

RURAL POLITICS AND THE COLLAPSE OF PENNSYLVANIA FEDERALISM

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Rural politics and the collapse of Pennsylvania federalism (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society)
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JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. Significance of the Election of The Rural Basis of Pennsylvania Politics Economic Divisions in Pennsylvania Religious Divisions in Pennsylvania Ethnic Divisions in Pennsylvania Planning Victory in Ethnic and Religious Issues in the Campaign of Local Appointments and Rural Politics Its Economic and Cultural Origins. Wealth and Culture in Homogeneous Election Districts. Landed Wealth in Pennsylvania in Formation of the Republican Majority of Ethnic and Religious Groups in the Election of Estimates of Wealth and Political Preference Appendix 2. Results of the Pennsylvania Gubernatorial Election of Some authorities insist that wealth or class differences account for voter preferences, while others argue that religion, ethnicity, and the values learned by persons of distinctive cultural backgrounds really determine voter identification with a political party or its program. Although scholars have made some attempts to extend this method of analysis into the eighteenth century, these studies focus upon assembly roll calls, because there is insufficient data about wealth, church membership, nationality dominance, and voting to apply statistical procedures to eighteenth-century elections. The Macmillan Company, , pp. Beard identified Federalists as "stock jobbers, the aristocrats, the fiscal squadron, and the artful financiers. The Johns Hopkins Press, , pp. The University of North Carolina Press, , p. Kreider identifies Germans with "attachment to a structured society centered in the community," hence they vote Federalist. Anglicans, Friends, Lutherans, and German sectarians are "established religious denominations favoring a hierarchical view of the church or a conservative view of society," while Presbyterians and Baptists put "a heavier emphasis on individual piety than on the corporate nature of the church. Examination of election district returns in York and Chester Counties confirms this division. Bockelman and Owen S. Ireland, "The Internal Revolution in Pennsylvania: Knopf, , pp. The coalition formed, in his view, in reaction to the direct tax of and the suppression of the Fries Rebellion that followed it. Federalists and Republicans established extensive networks of newspapers, in both the English and German languages, stretching across the state. These journals, plus the footwork of hundreds of partisans, stirred up the electorate of Pennsylvania in unprecedented numbers; after , voter turnout for Pennsylvania gubernatorial and congressional elections would be high even for an age of political passion like that of the Jacobin Phrenzy. Bales of manuscripts survive that the partisans left behind. The federal direct tax on land, which the Federalists passed in to support the creation of an army to defend the nation against an expected attack from France, recorded the value of lands within nearly every township in the state. The proliferating party newspapers preserved to an extent unprecedented in previous Pennsylvania history the votes of citizens at the level of election districts, townships, and wards, so that it is possible to see how a large number of homogeneous communities scattered from Philadelphia to the Ohio River voted. This monograph is an effort to use these records to discover how people voted and speculate why they voted as they did. Was culture or wealth-holding more important in influencing voters? How did each affect the results? These simple questions have complex answers; fortunately enough material remains to permit an attempt to answer them. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics*, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, The most common name used in for the party of Thomas McKean was "Republican," so it is used throughout this paper. On party names see the Lancaster Intelligencer, August 14, My examination of election turnouts for Berks, Bucks, Chester, Cumberland, Dauphin, Delaware, Franklin, Lancaster, Luzerne, Montgomery, Northampton, Philadelphia, Washington, York Counties and the City of Philadelphia shows generally rising turnouts culminating in with levels of participation that were not to be surpassed until This content

