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Cover: Cincinnati from Covington, Kentucky, ca. 1851, by Robert S. Ducanson (Oil on canvas). An African American artist, Ducanson painted this impressive panorama from an illustration, changing two of the white figures in the illustration to slaves. Cincinnati Museum Center

Contributors

KEITH GRIFFLER is Assistant Professor of African American History in the Department of African American Studies at the University of Cincinnati. His second book, *Wade in the Water: The Underground Railroad and African American Freedom in the Ohio Valley*, is forthcoming from the University Press of Kentucky. He is co-producer on a public television documentary of the same name, supported in part by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's National Black Programming Consortium.

THOMAS S. MACH is Associate Professor of History at Cedarville University, specializing in U. S. nineteenth-century political history. He is currently completing a biography of Cincinnati George Hunt Pendleton, the father of the first major federal civil service reform legislation in United States history.

DAN FOUNTAIN teaches history at the Louisiana School for Math, Science, and the Arts. He earned his Ph.D. in early American history from the University of Mississippi where he completed his dissertation under the direction of Winthrop Jordan.

JAMES A. RAMAGE is Regents Professor of History at Northern Kentucky University. He is the author of *Rebel Raider: The Life of General John Hunt Morgan* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986) and *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999). He is currently writing a biography of Ulysses S. Grant.

MITCHELL SNAY is Professor of History at Denison University. He is the author of *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Family Ties, Party Realities, and Political Ideology: *George Hunt Pendleton and Partisanship in Antebellum Cincinnati*

THOMAS S. MACH

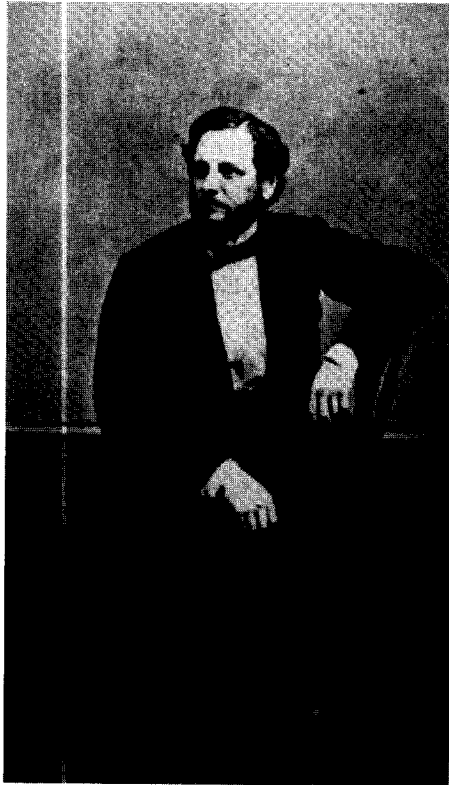
The mighty Ohio River brought much more than life-giving water to the burgeoning city of Cincinnati in 1825. Indeed, the river provided the very foundation for maintaining the Queen City's most important economic activity: commercial trade. But beyond the farm produce the city's merchants shipped south and the finished goods they brought in from the East, Ohio's fastest growing city relied on the river to transport immigrants who would comprise a significant portion of the city's population. As Cincinnati gained economic prominence, its citizenry began to make a political impact not only on the State of Ohio, but also on the nation.¹ One of the prominent families in this river city came westward down the Ohio in 1818. Already having made a significant mark on the national political scene, the Pendleton family introduced its latest addition on July 19, 1825, George Hunt Pendleton, who would continue and ultimately expand the family's influence on the developing republic.

Pendleton's political career would be impressive: United States congressman from Ohio during the Civil War, George B. McClellan's vice-presidential running mate in 1864, United States senator from Ohio, father of the first major civil service reform legislation — the Pendleton Act of 1883 — and finally United States diplomat to Germany. Although Pendleton's father was a Whig, Pendleton chose to become a Democrat in the early 1850s as he began his political career. This pivotal decision became the foundation for the developing western Democratic political ideology in the mid-nineteenth century. Pendleton's decision regarding party affiliation proved a difficult one, influenced by a number of factors, some but not all of which were partisan. An examination of his decision provides a window through which one can view the changing political arena in Cincinnati and Ohio, as well as the variety of factors involved in making such a choice and the continuity of political ideology in the face of a dynamic party system.

The fourth of seven children, George Pendleton entered the world as a member of a founding family not only of Cincinnati, but also of the United States. Pendleton's great uncle, Edmund, served in the Virginia House of Burgesses and the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775. His grandfather, Nathaniel Pendleton, was an aide-de-camp to General Nathaniel Greene dur-

ing the Revolution and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Nathaniel Greene Pendleton, Pendleton's father, migrated from Georgia to New York and eventually West to help found the Queen City. In 1841, voters sent him as a Whig to the United States House of Representatives for one term.² Pendleton's economic and political success provided his seven children with a respected family name and all the benefits that wealth could provide. Yet those same blessings brought with them high expectations and responsibility.

