Republicans were no longer wholly Welsh and English. They could now rely on some urban German support. The Democrats were still an Irish Catholic-German Lutheran coalition, but the Irish Catholics now dominated this coalition just as the German Lutherans had prior to 1850. The German Lutherans, the county's oldest Democrats, were for the first time given reason to be uneasy in the political party which had traditionally centered around them in Schuylkill County.

The national issues again received attention in the political papers of the county, but they seem to have had no more effect on the long term behavior of Schuylkill County voters than they had between 1844 and 1853. However, in the years between 1858 and 1860, local political patterns were seriously disrupted by national questions as they had been in the late 1840s.⁵⁸ Yet, both parties generally adopted similar positions on slavery and secession; thus, voters were not able to distinguish between the county parties solely on the basis of national matters such as these. Once again, more local, religiously oriented issues did serve to more distinctly differentiate the local political organizations. These questions continued the earlier polarization which separated devotionalists from the doctrinally orthodox.

⁵⁸ This paralleled the tariff crisis which injured the Democrats in 1846, 1847, 1848.

This study cannot then agree with the view that Civil War era politics centered around broad sectional controversies. The political factions in Schuylkill County instead reflected the ethno-religious tensions which enveloped this religiously diversified area. The Republicans, for example, rose rapidly in the county primarily because of their anti-Catholic positions. The Democrats remained powerful because of their ability to retain the loyalty of German Lutherans and to gain that of the Irish Catholic voters who were streaming into the county. Both of these groups resisted the nativistic propensities of the Republicans.

The years between 1855 and 1857 saw the Democrats become more powerful than ever in the county. They swept all local races and generally amassed between 55% and 60% of the vote in each contest. Their strength continued to rest in Irish Catholic and German Lutheran districts. Table II I lists the strongest of these Democrat districts in 1856.

The newly formed People's Party could rely on majorities during the mid-1850's only in Pottsville. However, these poor showings resulted partly because of the lack of unity among opponents of the county Democrats. This situation changed in 1856 when the faltering Whig coalition adopted the title People's Party and frankly admitted its close ties with the national Republican organization.⁵⁹ The "Creed" of this new combination was quite clear. It stood for

⁵⁹ At times, the People's Party referred to itself as the Union Party especially late in the 1850's.

TABLE II I

Democratic Strongholds 1856

<u>District</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Democratic %</u>
Cass	Irish Catholic	88
Upper Mahantongo	German Lutheran	87
West Brunswick	German Lutheran	86
Washington	German Lutheran	81
Rush	German Lutheran	71
Mahanoy	Irish Catholic	65

TABLE II J

People's Party Vote in Five Coal Region Townships1856, 1858

<u>District</u>	<u>1856 People's Vote</u>	<u>1858 People's Vote</u>	<u>Gain</u>
Branch	53%	71%	18%
St. Clair	50%	63%	13%
Pottsville	57%	65%	8%
Tamaqua	49%	56%	7%
Minersville	58%	63%	5%

"non-extension, a high protective tariff, internal improvements at the expense of the federal government and restriction of Catholics."⁶⁰ The last of these positions wielded more influence than any of the others upon the politics of the county because it, and it alone, served to sharply differentiate the People's Party from their rivals. The leaders of the new coalition realized that only a tight alliance between English and Welsh Protestants could upset the long established Democratic machine.

Religious questions were of extreme importance in the county since both parties were markedly anti-Negro and gave considerable attention to the argument that the free Negro represented a direct economic threat to the common white laborer of the North. The Miners' Journal, still the anti-Democratic journal of the county, stated that the People's Party opposed Catholics and parties which courted the Catholic voters. It continued to call for a prohibition law and even suggested that violators of such a law be "punished like murderers."⁶¹ The Miners' Journal went to great lengths to assure voters that the People's Party's candidates were English and Welsh, friends of protection and foes of Catholicism.⁶²

Virtually every issue discussed between 1854 and 1857 had distinct religious overtones. In a sweeping editorial, Bannan asserted that the Irish Catholics were guilty of causing virtually every

⁶⁰ Miners' Journal, Nov. 15, 1858, p. 2.

⁶¹ Ibid., July 11, 1857, p. 3.

⁶² Ibid., Oct. 1, 1856, p. 2.

malady then existing in American society. He accused the Irish Catholics of receiving fraudulent naturalization papers, cheating honest voters by "colonizing" election districts, holding allegiances to "foreign potentates" and leading the illicit and violent "Molly Maguire Associations."⁶³

By 1857, the local parties had assumed roughly the same positions which the earlier Whigs and Democrats had adopted. The People's coalition was more intensely and overtly anti-Catholic than the old Whig Party, but it continued to lead the prohibition and anti-alien crusade in the county. The local Democrats took up anti-Negro positions and never posed as Southern appeasement advocates. Both parties condemned radical emancipationists as well as secessionists. The Democrats, however, remained the friends of the Catholics and refused to give support to strict naturalization laws or prohibition proposals.

⁶³ Ibid., Oct. 10, 1857, p. 2. The Molly Maguires were allegedly an Irish Catholic secret society which took violent actions against the foes of these Irish Catholics. They were generally viewed as the violent wing of the fraternal organization called the Ancient Order of Hibernians. For detailed studies of the Mollies see: Walter J. Coleman, The Molly Maguire Riots: Industrial Conflict in the Pennsylvania Coal Region (New York, 1936); Wayne Broehl, Jr., The Molly Maguires (Cambridge, 1964); Arthur H. Lewis, Lament for the Molly Maguires (New York, 1969); Harold W. Aurand, From the Molly Maguires to the United Mine Workers: The Social Ecology of an Industrial Union, 1869-1897 (Philadelphia, 1972); Anthony J. Anspach, "The Molly Maguires in the Anthracite Coal Regions of 1850-1890: Being an Inquiry into Their Origin, Growth and Character and a Study of Absentee Ownership of the Coal Fields", Now & Then, Vol. XI, (Oct., 1954) pp. 25-34; Victor R. Greene, "The Molly Maguire Conspiracy in the Pa. Anthracite Region, 1862-1879", unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Rochester, 1960.

It would have taken an extremely informed voter to differentiate between the two local parties on the basis of their positions on national questions. Consequently, the voters of the county had to decide between the county organization on the basis of their stands on ethno-religious questions. The People's Party clearly advocated programs which would appeal to devotionalists while the Democrats espoused ideas which pleased the more doctrinally orthodox. The cleavage was obvious and the voters cast their ballots in an equally distinct fashion. The opponents of the Democrats again needed an electoral surge which could give them a change at victory. The conditions for such a deviation from the county norm materialized between 1858 and 1860. This electoral surge which gave the Republicans a three year reign of power in the county was related to the Buchanan administration's failure to deal adequately with key sectional disputes and the onset of the Civil War.

Specifically, the 1858 demise of the Democrats in Schuylkill County could be attributed to Buchanan's handling of the volatile situation in Kansas and his support of the Tariff of 1857 which lowered protective rates back to the levels of the only mildly protective rates of 1816. President Buchanan, a Pennsylvanian, took pro-Southern positions on both Kansas and the tariff. The unpopularity of Buchanan's position, especially in reference to Kansas, was so pronounced that it caused a split in the local Democratic organization. The pro-Buchanan people adopted the name of Lecompton Democrats while opponents of the President termed themselves

anti-Lecomptonites.⁶⁴

The local Democrats were equally damaged by the Tariff of 1857 and the general business decline which occurred throughout the North in 1857. As in the late 1840's, national Democratic low tariff programs could only do damage to the county Democrats who were located in an area which was highly sensitive to the issue. The impact of all these issues plus the split in the Democratic ranks led to the first Democratic losses since 1848 in Schuylkill County.

The People's Party made their biggest 1858 gains in the coal regions of the county. These were areas with significant Welsh and English populations, and regions which generally reacted sharply to tariff legislation. Table II J indicates that the Democrats had lost considerable support in the coal districts since their strong showings in 1856. The people in these coal districts were obviously reacting negatively to the policies of the Buchanan administration. Thus, the Democrats were no longer able to hold down the People's majorities in these areas so that the majorities from the Catholic and German Lutheran areas could overcome them.

Voters in traditional Democratic areas showed only a slight tendency to turn away from the Democrats. They were obviously less motivated by the issues of 1858. Buchanan had done nothing to directly

⁶⁴ The "Lecompton" Constitution was a frame of government drawn up by pro-slavery forces in Kansas and supported by Buchanan. Foes of Buchanan's Kansas positions regarded this constitution as being illegal. The Lecompton Constitution would have allowed some slavery in Kansas no matter what the voters decided on the supposed basis of popular sovereignty.

anger the Irish Catholics or German Lutherans, and in general retained their traditional loyalty. Table II K indicates that the 1856 Democratic strongholds wavered little in their voting habits. They still gave the Democrats overwhelming majorities though all districts did show a slight decline in Democratic percentages.

It then appeared that the decline of the Democrats could be traced directly to gains registered by the People's Party in the coal districts of the county. However, significant gains were also being scored by the People's Party among the urban Germans of the county. Boroughs like Schuylkill Haven, Cressona, Orwigsburg, Pine Grove and Auburn were no longer following the traditional Democratic tendencies of their fellow Germans in the rural townships. Table II L shows just how much less Democratically oriented these urban German areas were than the county's rural German districts. The Democrats did not gain a majority in any of the districts and in Auburn garnered only 9% of the total.

The crucial election of 1858 then caused a realignment in the politics of the county. The Democrats were still the German Lutheran-Irish Catholic coalition, but their opponents were now a coalition of Welsh and English Protestants and urban Germans who lived in five key commercial boroughs located in the farm sectors of the county. These urban Germans were apparently less isolated, less residentially homogeneous and more responsive to the issues of

TABLE II K

Democratic Strongholds 1856, 1858

<u>District</u>	<u>1856 Democrat Vote</u>	<u>1858 Democrat Vote*</u>	<u>Change</u>
Cass	88%	87%	-1%
Upper Mahantongo	87%	82%	-5%
West Brunswick	86%	81%	-5%
Washington	81%	79%	-2%
Rush	71%	65%	-6%
Mahanoy	65%	62%	-3%

* The 1858 total includes the combined percentages of Lecompton and anti-Lecompton Democrats.

TABLE II L

Vote in Urban, German Districts in 1858

<u>District</u>	<u>Democrat %</u>
Orwigsburg	49
Cressona	44
Schuylkill Haven	42
Pine Grove Borough	27
Auburn	9

1858 than were their rural counterparts.⁶⁵

The voting behavior of the Germans in Schuylkill County indicates that many factors influenced their party choice. Included among these determinants apparently were economic role, place of residence, degree of isolation and amount of residential heterogeneity. The Germans of the boroughs were also less heavily Lutheran than their rural brethren. For example, Evangelical German churches were found in four of these boroughs while the rural German areas generally contained only Lutheran or Reformed churches.

If the German Protestants in the farm oriented boroughs were swinging away from the Democrats, it can be assumed that the non-Lutheran German Protestants living in the coal boroughs were at least partially responsible for the shifts away from the Democrats in those areas. The People's coalition was then more formidable than the old Whig alliance since it could count on German support in the county's urban areas.

The 1858 Democratic demise must be attributed partly to the Lecompton split in the county party. In the six major local races

⁶⁵ Many historical works have noted the fact that not all Germans voted alike in the Civil War era. For examples of such works see: Formisano, Mass Political Parties, pp. 298-305; Andreas Doraplen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIX (June, 1942), pp. 55-76; Paul Kleppner, "Lincoln and the Immigrant Vote: A Case of Religious Polarization," Mid-America, XLVIII (July, 1966), pp. 176-195; George H. Daniels, "The Immigrant Vote in the 1860 Election: The Case of Iowa," Mid-America, XLIV (July, 1963), pp. 142-162; Joseph Schafer, "Who Elected Lincoln," American Historical Review, XLVII (Oct., 1951), pp. 51-63. Also see Paul Kleppner, Cross of Culture, pp. 79-83 for a thorough discussion of German voting behavior during the period.

in 1858, two slates of Democratic candidates were advanced, the Lecomptonites and anti-Lecomptonites. The combined Democratic vote exceeded the People's vote in two of these contests. Hence, the split at least assured the People's Party of an electoral sweep of the county. The Democratic schism made all six elections landslides.

The Lecompton split in the county Democratic organization turned the major elements of the Democratic coalition against each other. The strongest anti-Lecompton areas were the German Lutheran areas (Table II M). The "regular" Democrats outnumbered the anti-Lecomptonites in the mining districts of the county.⁶⁶ The anti-Lecomptonites actually received better than 50% of the total vote in some German Lutheran areas. Assuming that many coal region Democrats were Irish Catholics who were Lecomptonites, a potentially dangerous rift then began to appear in the Democratic coalition.

In contrast to this anti-Lecompton strength in German Lutheran areas, the regular Democrats fared relatively well in the Irish Catholic areas. For example, the regulars ran ahead of the anti-Lecomptonites 67% to 20% in Irish Catholic Cass Township. The regulars managed to outpoll the anti-Lecomptonites in most of the coal regions, areas where a large percentage of the Democrats were Irish Catholics.

Hence, the voting patterns of the election of 1858 are easily definable in an ethno-religious sense. The German Protestants who lived in the county's urban areas were joining the anti-Democratic

⁶⁶ Overall, the Lecompton or regular Democrats received 26% of the county vote while the anti-Lecomptonites polled 23%.

TABLE II M

Lecompton and anti-Lecompton Percentages inGerman Lutheran Areas

<u>District</u>	<u>Lecompton%</u>	<u>anti-Lecompton %</u>
Pine Grove Township	27	49
West Brunswick	21	60
Wayne	16	49
Upper Mahantongo	14	68
West Penn	14	54
Washington	11	68

TABLE II N

Lincoln's Vote in the Coal Regions, 1860

<u>District</u>	<u>Lincoln %</u>
Tremont	77
Butler	76
St. Clair	67
Minersville	66
Pottsville	64
Blythe	61
Branch	61
Tamaqua	52
Cass	39

coalition along with the Welsh and English Protestants, the traditional foes of the Democrats. This isolated the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans in the Democratic coalition. The issues of the day worked against the Democrats and this allowed the People's Party to take temporary control of the political events in the county. Irish Catholics and German Lutherans were still Democrats; however, the German Lutherans were markedly more anti-Lecompton than were their Irish Catholic allies. The election of 1858 served to further polarize the devotionalists and the doctrinally orthodox, and also managed to open a fissure between the German Lutherans and Irish Catholics, a rupture which was healed in 1859.

The artful Bannan adroitly emphasized the issues of 1858 in the Miners' Journal. He linked the pro-Southernism of the Buchanan administration with the economic plight of the country. For example, the Miners' Journal concluded that Buchanan's desire to placate the South led to the disastrous tariff program of 1857.⁶⁷ Bannan constantly reminded his readers that only the People's Party stood for "Freedom and Protection."⁶⁸ The anti-Catholic crusade also continued in the Miners Journal which applauded loudly when the county convention of the People's Party vowed to work for an exclusion of all foreign labor.⁶⁹ Hence, Bannan was successfully linking anti-Southernism, anti-Catholicism and protection proposals into

⁶⁷ Miners' Journal, Sept. 18, 1858, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Ibid., August 28, 1858, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Sept. 4, 1858, p. 2.

a broad program which had wide appeal in a county so sensitive to the tariff and religious questions.