downloaded from County elections, more than those for high state or federal office, engaged more voters and drew more of them to the polls. It was a political commonplace in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania that the election that most certainly brought out the voters was that of a sheriff, a county officer. Table 1 summarizes voter turnout figures for Pennsylvania counties for which enough data could be found to indicate how many people turned out to vote. It would seem that in rural Pennsylvania, county elections, especially elections for the sheriff, tended to bring out more voters than elections in which no sheriff was elected. Urban centers, like Philadelphia City and County, consistently turned out lower percentages of eligible voters than rural counties did, perhaps because repeated yellow fever epidemics in Philadelphia kept voters away from the polls during early October, when elections occurred. Even though the most elaborate efforts at party organization originated in Philadelphia City and County, relatively more voters became excited about political contests in rural areas where party machinery was slow to form. But not until the quarrels of did rural voter turnout in non-sherival elections begin to reach levels of participation familiar during elections in which voters chose sheriffs. Probably the most important function of the sheriff was to empanel juries. Most sheriffs in the s managed to choose juries with Federalist biases, as the election of was to demonstrate. Relatively good roads near Philadelphia allowed Pennsylvanians to take produce to market, but in most places of the commonwealth, voters could be isolated from news and political organization. One commissioner was usually chosen every three years, and in most places the candidates for these offices were chosen from geographically scattered positions around the county so that over time the interest of the more populous localities might be protected in county business. The lowest unit of political organization in Pennsylvania was the township, but it had few administrative functions other than serving as a tax collection district 4Letter of Thomas Buchanan to William Irvine, September 9, , Irvine MSS. Pennsylvania voters were not accustomed to meeting regularly in their townships to debate public business, so they did not gain experience in public debate and in rural areas they seldom had contact with persons of different cultural, ethnic, or economic status. On market day some might go to town where they would encounter persons of different backgrounds, but most rural Pennsylvania voters could manage to avoid frequent association with persons unlike themselves. The politics of rural areas also swirled about offices that the governor filled by his appointive power without resort to popular election. The Pennsylvania Constitution of empowered the governor to appoint militia officers and local justices of the peace. There was intense interest in rural counties during the s in both the militia and the local judiciary. In counties where lived large numbers of persons religiously scrupulous about bearing arms, the appointment of a harsh or tolerant brigade inspector may have meant the difference between harassment or living at peace, for brigade inspectors were given the job of searching out "exempts," persons who would not train with the militia, and fining them. For those who refused to pay exempt fines, a ruthless brigade inspector might try to arrest the scrupulous or seize their property for non-payment. The justice of the peace was even more important, for he could begin proceedings against those who refused to pay militia fines. In areas remote from pacifists most of the business of the justices of the peace had to do with the collection of debts, although cases involving minor crimes would be tried before them also. In some counties petitioners insisted that justices be appointed who represented various ethnic and religious groups in each county. Other appointive officers-prothonotaries, recorders, registers, and clerks of courts-exercised considerable power and produced local controversy as well, particularly when party tensions arose. Since most of these officers were Federalists, when the Republican Party began to appear they became targets for removal petitions. Since justices of the peace had cognizance of actions for debt under? In their jurisdiction in debt cases was extended to? Statutes extending justice of the peace jurisdiction to other matters passed the legislature in , , and Mitchell and Henry Flanders eds. On local government see Sylvester K. Partisans like Albert Gallatin knew there could be no Republican victory without a highly articulated network of county and township committees that involved hundreds of local inhabitants. The Republican party had begun to organize networks of committees for nominating and electing candidates in the city of Philadelphia during the congressional election of It was only after three years of patient experimentation that this committee system began to take root in rural Penn-

sylvania. It was not until after that most rural Republicans began to endorse sheriff candidates; the choice of a county sheriff was too involved in local and regional loyalties and personal rivalries to permit party organizers to risk defeat by offending those who adhered to them. By and , some counties in the countryside began to pick permanent standing committees of the party to oversee its affairs once the annual general election was over. Members of the county central committees began the process of constructing local township committees by naming persons in each township to serve on these grass roots committees. They also began to pick township delegates to the annual party meeting at which a permanent standing committee was to be chosen to supervise party matters for the succeeding year. The existence of various forms of party organization, or the lack of them, enhanced or weakened party power in mobilizing voters from one county to another. In western and interior Pennsylvania, the process was slower. Not until did Republicans in Washington, Greene, Westmoreland, and Somerset Counties conduct county meetings of delegates chosen by township partisans. Up until that time, in the campaign of , county central committees named township party committee members. Further east, in Northampton County Republicans chose delegates in their townships, but Federalists merely picked a county committee. Cumberland Federalists chose delegates in , but Republicans seem not to have done so. In Dauphin County, some Federalist townships elected delegates to the county meeting, while others did not. Republicans there relied solely on township meetings. In Lancaster and York Counties, the system of choosing delegates at the local level was in use as early as , but in the latter county, it appears to have had no clear connection with Republicans. In suburban Philadelphia County, local voters did not pick township committees; party managers named them instead. In Chester County, an outpost of Federalism, Republicans did not begin to organize until , but once they began to build committees, their form underwent numerous changes. Usually the Federalists relied upon county meetings of local persons who styled themselves "The Friends of Order and Good Government," not "Federalists. Federalists relied upon already existing government mechanisms to nominate candidates in In nearly every county of the state, except Fayette and Dauphin Counties where Republican sheriffs had empaneled a sympathetic jury , Federalists got local grand juries to approve the nom- 8 Noble Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The University of North Carolina Press*, , sketches party evolution, but emphasizes counties where party development was most complete. Party organization spread more unevenly and less completely than Cunningham suggests. Pennsylvania Library Association,