Relecting their status, the Pendletons pursued the best secondary education possible for their son. They considered inadequate the state's common school system, which the legislature had organized in 1828. Instead they selected Woodward High School, a small college preparatory institution founded by William Woodward and his wife. This school did not meet the goals of the Pendletons, however, and in 1835 they sent young Pendleton to a more rigorous school operated by General Ormsby M. Mitchell.³ General Mitchell continued the instruction in the classics that Pendleton had begun at Woodward until he accepted a position as Professor of Mathematics at the newly organized Cincinnati College. Pendleton pursued his studies there, focusing on foreign languages and mathematics. He eventually found that even this institution did not suit his needs, and he left in 1841 to carry on his studies under private tutelage.⁴ For the next three years Pendleton studied at home, continuing to improve his mastery of French and German as well as the classical studies. He and his brother, Elliot, spent two years traveling throughout Europe as part of their education.



*George Pendleton,
photograph by the New
York Photographic Co.
Cincinnati Historical
Society Library, Cincinnati
Museum Center*

Upon his arrival at home in Cincinnati, Pendleton met, proposed to, and married Mary Alicia Lloyd Nevins Key. Generally known as Alice, she was the daughter of Francis Scott Key, a lawyer and the author of "The Star Spangled Banner," and the niece of Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Taney had served as Andrew Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury and in that capacity had participated in his war on the Bank of the United States. After a brief courtship, Pendleton and Key married in Baltimore in 1846 and took up residence in Cincinnati. Pendleton thereafter focused his studies on the reading of law in the office of Stephen Fales, the former partner of Nathaniel Greene Pendleton. Admitted to the Ohio Bar in 1847, Pendleton soon formed a law partnership with a boyhood schoolmate, George Ellis Pugh.⁵ The partnership lasted five years until Pugh was elected as Ohio's attorney general.

While Edward D. Mansfield, a contemporary of Pendleton, believed that

men followed the partisanship of their fathers, Pendleton broke from his father's Whiggery to become a Democrat. An investigation of this break provides an opportunity for examining party identification in Cincinnati and in the nation during the 1840s and 1850s. Moreover, it illustrates the variety of influences that went into creating the political ideology of the western Democracy that Pendleton represented and, in many ways, helped form in this period. In the end, Pendleton's story highlights the importance of family ties over family status, party realities over party nostalgia, and political ideology over political rhetoric in the process of choosing a partisan affiliation.⁶

The factors in George Pendleton's decision to become a Democrat vary, but may provide some insight into the political composition of parties in this era. Historians have grappled for decades with the issues that induced Americans of the early nineteenth century to form and reform their political alignments. Progressive historians explored the economic determinants in partisanship, equating the Whig Party with business, commercial, and property interests. The poorer elements of society, or those not directly benefiting from the changing economy, tended to vote for the Democratic Party. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., presented a somewhat different thesis based on the political division between business elites, the Whigs, and eastern workers, the Jacksonians. Earlier studies had found similar dichotomies, although Schlesinger's emphasis on eastern workers was unique. More recent works have focused on the impact of the "Market Revolution."⁷ Those benefiting from the new commercial systems developing in the country tended to be Whigs, they argued, while those who did not tended to be Democrats. While Pendleton's Cincinnati was a commercial city and should have been strongly Whig, it was an exception to the rule, likely because the Queen City residents had suffered disproportionately during the Panic of 1819 and blamed the Second Bank of the United States for it. Though a different approach than Schlesinger's, these works focus on economic factors as causative in party affiliation.

Other historians disagree.⁸ Lee Benson argues that each party was comprised of members of all economic groups, thus refuting the assertion that economic circumstances dictated which party an individual supported in this era. Benson suggests further that ethno-cultural and religious differences played a role in party selection, and that three main elements determined political preference: national origin, region and era of birth, and religious inclination. He suggests that immigrants from the British Isles tended to vote for Whigs; those from the rest of Europe tended to vote for the Democrats. With reference to religious beliefs, Benson sees a dichotomy between those who held to "puritanical" ideals and those who revered "rugged individualism."⁹ Stephen Fox examines the political milieu in Ohio, finding similar ethno-cultural and religious divisions in Ohio politics. "Evangelicals," comprised of Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Con-

gregationalists, who wanted to maintain the moral fiber of society and who sought the eradication of evils such as alcohol, prostitution, and slavery, tended to vote Whig. “Anti-Evangelicals,” who tended to be Catholics, Episcopalians, Campbellites, Unitarians, Universalists, freethinkers, deists, or atheists, and who focused on the individual rights of men (and thus eschewed increased state power for the purpose of maintaining a set of morals), were generally Democrats.¹⁰

More recently, Daniel Walker Howe and Michael Holt have written synthetic works on Whigs, evaluating much of what the field had examined while elucidating new ideological emphases.¹¹ Howe recognizes the merits of both the economic and cultural impulses that defined Whigs, but focuses on the “two great principles of Whig social thought, order and philanthropy.”¹² This focus was a key distinctive from the Democracy, which could not accept the notion of government controlling the individual. As an example, Abraham Lincoln had been a Whig, Howe argues, because he believed Whiggery promoted a more civilized lifestyle. Howe’s Whigs accepted modernization with restraint. Economic advance was to be embraced and encouraged with governmental support, but they rejected “socioeconomic equality, toleration of diversity, and acceptance of political conflict.”¹³ Holt notes certain economic, ethnic, and religious distinctions between Whigs and Democrats,¹⁴ and argues that the Whig “ideological core [was] built around beliefs in social order, Unionism, activist domestic governance, a non-aggressive foreign policy, and opposition to executive tyranny.”¹⁵ However, Holt surpasses Howe by examining regional Whig and Democratic distinctions, including an examination of Ohio in the 1840s and 1850s, arguing that there were regional differences within the parties.