The People's Party continued on its successful path in 1859 despite the outward reunification of the local Democrats. However, the new anti-Democratic coalition reached the height of its political power in 1860 when it swept all races in the region by unprecedented margins. By 1860, the People's coalition openly termed itself the Republican Party and campaigned strenuously for the election of Abraham Lincoln. The efforts of the local Republicans paid worthwhile dividends when Lincoln received better than 57% of the votes in the November presidential contest. The local Republican candidates had garnered similar margins in the October contests.

Many interpretations of the election of 1860 have been advanced, but the reasons for Lincoln's victory in the county are quite simple to explain. Lincoln received his strongest support from the traditional anti-Democratic areas of the county, the Welsh and English sectors of the coal regions. He also continued to receive the support of the urban Germans who had been swinging toward the Republicans since the mid 1850's. Conversely, the Republicans and Lincoln could not change long established Democratic voting patterns in the county's German Lutheran and Irish Catholic districts.

The importance of the coal regions to Lincoln's victory cannot be lightly dismissed. Lincoln garnered 1,912 of his 2,039 vote majority in the coal regions. The Republicans carried every sizable coal district in the county with the exception of heavily Irish Catholic Cass Township where the Democrats received over 60% of the vote. Table II N shows how popular Lincoln and the Republicans

were in the county's coal districts.

Table II O indicates that Lincoln also acquired strong support from German boroughs. For example, his lowest total in these regions was the solid 55% which Orwigsburg afforded him. Obviously, these commercial Germans were moving steadily away from their former Democratic propensities. By 1860, the Democrats could no longer count on a nearly even split in these areas. The commercially oriented, evangelical Germans were fast becoming as anti-Democratic as the Welsh and English Protestants who generally resided in the county's coal districts.

Lincoln and his allies did not do well in the German Lutheran farm areas in 1860, although they cut into the usual Democratic majorities in these districts (Table II P). There is no evidence to indicate that Schuylkill County's German Lutheran farmers abandoned their traditional Democratic leanings. These were the isolated, residentially homogeneous Germans of the county. Paul Kleppner termed Lutherans of this type in the Midwest "old style" Germans and stated that they despised devotionalistic programs such as temperance, nativism and sabbatarianism.⁷⁰ There is no doubt that in Schuylkill County the Lutheran, rural oriented Germans stood much more firmly behind their Democratic antecedents than were their urban counterparts.

Lincoln was then elected by Welsh, English and urban German votes in Schuylkill County. His cause was aided by the sectional and

⁷⁰ Kleppner, Cross of Culture, p. 78.

TABLE II O

Lincoln's Vote in the Urban, German Areas, 1860

<u>District</u>	<u>Lincoln %</u>
Auburn	77
Cressona	67
Pine Grove Borough	61
Schuylkill Haven	60
Orwigsburg	55

TABLE II P

Lincoln Vote in German Lutheran Areas, 1860

<u>District</u>	<u>Lincoln %</u>
West Brunswick	39
Wayne	38
Washington	32
West Penn	32
Pine Grove Township	31
Upper Mahantongo	31

tariff bunglings of the Buchanan administration. The anti-Southern attitudes undoubtedly intensified in the county by 1860 owing to the secession threats by some Southern states. Hence, two potent questions were working in his favor. Lincoln's position on the tariff was also certain and this aided his cause immensely in the county.⁷¹ There can be little doubt, however, that Lincoln's power was ethno-religiously oriented. He failed to significantly alter the traditional ethno-religious voting patterns of the county.⁷² The devotionalists tended to be anti-Democratic while the religiously orthodox remained essentially Democratic.

The locally discussed issues in 1860 reflected both the critical national problems of the day and long established local questions. The Republicans condemned Buchanan's pro-Southernism and all threats of secession. Bannan, quite naturally, also lauded Lincoln and his high tariff positions. The now Republican editor constantly referred to Lincoln as an "ex-Whig" who was a "tariff man to the core."⁷³ Anti-Catholicism by no means disappeared as a local

⁷¹ Most Pennsylvania Republicans favored Lincoln over Seward because of his high tariff views. One reason Lincoln was ultimately nominated was because of Pennsylvania's support. See, Reinhard Luthin, "Pennsylvania and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency", Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXVII (January, 1943), pp. 61-82, for an excellent discussion of Lincoln's tariff views and his power in the Keystone State.

⁷² Hence, even in what many people consider our nation's most critical electoral decision, ethno-religious voting prevailed in Schuylkill County with only slight modifications.

⁷³ Miners' Journal, June 2, 1860, p. 2.

issue in 1860. The local Republicans formed "Wide Awake Clubs" to police election sites and curtail voting irregularities by Irish Catholics.⁷⁴

The Republicans then reached the pinnacle of their strength in the county in 1860 when all major issues seemed to work in their favor. However, this situation quickly reversed itself in 1861 when the Democrats returned to power. The Republicans were unable to regain political hegemony until well after 1872. Consequently, the Republicans controlled the county for only three brief years thanks to the inadequacies of Buchanan's policies and the anti-Southern feelings generated by the 1860 threats of secession. That these short term pre-Civil War issues no longer worked so heavily against the Democrats enabled them to return to their former position of dominance.

The new resurgence of the Democrats could be attributed to many things. Included among these causes had to be the fact that the county reacted quite negatively to the early stages of the Civil War. The Democratic Standard of Pottsville was especially outspoken in its criticism of the conscription laws which favored the wealthier elements of society. The Democrats also claimed the war was becoming an abolitionist crusade and not merely an effort to thwart secession.⁷⁵ Thus, the Republicans suddenly found themselves on the negative side of issues related to the Civil War.

⁷⁴ Ibid., Sept. 15, 1860, p. 2. The Republicans even brought Carl Schurz to the county in an attempt to secure more German votes for their cause and further isolate the Irish Catholics.

⁷⁵ Pottsville Democratic Standard, Aug. 31, 1861, p. 2.

Another reason for the 1861 demise in Republican popularity was the drop in voter turnout. Only 12,159 votes were cast in 1861 compared to just over 14,000 in 1860. Almost all of this drop was recorded in the coal regions. This meant that marginal, coal region voters were no longer motivated and probably failed to vote. The returning prosperity may have removed the economic motivation in parts of the coal districts. Whatever the reason for the voting decline in the coal areas, it could only hurt the Republicans.

The continuing influx of Irish Catholics into the area also had to aid the Democratic cause since no other ethnic groups were arriving in the county in appreciable numbers about 1860. The Democratic strength in the county still rested in German Lutheran and Irish Catholic areas. Hence, this continuing growth in the proportion of Irish Catholic voters could only aid the Democrats.

The decline in the potency of the tariff and anti-Southern issues, rise in the unpopularity of conscription and the Civil War, decline of voting interest in the coal regions and ongoing increase in Irish Catholic voters all combined to return the Democrats to power in 1861. The Republicans had lost the advantage they had gained just prior to the Civil War. However, the urban German support they had recently acquired represented the first time significant numbers of Germans had supported a party other than the Democrats. This meant that the ultimate destruction of the mid-nineteenth century county Democratic coalition was one step closer to final fruition.

Tables II Q and II R indicate that the Republicans suffered substantial losses in the coal regions in 1861 while continuing to

TABLE II Q

Republican Vote in Coal Districts, 1860-1861

<u>District</u>	<u>1860 Republican Vote</u>	<u>1861 Republican Vote</u>	<u>Change</u>
Tremont	77%	45%	-32%
Butler	76%	51%	-25%
Blythe	61%	37%	-24%
St. Clair	67%	46%	-21%
Cass	39%	25%	-14%
Tamaqua	52%	39%	-13%
Branch	61%	52%	- 9%
Minersville	66%	57%	- 9%
Pottsville	64%	55%	- 9%

TABLE II R

Republican Vote in German Lutheran Districts, 1860 - 1861

<u>District</u>	<u>1860 Republican Vote</u>	<u>1861 Republican Vote</u>	<u>Change</u>
West Brunswick	39	20	-19%
Upper Mahantongo	31	27	- 4%
Washington	32	29	- 3%
Pine Grove Twp.	31	30	- 1%
West Penn	32	31	- 1%
Wayne	38	39	+ 1%

lose heavily in the German Lutheran areas. Deprived of heavy coal region majorities, the Republicans were forced to abandon political control in the county.

The years between 1862 and 1872 saw the Democrats retain power in generally close elections. Religious issues took the central position in political conflict during these years especially after the official close of the Civil War. The Irish Catholics came under particularly heavy fire from Bannan and the Miners' Journal throughout this decade. In 1862, the now dedicated Republican editor asserted:

In Cass Township there has been a reign of terror for weeks. Many Protestants have been driven from their homes in that township lately, under the threats of extreme violence.⁷⁶

The Republicans also constantly saw more voters than people in Irish Catholic districts. They claimed that Cass Township, for example, had a voting list higher than its assessment list warranted.⁷⁷ Bannan openly blamed Sheriff Horan, an Irish Catholic, for permitting such violations in Cass and elsewhere. Obviously, the Republicans were acutely aware of how powerful the Irish Catholic vote was becoming.

The Republicans also began to concentrate on the tariff issue as they had prior to 1858. Even the tariff question, however, was linked to religion since Bannan accused the "fenians" of the county of being low tariff advocates.

⁷⁶ Miners' Journal, Oct. 18, 1862, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Ibid., Oct. 13, 1866, p. 2.

No one but an insane man expects the country to prosper without adequate protection to American Industry. Protection secures good wages against the competition of the low labor of Europe and is the working classes' security against the oppression of their employers. Only Fenians dispute this and support low tariffs and England.⁷⁸

National issues received some attention in the years between 1862 and 1872, but they were incapable of setting the local parties clearly apart. The Democrats were less willing to support Lincoln's war policies than were the Republicans. However, neither local organization could be termed anti-war. The Republicans were less opposed to extending suffrage rights to Negro males than were the openly racist Democrats, but even the Republicans refused to make a major campaign issue over the subject.⁷⁹ The Republicans usually mentioned their support of Blacks in the same breath that they supported protection or condemned Irish Catholics.⁸⁰ Both county

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Bannan and the Republicans by no means rejected Black rights. The local Republicans supported the Fifteenth amendment, for example, in a county less than .1 of 1% Black. This tends to support the findings of John and Lawanda Cox in "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics", and cast doubt upon the interpretation of William Gillette in The Right to Vote. But the local Republicans never made Black rights the sole question of any local election. To this extent the idea of "mixed motivation" presented in Shade and Dunbar in "The Black Man Gains the Vote," p. 56, seems most relevant in reference to the Schuylkill County Republicans. That is the motivations of the Radicals was so varied that no single theory seems capable of describing their collective motivations. The intense historiographical debate on this subject, mentioned earlier, attests to the scope of this dispute.

⁸⁰ This general racism in Pennsylvania during this period is discussed in, Ira V. Brown, "Pennsylvania and the Rights of the Negro, 1865-1887," Pennsylvania History, XXVIII (January, 1961), pp. 45-57.

parties strongly opposed monopolies owing to the strong desire for a continuation of individual enterprise in the area.⁸¹

The main political thrust of the period rested in the Republican effort to unite all native Protestants within the Republican Party. Bannan constantly reminded his readers that the Republicans were the native party while the Democrats appealed largely to Catholics and "adopted citizens."⁸² By the late 1860's, The Miners' Journal began listing the religions and family origins of their candidates in order to prove that no Irish Catholics were given candidacies by the Republican organization.⁸³ The Miners' Journal gave far more space to detailing the religious preferences of their local office seekers than to criticizing the actions of the Johnson administration, supposedly an issue of great importance to Republicans.

By 1870, Bannan was trying to convince the recalcitrant Germans that the Democrats were dominated by Irish Catholics and that they would be welcomed into the "Protestant Party."⁸⁴ He alluded to an Irish takeover which made it nonsensical for Protestants of any type to associate with the Democrats. There can be no doubt that Bannan wanted the Republicans to isolate the Irish Catholics. He

⁸¹ Yearley, Enterprise and Anthracite, pp. 15-16.

⁸² Miners' Journal, August 19, 1865, p. 3.

⁸³ Ibid., August 31, 1867, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

had been attempting to destroy this coalition since his days as a young Whig editor. The growing power of the Irish Catholics in the leadership circles of the Democratic party could be expected to weaken German adherence to the party. Bannan and the Republicans stood ready to capitalize upon any such rupture. One of Bannan's editorials summed up the frustrations he must have experienced in trying to construct a Protestant party:

Protestants! Behold to what your supineness reaches. It is because the Evangelical churches are slumbering that Rome dares to come forward thus. It is high time to wake out of sleep.⁸⁵

The Republicans during the decade from 1862 to 1872 were then a group of devotionalistic Protestants attempting to destroy political coalition increasingly dominated by Irish Catholics. Philosophically, the local Republicans could be termed Radicals. They favored adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, supported Grant over Greeley in 1872, gave unqualified endorsement to military reconstruction and ultimately sided with Simon Cameron in his Pennsylvania power struggle with Andrew G. Curtin.⁸⁶ The only major contrast between the local Radical Republicans and their national brethren was the former's support of individual enterprise rather than corporate growth.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Sept. 20, 1869, p. 2.

⁸⁶ A detailed study of the Radical (Cameron) - Liberal (Curtin) struggle in Pennsylvania can be found in, Bradley, The Triumph of Militant Republicanism.

Although political differences in this period have been generally ascribed to economic differences this does not appear to be a valid interpretation with reference to Schuylkill County. A comparison of the wealth and political preference of the county's townships in 1860 shows that neither party gained its strength from exclusively rich or poor townships (Table II S). Four of the five richest townships were Democratic including three of the top four Democratic areas. On the other end of the scale two of the five poorest townships were Republican including Minersville which was the strongest Republican area in the county. The other three townships that gave clear majorities to the Republicans ranked fifth, seventh, and thirteenth in wealth. Hence, no direct connection could be found between the comparative wealth of the districts and their political proclivities.

The returns from 1870 were very similar to those from 1844. Thirty years of political bickering had not altered the basic facts of political life in Schuylkill County: the orthodox voted heavily Democratic while the devotionalists voted overwhelmingly Republican. Among the rural German Lutheran townships the wealthiest, Mahantongo, gave 71% of its votes to the Democrats, while the poorest, Pine Grove, gave the Democrats the nearly identical 70% support. Tables II T and II U show that Democratic strongholds in 1870 were either German Lutheran or Irish Catholic while the Republican strongholds were basically Welsh or English Protestant with urban, German areas now also aiding the Republican cause. Only the arrival of vast numbers of Irish Catholics and the shift of these non-rural Germans differentiated the 1870-1872 coalitions from those of 1844 or 1853. Thus,

traumatic events like the secession crisis, the Civil War and reconstruction had been unable to significantly alter the ethno-religious basis of political conflict so long established in Schuylkill County. Local ethno-religious antagonisms remained the most important factors in county politics.

TABLE II S

Wealth and Political Preference in Schuylkill County, 1860

<u>District*</u>	<u>Rank in Democratic Strength**</u>	<u>Tax/Capita***</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Washington	1	\$ 145.73	8
Mahanoy	2	1686.01	1
Mahantongo	3	263.24	2
Brunswicks	4	233.97	3
Pine Grove Township	5	109.49	10
West Penn	6	142.83	9
Cass	7	98.32	12
Wayne	8	195.00	4
Ashland	9	184.98	6
St. Clair	10	96.27	13
Branch	11	150.60	7
Pottsville	12	186.90	5
Minersville	13	101.19	11

* The major, most populous, of the coal and farming townships were included.