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Additional Information In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: She has presented papers on aspects of the Scotch-Irish experience in America at conferences in the United States, Northern Ireland, and Canada and published in various journals. Essays appear in *Atlantic Crossroads: Religion, Politics, and Identity* Four Courts, Calhoun has been a member of the history department at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro since , where he became professor emeritus in He has written books on the Loyalists, on American Revolutionary ideology, and on religion and politics in the American South. He is founding editor of the *Journal of Backcountry Studies*. His conference presentations and articles have examined the varieties of immigrant Irish Presbyterianism in the United States. Spencer and David A. Patrick Griffin teaches history at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *The People with No Name: In addition to teaching in the fields of American social and cultural history and directing the Community History Project of Shenandoah University, he has written or edited books on various aspects of American regional history including The Planting of New Virginia: He is the author of Rural Politics and the Collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism* American Philosophical Society, , numerous articles in professional journals, and book reviews on American history. He is a specialist in early American history. He received his PhD from Yale University. His research interests have been in eighteenth-century America: Virginia, Mennonites and other German settlers, and the Scotch-Irish. His books include *The Five George Masons: He has taught at Western Carolina University, James Madison University, Bluffton University, and Contributors Elizabethtown College and, in retirement, has been affiliated with the history department at the University of Florida since Miller is a professor of history at Carnegie You are not currently authenticated. View freely available titles:*

3: American Political Science Association > MEMBERSHIP > Organized Sections > Award Recipients

THE JACOBIN PHRENZY These differences in the political organization, economic status, and religious and ethnic characteristics of Pennsylvania's rural counties were significant in producing the beginning of the political collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism in the gubernatorial election of

Oxford University Press Format Available: When Thomas Jefferson took the oath of office for the presidency in 1797, America had just passed through twelve critical years, years dominated by some of the towering figures of our history and by the challenge of having to do everything for the first time. Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Adams, and Jefferson himself each had a share in shaping that remarkable era--an era that is brilliantly captured in *The Age of Federalism*. Written by esteemed historians Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* gives us a reflective, deeply informed analytical survey of this extraordinary period. Ranging over the widest variety of concerns--political, cultural, economic, diplomatic, and military--the authors provide a sweeping historical account, keeping always in view not only the problems the new nation faced but also the particular individuals who tried to solve them. They weave these lively profiles into an analysis of the central controversies of the day, turning such intricate issues as the public debt into fascinating depictions of opposing political strategies and contending economic philosophies. Each dispute bears in some way on the broader story of the emerging nation. The statesmen of the founding generation, the authors believe, did "a surprising number of things right. No detail is left out, or left uninteresting, as their account continues through the Adams presidency, the XYZ affair, the naval Quasi-War with France, and the desperate Federalist maneuvers in 1800, first to prevent the reelection of Adams and then to nullify the election of Jefferson. *The Age of Federalism* is the fruit of many years of discussion and thought, in which deep scholarship is matched only by the lucid distinction of its prose. With it, Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick have produced the definitive study, long awaited by historians, of the early national era. Paul Douglas Newman Language: University of Pennsylvania Press Format Available: In 1798, the federal government levied its first direct tax on American citizens, one that seemed to favor land speculators over farmers. In eastern Pennsylvania, the tax assessors were largely Quakers and Moravians who had abstained from Revolutionary participation and were recruited by the administration of John Adams to levy taxes against their patriot German Reformed and Lutheran neighbors. Led by local Revolutionary hero John Fries, the farmers drew on the rituals of crowd action and stopped the assessment. But in contrast to the previous armed insurrections, the Fries rebels used nonviolent methods while simultaneously exercising their rights to petition Congress for the repeal of the tax law as well as the Alien and Sedition Acts. In doing so, they sought to manifest the principle of popular sovereignty and to expand the role of local people within the emerging national political system rather than attacking it from without. After some resisters were liberated from the custody of a federal marshal, the Adams administration used military force to suppress the insurrection. The resisters were charged with sedition and treason. Fries himself was sentenced to death but was pardoned at the eleventh hour by President Adams.

4: Project MUSE - Ulster to America

Rural politics and the collapse of Pennsylvania federalism by Kenneth W. Keller, , American Philosophical Society edition, in English.

Additional Information In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: On the evolution, symbolism, and importance of liberty poles and their use in the American Revolution, see Peter Shaw, *American Patriots and the Rituals of the Revolution* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, , University of North Carolina Press, Page numbers will be provided when available, but many documents were inserted after Rawle compiled the original collection and were not paginated. When no pagination exists, I have attempted to record the date of the deposition when possible. German Lutherans and Reformed in Pennsylvania often stood on opposite sides of local, state, and national political issues in the 18th century, partly as a result of their competition for Protestant, German-speaking pastors, who were in short supply, and for the resources of land, buildings, and money that made a parish. Of course there was also a theological divide between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Moravians in Northampton County and English-speaking Quakers in Bucks County also held the most prized county and municipal offices throughout the region. It was in the face of this dual threat that Lehigh Valley Reformed and Lutherans put aside their differences in the s, s, and S to form Union churches and homogenized themselves as Kirchenleute. On these issues, see Kenneth W. Temple University Press, , ; Charles H. Ireland, *Religion , Ethnicity, and Politics: Ratifying the Constitution in Pennsylvania* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, ; and Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: These statistics were gleaned from United States Direct Tax of You are not currently authenticated. View freely available titles:*