In 1850, Ohio convened a constitutional convention where Democrats held a majority. Meanwhile, the Fugitive Slave Law portion of the Compromise of 1850 that Congress passed severely divided the two parties within the state. When compromise won out at the state constitutional convention, Whigs were less than satisfied. The Democrats had gained reapportionment for the state that would largely benefit themselves. Yet the Whigs had managed to take all state appointive offices and make them elective. Whigs were weary of the “flagrant pursuit of lucrative state jobs” that often led to corruption.¹⁶ Recognizing that should the state’s voters accept the constitution they would immediately lose control of the state legislature, they pushed through the strongly antislavery judge and former state senator, Benjamin Wade, to fill the open United States Senate seat. This action only caused further dissension within a national Whig Party already trying to recover from the Compromise of 1850 debate. In the state elections, the constitution was narrowly accepted and Democrats gained control of the state.¹⁷

With the multitude of variables that determined political partisanship, as-

certaining the reasons for Pendleton's party choice proves complex. The Pendleton family was part of the wealthy elite of Cincinnati, and George Pendleton had the benefits of this esteemed family name in addition to an inherited family fortune. He traveled extensively and obtained an excellent education. As testimony to the family's affluence, the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870 enumerate at least one and generally two domestic servants in the service of Alice Key and George Pendleton. His holdings in 1860 amounted to \$75,000 in real estate and \$3,000 in personal property. By the following census, he had accrued through inheritance and accumulation real estate worth \$250,000 and personal property totaling \$25,000. Using the progressive historians' model, Nathaniel Greene Pendleton should have been a Whig, and indeed he was. His son, according to the construct, should have followed in his father's footsteps into the Whig fold. Employment of the Market Revolution thesis would assume that the younger Pendleton should have become a Whig. As a lawyer, he could only benefit from the increasing commercial activity and business enterprise in Cincinnati. Contrary to both models, he became a Democrat.¹⁸

Revisionists convincingly suggest that partisanship derived from factors beyond those purely economic. Pendleton fit into both categories of native-born Americans as described in Lee Benson's thesis. His family originally came from Virginia, then moved to Georgia and eventually to New York, before settling in Cincinnati. Benson asserted that the native-born from New York tended to be Whig, while those from Virginia held to Democratic ideals. The Pendletons were native-born citizens who migrated from the New York region, suggesting that Nathaniel Greene Pendleton and his sons would become Whigs. Again, only the elder Pendleton fits the model. It is clear that the family's southern heritage influenced the elder Pendleton's political ideology and eventually George Pendleton as well. The family was Episcopalian which, according to Fox, placed it within the "Anti-Evangelical" group of partisans who tended to vote Democratic. This partially explains the younger Pendleton's decision to be a Democrat, but does little to reveal his father's motives for remaining a Whig. George Pendleton either introduces an exception to the rule, or he is an example of the struggle many Whigs faced as their party began to disintegrate.¹⁹

The interpretations of Daniel Walker Howe and Michael Holt add to an understanding of Pendleton's choice but do not address all the potential variables. Holt's depiction of Ohio Whiggery in 1850 suggested a party that was losing power. The state's turmoil and the conflicts arising from national issues, such as the Compromise of 1850, may well have signaled to Pendleton that the Whig Party was in decline.²⁰ Yet, Pendleton was no neophyte and undoubtedly understood the ebb and flow of political power. The difficulties of the party did not cause his father to jump ship.

Howe's portrayal of the Whig ideological distinctions may shed more light on Pendleton's decision. The Whigs' focus on order and control undoubtedly concerned Pendleton, for during his long career, he maintained a strong adherence to the concept of private conscience, believing that the government should not regulate private behavior. In addition, his southern heritage lent

itself to a states' rights concept of governance, including the idea that states should decide internal matters such as slavery. Perhaps the Ohio Whigs' support for Benjamin Wade as senator solidified his resolve to be a Democrat. Yet even here, the partisan indicators are unclear. A sophisticated analysis recognizes that neither of the major parties could easily align, even on as potent an issue as slavery, and again, Pendleton's father remained a Whig. Perhaps this discourse shows only how a multitude of factors played some role in influencing his choice of party affiliation.

In early 1841, Ohio Whigs had cause for optimism when President William Henry Harrison appointed Ohioan Thomas Ewing as Secretary of the Treasury, but Harrison's untimely death brought doubt and disillusionment to Buckeye Whigs. They seriously wondered if the national party would consider the interests of the West, especially after a southerner, John Tyler, assumed the executive office.