** Democrat % means the average Democrat vote between 1860 and 1862.

*** Real estate assessments were used in this case because they were published in the Miners' Journal.

TABLE II T

Republican Strongholds, 1870

<u>District</u>	<u>Religious Type</u>	<u>Republican%</u>
Auburn	German Lutheran	70
Branch	mixed	70
St. Clair	mixed	66
Cressona	German Lutheran	63
Pottsville	mixed	63
Minersville	mixed	55
Sch. Haven	German Lutheran	55

TABLE II U

Democratic Strongholds, 1870

<u>District</u>	<u>Religious Type</u>	<u>Democratic%</u>
Mahantongo	German Lutheran	84
West Penn	German Lutheran	82
Wayne	German Lutheran	73
Cass	Irish Catholic	70
Brunswicks	German Lutheran	69
Shenandoah	Irish Catholic	69

Chapter III

Party Leadership in Schuylkill County, 1844-1872

Americans may fondly believe that our egalitarian political system has permitted boys born in log cabins to become men who led our nation through much of its history, but the Abraham Lincolns were, in fact, far outnumbered by leaders born into affluence and security. In the past decade historians have shown that at most times during our national existence American politicians have been drawn from higher socio-economic strata than the rank and file voters who supported the parties in power. Status in society greatly facilitated political advancement in the mid-nineteenth century just as it does today. As a consequence, political leaders of one party have differed little, in a socio-economic sense, from the chieftans of the other major party at any time in our history.¹

¹ For example, Dixon Ryan Fox, The Decline of the Aristocracy in the Politics of New York, 1801-1840 (New York, 1919), pp. 116-117, 420-422 saw a distinct class composition to each party and its leadership circles as did Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson, who popularized the view of "rich" Whigs opposing "poor" Democrats. Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City, (Cambridge, 1964), p. 53 sees little difference between the class ranks of Whig and Democratic leaders. W. Wayne Smith, "Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake: Class, Kinship, and Politics", Maryland Historical Magazine, XLIII (March, 1968), pp. 55-67, agreed with Thernstrom in seeing little difference among members of Whig and Democratic elites. Edward Pessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics (Homewood, 1969), pp. 251-254, agreed with the Thernstrom-Smith thesis and summarized the class conflict argument. However, Frank Otto Gatell, "Money and Party in Jacksonian America: A Quantitative Look at New York City's Men of Quality", Political Science Quarterly, LXXXII, (June, 1967), pp. 235-252, found that New York City's wealthy were generally Whigs. Thus, Gatell indirectly defends the Progressive class leadership theories of Fox and Schlesinger. Ronald Formisano discusses elites quite clearly in Mass, Political Parties, pp. 42-47, and also reviews the class conflict

Despite this outward appearance of homogeneity, the leaders of the parties were often differentiated by more subtle factors, the most important of which was their religious preference. In Schuylkill County, the "style" of religion practiced by Whigs or Republicans set them apart most clearly from the Democrats.² Thus, the real differences between the leaders of the two major parties in the county were not socio-economic but instead highlighted the effect of religious style on political behavior in the mid-nineteenth century. Religion also served as the major link between the leaders and the average voters of the county; therefore, its impact was made even more potent.

A. Whigs vs. Democrats

The Major Leaders³

Three men unquestionably can be identified as the major leaders of the Whig and Democratic Parties in Schuylkill County

debate. The class or economic interpretation which termed the Whigs the party of the rich and Democrats the party of the poor was clearly set forth in E. Malcolm Carroll, Origins of the Whig Party (Durham, 1925) and George Rawlings Poage, Henry Clay and the Whig Party (Chapel Hill, 1936). (These latter two works paralleled the efforts of Dixon R. Fox and his study of New York).

² The term "style" of religion refers to the cleavage between "doctrinal orthodoxy" and "devotionalism" discussed in chapters 1 and 2.

³ "Major Leaders" are defined as those who stood above the other activists of their party, and were men holding positions of great influence in the county organizations. For example, Benjamin Bannan, the leading Whig, edited the only Whig newspaper in the County. In short, the major leaders were in effect "party bosses". The "secondary leaders" were candidates, party officers or other party workers whose names appeared in the partisan presses of the era.

between 1844 and 1852. They were Benjamin Bannan of the Whigs and Francis Wade Hughes and Robert Palmer of the Democrats. Bannan and Palmer commanded high positions because they edited the political journals of their respective parties during the years between 1844 and 1853. Hughes was the acknowledged power of the county Democrats and had already achieved state-wide prominence.⁴ These men were more widely known than the other county leaders and in positions to influence local party matters more than any of their contemporaries.

Benjamin Bannan, vituperative editor of the intensely partisan Whig Miners' Journal, led the county Whig Party until its demise in the mid 1850's, when he and his newspaper took up the Republican banner. Bannan was born in Berks County in 1807 into a farm family which had achieved a moderate level of comfort but was by no means wealthy.⁵ The death of his father in 1815 forced Bannan to abandon the pursuit of farming and follow a career in printing. After serving brief apprenticeships in the Philadelphia and Reading areas, he moved to Pottsville in 1829 and purchased the then defunct Miners' Journal. He retained at least part ownership of the journal for the next forty-four years.

Bannan achieved acclaim in fields other than politics; for example, he was considered the foremost coal trade expert and

⁴Hughes served in influential state jobs and therefore had ties with leading state Democrats. It is further assumed that these state positions came partly because of his local organizing. Thus, his state power enhanced his local potency.

⁵Munsell, History, p. 42. (The biographical material on Bannan, Hughes and Palmer was largely derived from the same source.)

political economist in the anthracite region. He personally wrote a widely read and respected column on the coal trade until his retirement in the 1870s. The impact of the omnipresent Bannan cannot be taken lightly primarily because he spoke for the county Whigs through his partisan journal and widely read editorials (the Miners' Journal's circulation exceeded that of the county Democratic paper by a three to one ratio and once had more than 4,000 subscribers.⁶). Financially, the Whig editor was quite secure by 1850. In the manuscript census of that year, he listed his estate at over \$8,000 plus ownership of his paper. This made him a self-made man who had risen from a somewhat uncertain childhood into complete fiscal solvency before the age of forty-five. The zeal which typified the young publisher's financial rise did not desert him in his later years and constantly proved to be one of his strongest assets.

Religiously, Bannan was a practicing Welsh Presbyterian and fitted into the mold of the county devotionalists. He supported prohibition and sabbatarianism while constantly reflecting the devotionalistic desire to Christianize or reform society. Like the ideal devotionalist, Bannan perceived a direct relationship between religion and politics and never could separate the two. His political beliefs were always rooted in religion.

⁶ Only three other small city political publications reached more readers than the Miners' Journal during this period.

Bannan was a follower of Henry Clay and staunchly supported tariff protection, part of the Kentuckian's American System. Bannan once organized a tariff league to lobby in Congress on behalf of protection. The Whig editor defended the Tariff of 1842 which afforded the anthracite industry ample protection from British competition. The controversial Bannan remained a Whig until the party's collapse in the mid-1850s.

In many ways, Bannan reflected the qualities of the typical Schuylkill County Whig of the era. He was from Pottsville, the strongest Whig voting district, battled on behalf of a high protective tariff, idolized Henry Clay and was a devotionalist in religious style. Furthermore he became discernibly anti-Catholic toward the close of the period and began to approve of the anti-Papist polemics which the nativists of the county began espousing in the early 1850s. After 1850, Bannan, like most county Whigs, gave increasing attention to the temperance and sabbatarian questions and became as interested in these matters as in the tariff question.

Francis Wade Hughes, an attorney by profession, was also born outside of the county in Upper Merion Township near Philadelphia in 1817. The very prominent and financially secure Hughes family actually settled in America before William Penn. This antè-bellum "carpet-bagger" migrated to Schuylkill County seeking quick profits in the coal enterprise and rapid political advancement in relatively unexploited Schuylkill County. He quickly achieved both ambitions.

Hughes' political and professional rise was meteoric. He studied law under the esteemed Pottsvillian, G.W. Farquhar and became

Pennsylvania's Deputy Attorney General in 1839. In 1843, at the age of twenty-six, Hughes was elected to the state senate from Schuylkill County.⁷ Eight years later, Governor Bigler appointed him Secretary of the Commonwealth. Despite this remarkably active state political life, Hughes managed to direct the powerful Democratic machine of his native county.

Although he steadfastly devoted his life to the party of the "common man", Hughes was definitely not a commoner. By 1850, he reported an estate of over \$36,000 and was regarded as an excellent trial lawyer and a highly successful economic speculator. Hughes could then be considered a wealthy person by birth who perceptibly improved his social and financial positions as he became separated from his original roots.

Francis Wade Hughes was of French Huguenot descent but never identified closely with his religion.⁸ He never exhibited the tendency to link religion and politics as had Benjamin Bannan. Hughes constantly pleaded for tolerance in politics and religion while opposing anti-Catholic laws such as the naturalization restrictions then being proposed.⁹ While his passive attitude toward religion was so pronounced that he could not be labeled "doctrinally orthodox", Hughes was obviously no devotionalist. He could be

⁷ During this senatorial campaign, Hughes received the largest majority ever given to an opposed candidate in the history of Schuylkill County.

⁸ Munsell, History, p. 311.

⁹ Emporium, June 29, 1844, p. 2.

more properly termed a secularist. A man of this type would be much more comfortable in the orthodox party than in the organization of the devotionalists.

Hughes refused, like the orthodox, to support crusades for temperance and sabbatarianism and preferred to discuss more "traditional" political questions. He stood squarely behind long time Democratic programs like "reasonable tariffs" and currency regulations which would not favor "economic aristocrats."¹⁰ The prominent Democrat did not attempt to Christianize or moralize society but rather attempted to divorce religious emotionalism from politics.

Robert Palmer was also a Democrat born into considerable wealth. His father, Strange Palmer, served as a judge and political leader in Schuylkill County. The Palmers, like the Hughes family, came from a well established background; in fact, they traced their lineage to Miles Standish. Also like Francis Wade Hughes, Palmer was born outside the county -- in Mount Holly, New Jersey. The Democratic editor was the youngest of the three major leaders. Palmer studied law but preferred to edit the Democratic Pottsville Emporium during the years between 1844 and 1853.

Robert Palmer was a Congregationalist whose early religious style resembled Hughes' far more than it did Bannan's. The youthful editor constantly avoided lining his party behind the political crusades which the Miners' Journal supported. The Emporium also rejected the nativist proposals which its rival political journal

¹⁰Ibid., Sept. 30, 1843, p. 2.

gradually condoned. Palmer like Hughes emphasized more traditional issues which were less influenced by anti-Catholicism and nativism.

Some socio-economic differences then did set Hughes and Palmer apart from their Whig rival, Benjamin Bannan. The two Democrats were wealthier, owing largely to their more prosperous family backgrounds, and also more formally educated. Bannan was older than his Democratic rivals and had not yet achieved the economic security of his adversaries. However, all three men were clearly much better off financially than the average resident of Schuylkill County.

These differences between the three key leaders were overshadowed by the contrasting religious styles of the men. Palmer and Hughes, despite their adherence to Protestantism, could not be defined as devotionalists. They exhibited none of the crusading qualities which typified the typical devotional. Bannan, conversely, was a personification of the true devotionalist. The religious contrasts between Bannan and his Democratic counterparts became more pronounced after 1850 and began to polarize the leaders even more markedly when Bannan adopted a strongly anti-Catholic position.

The Secondary Leaders¹¹

Although Hughes, Palmer and Bannan offer insights into the differences between Democratic and Whig leaders, further

¹¹(The concept "secondary leaders" was defined in footnote one of this chapter.) In the remainder of this chapter, all men discussed are "leaders." For example, the phrases "all Democrats" and "most Whigs" refer to Democratic and Whig leaders not rank and file voters. This is done in interest of style since the word "leader" would otherwise constantly appear.

examination of lesser known political figures is necessary before any final conclusions can be drawn. Thirty-one Whig leaders and twenty-seven Democratic chiefs were located and identified as party activists of the period in Schuylkill County.

Little appreciable difference existed between Whigs and Democrats in regard to their ages. The Whigs attracted slightly older activists; however, 13% of their ranks were also thirty years of age or younger in 1850 while only 4% of the Democrats fell into the less than thirty category. Table III-A showed that 56% of the Whigs were over forty while 52% of the Democrats fell into that grouping. The vast majority of the Democrats (92%) were between thirty-one and fifty, while only 62% of the Whigs fell into this age grouping. Overall, the Whigs had a higher percentage of people in the youngest and oldest age categories while the Democrats dominated the middle age ranges. The ages of the leaders could not clearly separate one party's leaders from those of the opposing party. No party in the county could claim to hold a monopoly over younger activists or the "old time" politicians.

The estates reported by the political leaders in Schuylkill County did not markedly differentiate the Democrats from the Whigs any more than did their ages though the Whigs had fewer poor leaders and a slightly higher percentage of extremely wealthy chieftans.¹²

¹²The economic differences were not nearly sufficient to in any way validate Progressive theories which saw wealthy Whig voters being led by wealthy leaders. Nor were the Democrats in any way the party led by "common people."

Table III---A

Age Distributions of Whig and Democratic Leaders

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Whigs</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
20-30	13% (4)	4% (1)
31-40	32% (10)	44% (12)
41-50	30% (9)	48% (13)
51-60	26% (8)	4% (1)
61+	0% (0)	0% (0)

Table III---B

Estate Valuations of Whig and Democratic Leaders

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Whigs</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
\$0 to \$100	12% (4)	19% (5)
\$101 to \$499	0% (0)	0% (0)
\$500 to \$999	6% (2)	11% (3)
\$1,000 to \$9,999	51% (13)	44% (12)
\$10,000 to \$24,999	25% (8)	22% (6)
\$25,000+	6% (2)	4% (1)

For example, only 12% of the Whigs had estates valued at less than \$100; 19% of the Democrats had estates worth less than the \$100 figure. On the other end of the scale, 31% of the Whigs valued their estates at over \$10,000 as compared to 26% of the Democrats. Thus, the Whigs were slightly more financially secure than the Democrats, but the size of a man's estate is a function of age and the Whigs were also slightly older than the Democrats. Both parties had over 80% of their leaders in the over \$500 estate range; hence, relatively affluent people were dominating the ruling hierarchies of both political parties in Schuylkill County.

The occupations pursued by the Whig and Democratic leaderships revealed more contrasts than did the age or estate factors though a vast majority of the activists from both parties were men above the rank of laborer.¹³ A notable difference between the Whigs and Democrats was the fact that 16% of the Whigs were coal merchants while not a single Democrat was categorized as a coal merchant. The Whig leadership circle included eight (26%) merchants in all, while only 4 (15%) of the Democrats were merchants of any type. Thirteen percent of the Whigs were attorneys while but 4% of the Democrats practiced law. Neither party listed any clergymen among its ruling hierarchy, but both parties had inn keepers included among their leaders (Whigs 13%; Democrats 7%).

¹³ Only 7% of the Democratic leaders were classified as laborers. Not a single Whig leader was listed as a laborer.

Table III C

Occupational Groupings of Whig and Democratic Leaders

<u>Occupational Grouping</u>	<u>Whigs</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Artisans	19% (6)	26% (7)
Merchants (coal)	16% (5)	0% (0)
Attorneys	13% (4)	4% (1)
Farmers	13% (4)	22% (6)
Inn Keepers	13% (4)	7% (2)
Merchants (general)	10% (3)	15% (4)
Public Officials	10% (3)	7% (2)
Clergymen	0% (0)	0% (0)
Clerks	3% (1)	0% (0)
Coal Laborers	0% (0)	7% (2)
General Laborers	0% (0)	0% (0)
Landlords	0% (0)	4% (1)
Physicians	0% (0)	4% (1)
Others	3% (1)	4% (1)

Table III D

Ethno-religious Groupings of Whig and Democratic Leaders

<u>Category</u>	<u>Whigs</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
English Protestant	42% (13)	37% (10)
Welsh Protestant	29% (9)	4% (1)
German*	29% (9)	48% (13)
Irish Catholic	0% (0)	7% (2)
Others	0% (0)	4% (1)**

* The Germans were largely Lutheran or Reformed. Few German Catholics yet lived in the county. This is the most simplified categorization, therefore, in relation to the thesis of this work.