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The name "Federalist Party" originated in the ratification debates over the U. In the group that favored ratification and a strong central government called themselves "federalists," which at that time indicated a preference for a more consolidated government rather than a loose "confederation" of semi-sovereign states. After the Constitution was ratified, the term "federalist" came to be applied to any supporter of the Constitution and particularly to members of the Washington administration. The term received wide currency with the publication of a series of eighty-one articles by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay arguing for the ratification of the Constitution. Thus, in the early s, not only George Washington, John Adams, and Hamilton, but even Madison, then the floor leader of the administration in the House of Representatives, were all "federalists. These questions deeply divided the government, and eventually caused the resignations of the secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison as floor leader. Nevertheless, these questions did not precipitate permanent, consistent political divisions in Congress or in the states. John Jay negotiated a treaty that alienated the frontier interests, the commercial grain exporters of the middle states, and the slaveholders of the South. The division over foreign policy—between "Anglomen" who hoped for favorable relations with Britain and "Gallomen" who hoped for continued strong relations with France—generated a climate of distrust, paranoia, and repression that propelled these foreign policy divisions into sustained political conflict at the elite level and eventually promoted the expansion of a party press, party organizations, and strong party identification in the electorate. New England and the seaboard states of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina favored the Federalists in part because each of these states was dominated by commercial interests and an entrenched social and religious elite. Similarly, the urban seaboard interests and prosperous agrarian regions of Pennsylvania and New York also favored the Federalists. In the middle states, Federalists tended to be Episcopalian in New York, Presbyterian in New Jersey, and might be either of these, or Quakers, in the area around Philadelphia. In Delaware, on the other hand, Federalists were more likely to be Episcopalians from the lower part of the state, rather than Presbyterians or Quakers from Wilmington. In the South, federalism dominated only one state, South Carolina, and that was in part the result of its benefit from the Hamiltonian funding policy of state debts. Elsewhere in the South, federalism thrived in regions where the social order was more hierarchical, wealth was greater, and the inroads of evangelicalism were weakest. Outside of a few New England exiles in the Western Reserve area of Ohio, Federalists did not gather much support in the new states of the West. They were followers of Alexander Hamilton, arch-Federalists, and far more ideological than Adams himself. In the Federalists reached the peak of their national popularity in the war hysteria that followed the XYZ Affair. In the congressional elections of the Federalists gained greater support in their strongholds in New England, the middle states, Delaware, and Maryland. North and South, the popular slogan in was "Adams and Liberty. In a time of war hysteria, extreme Federalists genuinely believed that many Jeffersonians had allied themselves with the most radical factions of Revolutionary France. At a time when the Democratic Republicans were out of favor, their criticisms of the Federalists took on a shrill, often vituperative tone. The harsh personal criticism by the leading Democratic Republican newspapers prompted some Federalists in Congress to find a way to curb this "licentious" press, punish the opposition editors, and perhaps cripple Democratic Republican political chances in the upcoming presidential election. The Sedition Act, modeled on the British Sedition Act of 1794, made it unlawful to "print, utter, or publish any false, scandalous, and malicious writing" against any officer of the government. The Election of 1800 was the last time an incumbent Federalist engaged himself in a contest for the presidency. This was the first and last year the Federalists and Democratic Republicans contested every single

state in the congressional elections. The Republicans won 67 of the seats in the House of Representatives. Despite the decisive popular vote for the Democratic Republicans in Congress, the electoral vote was not at all a clear mandate for Thomas Jefferson. In fact, Thomas Jefferson owed his victory in the Electoral College to the infamous "three-fifths" rule, which stipulated that slaves would be counted in congressional and electoral college apportionment as a concession to the South. Although the contest for president was mostly conducted in the legislatures and the congressional contests were conducted at the local level, the party press of both the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans played up the contrast between Jefferson and Adams. Jefferson was a "Jacobin," an "atheist," and a "hypocrite" with all his talk about equality, while keeping slaves. Adams was an "aristocrat," a "monocrat," and a defender of hereditary privileges. The religious issue played an important part in the election. The Gazette of the United States put this controversy in its starkest form: Their opposition to the Louisiana Purchase seemed to spell certain doom for them in the West. The Federalist Party gained seats in Congress in and as the fortunes of war seemed arrayed against the Americans. Some of the more extreme Federalists, however, including Timothy Pickering and Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts and Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, toyed with New England secession in the midst of this unpopular war. They met in Hartford, Connecticut, from 15 December to 5 January. Although the Federalist delegates defeated a secession resolution, their party was thereafter associated with disloyalty, and even treason. The end of the war made the Hartford Convention nothing more than an embarrassing irrelevance. The Federalist Party hung on, however, in a long twilight in the seaboard states of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and even enjoyed a modest revival in Pennsylvania and New York in the early 1790s. The Federalist Party never again held power at the national level after in the election triumph that Jefferson called a "revolution. The extended influence of the Federalist Party lay in the judiciary. With the appointment of many Federalists to the bench, John Adams ensured that the Federalists would continue to exert a dominant influence on the federal judiciary for many years to come. Federalist judges predominated until the Era of Good Feeling. Thereafter, federalism continued to have influence in the law, thanks in no small part to the intellectual authority of John Marshall, chief justice of the U. Supreme Court, who remained on the Court until his death in 1835.