The conflicts within the party attributable to Tyler's opposition to Henry Clay's American System, and the resulting decline of the organization, accelerated during the early 1840s even as George Pendleton was determining his political loyalties.²¹ If he looked realistically at Ohio politics without concern for his political heritage, he might have been able to predict the eventual doom of the Whigs. He doubtless considered unwise a young ambitious attorney stepping aboard a sinking vessel.²²

In weighing the political strength of the Whigs versus the Democrats, Pendleton also looked realistically at his potential constituency. In examining the composition of the Cincinnati electorate, Pendleton could not help but notice the high percentage of foreign-born Cincinnatians who tended to vote Democratic. Hamilton County had traditionally voted Demo-

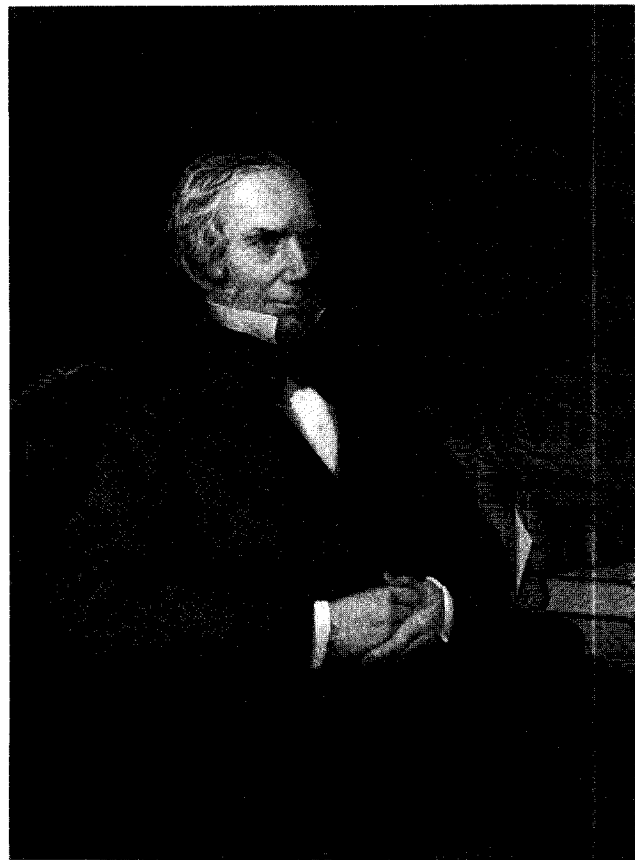


Engraving of William Henry Harrison. The Filson Historical Society

cratic in the 1830s. As early as 1825, there were 2,411 names on the register of gainfully employed Cincinnatians, with 533 immigrants, including 210 Englishpeople, 166 Irishpeople, 51 Germans, 40 Scots, and a variety of other nationalities. The numbers of Irish and Germans, who were largely Catholic, continued to grow and they became, after 1830, a significant voting bloc. By 1850, twenty-seven percent of the people living in Cincinnati had been born in Germany. Seven years earlier, the Germans, realizing their growing political clout, had organized the German Democratic Union of Hamilton County.²³ The following year, Cincinnatians elected the first German-born representative to the Ohio General Assembly. Later, he was elected to the Ohio Senate and served as a delegate to the Ohio Constitutional Convention in 1850 and 1851. His understanding of the electorate in Cincinnati deterred Pendleton from considering associating with the Whigs, who used nativist tactics, and later the American Party, a nativist group also called the Know-Nothings.²⁴

Yet simply because a voter was foreign born did not mean he would vote Democratic. Political debate in Cincinnati in this period did not always revolve around traditional party issues. Rather, nativism drove much of the conflict. Consider, for example, the political behavior of Germans in Cincinnati in the 1853 municipal elections. In early 1853, Archbishop John Purcell asked for state funds to be shared with parochial schools in the Queen City. Local Catholics were concerned that the heavily Protestant public schools excluded religious instruction. Purcell's request unleashed a firestorm. Simple prejudice drove part of the backlash, but an underlying belief that the common school system inculcated in the next generation the values and ideals necessary for citizens of a republic also caused Protestants to eschew any religious curriculum for fear of encouraging the spread of Catholicism. Sensing that neither of the two major parties, the Whigs or the Democrats, was responding appropriately to this threat to the common school system, native-born Cincinnatians and Protestant Germans formed political factions and independent parties.²⁵

Although the Democrats dominated the city by this time, owing in part to the support of its foreign-born population, the issue of foreign ascendance threatened to eat away at the party's power base. Some native-born Demo-



Print of Henry Clay from Alonzo Chappel portrait, published by Johnson, Wilson and Company. The Filson Historical Society

crats formed a secret society within the Democracy to prevent Germans from obtaining public office. The Miami Tribe, as it eventually became known, apparently made little distinction between Catholic and Protestant Germans. When word of the organization leaked out, German Democrats of all faiths felt alienated from the party. The main Democratic organization tried to maintain its support base among immigrants by opposing the open nativism of many of the Whigs, but because of the anti-German sentiment within its own ranks it could not be very strong on the issue. Even further complicating matters, German Protestants had no love of German Catholics, demonstrating the various shades of nativism apparent in Cincinnati in the early 1850s.²⁶