** Hughes was of French Huguenot lineage.

Both parties recruited leaders from the county's farming community. Twenty percent of the Democrats and 13% of the Whigs were engaged in farming.¹⁴ Laborers found little comfort in the leadership elites of either party; however, the Democratic Party could boast of 2 mine laborers (7%) within their leadership ranks.

Clearly, in the ante-bellum period the leaders of both county parties could not be characterized as "average men." Indeed, even in the party of Jefferson and Jackson laborers played a minor leadership role at best. Similarities rather than contrasts stand out when comparisons of the party elites were made. The "typical" Whig was slightly older, wealthier and more commercially oriented than the "typical" Democrat, but the Whigs were in no way significantly better off than their Democratic rivals. The Progressive theory on "wealthy" Whig leaders opposing "poor" Democratic leaders cannot be defended by the evidence from Schuylkill County. Patricians led both parties, and the plebians could do little else but wield their suffrage rights on election days.¹⁵

¹⁴ Of course, the Whigs, weak in the farm areas, offered farmers leadership positions out of proportion to their contributions (in votes) to the party.

¹⁵ Gatell asserted:

It is abundantly clear that by 1845 New York City wealth was allied to Whiggery, and that the process had taken place progressively during the preceding fifteen years.

Gatell, "Wealth in Jacksonian America", p. 247. However, it must be noted that Gatell analyzed only the politics of the wealthy and did not directly discuss the wealth of all politicians.

If the leaders of the parties did not differ significantly in the socio-economic sense, they did exhibit marked ethno-religious contrasts.¹⁶ The Whigs were essentially led by men of Welsh and English family backgrounds who were also Protestants.¹⁷ These were the two groups which comprised the bulk of the devotionalists in Schuylkill County. Over 70% of the Whig leaders were either Welsh or English Protestants while not a single Irish Catholic could be found in the Whig elite. Conversely, only 41% of the Democrats were Welsh or English and 7% of the Democrats were Irish Catholics. The Germans obviously found the Democratic party more comfortable than the Whig organization because they made up 48% of the Democratic leadership and only 29% of the Whig hierarchy.

The Democratic Party was the more cosmopolitan party at this juncture. Its leaders were largely of English and German ancestry but two Irish Catholics, a Welsh Protestant and a French Protestant were also included in its ruling elite. The Democrats, not as religiously motivated as their Whig rivals, were more tolerant

¹⁶In this chapter, the terms "Welsh leader", "German politician", "Irish activist", etc. mean that the leaders were native citizens of these family backgrounds not that they were foreign born. All but one of the 31 of the Whig leaders, for example, were native born. Only 2 of the Democrats were foreign born (1 was born in Ireland, 1 in Germany). (The Whig foreign born was from England.)

¹⁷The major English and Welsh Protestant groups in the county were the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

and, as a result, attracted leaders from a wider ethno-religious spectrum. The Whig leaders were members of a "devotionalistic club" which all but prohibited advancement by Germans and Irish Catholics, people who were doctrinally orthodox.

This ethno-religious factor was so powerful that it transcended the native-foreign dichotomy completely. Both parties were heavily native born, but the only non-native Whig was from England while the Democrats had leaders who were born in Ireland and Germany. Based on this admittedly scanty evidence, it appears that place of birth had little to do with determining party loyalties since people identified with an ethno-religious group once they arrived in the county.¹⁸

The secondary leaders then reflected the same differences which had set Bannan apart from his counterparts, Hughes and Palmer. The Whigs were devotionalists while the Democrats were more doctrinally orthodox.¹⁹ This was the major contrasting point that set the leaders apart at both levels. It would be grossly incorrect to see political cleavages in Schuylkill County based upon any other categories. Ethno-religious factors also served to connect the county

¹⁸ Irish Catholics, native or foreign born, tended to be Democrats. Native or foreign Welshmen tended to be Whigs. For a discussion of this theory see Benson, Concept, pp. 321-328.

¹⁹ Benson said Whigs were more likely to hold "puritanical" attitudes than were the Democrats. He concluded that in New York State the Whigs were the "religious party", see Benson, Concept, pp. 192-193.

political leaders with their followers. No other bond functioned to unite the elite with the rank and file in such a precise manner.

B. Republicans vs. Democrats

The era between 1855 and 1872 saw the emergence in Schuylkill County of a new anti-Democratic coalition which used many names, but eventually came to be the Republican Party. An analysis of the leadership of these two parties reveals that ethno-religious factors effected the composition of these party elites even more dramatically than they had during the Whig-Democratic years. The growing nativism and anti-Catholicism of the 1850s and early 1860s appeared to push the county's Protestants, mainly the English, toward the nascent Republican coalition.²⁰ This process was undoubtedly accelerated by the fact that these years witnessed a heavy influx of Irish Catholic immigrants into the coal fields of the county. The leadership cliques of both parties merely reflected this political situation. This political state calls into question theories defining the Republican Party as basically an economic or anti-slavery coalition.

The Major Leaders

The guiding light of the Democrats throughout this period continued to be Francis Wade Hughes. His meteoric rise had not yet abated and he by these years was one of the most controversial and well known Democratic figure in the state of Pennsylvania. He served

²⁰The earlier chapter indicated that the Welsh were traditionally anti-Democratic; hence, they were not the Protestants who deserted the Democratic ranks. The English and some Germans did gravitate away from the Democrats.

as Democratic State Chairman during the heated war campaign of 1862.²¹ No man yet could challenge the dynamic Hughes' domination of the county organization.

Hughes' financial fortunes continued to prosper during this period. He listed his estate in the 1870 manuscript census report at approximately \$200,000. He was then fifty-two years of age and still pursuing an active law practice in the county. The Democratic chieftan had also become involved in real estate development, coal mines, iron manufacturing and even a project designed to reclaim marsh areas near Long Island and Staten Island.²² This last project eventually proved a financial disaster.

Politically, Hughes defended the rights of whites to prevent the immigration of Negroes into their territories and condemned abolitionists for seeking to end slavery in the South.²³ He fully supported the controversial policies of the Buchanan Administration and became a Peace Democrat during the war.²⁴ The now famous Hughes asserted that he believed in the pure dictates of the Constitution. He continued to separate religion from politics and opposed the nativist programs which permeated the politics of the 1850's and 1860's.

²¹Shankman, "Hughes and the 1862 Campaign," p. 383.

²²Munsell, History, p. 311.

²³Shankman, "Hughes and the 1862 Campaign," p. 391.

²⁴He supported Breckinridge rather than Douglas at the 1860 Charleston Convention, ostensibly because of Douglas' views on tariff laws.

Robert Palmer, Hughes' former ally and co-leader of the Democrats, suffered a heart attack and died in the early 1860s. Palmer had switched parties in 1855 and became a Republican. The Palmer defection was attributed to his anti-slavery predilections.²⁵

This close Democratic alignment with Catholics was exemplified by the preponderance of Irish Catholics among the Democratic leaderships including a major leader, Bernard Reilly, who served as both a state legislator and later a county judge. In 1861, Reilly was elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate while also serving as county mustering officer during the early stages of the Civil War. He was born in Cavan, Ireland in 1814 and came to the county in 1841 when he embarked on the contracting business, an enterprise at which he prospered until his death. He dealt mainly in railroad contracting often working for the Reading Company. Reilly resided in Pottsville and listed his estate at \$15,500 in 1870. As late as 1872, Reilly ran for a congressional seat only to be narrowly defeated.²⁶

Another Catholic leader of the Democrats toward the end of the period under study was John W. Ryon of Pottsville. Ryon did not arrive in Schuylkill County until 1863, but he had previously achieved political prominence in his native Tioga County. He served the county as a district attorney, state legislator and congressman.

²⁵Munsell, History, p. 298.

²⁶Ibid., p. 311.

Ryon was forty-five in 1870 and possessed a sizable \$31,000 estate.

One of the few Welsh leaders of the Democratic Party during this period was Franklin B. Gowen. He owed much of his political strength to his connection with the growing Reading Company. Gowen was but 29 years old in 1865 and had an estate valued at \$50,000. He remained active in Democratic politics and attended the State Constitutional Convention of 1872 as a Democratic delegate. Schuylkill Countians traditionally distrusted corporations like the Reading Company, and this naturally limited the individual political advancement of Mr. Gowen.²⁷

Benjamin Bannan continued to be the prime spokesman for the opponents of the Democrats throughout the period from 1855 to 1872. The switch of party labels from Whig to Republican did not appreciably alter Bannan's ideology. He continued to support high tariffs and sabbatarianism and condemn alcoholic consumption as well as Roman Catholics. He firmly defended the Lincoln Administration's policies during the Civil War. His politically oriented life had not left him a pauper; his estate was listed at \$113,000 in 1870, the same year which saw him mark his sixty-third birthday.²⁸

²⁷ In 1862, Gowen ran ahead of the county ticket when he was elected district attorney; by 1872, he ran last among the Democrats on the county ticket when he sought his delegate position to the State Constitutional Convention.

²⁸ The Bannan estate rose appreciably because of successful coal investments and his liquidation of most of his ownership of the Miners' Journal by 1870.

Lin Batholomew, a German Protestant, ranked as one of the most prestigious of Republicans during this period. This former Whig had become a member of the Schuylkill County bar in 1837 at the age of forty. In 1860, he was elected to the state legislature and when the war commenced a year later, served as aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Wynkoop.²⁹ After the war, Bartholomew remained politically active and served as a Grant delegate to the 1868 Republican Convention. He also was a delegate to the 1872 constitutional convention. Bartholomew never achieved the affluence of his fellow Republican leaders and listed his estate at \$5,000 in the 1870 census report.

Three former Pottsville Whigs, Edward O. Parry, F.B. Wallace and Christopher Loeser, were also key Republican leaders. These three shared common attributes other than their former political affiliations. For example, all were English or Welsh Protestants and wealthy men of professional status; Parry and Loeser were attorneys while Wallace was a printer-editor and the successor to Bannan as the publisher of the Miners' Journal.³⁰ A younger man, Robert Ramsey who was thirty-three in 1870, also emerged as a Republican leader during the era. He became Wallace's partner and listed his 1870 estate at a formidable \$64,000.

²⁹Munsell, History, p. 296.

³⁰Parry, a county judge, served as a vestryman in the Welsh Episcopal Church of Pottsville.

A comparison of the key leaders reveals some striking contrasts and similarities. First of all, the six Republicans averaged roughly fifty-five years of age or eight years older than the Democratic average. Economically, wealth typified these men; two Republicans, Parry and Bannan, and one Democrat, Hughes, were worth over \$100,000. Only one man, Republican F.B. Wallace, listed his estate at less than \$1,000. Occupationally, all of the leaders were lawyers or printers which naturally qualified them for roles of leadership in their respective parties. All resided in Pottsville which demonstrated the extent to which this one time boom town had come to be the hub of Schuylkill County political activity.

The men were all, except the youthful Ramsey, leaders of parties during the Whig-Democratic period. This naturally accounted for the somewhat higher age average amongst the primary leaders. All of the Republicans were former Whigs, with the exception of Palmer, and all of the Democrats had been members of the same party between 1844 and 1853. Thus, former Whigs found the Republican organization the natural vehicle through which they could achieve their political goals.

Religiously, all Republicans except one were Welsh or English Protestants of the markedly devotionalistic type. The four key Democrats, conversely, consisted of a French Protestant, two Irish Catholics, and a Welsh Protestant. As in the earlier Whig-Democrat period, the Democrats were the more cosmopolitan party which did not preclude advancement by the Irish Catholics of the county. The Republicans, even more than the Whigs, were essentially

a Protestant and devotionalistic club. Once again, the most salient feature contrasting the leaders of both parties was the style of religion with which the men were identified. The Republicans were devotionalists, while the Democrats remained the party of the followers of the orthodox style in religion.³¹

The Secondary Leaders

As amongst the major leaders, ethno-religious factors represented the primary contrast between the secondary leaders of the two major parties in Schuylkill County between 1855 and 1872. Ethno-religious considerations divided the secondary chieftans even more clearly than they had during the earlier Whig-Democratic years. No appreciable contrasts separated the leaders in any other areas.

The Republicans, like the Whigs of the earlier period, were slightly older than the Democrats. The Democrats garnered 50% of their leaders from the forty or below age groupings, while the Republicans listed only 32% in those same categories.³² Thirty-six percent of the Republicans, all former Whigs, were fifty or older. The Democrats, who attracted leadership from the ranks of Irish Catholic newcomers to the county, listed only 29% of their leaders in the plus 50 grouping. These slight age differences

³¹As in the earlier period, Democrats also appeared to attract "secularists" like Hughes.

³²35% of the Whig leaders were less than forty, and 48% of the Democrats in the 1844-1853 period fell below the 40 age mark.

Table III---E

Age Distributions of Republican and Democratic Leaders

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
20 - 30	12% (8)	24% (10)
31 - 40	20% (14)	26% (11)
41 - 50	32% (22)	22% (9)
51 - 60	20% (14)	12% (5)
61+	16% (11)	17% (7)

Table III---F

Estate Valuations of Republican and Democratic Leaders

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
\$ 0 - \$100	6% (4)	19% (8)
100 - 499	4% (3)	7% (3)
500 - 999	17% (12)	10% (4)
1,000 - 9,999	33% (22)	26% (11)
10,000 - 24,999	20% (14)	26% (11)
25,000+	20% (14)	12% (5)

reflected the fact that former Whigs were now powers in Republican circles, while the Democrats were undergoing changes because of their ability to attract Irish Catholics. Overall, the age figures do indicate a persistence of power remaining in the hands of old leaders which caused a slight rise in the age averages in the leadership elites of both parties.

Taken collectively, the age distributions offer no support to the argument that the Republicans attracted younger people more than did the Democrats.³³ Both parties drew most of the leaders from the 31-50 age categories (Republicans, 52%; Democrats, 48%) and these similarities overshadowed the slight differences which existed between the leaders at the youngest and oldest levels. If any generalization can be made, it is that the Republicans were the party in the county still led by politicians of the Whig-Democratic period, while the Democrats were a mixture of "old line" politicians and younger Irish Catholic politicians.³⁴

The Republican leaders tended to be slightly wealthier and notably "less poor" than their Democratic counterparts. For example, only 6% of the Republicans had estates valued at less than \$100 while 19% of the Democrats fell below this line. Conversely,

³³ Professor Formisano reaches the exact same conclusion concerning rank and file Republicans and Democrats in Michigan, see Formisano, Mass Political Parties, p. 321 (a related chart is found on page 348 of the same work.)

³⁴ Seven of the Democratic leaders under forty were Irish Catholics. This included a 21 year old and a 25 year old.

20% of the Republicans and only 12% of the Democrats had estates valued at over \$25,000. The Republicans were older and did inherit many of the affluent former Whig leaders, however, even these wealth differences could be accounted for in terms of religion. For example, of the eight Democrats (19%) who had less than a \$100 estate, seven were also Irish Catholic. Thus, the presence of the Irish Catholics was bulging the lower ranges of the Democratic financial chart. The Whigs and Democrats had been less financially divided, because the Irish Catholics, often common laborers, had not then been so numerous in Democratic leadership circles.³⁵

Occupationally, some notable differences did set the two leadership elites apart; however, the presence of Irish Catholics in the Democratic ranks again accounted for the most important of these. Only 2% (1 man) of the Whigs were classified as laborers while 17% of the Democrats, all miners, were termed laborers by the official census reports. All of the miner-leaders of the Democratic Party were Irish Catholics. On the opposite end of the mining spectrum, 14% of the Republicans were coal merchants or mine owners and not a single Democrat could claim this distinction.