To the Hartford Convention: Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, â€” Ben-Atar, Doron, and Barbara B. University Press of Virginia, Louisiana State University Press, The First Party System. Johns Hopkins University Press, Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKittrick. The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, â€” Oxford University Press, The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Transformation of Political Culture: The Idea of a Party System: University of California Press, Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America. Cornell University Press, The Federalist Era, â€” American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press,

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA fessor Soltow, *Pennsylvania History*. His monograph, *Rural Politics and the Collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism*, will be published in the.

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The numbers are estimates by historians. The affiliation of many Congressmen in the earliest years is an assignment by later historians. The parties were slowly coalescing groups; at first there were many independents. Cunningham noted that only about a quarter of the House of Representatives up until voted with Madison as much as two-thirds of the time and another quarter against him two-thirds of the time, leaving almost half as fairly independent. The King had been decisive in helping the United States achieve independence, but now he was dead and many of the pro-American aristocrats in France were exiled or executed. Federalists warned that American republicans threatened to replicate the horrors of the French Revolution and successfully mobilized most conservatives and many clergymen. The Republicans, some of whom had been strong Francophiles, responded with support even through the Reign of Terror, when thousands were guillotined, though it was at this point that many began backing away from their pro-France leanings. The Republicans denounced Hamilton, Adams and even Washington as friends of Britain, as secret monarchists and as enemies of the republican values. The level of rhetoric reached a fever pitch. Even Jefferson agreed this was blatant foreign interference in domestic politics. Some of these issues dated to the Revolution, such as boundaries, debts owed in each direction and the continued presence of British forts in the Northwest Territory. In addition, the United States hoped to open markets in the British Caribbean and end disputes stemming from the naval war between Britain and France. Most of all the goal was to avert a war with Britain—a war opposed by the Federalists, that some historians claim the Jeffersonians wanted. The British agreed to evacuate the western forts, open their West Indies ports to American ships, allow small vessels to trade with the French West Indies and set up a commission that would adjudicate American claims against Britain for seized ships and British claims against Americans for debts incurred before. One possible alternative was war with Britain, a war that the United States was ill-prepared to fight. Republicans protested against the treaty and organized their supporters. The Federalists realized they had to mobilize their popular vote, so they mobilized their newspapers, held rallies, counted votes and especially relied on the prestige of President Washington. The contest over the Jay Treaty marked the first flowering of grassroots political activism in the United States, directed and coordinated by two national parties. Politics was no longer the domain of politicians as every voter was called on to participate. The new strategy of appealing directly to the public worked for the Federalists as public opinion shifted to support the Jay Treaty. However, the Republicans did not give up and public opinion swung toward the Republicans after the Treaty fight and in the South the Federalists lost most of the support they had among planters. Corn, the chief crop on the frontier, was too bulky to ship over the mountains to market unless it was first distilled into whiskey. This was profitable as the United States population consumed per capita relatively large quantities of liquor. After the excise tax, the backwoodsmen complained the tax fell on them rather than on the consumers. Cash poor, they were outraged that they had been singled out to pay off the "financiers and speculators" back East and to salary the federal revenue officers who began to swarm the hills looking for illegal stills. Washington, seeing the need to assert federal supremacy, called out 13, state militia and marched toward Washington, Pennsylvania to suppress this Whiskey Rebellion. The rebellion evaporated in late as Washington approached, personally leading the army only two sitting Presidents have directly led American military forces, Washington during the Whiskey Rebellion and Madison in an attempt to save the White House during the War of 1812. The rebels dispersed and there was no fighting. Federalists were relieved that the new government proved capable of overcoming rebellion while Republicans, with Gallatin their new hero, argued there never was a real rebellion and the whole episode was manipulated in order to accustom Americans to a standing army. Washington attacked the societies as illegitimate and many disbanded. Federalists now ridiculed Republicans as "democrats" meaning in favor of mob rule or "Jacobins" a reference to the Reign of Terror in France.