Illustration from the October 8, 1864 issue of Harper's Weekly. George McClellan and George Pendleton were the Democratic nominees for president and vice president in 1864. Although the Democratic Party platform called for a cessation of hostilities and restoration of the Federal union, McClellan repudiated the peace plank. The cartoon shows McClellan straddling a war horse and a peace donkey, ridden by Pendleton. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati Museum Center

The Whig Party in Ohio had a history of being unable to garner much of the immigrant vote. Many Whigs were nativists, and as the party disintegrated, some formed the Know-Nothing Party. Irish and German immigrants who went to saloons on the Sabbath offended many Whigs' politicized sense of piety. Whig anti-Catholicism, xenophobia, and prohibitionism tended to push immigrants, particularly Catholic immigrants, into the Democratic fold.²⁷ Because of Cincinnati's large immigrant population, Pendleton clearly recognized his need to secure their support to be successful politically. His speeches indicate that he deprecated nativism and religious discrimination. This position was consistent with his ideological support of the inviolability of the private conscience. Whether his words drew upon ideals of tolerance or simple political opportunism is uncertain because of the lack of personal correspondence or diaries.²⁸ Nonetheless, Pendleton did remain consistent in his opposition to nativism throughout his career.

Pendleton's first campaign for the United States House of Representatives provides an example of his anti-nativist position. Pendleton had previously run for and won a seat in the Ohio State Senate as a Democrat. But by the campaign for the 1854 elections, groups opposing the Democracy attempted to make a distinction between their anti-Catholicism and the more general sense of nativism. Though an undercurrent of xenophobia ran strongly



MARVELOUS EQUESTRIAN PERFORMANCE ON TWO ANIMALS.
By the celebrated Artist, PROFESSOR GEORGE B. MAC, assisted by the noted Bare-back Rider, GEORGE H. PENDLETON, on his Wonderful
Disunion Steed, PEACATANSYFRICE.
N. B. The beautiful creature, PEACATANSYFRICE, recently imported from Europe, was sired by JOHN BULL, and dand'd by AMERICA.

through these groups, particularly the Know-Nothings, the distinction helped to garner Protestant immigrant support. In this election, the issues went beyond municipal concerns to include the recent debate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill proposed by Democrat Stephen Douglas from Illinois. This bill offended the Free Soil sentiment of many northerners and westerners who viewed it as opening up previously free portions of the West to slavery. As a result, Anti-Catholic forces combined with anti-Nebraska partisans to form the Ohio People's Party in order to oppose the Democracy. Even heavily Democratic Hamilton County, which contained Cincinnati, gave a majority vote in the 1854 election to the People's Party. The German Democratic vote fell from eighty-eight percent the year before to fifty-three percent, signaling the growing defection from the Democracy.²⁹ The opposition fusion comprised of, according to one historian, "former Whigs, virulent nativists, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and non-Catholic immigrants" challenged Democratic ascendancy.³⁰ Though Pendleton's rhetoric in this election would tend to demonstrate a broad-brushed approach, depicting the opposition uniformly as nativists, the fusion that he faced was an eclectic collection that defied simple categorization.

In 1854, the Democrats nominated Pendleton to represent the First District in Congress. His opponent, Timothy C. Day, accused him and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (which supported him) of combining the vote of the Catholics and the Miamis in his earlier bid for a seat in the State Senate. The Miami Tribe, Day asserted, was a group trying to control the regular organization of Democrats in Cincinnati that he and a radical faction of Cincinnati's Democrats had opposed. Day was clearly trying to divide Pendleton's support base by associating these two disparate groups. Disillusioned with the party because of the dispute over the admission of Kansas, Day secretly ran as a Know-Nothing. He had the support of some radical Democrats who held very conservative economic views, and saw Pendleton as too moderate. The Germans of Cincinnati had followed their leader, Charles Reemelin, a radical Democrat, and opposed the Miamis.³¹

Though Democrats downplayed their party's factionalization as largely personal squabbles over political power "founded on no differences of principle or policy," important underlying issues existed.³² Pendleton responded to Day's revival of past disputes with a speech denying any connection with the Miami political organization. In addition, he repudiated the Know-Nothings, who Day apparently represented, and suggested that the United States should not only foster immigration but also should end religious and ethnic prejudice. Pendleton continued to speak out against the Know-Nothings prior to the election, saying that they were in reality Whigs who were intolerant of religious minorities and foreigners. The *Cincinnati Commercial*, the political enemy of the *Enquirer*, alleged that Democratic city

officials had illegally naturalized large numbers of immigrants the night before the election in order to boost the party's totals.³³

