OHIO VALLEY HISTORY

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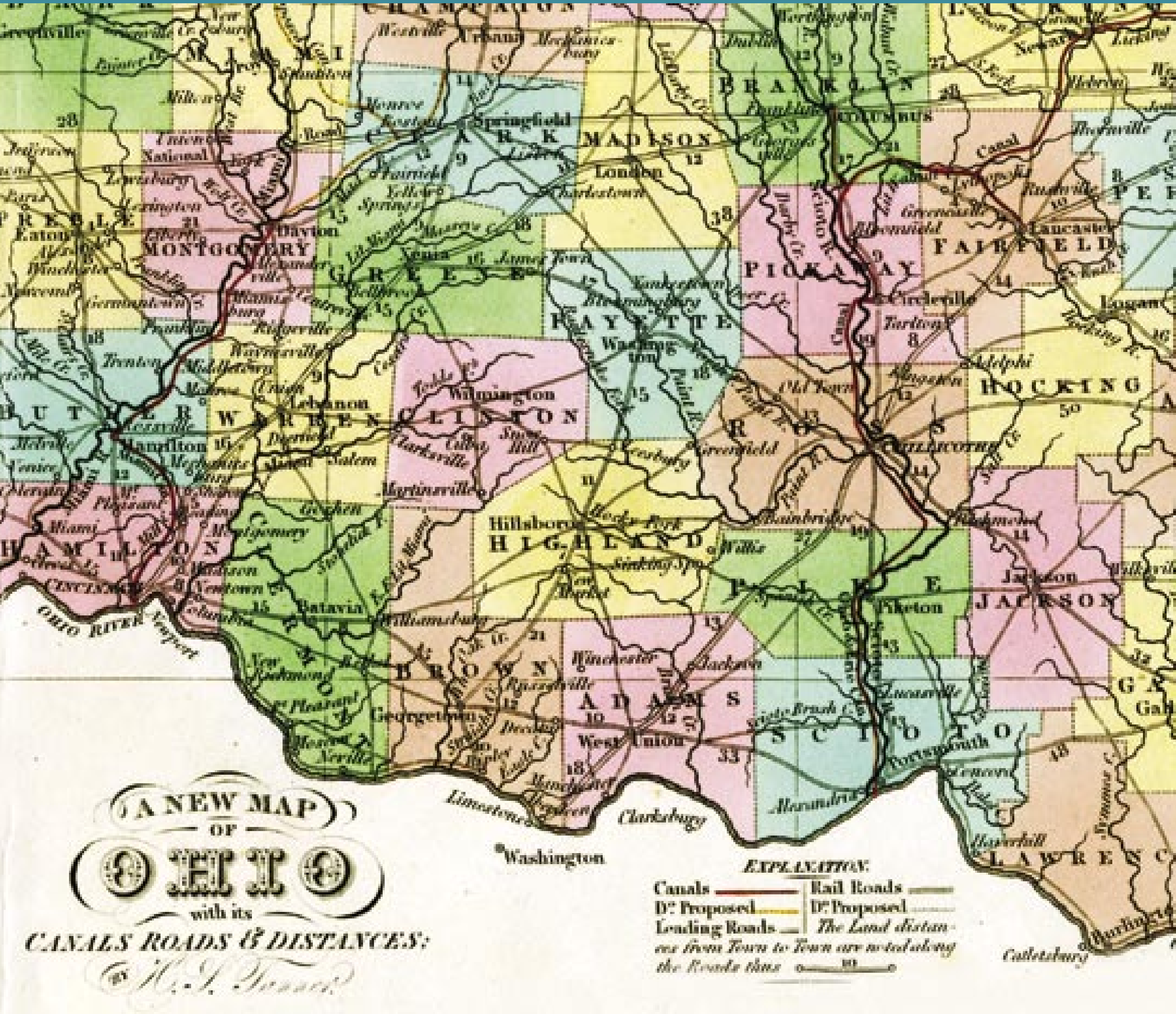

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Volume 5, Number 4, Winter 2005

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Losing the Market Revolution:
Lebanon, Ohio, and the Economic Transformation of Warren County, 1820-1850

Daniel P. Glenn

The celebration was a gala affair, one that matched the visions of bountifulness and preeminence that the leaders of Lebanon, Ohio had for their town. Lebanon, a town of 1,000 people located in Warren County in the fruitful land between the Great Miami and Little Miami Rivers in southwest Ohio, just twenty-five miles from Cincinnati, hosted some of the most distinguished leaders of the day: Governor Dewitt Clinton of New York, the father of the Erie Canal; Senator Henry Clay from Kentucky, champion of the West and hero to the leaders of Lebanon; William Henry Harrison, future president; and Jeremiah Morrow, a native of Warren County and governor of Ohio. On July 22, 1825, together with Thomas Corwin, A. H. Dunlavy, George J. Smith, and others of the elite of Lebanon, they celebrated the initiation of construction on Ohio's Miami and Erie Canal. The canal would run through the Warren County town of Franklin, only ten miles from the site of the evening's festivities, and Lebanon's leaders were sure that prosperity and progress would follow.