Washington refused to run for a third term, establishing a two-term precedent that was to stand until and eventually to be enshrined in the Constitution as the 22nd Amendment. He warned in his Farewell Address against involvement in European wars and lamented the rising North-South sectionalism and party spirit in politics that threatened national unity: The party spirits serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. Washington never considered himself a member of any party, but broadly supported most Federalist policies. Federalist Postmasters General , Timothy Pickering 1794 and Joseph Habersham 1797 appointed and removed local postmasters to maximize party funding. Numerous printers were appointed as postmasters. They did not deliver the mail, but they did collect fees from mail users and obtained free delivery of their own newspapers and business mail. Bache in particular targeted Washington himself as the front man for monarchy who must be exposed. To Bache, Washington was a cowardly general and a money-hungry baron who saw the Revolution as a means to advance his fortune and fame; Adams was a failed diplomat who never forgave the French their love of Benjamin Franklin and who craved a crown for himself and his descendants; and Alexander Hamilton was the most inveterate monarchist of them all. Hamilton subsidized the Federalist editors, wrote for their papers and in established his own paper, the New York Evening Post. The Federalists were conscious of the need to boost voter identification with their party. Elections remained of central importance, but the rest of the political calendar was filled with celebrations, parades, festivals and visual sensationalism. George Washington was always their hero and after his death he became viewed as a sort of demigod looking down from heaven to bestow his blessings on the party. At first, the Federalists focused on commemorating the ratification of the Constitution and organized parades to demonstrate widespread popular support for the new Federalist Party. Its celebration in Boston emphasized national over local patriotism and included orations, dinners, militia musters, parades, marching bands, floats and fireworks. By 1794, the Fourth of July was closely identified with the Federalist Party. Republicans were annoyed and staged their own celebrations on the same day 1795 with rival parades sometimes clashing with each other, which generated even more excitement and larger crowds. After the collapse of the Federalists starting in 1796, the Fourth of July became a nonpartisan holiday. Adams was the winner by a margin of three electoral votes and Jefferson, as the runner-up, became Vice President under the system set out in the Constitution prior to the ratification of the 12th Amendment. They elected Adams as President in 1797, when they controlled both houses of Congress, the presidency, eight state legislatures and ten governorships. The new President was a loner, who made decisions without consulting Hamilton or other "High Federalists". Benjamin Franklin once quipped that Adams was a man always honest, often brilliant and sometimes mad. Adams was popular among the Federalist rank and file, but had neglected to build state or local political bases of his own and neglected to take control of his own cabinet. As a result, his cabinet answered more to Hamilton than to himself. Hamilton was especially popular because he rebuilt the Army 1794 and had commissions to give out. It was called "quasi" because there was no declaration of war, but escalation was a serious threat. At the peak of their popularity, the Federalists took advantage by preparing for an invasion by the French Army. The Alien Act empowered the President to deport such aliens as he declared to be dangerous. The Sedition Act made it a crime to print false, scandalous and malicious criticisms of the federal government, but it conspicuously failed to criminalize criticism of Vice President Thomas Jefferson. Undaunted, the Federalists created a navy 1794, with new frigates ; and a large new army, with Washington in nominal command and Hamilton in actual command. To pay for it all, they raised taxes on land, houses and slaves, leading to serious unrest. John Fries was sentenced to death for treason, but received a pardon from Adams. In the elections of 1798, the Federalists did very well, but this issue started hurting the Federalists in 1799. The mission eventually succeeded, the "Quasi-War" ended and the new army was largely disbanded. Hamilton and Adams intensely disliked one another and the Federalists split between supporters of

Hamilton "High Federalists" and supporters of Adams. Inadvertently, this split the Federalists and helped give the victory to Jefferson. If the Three-Fifths Compromise had not been enacted, he most likely would have won reelection since many Federalist legislatures removed the right to select electors from their constituents in fear of a Democratic victory. Jefferson was again the opponent and Federalists pulled out all stops in warning that he was a dangerous revolutionary, hostile to religion, who would weaken the government, damage the economy and get into war with Britain. Many believed that if Jefferson won the election, it would be the end of the newly formed United States. The Republicans crusaded against the Alien and Sedition laws as well as the new taxes and proved highly effective in mobilizing popular discontent. Aaron Burr brilliantly organized his forces in New York City in the spring elections for the state legislature. By a few hundred votes, he carried the city and thus the state legislature and guaranteed the election of a Republican President. As a reward, he was selected by the Republican caucus in Congress as their vice presidential candidate. Alexander Hamilton, knowing the election was lost anyway, went public with a sharp attack on Adams that further divided and weakened the Federalists. The party took the meaning literally and Jefferson and Burr tied in the election with 73 electoral votes. This sent the election to the House of Representatives to break the tie. The Federalists had enough weight in the House to swing the election in either direction. Many would rather have seen Burr in the office over Jefferson, but Hamilton, who had a strong dislike of Burr, threw his political weight behind Jefferson. During the election, neither Jefferson nor Burr attempted to swing the election in the House of Representatives. Jefferson remained at Monticello to oversee the laying of bricks to a section of his home. Jefferson allowed for his political beliefs and other ideologies to filter out through letters to his contacts. Many Federalists held to the belief that this was the end of the United States and that the experiment they had begun had ended in failure. Though there had been strong words and disagreements, contrary to the Federalists fears, there was no war and no ending of one government system to let in a new one. His patronage policy was to let the Federalists disappear through attrition. His acceptance of the Bill of Rights garnered support in Massachusetts for the new Constitution. His greatest fame came as an orator who defined the principles of the Federalist Party and the follies of the Republicans. Ames offered one of the first great speeches in American Congressional history when he spoke in favor of the Jay Treaty. What is to become of it, He who made it best knows. Its vice will govern it, by practising upon its folly. This is ordained for democracies".