In spite of his efforts, Pendleton lost the election to Day, who never officially disclosed his true political persuasion. Although the *Commercial* referred to him as a member of the American Reform Ticket, a nativist group, it passed no judgment on Day and took no official partisan position. The *Ohio Statesman*, one of Ohio's leading Democratic mouthpieces, suggested that the Democrats did poorly in the election due to the strength of the Know-Nothings.³⁴

Pendleton's anti-nativist campaign demonstrated a cognizance of Cincinnati's growing immigrant electorate. Yet, this cannot have been a decisive factor for Pendleton because the immigrant community did not vote as a block in elections during the early 1850s. Yet another factor played a role in Pendleton's decision to become a Democrat: his relationship with Ohio's attorney general and soon-to-be U.S. Senator George Ellis Pugh. Born into a Quaker family, which according to the interpretation of the ethno-cultural historians would place him within the Whig Party, Pugh held no prejudice against those of other nationalities or faiths. Indeed, he later married Theresa Chalfant, a Catholic, and converted to Catholicism himself. Interestingly, Pugh had been a Harrison Whig in 1840, but the *Cincinnati Commercial* noted that he later became a Democrat when the Whigs became a "hopeless minority in Hamilton County."³⁵ Pugh grappled with this decision concurrently with his friend, Pendleton, and both apparently came to the same conclusion about their own political philosophies and which party would provide the greatest personal advantage.³⁶

One must consider a final and decisive factor to explain Pendleton's decision to become a Democrat. Although Nathaniel Greene Pendleton was unsuccessful in passing along his political partisanship to his son, he was much more effective in bestowing upon him his political ideology. The younger Pendleton had more than one choice as he entered the 1850s. He rejected the Know-Nothings because of their nativism and disdain for his position on private conscience. Pendleton could have joined former Whigs like Abraham Lincoln and others of the Free Soil philosophy who eventually formed the Republican Party, but he could not support its association with abolitionism. This advocacy would have run counter to his family's southern heritage dating to the colonial period. The southern political philosophy of states' rights, limited federal authority, and concern for a truly democratic governing system—though reserved for white men—remained a part of Pendleton's ideology throughout his career and would ultimately influence his decision to become a Peace Democrat and oppose the Republican prosecution of the Civil War. His father dedicated himself to these principles, though surprisingly Jacksonian in concept, and he passed them on to his son. They formed the

basis of the western Democratic ideology that would dominate the party in this region for the decade to come. That Pendleton's father previously held these views further demonstrates the amalgamated nature of the Whig Party.

Early in his career, Pendleton's political beliefs evolved to include other Jacksonian tenets such as a strict construction of the Constitution, elevation of the "common man" by instituting an instructed delegate view of representation in Congress, strict economy, private conscience, and opposition to concentrated power, particularly government-sanctioned monopolies or privilege.³⁷ Unwilling to tolerate (as his father had) such emphases as neo-mercantilism and political piety, Pendleton's developing focus precluded association with the Whig Party. Much of this evolution arose as a result of Pendleton's focus on national rather than just local issues. His father had served in Congress, allowing him to recognize the



importance of local concerns in light of national initiatives. In examining the inability of President John Tyler to become the leader of the Whig Party in the early 1840s, for example, Pendleton realized that no further impediments stood in the way of Henry Clay becoming that party's clarion voice. The Whigs, under Clay, had less and less room for those holding to Pendleton's ideals. To be successful politically, Pendleton understood that he had to temper his personal ambition with his desire to remain true to his political beliefs and his recognition of the direction of the national party organizations.³⁸

Ashland, home of Henry Clay, Lexington, Kentucky. The Filson Historical Society

Pendleton's later partisanship seems to support the idea that his father's ideology heavily influenced him, leaving him in the given time period little choice other than the Democracy. In his provocative and insightful conclusion, the historian Daniel Walker Howe has argued that "the post-war Democratic party bore certain similarities to prewar Whiggery."³⁹ Pendleton represents one strain of that conclusion: he upheld his father's southern heritage, including his support for white supremacy, states' rights, and strict construction of the Constitution. Pendleton maintained these Jacksonian principles throughout his career, leading the western Democracy through the Civil War and attempting to direct it beyond. Yet he found justification

for some Whig objectives in a Jacksonian ideology reinterpreted, of necessity, because of a changing political milieu. During the war, consistent with Whig tradition, Pendleton frequently fought to limit the expansion of executive power at the expense of legislative prerogative. One cannot interpret his attacks on Lincoln's administration as anti-Jacksonian, however, because Pendleton based them on a concern for the maintenance of individual liberties. In his final initiative in the House before leaving his seat, Pendleton furthered this objective by introducing a bill to authorize cabinet members to have non-voting seats in Congress, in his mind another means of keeping tabs on the executive branch. In the end, Pendleton took many of his father's Whig ideals, reinterpreted them within the context of Jacksonianism, and developed a political ideology that defined the western Democracy for decades.⁴⁰