Some less pronounced occupational differences also set the two leadership circles apart. For example, 12% of the Democrats and only 4% of the Republicans were farmers. The Republicans also

³⁵It can be roughly assumed that the non-Irish Catholic Republican and Democratic leaders were remarkably similar in terms of estate valuations.

Table III G

Occupational Groupings of Republican and Democratic Leaders

<u>Occupational Grouping</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Attorneys	17% (12)	17% (7)
Artisans	14% (10)	24% (10)
Merchants (coal)	14% (10)	0% (0)
Merchants (general)	10% (7)	4% (2)
Public Officials	10% (7)	4% (2)
Farmers	4% (3)	12% (5)
Physicians	4% (3)	0% (0)
Inn Keepers	3% (2)	7% (3)
Clergymen	1% (1)	0% (0)
Clerks	2% (1)	3% (1)
Coal Laborers	2% (1)	17% (7)
Landlords	2% (1)	3% (1)
General Laborers	0% (0)	0% (0)
Others	11% (8)*	10% (4)

* 3 of the Republican Leaders were retired.

Table III H

Ethno-Religious Groupings of Republican and Democratic Leaders

<u>Category</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
English Protestant	46% (32)	24% (10)
Welsh Protestant	31% (21)	15% (6)
German*	20% (14)	26% (11)
Irish Catholic	0% (0)	34% (14)
Others	3% (2)	3% (1)

* Again, this includes German non-Catholics -- mainly Lutherans and Reformed.

claimed 3 physicians and a Protestant clergyman among their leaders. No men of these professions were found among the Democrats. The legal profession, however, was well represented in each party with both Republicans and Democrats listing 17% of their chiefs as attorneys. The percentage of inn keepers among the prohibition leaning Republicans was 3% (the Whigs had 13% of their leaders engaged in the tavern enterprise). The Democrats had 7% of their leaders involved in selling spirits.

In general, both parties were still led by the "better people." Only the seven Irish Catholic Democratic leaders who were miners caused an appreciable polarization to exist between the leadership groups. As in the Whig-Democratic period, the Democrats were less likely to be mine owners or coal merchants but just as prone to be artisans, inn keepers or attorneys. The majority of leaders in both parties were above the level of the common man in the county and their occupations reflected this fact.

Religiously, vast differences had developed between the two party leadership groups. About one-third of the Democrats were now Irish Catholics. The remainder of the Democrats were 26% German and 24% English with only 15% being Welsh. The Republican leaders, conversely, were 31% Welsh and 46% English with absolutely no Irish Catholics among its leaders. A polarization along ethno-religious lines had quite obviously occurred. The Democratic leaders were largely (60%) Irish and German while their Republican adversaries were overwhelmingly (77%) English and Welsh.

The Republicans were clearly an alliance of leaders likely to be devotionalists while the Democrats were led by men likely to be doctrinally orthodox. This cleavage was more pronounced in this period than it had been earlier mainly because of the emergence of Irish Democratic leaders. This rise of the Irish Catholics into Democratic power positions had caused a movement of English Protestants away from the party, although it had not yet caused a significant rift to develop between the Irish Catholics and non-Catholic Germans. The Welsh remained just as hostile to the Democrats as they had been earlier.

The growing Irish Catholic power in the Democratic Party manifested itself most perceptibly during the 1872 county Democratic convention. At this gathering names like Furey, Igo, Murphy, Kehoe, Eagan, McCarthy and McQuirk dominated the proceedings. A Minersville Welshman, T.T. Davis, tried in vain for nomination to a county office and was beaten on the third ballot.³⁶ However, the Democrats still gave nominations to German Lutheran candidates; Peter Miller of East Brunswick Township, for example, defeated Davis.³⁷ Yet, Germans did not receive the number of nominations they had once garnered at Democratic conventions. The Irish were no longer just following. They now wanted at least a share of the leadership in the Democratic Party of Schuylkill County. The aggressiveness of the Irish Catholics was calculated to threaten the Irish Catholic-German

³⁶ Miners' Journal, August 28, 1872, p. 2.

³⁷ Ibid.

Lutheran alliance upon which the Democratic coalition in the county stood. The ill effects of an Irish "takeover" of the Democrats could only aid the Republicans.

The Irish Catholics included among the Democratic leaders also caused the Democrats to be more heavily foreign born than the Republicans. Only 67% of the Democrats as compared to 85% of the Republicans were natives. The foreign Republicans came from Wales, Scotland, England and Germany; the foreign born Democrats emanated basically from Ireland with the remainder having been born in Germany. Hence, even the leaders from abroad reflected the ethno-religious political polarization of the county. The Welsh and English tended to become Republican activists just as foreign born Irish Catholics became Democratic leaders.

While the leaders of both parties were still essentially people of above average social standings, more differences existed between Republicans and Democrats than had between Whigs and Democrats. These contrasts could be accounted for basically by the fact that one-third of the Democratic chiefs were now Irish Catholics. The Irish made the Democrats younger, poorer, less professional and more apt to be foreign born than the Republicans.³⁸ Impressionistic evidence also suggests that the growing Irish Catholic

³⁸For example, 11 of the 14 foreign born Democrats were Irish Catholics.

influence in the Democratic leadership circles was forcing English Protestants out of the party and even causing a split to develop between the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans. Ethno-religious factors were continuing to strongly influence the composition of party leadership elites just as they were mass voting habits. All other contracts between the leaders were relatively inconsequential in comparison to ethno-religious differences.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

The political history of Schuylkill County between 1844 and 1872 revolved essentially around ethno-religious factors. National questions of the period served only to intensify ethno-religious polarizations which had developed locally. Any attempt to explain politics in the county solely on the basis of national issues would be totally inadequate. The parties of the era were supported by distinct ethno-religious groups and espoused issues which appealed directly to the local ethno-religious bodies giving them mass voting strength.

Only when considered in relation to these ethno-religious groups can the voting trends in Schuylkill County be easily understood. In its early years the county was Democratic owing to the fact that it was populated largely by German Lutheran farmers who had been Democratic since the days of Thomas Jefferson and the commencement of the two party system in the United States. The Irish Catholics, just beginning to enter the county's coal districts in significant numbers, provided urban votes for the Democrats. Since the German Lutherans themselves made up over 50% of the county's population, the success of the Democrats was rarely in jeopardy. The Whigs could rely on the support of only the Welsh and some of the English Protestants who lived in the county's then infant coal districts.

The Whigs achieved majority status for the first time in the years of 1846, 1847 and 1848. A combination of factors led to this temporary

overthrow of Democratic hegemony. First, the passage of the unpopular Walker Tariff by a national Democratic administration created a situation which gave a tremendous amount of local political ammunition to the Whigs. No longer could the county Democrats assert that their positions on the tariff were as pro-high protection as those of the Whigs. A national question with important local consequences had managed to upset traditional Democratic dominance in the county.

The anti-Democratic feelings of these post-Walker Tariff years moved commercially conscious people more solidly behind the Whig organization. The English Protestants were undoubtedly most influenced by this controversy. Since they were the people who owned and ran the mines they were directly influenced by a lowering of protective duties on coal and its derivatives.¹ Thus, many English Protestants had, by the late 1840's, moved into an alliance with the Welsh Protestants of the county. The demise of the county Democrats during these years could be directly attributed to this movement of English Protestants into the Whig fold. However, the Democrats still firmly held the support of the German Lutherans and of the growing community of Irish Catholics in the region.²

¹The Welsh mining entrepreneurs obviously resented the Walker Bill, too; however, they were overwhelmingly anti-Democratic prior to its passage and did not switch allegiances at this juncture.

²Irish Catholics were mine laborers who were less motivated by the tariff lowering Walker Bill.

The growth of this Irish Catholic population in the county and the decline of the Walker issue allowed the Democrats to regain power locally in 1849 and retain it until 1858. During the middle of the 1850's, the Whig party structure in the county collapsed and varying nativist groups struggled in vain to oppose the Democrats. Religious tensions grew constantly more acute in the 1850's, and religious issues dominated the political rhetoric of the period. The English and Welsh Protestants detested the growing influence of the Irish Catholics within the county's Democratic party, but were unable to form a viable coalition to oppose the Democrats.

In 1858, the Democratic reign was again suddenly terminated. The emerging Republican party managed to unite the local anti-Democratic elements into a manageable political vehicle. The rise of the local Republican organization rested primarily on ethno-religious issues. The Welsh and English Protestants quickly accepted its nativist, high tariff, anti-Catholic positions and united squarely behind the new coalition. The Republicans were also aided by the fumbings of the incumbent Buchanan administration. The Kansas situation badly damaged the Democrats in the North, since the Democrat Buchanan assumed a pro-Southern position on the matter. Buchanan's vacillation on the secession question further undermined his reputation. All of this meant that the county Democrats could no longer project the image of being as anti-Southern as were their Republican rivals.

The Schuylkill County Republicans of the late 1850's were also able to draw some German support away from the Democrats succeeding far better than the Whigs in those urban, commercial areas which were heavily populated by German Protestants.³ Thus, the Republicans won the elections of 1858, 1859 and 1860 in the county not because they were anti-extension or pro-homestead, but primarily because they had become the spokesmen for the nativists, anti-Catholics, protectionists⁴ and people generally opposed to further concessions to the South. In short, they had succeeded in uniting the Welsh and English Protestants, as well as, a growing number of German Protestants into a solid front.

The Democrats returned to power for the second time in 1861 owing largely to the continued influx of Irishmen into the county and to the general unpopularity of the Civil War in the region. Throughout the remainder of the years until 1872, the Democrats retained power. This time, their coalition was composed of Irish Catholics and rural German Lutherans and lacked any appreciable Welsh or English support. These Democratic Germans were the only Protestant group remaining outside the Republican fold. The growing dominance of the Irish Catholics within the Democratic power eventually caused them to desert the party, but this occurred well after 1872.⁵

³Examples of these German Protestant, commercial areas were the boroughs of Schuylkill Haven, Auburn, Cressona, Orwigsburg and Pine Grove.

⁴As noted earlier, Buchanan had also promoted low tariff policies.

⁵It actually occurred in the 1880's and 1890's.

The major ethno-religious groups within the county can be easily defined in terms of their political proclivities between 1844 and 1872. The Welsh Protestants were the staunchest opponents of the Democracy during this period. A few Welshmen associated with the Democrats prior to the mid 1850's; however, these were exceptional cases and the Welsh Protestants provided the backbone for both the Whig and the Republican organizations.

The county's English Protestants were generally opposed to the Democratic party, although their opposition grew pronounced after the Walker Tariff controversy and increased during the period of rising anti-Catholicism in the 1850's. The Republican party's programs and character appealed to this group and virtually ended any appreciable English Protestant affiliation with the Democrats.

The strongest Democrats were the Irish Catholics and German Lutherans who gave unstinting support to that party. German Lutheran townships and Irish mining districts rarely wavered from giving the Democrats at least 65% or more of their votes. The German Lutherans at first dominated the party's elite, but the Irish Catholics steadily grew more powerful in the party's leadership structure until they appeared ready to thoroughly dominate the organization around 1872.

A small group of non-Lutheran, German Protestants were the only exceptions to the general German loyalty to the Democrats. These Germans lived in commercially oriented boroughs rather than in farm townships. Hence, their economic outlooks were different than their Lutheran bretheren. They also lived in less homogeneously German areas than did the county's Lutheran farmers. Roger Petersen,

in a recent dissertation involving Pennsylvania, noted the differing political habits between the rural, Lutheran and urban, Protestant Germans and accounted for their contrasting voting habits partly in terms of residential homogeneity.⁶

The political behavior of these ethno-religious groups in Schuylkill was closely related to their general outlooks. English Protestants, the strongest Whigs and later Republicans, could be classified as "devotionalists."⁷ These people saw religion and politics as closely related. The Irish Catholics and German Lutherans were "religiously orthodox" in that they saw religion as a separate entity from politics.⁸ This meant that the Democrats were spokesmen for the religiously orthodox while the Whigs and Republicans defended the political interests of the devotionalists. This polarization had completely solidified by 1872.

The issues which really served to divide the county parties were rooted in these devotionalist-orthodox differences. For example, the Whigs and Republicans supported temperance, sabbatarianism, nativism and anti-Catholicism, programs to which a devotionalist could render strong political allegiance. The county Democratic party was openly hostile to such measures. While the two local parties

⁶Petersen, "Reaction to a Heterogeneous Society", p. 121. See also: Formisano, Mass Political Parties, p. 299; Joseph Schaefer, "Who Elected Lincoln", 51-63; and George H. Daniels, "Immigrant Vote in the 1860 Election: The Case of Iowa," Mid-America, XLIV (July, 1963), pp. 142-162.

⁷Lenski, Religious Factor, p. 25. The precise definition appeared earlier in this work in Chapter I.

⁸Ibid. The precise definition also appears in Chapter I.

often agreed on broader issues such as the tariff and anti-Southernism, they never reached similar accord in regard to religious and moral issues.

The Republicans then represented the Protestant party in Schuylkill County, a coalition of devotionalists which hated Catholics more than slaveholders.⁹ The party attracted votes by condemning all programs associated with Catholics such as liberalized naturalization laws. The Republicans would gain permanent political hegemony in Schuylkill County only when they managed to successfully isolate the Irish Catholics politically. The Republican rhetoric of the 1850's and 1860's indicated that they well understood that politics in the county represented competition between differing ethno-cultural groups. Hence, the party was properly attacking in a county where ethno-religious voting determinism had for so long prevailed.

The political leaders in the county also reflected the local ethno-religious tensions of the mid-nineteenth century in Schuylkill County. The Democrats were less commercially oriented than either the Whigs or Republicans, but they were by no means plebians. Generally, all political leaders of the period were men of better than average social standing. The Whigs and Republicans, however, were led basically by Welsh and English politicians, while the Democrats included significant numbers of Irish Catholics and Germans

⁹In this the experience of Schuylkill County contradicts the view expressed by Eric Foner in Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men (New York, 1970), pp. 226-260.

among their political activists. Both Whigs and Republicans totally excluded Irish Catholics from their elites. The Welsh moved steadily away from the Democrats throughout the 1844-1872 period. The English divided evenly between Whigs and Democrats but gravitated rapidly toward the Republican leadership circles during the increasingly anti-Catholic years of the 1850's.

Recent historical studies have given support to the salience ethno-religious voting behavior.¹⁰ These works related to New York, Michigan and Pennsylvania.¹¹ The voting behavior in Schuylkill County generally agreed with these ethno-religious arguments. While traditional economic interpretations have not been disproved in all areas of the nation, this study clearly fits the pattern established in contemporary studies which relegates economic factors to a secondary position. It must be admitted that Schuylkill County was basically composed of religiously conscious voting districts. In areas of the state and nation where districts were less tightly knit and religiously oriented, other factors may have well emerged as the primary voting determinants.¹² However, this research adds another region which

¹⁰The recent historical works espousing the theme of ethno-religious voting determinism include: Formisano's, Mass Political Parties, Holt's, Forging a Majority; Benson's, Concept; Shade's, "Jacksonian Period Politics," which related to a neighboring Pennsylvania County; Petersen, "Reaction to a Heterogeneous Society."