8: Project MUSE - Fries's Rebellion

neth W. Keller, Rural Politics and the Collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 72, Part 6; Philadelphia,). 2 See Harry Tinkcom, Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg);.

Written by Jeffrey L. Pasley University of Missouri Although it generally disappears from the narratives of American history once the seat of national government departs Philadelphia in , Pennsylvania was quite simply the ground floor of American democracy. The Keystone State produced no Jeffersons or Adamses, and its only president James Buchanan ranks comfortably in the bottom three, but this was the state where democratic politics, American-style, was invented. That is, all "freemen" aged twenty-one or older who paid taxes or whose father paid taxes could vote and hold office. The legislature was constitutionally required to meet with its doors open to the public at all times. The constitution would be enforced not by unelected judges but, rather, by a popularly elected Council of Censors that would convene to revise the constitution every seven years. Benjamin Rush, Judge James Wilson, and Chief Justice Thomas McKean, became harsh detractors of the constitution, pushing for a more conservative and conventional government with a bicameral legislature, a stronger executive, and a more independent judiciary. After more than a decade of opposition, these so-called Republicans finally succeeded in getting the new state constitution they wanted in ; many were also strong supporters of the new, less democratic federal Constitution that was written in Philadelphia. The radicals who defended the original document were known as Constitutionalists, a confusing appellation because many Pennsylvania Constitutionalists leaned against the generally antidemocratic federal Constitution. The constitution created an assembly with annual terms and a state Senate whose members were elected to four-year terms. The old state "presidency" was replaced with a governor who was elected by the people every three years and had both the authority to veto legislation and the power to appoint an extensive array of state and county officials, right down to local recorders of deeds and justices of the peace. Judges in the expanded state court system were appointed by the governor and served for life "during good behavior". Although many Constitutionalists continued to prefer the old system, conflicts over the state government died down during the nine-year governorship of Thomas Mifflin, a popular war hero generally supported by all factions. Dallas, an ambitious lawyer recently emigrated from Jamaica. The "national" political controversies that broke out in the Cabinet and the Congress between Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and their followers were also local ones in Philadelphia as they spilled out into the streets and the press. As the epicenter of national political conflict, Philadelphia, followed by the rest of the state, led the nation in the development of party politics. Republican John Swanwick won one of the first clearly party-contested congressional elections in , and a coterie of Philadelphians led by Clerk of the House of Representatives John Beckley and the Aurora newspaper mounted the first serious popular presidential campaign, for Thomas Jefferson, in , carrying the state and almost the election for the opposition leader. The Federalists remained competitive in certain areas of the state especially the southeast through the s, but after they were reduced to playing spoiler or kingmaker in statewide elections. In , Federalists in the state Senate prevented Pennsylvania from holding a popular presidential election at all, so certain were they of losing again. Luckily for the Federalists, the majority Republicans increasingly either adding "Democratic" to their name after or switching to "Democrat" were plagued by factionalism. McKean barely won the election, but only by gaining support from Federalists and a breakaway faction of so-called "Constitutional Republicans. The Aurora labeled the schismatics Quids, meaning "a hermaphrodite thing, partaking of two characters, and yet having neither! The Old School men even cooperated with certain Federalists for a time in efforts to replace Madison with De Witt Clinton in the presidential election of The caucus was especially aberrant in Pennsylvania, where local public meetings had been the major form of party nominations since the s. Thanks to a generational turnover in leadership, the regular, New School Democrats were increasingly known as the "Family" party after the three Philadelphia brothers-in-law who were its leaders: The next decade saw a vicious factional battle for the