The amalgamated nature of the Democracy in the mid-nineteenth century extended beyond Pendleton and his western Democratic supporters, but he did not believe the eastern wing of the party maintained its roots in Jacksonian ideology. Pendleton never strayed from his Jacksonianism, maintaining it as his foundational political philosophy through which he evaluated all political issues. Pendleton and his western Democratic followers differed somewhat from most eastern Democrats, frequently known as "Bourbon Democrats." Both wings of the party supported the long-standing ideals of white supremacy and states' rights. Neither could condone expansion of the central government. Yet on economic issues they parted ways. Bourbon Democrats harkened back to Whig neo-mercantilism. Pendleton parted with his father's Whig heritage here because it contradicted his Jacksonian foundation. Government involvement in support of economic interests smacked of monopoly and privilege and was anathema to any consistent Jacksonian. In his final analysis, Pendleton argued that the Bourbons had left the Jacksonian tradition behind and, therefore, he felt compelled to lead the western Democracy in a different direction. He hoped to convince the Bourbons of the error of their ways.⁴¹

Pendleton never turned his back on the political legacy handed down to him by his father. This legacy became the centerpiece of western Democratic politics during the rest of the nineteenth century. Pendleton developed this political ideology throughout his career, reinterpreting Jacksonianism to address contemporary issues, but never straying from his ideological roots. In the end, wealth, family status, place of birth and denominational affiliation were necessary causes, but did not prove sufficient in and of themselves. The political environment of his city and his time greatly influenced Pendleton's decision. Cincinnati's inhabitants and the demise of the Whig Party certainly played their respective roles. National debates over the expansion of slavery and state squabbles over political dominance had left the party in Ohio in turmoil within and without. Though the Democrats

dominated Ohio's politics in the early 1850s, the complex interplay between political factions and ethnic voting blocs within Cincinnati precluded certainty about the future. All of these factors, including Pendleton's relationship with Pugh, had their place; they laid the groundwork for the most decisive influence. Pendleton was principally influenced by his father's political ideology. In the changing political milieu of the 1840s and 1850s, many of those beliefs could no longer find a comfortable home within the Whig Party. The contemporary observer, Edward Mansfield, seems to have been partially correct when he argued that fathers influenced the party affiliation of their sons. Though partisanship was not always passed down from father to son, political ideology often was. ❧

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2. G. M. D. Bloss, *Life and Speeches of George Hunt Pendleton* (Cincinnati: Miami Printing and Publishing Co., 1868), 7-8; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 21, 1924; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Co., 1931), 3: 273, 10: 240; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), 1666.
3. "Woodward High School in Cincinnati," *American Journal of Education* 4 (September 1957): 520; Clara Longworth DeChambrun, *Cincinnati: Story of the Queen City* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), 160.
4. Edward Deering Mansfield, *Personal Memories, Social, Political, and Literary, 1803-1843* (1879; reprint, New York: Arno and New York Times, 1970), 277; DeChambrun, *Cincinnati*, 165; Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1941), 206.
5. Pugh and Pendleton were schoolmates at Woodward High and Cincinnati College. Bloss, *Life of Pendleton*, 16; Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 14: 419-20. Court records for Cincinnati are currently housed in the Archives and Rare Books Department of the Blegen Library at the University of Cincinnati. Records are very scarce, if at all extant, before 1857. A courthouse fire reputedly destroyed most of them. Records on Pendleton or Pugh, other than a case in which Pendleton himself was the plaintiff, do not survive. Clearly, Pendleton was involved in real estate claims. George H. Pendleton to A. M. Searles, July 2, 1850, Eben Lane Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago; George H. Pendleton to Samuel Bispham, May 17, 1854, Gunther Collections, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago; *Williams' Cincinnati Directory and Business Advertiser*, v. 1-37 (Cincinnati: C. S. Williams, 1849-1887); Carrington T. Marshall, *A History of the Courts and Lawyers of Ohio*, (New York: American Historical Society Inc., 1934), 4: 281.
6. Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 235.
7. The Market Revolution refers to the changing economic practices of Americans after 1815. Farmers began to specialize, focusing on one or two crops to sell for a profit rather than on subsistence farming. Manufacturers began to find better more efficient ways to produce and sell goods. All of these changes were taking place in an economic milieu rife with advances in communications and transportation capabilities. Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 28-29.
8. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945); Stephen E. Maizlish, *The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844-1856* (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1983), 1-20; Watson, *Liberty and Power*; Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Donald J. Ratcliffe, "The Market Revolution and Party Alignments in Ohio, 1828-1840," in Jeffrey P. Brown and Andrew R. L. Cayton, eds., *The Pursuit of Public Power: Political Culture in Ohio, 1787-1861* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994), 99-116.
9. William A. Sullivan, "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?," *Political Science Quarterly* 62 (December 1947): 569-80; Edward Pessen, "Did Labor Support Jackson?," *Political Science Quarterly* 64 (June 1949): 262-74; Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy in the Working Class: A Study of the Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960); Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). More recently, David Brown reexamined the Market Revolution interpretation and found it lacking when applied to the South. Brown asserted that the Market Revolution had little impact on the South and therefore could not be a key factor in why Jackson gained such a support base there. David Brown, "Slavery and the Market Revolution: The South's Place in Jacksonian Historiography," *Southern Studies* 4 (1993): 189-207.
10. Benson, *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, 288-328; Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Stephen C. Fox, *The Group Bases of Ohio Political Behavior, 1803-1848* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989), 119-140.
11. Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). See also Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850's* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978); Michael F. Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 237-64.
12. Howe, *American Whigs*, 250.