¹¹Shade, Holt and Petersen dealt with parts of Pennsylvania. The Formisano work dealt with Michigan, while Benson's seminal study involved New York State.

¹²Shade in "Jacksonian Period Politics", p. 333, makes the same qualification in reference to Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

found its political conflicts resulting primarily from ethno-religious differences.¹³

In recent years political scientists have also become increasingly aware of the continuing persistence of ethno-religious influences on voting behavior. The sociological study done by Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life, discovered that Detroit's political patterns in the 1950's still centered directly around the religious categories of "doctrinal orthodoxy" and "devotionalism."¹⁴ Raymond Wolfinger and Michael Parenti added further modern, political scientific support to the ethno-religious voting theories.¹⁵ Both essentially believed that ethnic politics continue to persist in America. Indeed, these two writers asserted that ethnic voting will remain a factor in the United States for a long time to come.¹⁶ Hence, no melting pot has yet assimilated ethnic groups into a common American "mainstream." The fact that there is strong evidence to support the

¹³ Examples of the economic interpretation of partisan political behavior during the period include: Gatell, "Money and Party in Jacksonian America" *passim*.; Donald B. Cole, Jacksonian Democracy in New Hampshire, 1800-1851 (Cambridge, 1970); Sharp, Jacksonian Versus the Banks.

¹⁴ Lenski, Religious Factor, p. 25.

¹⁵ Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting", American Political Science Review, LIX (December, 1965), pp. 896-908; Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification", American Political Science Review, LVI (December, 1967), pp. 717-725.

¹⁶ Parenti, "Ethnic Politics," p. 717.

theory that ethno-religious voting still exists, merely reinforces the belief that ethno-religious questions wielded considerable influence more than a century ago.¹⁷

Schuylkill County remains an area where ethno-religious politics wields considerable influence. Both contemporary parties are conscious of placing ethnic names somewhere on local tickets. A recent feud which caused a split in the county's Democratic organization was started primarily because of assertions of "Irish dominance" of the established party elite. Hence, the split of 1872 seemed to be repeating itself exactly 100 years later. Modern Schuylkill County reflects ethno-religious voting described by Lenski, Wolfinger, Parenti and others. The county's political roots were nurtured by ethno-religious conflicts. The continuing power of ethno-religious politics in Schuylkill County best attests to the strength of these factors in the years between 1844 and 1872.

¹⁷ Other recent works which espouse ethno-religious effects on voting are: Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, 1963); Duane Lockard, New England State Politics (Princeton, 1959); Theodore Lowi, At the Pleasure of the Mayor (New York, 1964); Angus Campbell, Gerald Guren and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, 1954); Bernard R. Berleson, et.al., Voting (Chicago, 1954); Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (New York, 1959); Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (eds.), American Voting Behavior (Glencoe, 1959), especially pp. 281-299.

Appendix A
The Towns and Townships
of
Schuylkill County

Ashland grew up as a direct result of the mining industry.¹

The town was named after Henry Clay's famous estate in Kentucky and incorporated as a borough separate from Butler Township in 1857. The Methodists erected the first church in Ashland in 1855; this was quickly followed by the construction of a Catholic Church for Irishmen and other "English speaking" Catholics. By the 1880's, Ashland contained Methodist, Episcopal, Catholic, Welsh Congregational, Welsh Presbyterian and German Reformed Churches. The German Catholics had a separate church. Several collieries, most notably the Tunnel Colliery, were located near Ashland.

The business community in Ashland had reached considerable development by the period after the Civil War. The borough's businesses included an iron works, screening works, steam flouring mill and boiler shop. Three banks were also established in the community prior to 1875. Several newspapers also served Ashland. Ashland had a population of 3,880 in 1860 and it grew to a population of just over 6,000 by 1880. Ashland could thus be defined as an urban, commercial area which had direct ties to the mining industry. It possessed a typically mixed religious composition and was located in the extreme northcentral part of Schuylkill County just inside its border with Columbia County.

¹In the interest of simplicity, footnoting was held to a minimum in this appendix. The primary sources used were Munsell, History and Joseph H. Zerbey, History of Pottsville and Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania (Pottsville, 1936), VI Volumes.

Auburn Borough was also incorporated in 1857 from South Manheim Township. It was located almost directly south of Ashland but at the southern extremity of the county. The borough once went by the name of Faustville. Auburn, located nearly on a direct line between Pottsville and Reading, received its greatest boost from the railroad building boom which influenced Schuylkill County during the 1840's. Other industries emerged in Auburn to complement railroading. They included booteries, bakeries, a brick factory, a bolt works and other minor industries. Only two major churches were established in Auburn prior to 1872, they were the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches. We can therefore see that Auburn, located in the heart of the county's Lutheran-farm areas, could be considered an "urban, commercial oasis in a sea of ruralness" inhabited by basically the same people who inhabited the surrounding farm areas. Auburn could also be considered as an urban area with no direct connections to the mining industry; it was the direct creation of railroading and thus only indirectly connected to the county's mining pursuits.

Barry Township was the first new political entity added to Schuylkill County's nine original townships. Barry, located in the northern extremes of the county just below Schuylkill's border with Northumberland County, stood as one of Schuylkill's fine agricultural areas. As an agricultural district, Barry never had a large population during the nineteenth century. It had only 443 people living within its borders in 1830, and by 1870 its population had risen only to 950.

Barry had only Protestant churches during the period under study. They included Kimmel's Lutheran and Reformed Church, the Church of God (also German Reformed) and the Church of the United Brethern. Several minor offshots of these major places of worship also existed during the nineteenth century. The German orientation of the township was further underlined by the fact that the German language was taught along with English in Barry's public schools during this period.

Thus, Barry could be observed to have been an agricultural oriented voting unit with a heavy German Lutheran population. This tended to typify the farm districts or the "red barn" sectors of Schuylkill County.

Blythe Township, incorporated in 1846, was located very near the geographic and mining centers of the county. Included within its limits were the boroughs of New Philadelphia and Middleport. Many of the earliest mining activities of Schuylkill County commenced within this township. Franklin B. Gowen and his Reading Company later held valuable porperties and other interests within the borders of Blythe Township.

Lutheran and Welsh Presbyterian Churches were erected early in Blythe's history and by late 1867 the Catholic Bishop of the diocese had prompted a Catholic Church to be erected because of the growing number of Papists within Blythe Township.

Blythe then was a centrally located area, highly dependent on mining with a heterogeneous religious composition. The pursuit

of farming was virtually non-existent within Blythe's limits. Banks and pharmacies were the only enterprises to achieve any significance compared to anthracite mining.

Branch Township, formed officially in 1836, also located itself near the geographic center of Schuylkill County. Mining dominated the economic life of the township, though farming and lumbering gave some variety to Branch's economy. However, the rapid growth of Branch began only when the mining industry developed within its boundaries. Saw mills, brick yards, a powder mill and a bootery grew up in the township along side of several collieries of which the West Wood Colliery was one of the most important.

Only Protestant Churches were established in Branch prior to 1872. The major ones were the German Reformed and Lutheran (1819), the Methodist Episcopal (1838), and the United Brethren (1850). The Welsh ran a Sunday School specifically for their children after 1843. The Irish element present in Branch was served by Catholic places of worship in Minersville Borough or Reilly Township. However, the industry and church life of Branch were clearly dominated by the Germans and Welsh. The village of Llewellyn within Branch Township was the center of the areas business activities.

Butler Township, located in the northern extreme of Schuylkill County, was composed of mining towns and villages. The township rapidly grew along with the mining industry. In 1850, only 400 people lived in Butler, by 1870, this population had grown to 5,905. This growth was even more amazing than the figures showed because

several towns, notably Ashland, were incorporated out of Butler during this period. The Bast Colliery and the Big Mine Run Colliery were among the important mining enterprises located in Butler Township. Gordon, Homesville, Connerston, Preston Hill, Big Mine Run and Colorado were important anthracite settlements which helped to make up Butler.

The earliest churches in the township were all Protestant. The two major ones were the Methodist Episcopal (1857) and the Evangelical Lutheran (1876) in Gordon. Catholics were compelled to travel outside the district to worship throughout most of this period. The first Catholic Church was not established until the twentieth century.

Butler Township was officially incorporated in 1848 and named after the unsuccessful Democratic vice-presidential candidate of that same year. Mining dominated its economic life. In fact, even the famed Girard estate had holdings in the township. The Protestants held a clear edge over the Catholics in the district as witnessed by the lack of an official place of Catholic worship. The district contained virtually no agricultural interests.

Cass Township, named after Lewis Cass, the unsuccessful 1848 Presidential candidate, was located in the heart of Schuylkill County's most prominent mining district. The name was selected because the famed creator of the popular sovereignty panacea had considerable support in the district which came into being in the year in which Cass ran for the Presidency against Zachary Taylor.

Basically, the township consisted of little villages such as Thomaston, Mackeysburg, Duncott, Coal Castle, Primrose, Jonestown, Forestville, Phoenix Park and other areas. The topography of Cass Township was made rugged and mountainous by extensions of the Sharp Mountain which ran through it.

Cass had a mixed grouping of nationalities living within its borders by 1870 when its population numbered 4,621; the 1880 population slightly exceeded 3,000 inhabitants. The rugged terrain in Cass precluded the development of any farming. Mining, therefore, dominated the economy of Cass Township from its very conception. This factor made the area somewhat unique in terms of typical Schuylkill County development.

Many collieries were based in Cass Township including the Diamond Colliery in Forestville and Mackey's Colliery in Mackeysburg. Another important colliery, the Phoenix, was opened at about the time of the Battle of Antietam. Another colliery, the Thomaston, alone produced 123,078 tons of anthracite in 1879.

The major church in the "valley" was St. Kieran's Roman Catholic Church which was erected in 1858. Two Protestant Churches were briefly established but neither exerted any appreciable influence. Cass Township can be used as a reasonably accurate barometer of the voting behavior of miners - principally Irish-Catholic miners. The township proved to be a Democratic bastion throughout the nineteenth century.

Cressona Borough, named for its founder John C. Cresson, a Philadelphian and manager of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, received official incorporation just four years before the Civil War commenced. Railroading most directly caused the rise of Cressona, located just south of Pottsville. Cressona had a population of 826 in 1860 and 1,507 in 1870 - an increase of nearly 100% in ten years.

Three Protestant Churches were located in Cressona prior to 1873 - the Evangelical Church, the Methodist Episcopal, the Grace Episcopal. No Catholic Church was ever established within Cressona. An active Masonic Society started in Cressona in 1868.

Though railroading dominated the borough's economy, several small enterprises also prospered in Cressona. These included a cornet factory and a powder plant.

East Brunswick Township, one of the nine original townships of Schuylkill County, depended upon agriculture and manufacturing to sustain its economy. Lutheran congregations early established churches in the township. Grist mills and iron forges gave employment to the non-farmers of East Brunswick. Lumbering was also actively pursued in this township which shared a common border with Lehigh County along the southeastern edge of Schuylkill County.

East Brunswick had no direct connection to the mining enterprise though several railroads crossed through it. The area affords an opportunity to study German Lutheran, native groups living in a farming-manufacturing economic environment.

East Norwegian Township, located just east of Pottsville, developed primarily as a mining district. The township consisted of a series of tiny mining patches; in this respect, East Norwegian Township resembled Cass Township. Schoentown and Spencerville were the largest of these mining patches. The earliest settlers in East Norwegian were basically Protestant. Even in the 1830's, the Catholics were so few in the district that they were forced to travel many miles to the Mahanoy area in order to worship. However, the influx of Irish began in the late 1840's when the coal industry began to require more labor. In East Norwegian Township, we found a somewhat typically mining oriented Schuylkill County township with what became a mixed population religiously by approximately the mid 1850's.

Eldred Township and the Mahantongo Townships comprised what was commonly called the Mahantongo Valley, a beautiful tract of farm country in the extreme northwestern sector of Schuylkill County. In 1853, the townships of Hegins and Hubley were erected from the lower portion of Mahantongo Township. These areas will be described collectively because of their marked similarities.

Farming clearly dominated the economic life of these areas and their populations, like most of the county's agricultural centers, were German Lutherans. Not a single Catholic worship house was established in these townships. Lutheran and Reformed Churches were by far the most prevalent.

The Northwestern sector of Schuylkill County then provided me with a group of German, native farmers isolated in a sense from

the rest of the county. Their voting behavior proved to be quite uniform and interesting.

Foster Township, named for Judge Nathaniel Foster, was formed officially in 1855. It situated itself squarely between two coal fields and was related directly to the mining industry. The Mount Pleasant and Glendower Collieries were important operations located in Foster Township. The Reading Coal and Iron Company acquired extensive holdings in the district and one of its most lucrative operations, the Richardson Colliery, alone produced 50,698 tons of anthracite coal in 1879.

Foster was located northwest of Cass Township and directly bordered Cass. It became officially recognized in 1855. Census returns proved that immigrants, mainly from Ireland, contributed heavily to Foster's population. By 1870, nearly 400 of the districts 1001 people were foreign born. Thus, Foster represented an Irish mining district where farming exerted no influence whatever.

Frackville Borough, located near the major coal deposits of the Broad Mountain, was named after its architect, Daniel Frack, and incorporated in 1876. The borough was never large during the period under study and its 1880 population was just over 1,700. The early churches in the borough were Protestant. During most of the nineteenth century this mining district was considered a part of West Mahanoy Township.

Frailey Township, named after Associate Judge Charles Frailey, was incorporated out of Mahantongo, Barry and Branch Townships in 1847. Mining and railroading were the paramount economic pursuits in the township; the Colket Colliery in the mining patch of Donaldson achieved considerable stature as did the East Franklin Colliery in Strongville. The township had its Irish and other foreign residents but it also had strong German, native and Welsh factions residing within it. The largest church was built jointly by the German Lutherans and German Reformed in the early 1850's. In 1870, Frailey contained 989 native born citizens and 333 of foreign extractions.

Girardville and Gilberton were two mining boroughs located in the north-central portions of Schuylkill County. They were both incorporated in 1872. Throughout most of the period under study Gilberton was part of Mahanoy Township and Girardville part of Butler Township. Girardville was named after the famous Stephen Girard, merchant and founder of Girard College in Philadelphia, because he owned considerable tracts of land in the area.

Mahanoy Township and Mahanoy Borough were located in the east-central part of the county. Their names were derived from the Indian term "mahoni" which meant a lick. These districts contained an unbelievable number of collieries, the most extensive of which became the North Mahanoy, Tunnel Ridge, Glendon, West Lehigh and Bear Run Collieries. The Philadelphia and Reading operated the

St. Nicholas Colliery which opened in 1861 and often shipped 80,000 tons of coal per year. Churches of virtually every faith were established to serve the miners of the district.

The Mahanoy area could be considered to have been the most extensively mined area in the county. It acquired the mixed population grouping typical of the other mining districts. Approximately 6,000 of the districts 15,000 people were of foreign birth in 1870. Here, the Welsh-Irish feuds raged rampantly. The Welsh extremists, who called themselves "Modocs", were the Protestant counterpart to the Molly Maguires who reached their peak strength in the Mahanoy region about 1875. Jack Kehoe, alleged "King of the Mollies," resided in the Mahanoy district for a period of time and was involved in many escapades in the area including the attempted murder of "Bully" Bill Thomas and the Major brothers. James McParlan also attended several Molly meetings in this mining region.