mantle of Pennsylvania Jacksonianism that the Family, or "Eleventh-Hour Men," eventually won. The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, " Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, University of Pittsburgh Press, The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Ill Feeling in the Era of Good Feeling: Western Pennsylvania Political Battles, " A Game Without Rules. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, A History of the Commonwealth. University Park and Harrisburg: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution. University of Pennsylvania Press, Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic. University Press of Virginia, Pennsylvania and the War of University Press of Kentucky, Crucible of American Democracy: University Press of Kansas, Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution. Oxford University Press, Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia "Aurora. The Republicans and the Federalists in Pennsylvania, " Kerber, History of U. Political Parties Volume I: From Factions to Parties. New York, , Chelsea House Publisher. What was missing in postwar America, they repeatedly complained in a large variety of contexts, was order, predictability, stability. A competent government would guarantee the prosperity and external security of the nation; a government of countervailing balances was less likely to be threatened by temporary lapses in civic virtue, while remaining strictly accountable to the public will. Alexander Hamilton, , quoted in Lisle A. Rose, Prologue to Democracy: The Federalists in the South, , Lexington, Kentucky, , 3. The issues on which pro-administration and anti-administration positions might be assumed increased in number and in obvious significance; the polarity of the parties became clearer. Federalists were unified in their response to the XYZ Affair, and in their support of the Alien and Sedition Acts, which passed as party measures in the Fifth Congress, but in little else. There were several varieties of Federalist congressional opinion on the war: Regardless of the region from which they came, Federalists voted against the war with virtual unanimity. Such wide support did not simply vanish The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party , Princeton, , Rather, that support remained available, and people continued to attempt to make careers as Federalists though, probably fewer initiated new careers as Federalists. If the war had increased Federalist strength, it also, paradoxically, had operated to decrease it, for prominent Federalists rallied to a beleaguered government in the name of unity and patriotism. These wartime republicans included no less intense Federalists than Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut and William Plumer of New Hampshire, both of whom went on to become Republican governors of their respective states, and in their careers thus provide emblems for the beginning of a one party period, and the slow breakdown of the first party system. The Federalists, the first to be challenged by power, would experience these contradictions most sharply; a party that could include John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Noah Webster, would be its own oxymoron. In the end the party perished out of internal contradiction and external rival, but the individuals who staffed it continued on to staff its successors. The Revolution of American Conservatism: New York, , Harper and Row. The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick. New York, , Oxford University Press. The Federalists were referred to by many monikers over the years by newspapers. This continued in the elections. The Aurora, based in Philadelphia, the most well-known Republican newspaper of the era see American Aurora: Holmes, the losing candidate for the Special Election for the Philadelphia County seat in the House of Representatives as an "anti-republican". It would continue to be used intermittently throughout the next 20 years. Beginning in "In laying before our readers the above Canvass of this county, a few remarks become necessary, to refute the Assertion of the war party, that the Friends of Peace are decreasing in this country. This use occurred all through at least August of , with the Raleigh Minerva of August 18, referring to the Federalist candidates as Peace candidates. Charlottesville, , University Press of Virginia. Oxford English Dictionary In many states, the Sheriff was also an election official and their signature can be found on copies of Original Documents, ranging from state to federal elections. In Congressional districts having more than one county, the Sheriffs of each county would meet in a designated County Court House, compare the returns and certify the results. If the Sheriff of a county did not appear, the votes from his county would not be counted.

9: Federalist Party - Wikipedia

Rural Politics and the Collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism. Rural Politics and the Collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism (pp.).

Written by Matthew H. Crocker Keene State College With independence from Great Britain in 1780, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was governed by the same bicameral legislature that existed during the colonial period. It was not until that John Adams, armed with a statewide mandate for a constitutional convention, set about drafting a formal state constitution. What Adams forged proved so successful that it later became a template for the Constitution of United States. What made the Massachusetts constitution so influential was how it seemingly balanced the populist ideals promised to the citizenry by the Revolution with the fundamentally conservative expectations of the existing Massachusetts elite. In terms of structure, it established an elective chief magistrate the governor, a bicameral legislature the General Court made up of a House and a Senate, and an independent judiciary an appointed state court system. Not surprisingly, the constitution became the darling of the Federalist Party establishment that fought to resist constitutional reform. Also, the Democratic-Republicans, whose popular base was in the western part of the state and tended to be of modest means, despised the pecuniary qualifications for the franchise, as well as the nonelected judiciary, claiming both were profoundly undemocratic. In the opponents to the constitution had their chance when the Maine district of Massachusetts was broken off and given statehood. As a result of such radical change, the General Court called for a constitutional convention to revisit the constitution of 1780. Despite optimistic expectations for major constitutional reform, an assortment of conservatives, led by a highly sophisticated Federalist Party machine, outwitted the forces of reform at the convention, and little significant change was effected. Power remained centralized in the east, with Boston serving as its epicenter. Although the state constitutional convention proved a great victory for the Federalist establishment, in the early 1790s the party faced an angry populist insurgency fed up with the dictatorial leadership style of the Federalists. In Boston a third party, the Middling Interest, emerged that rejected the deferential nature of past politics and took up an activist stand for reform. In the mayoral election of 1793, the insurgency forced Federalist Party boss Harrison Gray Otis to bow out of the race and elected a Middling Interest candidate, thus marking the demise of the Federalist Party in Massachusetts. Although it still existed in name for a few more years, the party never regained its once dominant position in Massachusetts political life, thus signaling the advent of the Jacksonian Age and the Second Party System.

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