13. *Ibid.*, 302.
14. Holt, *American Whig Party*, 30, 68, 70, 115-18.
15. Lawrence Frederick Kohl, review of *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War*, by Michael F. Holt, *American Historical Review* 105 (December 2000): 1744.
16. Holt, *American Whig Party*, 659.
17. *Ibid.*, 569-73, 657-61.
18. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Population Schedules, microfilm reel 687, 41; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population Schedules, microfilm reel 973, 477; Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population Schedules, microfilm reel 1209, 247.
19. *Cleave's Biographical Cyclopaedia of the State of Ohio: City of Cincinnati and Hamilton County* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1873), 20; Benson, *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, 288-328; Fox, *Group Bases*, 119-40.
20. Garland A. Haas, *The Politics of Disintegration: Political Party Decay in the United States, 1840-1900* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 1994), 1-51.
21. The American System was intended to benefit the home market of the United States and centered on three main parts: a national banking system, protective tariffs, and federally-funded internal improvements. The program was consistent with the Whig support of neo-mercantilism, a political philosophy calling for the government to promote economic growth through its policies.
22. Isaac M. Jordan, in a eulogy to George Hunt Pendleton, stated that the chaos of the Whig Party at this time caused Pendleton to choose the Democratic Party. Stephen Maizlish argues that the second party system had already dissolved in Ohio by 1849, perhaps justifying the assertion that Pendleton saw the Whig demise coming. Holt sees a decline in the Whig Party during the early to mid-1840s, a revival by the end of the decade, and the eventual destruction of the party by the mid-1850s. *George Hunt Pendleton* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1890), 25; Clement Eaton, *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1957), 146-52, 172-78; Maizlish, *Triumph of Sectionalism*, xiii; Norma Lois Peterson, *The Presidencies of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 31-35, 66-72, 190-97; Holt, *American Whig Party*, 208-11.
23. J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1854), 399, as cited in Francis P. Weisenburger, "A Brief History of the Immigrant Groups in Ohio," in *In the Trek of the Immigrants: Essays Presented to Carl Wittke* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana College Library, 1964), 83-84; Weisenburger, *Passing of the Frontier*, 324; Alvin F. Harlow, *The Serene Cincinnatians* (n.p., 1950), 36; Clifford Neal Smith, *Early Nineteenth-Century German Settlers in Ohio (Mainly Cincinnati and Environs), Kentucky, and Other States* (McNeal, Ariz.: Westland Publications, 1984), 50.
24. Weisenburger, "Immigrant Groups in Ohio," 84; Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 18-19, 68-71, 174-81, 256-61. Charles Reemelin was the German statesman.
25. William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 60-64.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Holt, *Political Parties*, 75-80.
28. No major collection of Pendleton papers exists at any institution or in private collections. Any papers kept in the family likely burned in a fire in 1926. The location of Pendleton's will is undetermined.
29. Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 69-128.
30. *Ibid.*, 121.
31. Eugene H. Roseboom, *The Civil War Era, 1850-1873* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1944), 272-73.
32. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 8, 1857.
33. *Cincinnati Commercial*, September 29, October 12, 1854; Roseboom, *Civil War Era*, 272-73.
34. *Cincinnati Commercial*, September 29, October 10, 12, 1854; *Ohio Statesman*, October 12, 1854.
35. *Cincinnati Commercial*, September 18, 1856.
36. Pugh often expressed his opposition to Know-Nothingism. George E. Pugh to Alexander Long, May 27, 1856, Alexander Long Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati (hereinafter cited as CHSL); Newspaper Clipping, n. d., Long Papers, CHSL; Obituary of George Ellis Pugh, n. d., Rufus King Papers, CHSL; Owen M. Peterson, "Ohio Leaders in the Democratic Convention of 1860," *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio Bulletin* 13 (April 1955): 107.
37. Thomas S. Mach, "'Gentleman George' Hunt Pendleton: A Study in Political Continuity" (Ph.D. diss., University of Akron, 1996), 12-144 and *passim*.
38. Nathaniel Greene Pendleton, *Letter on Our Political Troubles* (Washington, D.C.: H. Polkinhorn, 1861), 1-8. Nathaniel Greene Pendleton held that the southern states had the right to maintain slavery and suggested that the Missouri Compromise be reinstated as the formula for admitting future states. He sought compromise to prevent war, even proposing the formation of a central confederacy made up of border states between the North and the South to prevent bloodshed. While slightly later than the time period being discussed, this letter expressed the principle of states' rights that Nathaniel Greene passed on to his son, George. Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 31; Robert V. Remini, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 305; Holt, *Political Parties*, 54.
39. Howe, *American Whigs*, 302.
40. *Ibid.*, 303-305; Mach, "Gentleman George," 104-70 and *passim*.
41. Mach, "Gentleman George," 208-63 and *passim*.