Jeremiah Morrow. Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

This generation had a mission. Their fathers had conquered the frontier. They had battled the wilderness and won, and carved a community of farms and towns out of the forest. Now the sons of those pioneers would transform Warren County yet again – from a community of small farms to a center of manufacturing and a regional marketplace. They agreed heartily with Clinton when he declared that night that the new canal "will grow with your growth, strengthen with your strength and affect you most prosperously in your vital interests."[1] For many years the town's leaders had advocated the construction of the canal. The local paper, *The Western Star*, had printed each report of the Ohio Canal Commission in full along with details from the debates in the Ohio Assembly concerning the canal. And at last its construction had begun. There was good reason to celebrate. The gentlemen of Lebanon drank no less than eighteen toasts that night, many to the great men in their midst. The toast to Governor Clinton followed immediately after that to George Washington. Once the applause ended, Clinton raised his own glass to the citizens of Warren County and proclaimed: "The dispensations of Heaven have been so liberal [to them] that nothing but their own exertions are necessary to conduct them to a distinguished elevation of prosperity."[2] For the leaders of Lebanon his words only reconfirmed what they already believed to be true.

Over the next 20 years, the leaders of Lebanon did succeed in transforming the county, but in a way quite unintended. The Miami and Erie Canal did not bring general prosperity to Warren County. Furthermore, it did not make Lebanon a center of manufacturing or a regional hub for commerce. Even the construction of the Warren County Canal in 1840, a branch canal running directly to Lebanon, did not change the economic prospects of the town or the county. The leaders of Lebanon, ultimately, misunderstood the economic and commercial transformation that was occurring between 1820 and 1850 in Ohio and across the United States.[3] Though they fully committed themselves to bringing Warren County into the market economy, they did not foresee the results of this integration. Once physically tied to the market economy by the Miami and Erie Canal and other internal improvements, Lebanon and Warren County became peripheral contributors to the regional marketplace at Cincinnati and to the wider national market. As the county became more closely tied to the market, farmers began to concentrate on producing one saleable agricultural commodity – pork. But even as some farmers prospered in the new economy, manufacturing in Lebanon and across the county diminished in the face of competition from workshops in Cincinnati, Dayton, and places even further away. The market economy did not bestow a general improvement of economic conditions on the residents of Warren County. Some did flourish in the new economy. But, as the county became more married to the market economy, a greater number of residents existed in the pale between semi-subsistence and poverty and were reduced to moving away or becoming tenant farmers or wage laborers.

Central View, Lebanon. Drawing by Henry Howe, 1846. Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society

That there were winners and losers due to the economic transformation of Ohio, and Warren County specifically, would come as no surprise to those who have browsed the histories of the Jacksonian Era. Yet, that literature tends to focus on the conflict between Americans who championed industrialization, the wage labor system, and the expansion of the market economy, and those who preferred an economic system that favored independent farmers and artisans.[4] Few works emphasize how even the proponents of the economic transformation could neither completely control the changes nor prevent themselves and their communities from becoming losers in the process. This article, however, does just that. The transformation of Warren County provides a needed example of the unintended consequences that accompanied the nationwide development of the commercial market economy.

The history of Warren County's entry into the market economy began in 1819 when economic panic seized Ohio. Before the depression many of Ohio's chartered and unchartered banks had played fast and loose with paper money, often issuing far more than they could ever hope to redeem in hard currency. When some banks, including a branch of the Bank of the United States (BUS) in Cincinnati, and the federal land office demanded repayment in either specie or BUS issued notes, Ohio's paper money system collapsed.[5] Debtors and banks simply did not own enough gold, silver, or BUS notes to reimburse their creditors, and much of the paper money they did possess was unredeemable. The failure of Ohio banks created a money shortage, caused deflation, and decimated the prices for agricultural goods. With less cash in circulation, commerce declined. Farmers, merchants and tradesmen in Warren County reverted to a system of bartering that had never completely disappeared. Merchants advertising in *The Western Star* asked for either cash or produce for their goods. Men could pay the state road tax by working for seventy-five cents a day if they lacked cash. Land could be purchased for as little as one-fourth down, with the balance to be paid over the next few years. Even the editors of *The Western Star* accepted foodstuffs as payment for subscriptions.[6]

The panic lasted until about 1822. Four years of economic depression played a significant role in shaping the political ideas of the county's residents. The suffering convinced many residents that the government was responsible for ensuring that such a crisis would not happen again. Inhabitants of Warren County joined others across Ohio in agitating for the state government to become actively involved in promoting the state's prosperity.[7] Legislators in Ohio's House of Representatives did not take long to act. In December 1820, with their constituents angry and frustrated at banks, the legislature threatened to revoke the charters of any bank that refused to redeem its notes in specie. Then, targeting the BUS, which many blamed for creating the panic in Ohio, the House approved the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, written a quarter century earlier by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison as a challenge to the power of the federal government. The resolutions asserted that a state could nullify any federal law that its legislature deemed unconstitutional. The assembly also unanimously passed a resolution declaring Ohio's right to tax any private business established by Congress.[8] The legislature intended to send a clear message to Congress that the economic solvency of the state would not rely on institutions headquartered hundreds of miles away on the Atlantic coast.