Minersville Borough was founded in 1830 by Titus Bennet and was located about three miles northwest of Pottsville. The borough received official incorporation in 1831. The town's growth was related directly to the mining industry - a fact that its very name vividly suggested. The population was composed of English, Welsh, Germans and Irish. Many of the latter were attracted originally by jobs offered by railroad builders; the English and Welsh were generally hired as mine supervisors or workers because of their knowledge of the industry. The town boasted 1,265 inhabitants

by 1840, 2,951 by 1850, 4,024 by 1860, 3,669 in 1870 and 3,249 in 1880.

The Churches constructed in Minersville reflected the Protestant-Catholic cleavages which long influenced the town's history. (The Molly Maguires wielded considerable power in Minersville and usually directed their wrath against the Welsh clique which they felt dominated the economic and political life of the town.) Nine houses of worship were established prior to 1872. These included seven small Protestant parishes and two relatively large Catholic Churches. The Catholic Churches were St. Vincent's which served the Irish and was located in the extreme western portion of the borough and St. Mary's which serviced the German Catholics. The Protestant Churches were Welsh and English with a small German Lutheran parish also established during this period.

Minersville then represented a mining town which had a typically religiously mixed populace. As a rule, the Irish inhabited the western end of the borough and the Welsh the eastern sectors. This fact is still being reflected in Minersville's population composition.

Mount Carbon Borough, which was almost a southern extension of Pottsville, grew up principally as a result of the canal trade. It was always considered part of Pottsville though it received official incorporation in 1864. It contained a population of only 364 as late as 1870. The coming of the railroad greatly diminished the importance of this borough.

New Castle Township, organized in 1847, owed its development to the coal mining industry. It consisted of a series of mining patches of which Mt. Laffee and Wadesville were the most important. The Wadesville Colliery, owned after 1876 by the Reading Company, the Beechwood Colliery, the Reppiler Colliery, the Ellsworth Colliery and the Pine Knot Colliery all were located in this mining township. Asa Packer controlled part of this mining enterprise in New Castle Township as early as 1835. Stephen Girard also had early interests in New Castle Township which was often termed "the heart of the anthracite region."

Several small Protestant Churches were established in Wadesville including two Methodist houses of worship; the Catholics journeyed a short distance to ST. Clair to worship. Again, we have found a township wholly dependent upon the mining industry for its economic existence. The undulating valley upon which New Castle Township was constructed permitted no agriculture to even be attempted.

North Manheim Township, located due south of Pottsville and Mount Carbon, had a population of 3,006 in 1850 and 2,420 in 1870. The early settlers were predominantly German and the area was traditionally agriculturally oriented. The areas which developed into business centers were always quickly incorporated into boroughs. These commercial centers included Schuylkill Haven, Cressona, Landingville and Orwigsburg. An active Grange Society existed to serve the husbandmen of North Manheim after 1876. The only major church in the township prior to the twentieth century was built

by the German Lutheran and Reformed denominations to serve the people who comprised the overwhelming proportion of North Manheim's population.

In North Manheim, we have a German Lutheran agricultural district with a heavy native percentage. It can be used as a fairly reliable guage of German Lutheran agricultural oriented voting behavior.

Norwegian Township, one of the County's original townships, grew slowly until the completion of the Schuylkill Canal made coal mining economically rewarding. The Primrose, Pottsville and Big Diamond Collieries were just some of the operations which came to dominate the district. The Reading Company acquired considerable holding in the area. A typical mining population made up the citizenry of the township.

Orwigsburg Borough, incorporated in 1813 from Manheim and Brunswick Townships, was the oldest "urban" center in Schuylkill County. Orwigsburg served as the county seat of Schuylkill County until 1851. The agitation for the removal of the seat to Pottsville represented the growing mining interests battling for dominance of the agricultural interests which desired to see the county seat remain in Orwigsburg which was in the midst of the "red barn" district.

Yet, Orwigsburg was a commercial center which served its neighboring farmlands. Its nineteenth century commercial pursuits

included a shoe factory, underwear mills, two brickyards, tanning mill and a large tinsmith shop. Four major Protestant Churches were erected in the borough prior to 1876. No Catholic Church was ever required. The populace was also basically native. In 1870, only 22 of the towns 728 people were not born in the United States.

In Orwigsburg, we have a commercial center having no direct ties to the coal industry. It also represented an urban area with no significant Catholic or foreign segments in its population.

Palo Alto Borough, located on Pottsville's southeastern border, achieved corporate status in 1854. It was named after Zachary Taylor's victory in the Mexican War. The main pursuit of Palo Alto was railroading and the repair of railroad equipment. A Rolling mill also manufactured iron to be used for rails. This urban center was usually considered an extension of Pottsville and never achieved much individual recognition.

Port Carbon Borough, located just north of Palo Alto, was a business center and canal center. It later became a railroad center. As early as 1828, the town became a vital coal transport town because of the Schuylkill Canal.

The borough was also served by grist mills, foundries, rolling mills and other commercial enterprises. A variety of churches were established to serve the many religious types who settled in Port Carbon. Like its neighbor, Palo Alto, Port Carbon became closely connected with the development of Pottsville.

Pine Grove Township, an original County township, was located on the western periphery of Schuylkill County. The settlers who came into the district were German farmers from Berks County of which Pine Grove Township was once a part. These first settlers began arriving as early as 1750. Farming dominated the life of the township though some manufacturing also took place. A furnace, distillery and grist-mill gave limited diversity to this German township.

The population of Pine Grove Township reached 2,217 by 1874 of which only 57 were not native. Jacob's Lutheran Church dominated the religious affairs of the district. Thus, Pine Grove Township was a typical "west-end" or "red-barn" farming district inhabited almost wholly by industrious German farmers who had long resided in the county. Like the other districts in the red-barn area, it had no appreciable ties to the coal industry or the coal trade.

Pine Grove Borough, located within Pine Grove Township, was incorporated in 1832. This borough developed a commercial type economy very early in its existence. The business enterprises of this borough varied widely. They included tanneries, grist-mills, forges and lumber yards. The churches of the borough indicated how strongly German the district remained. St. Peter's Lutheran, St. John's Evangelical Lutheran, St. Paul's Evangelical and the Methodist Episcopal Churches were all founded in Pine Grove borough prior to 1876.

Pine Grove Borough was therefore basically like the township of the same name - ethnically and religiously. However, it oriented itself entirely differently in an economic sense. This situation offered a fine opportunity to study the impact of occupational pursuits upon voting behavior. Significantly, Pine Grove Borough and Pine Grove Township exhibited markedly dissimilar voting habits throughout most of the period under study.

Port Clinton Borough, incorporated in 1850, derived its importance from the fact that it was a railroad and canal center. The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company eventually controlled much of Port Clinton's transportation business. It long served as a junction point for the Reading's network of rail lines which ran through all sectors of the anthracite region.

The borough also boasted of a rolling-mill and several small shops but railroading became completely dominant especially after 1860. The population of Port Clinton remained small and relatively constant during the middle part of the nineteenth century. It claimed 586 people in 1860 and only 100 more by 1880. Only two small Protestant Churches were constructed to serve these people with the German Lutheran and Reformed achieving the greatest importance. No Catholic Churches were ever established in Port Clinton. Port Clinton remained ethnically very much like West Brunswick Township from which it was incorporated.

In Port Clinton, we have located a railroading town, peopled primarily by Protestants. This transport town was the southernmost extension of Schuylkill County and situated in the midst of lucrative farm districts. Its voting habits will be well worth noting. (It is worth mentioning that Port Clinton, once a canal town, was named after famed canal builder DeWitt Clinton.)

Porter Township, erected in 1840, bordered Dauphin and Lebanon Counties on the western extremity of Schuylkill County. The township was named after former Governor David R. Porter. The picturesque Williams Valley was the key topographical feature of Porter Township which had a population of 1,167 in 1870.

The township grew out of the coal fever of the 1820-1830 period; this led to the construction of collieries and rail lines along with the introduction of other minor industries. Tower City was the urban manifestation of this speculative boom. The Brookside Colliery hired many of Tower City's inhabitants as miners and breaker operators.

Thus, Porter Township was directly linked to the coal industry. It represented a coal district in the center of the county's "red-barn" farm district located on its western periphery.

Pottsville, unquestionably the center of the county's coal trade and the county seat of Schuylkill County after 1851, was simply the most commercially developed urban area in the county. It literally contained businesses and industries of all descriptions.

People of all faiths also resided in Pottsville; the churches of the city were simply too numerous to mention. All aspects of the coal trade also ultimately influenced this city, located in just about the geographic center of Schuylkill County. Naturally, political activity also abounded in Pottsville.

The "capitol" of Schuylkill County and the anthracite region grew to appreciable size - by 1870 it had a population of 12,384. All of the county's major newspapers like Benjamin Bannan's Miners' Journal were published in Pottsville. We can truthfully regard Pottsville as having been the political and cultural manifestation of Schuylkill County and its coal industry. The name of Pottsville so permeated the earlier portions of this work that no further mention of it will be made here.

Rahn Township in eastern Schuylkill County was formed in the same year in which Abraham Lincoln was elected President. Simply stated, it was a "coal township." A small path, named appropriately "Coal-Dale", was the key area in the township. As a mining area, Rahn Township had a typically mixed population which reached 1,227 by 1870. Politically, Rahn Township represented a coal district on the eastern edge of Schuylkill County.

Reilly Township, erected in 1857 from Branch and Cass Townships, was named after a judge from Schuylkill County, Bernard Reilly. Coal mining dominated life here as it did in Reilly's neighboring townships. The Swatara Colliery provided employment opportunities for Reilly's citizens though other collieries also

also were located in Reilly. No major churches were founded in Reilly so its citizens attended churches in Branch Township or Cass Township. Census returns indicated Reilly had an Irish Catholic and Welsh and English Protestant population composition like the typical coal district of the county.

Rush Township consisted of a series of small towns of which Hometown, Delano and Barnesville were the most important. Rush oriented itself in a commercial direction economically; basically, it thrived because of the railroading interests though repair yards and powder mills were found in the district. In fact, a small "patch" in the township was named Powder Mill. The population of Rush Township reached 2,291 in 1870; the Protestants dominated the affairs of the area. This was attested to by the fact that only Protestant Churches were established in the township.

In Rush Township, we find a commercial district without a great heterogeneity in its population. This fact makes the area of true political interest.

Ryan Township, incorporated out of Mahanoy and Rush Townships in 1866, was named after a Pottsville judge, James Ryan. This district depended on mining for its existence. It counted only 600 people in its population as late as 1870 - 532 of these were native born. Because of its smallness of population, the district never achieved any notable political prominence.

Schuylkill and Walker Townships in southeastern Schuylkill County were mining-farming districts. They consisted of a group

of farms and a series of mining and railroading patches of which Patterson, Tuscarora, Newkirk and Reevesdale were most prominent. Catholic and Protestant Churches were founded throughout the Schuylkill-Walker area; the population was typically mixed with approximately 550 of its 1850 people in 1870 being of foreign birth. The Reading Company later acquired large holdings in the area as mining began to push the agricultural interests of the area with the background.

Schuylkill Haven Borough was an urban-commercial center incorporated from Manheim Township in 1840. It became an important coal shipment point since the Reading's lines connected it directly to Philadelphia in 1842. Commercial enterprises of varied descriptions also grew up within this borough.

Six major churches were established in Schuylkill Haven during this period - all of them Protestant except one. Of its 2496 people in 1870, only 294 were not native born. Thus, Schuylkill Haven stood as a prosperous, commercial center inhabited basically by Protestant native-born citizens. This made it of value when studying the political behavior of Schuylkill County during the middle parts of the nineteenth century.

Shenandoah Borough, incorporated in 1866 from Mahanoy Township, stood as a true example of a boom town - anthracite style. As late as 1862, what later became Shenandoah was merely a wilderness and a hunting ground for bear, deer and other game. However, the coming of key collieries soon brought people and prosperity. The growth of this town, named after the region where General Phillip

Sheridan achieved prominence, was astronomical; by 1880, Shenandoah had more than 10,000 inhabitants and ranked secondly only to Pottsville in size among Schuylkill County's cities.

Mining of course continued to dominate the economy of Shenandoah although business enterprises like hotels, newspapers and a screen works also located themselves in Shenandoah. The rocky terrain surrounding Shenandoah precluded the growth of any significant agriculture.

The ecclesiastical history of Shenandoah displayed a variety as rich as that of its population. Eight churches established prior to 1875. These included two Welsh and two Roman Catholic Churches. This Welsh-Catholic cleavage typified the coal towns but Shenandoah felt an inordinate amount of religious tension throughout the nineteenth century. The Molly Maguire riots against Welsh economic and political domination were manifestations of this internal turmoil. Shenandoah in fact was termed "Irish Town" during its early years and in 1870 numbered 1,272 people of foreign extraction in a population of 2,951. Shenandoah also stood as the county's "youngest" major population area.

South Manheim Township in southernmost Schuylkill County had a population of just under 1,000 people in 1870; its population never varied too significantly from that number during the period in consideration. Farming always remained the primary economic pursuit and German Lutherans comprised the majority of the populace. St. Paul's German Lutheran Church was the only house of worship

established in South Manheim Township during the nineteenth century.

St. Clair Borough, situated just northeast of Pottsville, depended upon the mining industry for the majority of its economic support. St. Clair received official incorporation in 1850. Many independent collieries operated near St. Clair until the mid-1870's when the Reading Company began to gradually monopolize the operations. The major churches established prior to 1870 numbered six - of which four were Welsh or Catholic.

St. Clair, like its northern neighbor Shenandoah, represented a relatively young Schuylkill County coal town influenced by the religious tensions which naturally occurred when the Welsh and Irish miners lived in relatively close proximity.

Tamaqua Borough, a relatively large mining community in eastern Schuylkill County, received incorporation in 1833. Many companies mined in the Tamaqua area including the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. However, manufacturing also prospered in Tamaqua; these included a shoe factory, rolling-mills, foundries and a brewery. All in all, Tamaqua achieved a quite definite commercial orientation quite early in its existence and never seriously altered its economic position.

Ten churches were located in Tamaqua before 1880 - nine Protestant houses of worship and one fairly substantial Catholic parish. In 1870, 1,578 of Tamaqua's 5,960 residents were of foreign birth. Thus, Tamaqua remained generally Protestant dominated though a Catholic minority continually asserted its presence.

Tamaqua could be viewed somewhat as a smaller, more easterly replica of Pottsville with its distinctly commercial-mining orientation. Its political habits could well be considered a barometer of Protestant-commercial voting behavior.

Tremont Township and Tremont Borough were located amid some of the finest veins of anthracite in the entire Schuylkill region. Five major collieries operated in the Tremont region during the nineteenth century with the Kalmia Colliery in the scenic Kalmia Valley being the most important.

Tremont Borough stood as the most prominent urban outgrowth of the coal industry which centered in the Tremont Valley. Six churches were established in the borough prior to 1880; five of these were Protestant and one was Catholic. These churches were all of German or Welsh nationality. No churches were founded in the township.

The Tremont area in southwestern Schuylkill County stood as a mining area among farming neighbors. However, Tremont's predominantly German citizenry basically resembled that of its neighbors. It is interesting to note any deviation in voting behavior Tremont exhibited when compared to the districts surrounding it.

Union Township and East Union Township, located in the northeastern extremity of the county, derived their wealth from both agricultural and limited mining operations. The famed Ringtown Valley produced an abundance of agricultural products while the forests of the district made lumbering quite profitable. The coal

industry centered around mining patches of which Sheppton achieved the most prominence. (Sheppton was the sight of a famed mine rescue in the mid 1960's.)

The citizenry of the Union area remained basically German Lutheran throughout the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century. No Catholic Church existed in the district until one was erected in the village of Nuremberg in 1888.

Upper Mahantongo Township in the extreme northwestern corner of the county was a typical farm district. It numbered only 761 people in 1870 - most all of these of German ancestry. In fact, only Schwalm's German Union Church served the district until 1880. Simply stated, Upper Mahantongo represented a German Lutheran farm district which usually had a population in the general area of 1,000 people.

Washington Township in the southwestern part of the county was like Upper Mahantongo Township, a farming district inhabited by industrious German farmers. It dated its beginnings back into pre-revolutionary days. The fact that only two churches - both German Lutheran - served the township attested to its relative ethnic homogeneity.

Wayne Township and West Brunswick Township, located along Schuylkill County's southern tier, also fitted into the agricultural-German Lutheran group. Seven churches, six of them were German Lutheran, served these townships; no occupational pursuit other than farming achieved any status in these two old areas of the county.

West Mahanoy Township, erected in 1874 from Mahanoy Township, contained 4,418 people by 1880 with virtually all of them engaged in anthracite mining. This relatively "young" coal township possessed the typical mixed population grouping so common in anthracite districts. The Girard Company and The Reading owned appreciable holdings in the West Mahanoy Township district - most notably the Girard Mammoth Colliery at Raven Run and the Shenandoah Colliery atop the Locust Mountain.

Appendix B - Whig Leaders of Schuylkill County 1844-1853

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1850</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable</u>	
					<u>Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Benjamin Bannan	Pottsville	43	printer	\$ 8,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Wm. Wolf	Pottsville	42	tanner	12,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Andrew Mortimer	Pottsville	59	postmaster	2,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Issac Severn	Pottsville	40	carpenter	8,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
George Stitcher	Pottsville	45	hardware merchant	15,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.C. Neville	Pottsville	34	attorney	2,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Thomas Williams	Pottsville	45	blacksmith	0	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Jacob Reed	Pottsville	25	coal merchant	20,000	German Lutheran	England
Edward Parry	Pottsville	43	attorney	5,000	English Protestant	New Hampshire
Sam Silliman	Pottsville	52	coal merchant	75,200	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
James Silliman	Pottsville	58	coal merchant	20,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Benjamin Pomeroy	Pottsville	47	judge	10,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Robert Ramsey	Pottsville	58	coal merchant	8,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
George Wyncoop	Pottsville	28	contractor	8,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix B (con't)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1850</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Benjamin Pott	Pottsville	51	coal merchant (retired)	\$30,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Jacob Kline	Pottsville	52	Justice of Peace	10,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Joseph Graeff	Orwigsburg	32	inn-keeper	0	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
William Garret	Orwigsburg	36	clerk	500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Elijah Hammer	Orwigsburg	42	general merchant	15,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Roseberry	Orwigsburg	30	attorney	1,150	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
William Koch	McKeansburg	40	farmer	700	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
George Dreibelbis	McKeansburg	45	inn-keeper	5,100	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Henry Robinson	Sch. Haven	56	machinist	5,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Fred Haas	Sch. Haven	55	inn-keeper	6,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Leyburn	Sch. Haven	35	general merchant	3,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
G.W. Pitman	Sch. Haven	34	mine foreman	5,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Reed	Pine Grove Twp.	33	farmer	2,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Joseph Albright	West Brunswick	37	farmer	0	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania

Appendix B (con't)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1850</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Issac Betz	Mahantongo	41	inn-keeper	\$ 0	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Peter Filbert	Pine Grove Borough	56	coach line manager	8,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Phillip Osman	Mahantongo	30	farmer	2,500	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania

Appendix C - Democratic Leaders of Schuylkill County 1844-1853

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1850</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Francis W. Hughes	Pottsville	33	attorney	\$36,000	French Protestant	Pennsylvania
Robert Palmer	Pottsville	30	printer	2,200	English Protestant	New Jersey
Charles Clemens	Pottsville	41	hardware merchant	5,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Clayton	Pottsville	40	agent	12,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Enos Chichester	Pottsville	56	physician	4,000	Welsh Protestant	Connecticut
Thomas Foster	Pottsville	31	shoe merchant	800	English Protestant	New Hampshire
Daniel Krebs	Pottsville	43	transporter	1,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Joseph Woolison	Pottsville	45	tobacconist	1,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Wm. Mortimer	Pottsville	40	food merchant	16,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
David Klock	Pottsville	32	Justice of Peace	0	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Joseph Weaver	Pottsville	42	stage owner	3,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Bernard Reilly	Pottsville	31	coal laborer	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland
James Brailey	Pottsville	34	coal laborer	0	Irish Catholic	Pennsylvania

Appendix C (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1850</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Michael Weaver	Minersville	43	inn-keeper	\$ 7,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Michael Beard	Minersville	44	wheelwright	1,200	German Protestant	Germany
W.J. Dobbins	Sch. Haven	32	druggist	0	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Samuel Guss	Sch. Haven	48	farmer	4,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Samuel Beard	Sch. Haven	37	mason	600	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
A.W. Leyburn	Sch. Haven	34	inn-keeper	3,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Stephen Ringer	Sch. Twp.	42	lumberman	10,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Michael Fritz	Wayne Twp.	33	farmer	10,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Samuel Boyer	West Brunswick	43	farmer	10,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Christian Straub	Orwigsburg	48	sheriff	0	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Lewis Dreher	East Brunswick	50	farmer	800	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Paul Lengle	Wayne Twp.	46	farmer	4,500	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Francis Dengler	Barry Twp.	36	landlord	10,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
George Reifsnnyder	New Castle Twp.	44	farm merchant	3,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix D - Republican Leaders of Schuylkill County 1855-1872

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable</u>	
					<u>Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Benjamin Bannan	Pottsville	58	printer	\$200,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Lin Bartholomew	Pottsville	48	lawyer	5,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Henry Gressang	Pottsville	54	cabinetmaker	12,000	German Protestant	Germany
James Sillyman	Pottsville	72	lawyer	15,500	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Frank Pott	Pottsville	45	hardware merchant	84,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
William Fox	Pottsville	45	coal merchant	11,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.P. Hobart	Pottsville	72	retired	3,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Bannan	Pottsville	68	lawyer	85,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Christopher Loeser	Pottsville	71	lawyer	71,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
E.O. Parry	Pottsville	38	lawyer	125,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Daniel Shoener	Pottsville	43	lawyer	4,200	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Lewis Reeser	Pottsville	49	Justice of Peace	6,500	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Conrad	Pottsville	65	Justice of Peace	5,400	French Protestant	France
Fred Beck	Pottsville	53	General merchant	6,800	German Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix D (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
George Wiggan	Pottsville	65	coal merchant	\$110,000	Welsh Protestant	Wales
William Winlack	Pottsville	38	inn-keeper	500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Robert Ramsey	Pottsville	28	printer	64,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
F.B. Wallace	Pottsville	36	editor	800	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.A. Huntzinger	Pottsville	20	banker	31,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Werner	Pottsville	48	police officer	43,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Daniel Christian	Pottsville	66	mayor	200	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.A. Passmore	Pottsville	29	insurance agent	7,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Charles Pitman	Pottsville	65	retired	11,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Roseberry	Pottsville	50	lawyer	43,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
C.W. Clemens	Pottsville	55	manufacturer	24,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Heebner	Pottsville	29	clerk	5,500	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
George Wiggan, Jr. Tamaqua		44	coal merchant	33,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix D (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Jacob Stitcher	Tamaqua	49	feed merchant	\$ 1,750	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Howell Fisher	Minersville	40	lawyer	600	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
C.W. Taylor	Minersville	54	magistrate	3,600	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Joseph Bowen	Minersville	57	landlord	600	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Lewis C. Dougherty	Minersville	58	coal merchant	-300	Irish Protestant	Pennsylvania
Seth Geer	Minersville	35	lawyer	700	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Samuel Kaufman	Minersville	35	teamster	-100	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Benjamin Griffith	Ashland	43	clerk	600	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
A.P. Spinney	Ashland	37	lawyer	-500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Evan Thomas	Washington Twp.	55	retired	5,600	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Conrad	Washington Twp.	60	farmer	6,500	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Dr.A. Schultz	Auburn	65	physician	1,000	German Protestant	Germany
Daniel Koch	Auburn	50	farmer	9,700	German Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix D (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Henry Saylor	Sch. Haven	50	banker	\$ 10,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Dr.P.R. Palm	Sch. Haven	40	physician	2,200	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
William Schall	Orwigsburg	38	General merchant	18,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
George McCabe	Orwigsburg	41	lawyer	22,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Samuel Madden	Orwigsburg	41	coal merchant	675	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Jacob Hammer	Orwigsburg	62	store manager	5,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Eli Thompson	Norwegian Twp.	50	agent	600	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Dr.R.H.Coryell	St. Clair	47	physician	162,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
H.C. Jackson	St. Clair	54	general merchant	-100	English Protestant	England
J.B. Reed	St. Clair	51	magistrate	900	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Devy	Blythe Twp.	46	mining engineer	500	English Protestant	England
Cyrus Pinkerton	Tremont Boro.	39	lawyer	2,600	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Fred Haesler	W.Brunswick Twp.	51	farmer	6,000	German Lutheran	Germany

Appendix D (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Charles Focht	E. Brunswick Twp.	51	General merchant	\$ 4,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Michael Kistler	Union Twp.	32	tanner	20,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Abraham Heebner	Port Carbon	66	coal merchant	10,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Jacob Wever	St. Clair	20	teacher	0	German Protestant	Germany
G.T. Jones	St. Clair	41	supt. of schools	6,000	Welsh Protestant	Wales
Richard Brown	St. Clair	24	teacher	450	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
W.G. Burwell	St. Clair	47	coal merchant	3,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Parker	Mahanoy City	43	Prot. minister	2,000	English Protestant	England
John Davis	Cass Twp.	30	laborer miner	0	Welsh Protestant	Wales
C.N. Brumm	Minersville	27	lawyer	500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
George Hehr	Minersville	45	confectioner	24,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
John Ralston	Tamaqua	34	mine superintendent	370,000	English Protestant	Scotland

Appendix D (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Henry Cake	Tamaqua	37	coal merchant	\$200,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Michael Beard	Tamaqua	53	inn-keeper	20,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
R.H. Stees	Pine Grove Borough	47	General merchant	8,800	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
James Cleaver	Ashland	45	coal merchant	21,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix E - Democratic Leaders of Schuylkill County 1855-1872

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Probable Birthplace</u>
F.W. Hughes	Pottsville	47	lawyer	\$200,000	French Protestant	Pennsylvania
Jacob Kline	Pottsville	65	cabinetmaker	18,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
David Foley	Minersville	57	mine laborer	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland
Bernard Reilly	Pottsville	51	lawyer	15,500	Irish Catholic	Ireland
John Ryon	Pottsville	40	lawyer	31,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
F.B.Gowen	Pottsville	29	railroad pres.	50,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
George Rahn	Ashland	72	judge	1,200	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
R. Wilson	Auburn	33	railroad fireman	450	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Michael Cochran	Minersville	40	teamster	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland
James Ryon	Sch. Haven	33	lawyer	1,900	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Ellis Hughes	Wayne Twp.	47	farmer	1,800	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Charles Hegin	Pottsville	52	judge	25,500	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
F.W. Conrad	Pottsville	30	lawyer	0	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
James B.Reilly	Pottsville	51	mail carrier	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland

Appendix E (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Francis Bechtel	Pottsville	28	lawyer	\$ 5,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.M. Wetherill	Pottsville	37	mine agent	12,200	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Richard Rahn	Pottsville	31	clerk	500	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
Solomon Foster, Jr.	Pottsville	20	lawyer	3,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
William McCarthy	St. Clair	25	hotel keeper	850	Irish Catholic	Pennsylvania
Valentine Benner	Mahanoy City	30	hotel keeper	4,300	German Protestant	Germany
John Murphy	East Nor. Twp.	61	mine laborer	600	Irish Catholic	Ireland
Francis McGuirk	East Nor. Two.	30	mine laborer	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland
Tom Eagan	Cass Twp.	21	mine laborer	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland
T.T. Davis	Minersville	66	mine laborer	400	Welsh Protestant	Wales
William Gensemer	Sch. Haven	45	general merchant	11,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania
Richard Curnow	Tamaqua	45	mine laborer	800	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Charles Miller	Taraqua	43	tailor	21,000	German Protestant	Germany
W.H.Uhler	Pine Grove Boro.	29	general merchant	10,000	Welsh Protestant	Pennsylvania

Appendix E (con't.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Home District</u>	<u>Age in 1865</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Probable Ethno-Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Charles King	Ashland	45	tavern keeper	\$ 11,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Mike Igo	Ashland	41	mine laborer	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland
Daniel Boyer	North Manheim	29	surveyor	12,000	German Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.B. McCamant	Shenandoah	35	bank cashier	3,000	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Charles Dougherty	Cressona	36	carpenter	1,700	Irish Catholic	Pennsylvania
Richard Nash	Cressona	32	machinist	1,700	Irish Catholic	Ireland
John Dowling	Pottsville	50	boatman	4,500	Irish Catholic	Ireland
Peter Mudey	Pottsville	68	clerk	400	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
Daniel Weaver	East Brunswick	72	farmer	17,500	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Joseph Maurer	Eldred Twp.	44	farmer	51,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Valentine Savidge	Eldred Twp.	63	farmer	15,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Michael Beard	Tamaqua	55	landlord	10,500	English Protestant	Pennsylvania
J.Frederici	West Penn Twp.	34	tanner & farmer	8,000	German Lutheran	Pennsylvania
Jack Kehoe	Shenandoah	35	miner	0	Irish Catholic	Ireland

Appendix F - Sources for Information on Party Leaders

The information contained in appendices B, C, D and E was obtained primarily from Manuscript Population Census Schedules of the United States for the years 1850, 1860 and 1870.¹ Basically, the political newspapers of the county were first researched for the names of party activists. These were often men who held county party positions, ran as candidates, or were participants in county political conventions or meetings. Once these names were found, the census reports for county districts were scanned in an attempt to locate as many of these men as possible. Approximately 50% of the original names were located.

Some difficulties were involved in this process. First, the census information was on microfilm which was often unclear. For example, no page numbers appeared in any consistent form for Schuylkill County's population in any of the reports. Secondly, a person was extremely difficult to locate if his exact district of residence was unknown. Lastly, a section of census information at times appeared for which no town or township name was given. These and other minor problems prevented the location of all names found in the newspapers; nevertheless, this method was certainly

¹ United States Bureau of Census: Seventh United States Census Report, 1850.

United States Bureau of Census: Eight United States Census Report, 1860.

United States Bureau of Census: Ninth United States Census Report, 1870.

able to uncover a sufficient number of political activists from which inferences could be drawn.

The information on these census sheets generally gave a person's age, occupation, estate valuation and place of birth. Hence, the only information contained in appendices B through E which was somewhat impressionistic was the "probable ethno-religious affiliation" column. A person's ethno-religious affiliation was essentially assumed by studying his name. For example, the name Reilly is generally of Irish origin while Davis is quite often Welsh. Further information was derived by contracting present day people with the same surnames of nineteenth century Schuylkill County political leaders. The present day people were asked the ethno-religious origins of their names. It was there assumed that nineteenth century Schuylkill Countians with similar names had similar ethno-religious backgrounds. Information on Protestant sounding names was also acquired through the assistance of Mr. Jack Barton, a colleague at Schuylkill Campus and a Protestant clergyman. While not totally accurate, these methods certainly eliminated a high percentage of possible error.

This appendix was included primarily to eliminate the need for the hundreds of footnotes which would have otherwise been necessary in reference to the leadership lists.

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