The assembly did more than regulate banks. All manner of debtor relief was introduced and debated. William Schenck and John Bigger, the representatives for Warren County, both supported a bill giving debtors until 1824 to repay creditors for debts contracted before April 1820, and limiting jail terms for debtors.[9] These actions came as a response to pleas from their constituents for protection against creditors. Writing to *The Western Star*, one man exclaimed: "Is it ever included in the penalty of a bond, that, in default of means to pay it the defendant shall lose his liberty?"[10] Other officeholders had to defend their records against enraged voters. William Henry Harrison, at the time a state senator, tried to explain in a letter to the editor why he had voted to allow the state to sell petty criminals into labor. A morally upright and hardworking family, he wrote, could "gently lead" a waylaid young man or woman "back to the paths of rectitude." Besides, he maintained, it was better than the whipping that others had advocated![11]

While aiding debtors and intimidating bankers could help relieve the repercussions of the panic, more had to be done to ensure that the state would not face the same situation again. For many Ohioans the solution was a system of canals. The idea for a canal across Ohio dated back at least to 1819, but in the midst of economic stagnation impetus for the idea gained energy.[12] The panic demonstrated the problem of having access to only one major market. Most crops exported from Ohio were shipped to New Orleans.[13] But, the prices for agricultural goods there were flat. "Cargoes down will hardly pay freight and commission," *The Western Star* complained in 1821.[14] Supporters argued that a canal linking the Ohio River with Lake Erie would connect the state with New York's Erie Canal and give Ohioans an all-water passage to the important Atlantic seaboard ports of New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Furthermore, a canal would open the interior of Ohio, attract more settlers to the state, and allow more merchants and farmers to join the market economy.

Building a canal of two hundred miles across the state was a daunting task. The Ohio legislature took measured steps, beginning with a complete report on the possible benefits of a canal system, issued in 1822. Yet, even this initial step would likely not have been undertaken had the Erie Canal not been successful. New York's "Grand Canal" extended 364 miles from Albany to Buffalo, over ten times longer than any other existing canal in the United States at the time.[15] Construction began in 1818 and by 1822 it was clear that the canal would be a significant and profitable enterprise. Ohio canal boosters argued that the same results would accompany Ohio's efforts. Micajah T. Williams, who headed the special committee to study the feasibility of a canal system, advised the assembly that opening an Ohio canal would cause "a general revolution" in commerce, as "the proposed canal will be the connecting artery through which the commerce between the whole western country, and the City of New York must pass."[16]

Newspaper accounts of the Erie Canal's stunning progress bolstered Williams's enthusiastic recommendation for a canal system. As a result, the legislature felt confident implementing further measures. In 1822, it created a canal commission and authorized surveys of possible routes. Two years later, the assembly requested that Congress donate federal land to offset the cost of the canal. And in January 1825, the assembly passed a bill committing Ohio to building two canals. The Ohio and Erie Canal would run from Cleveland, southwest through Columbus and Chillicothe, and terminate at Portsmouth on the Ohio River. The Miami and Erie Canal would proceed north from Cincinnati to Middletown initially, but with plans to extend to Dayton and eventually to Toledo on Lake Erie.[17]

Ohio Canals. Based on "Canals and Railroads Proposed in Ohio, 1825-1836," in Scheiber, Ohio Canal Era, 96.

Throughout the three years of surveys and indecision, from 1822 to 1825, many of the leading citizens of Warren County and the editors of *The Western Star* steadfastly advocated a canal system and expounded on the benefits it would bring to the county and state. They maintained that the canals would increase commerce in the region, stimulate manufacturing, and strengthen the nation. Jeremiah Morrow, future state senator and governor, wrote that, by expanding "the general wealth," any funds allocated by the legislature on internal improvements such as the canal "would be the most beneficial expenditure possible."[18] In his Fourth of July oration in Lebanon in 1823, Nathaniel McLean, brother of future Supreme Court Justice John McLean, clothed an Ohio canal system in the cloaks of patriotism and progress. In his mind, internal improvements would solidify America's military defenses and create a national economy with Ohio at its heart. Canals, he implored, "bring the extremities of this vast continent . . . together, they facilitate the transportation of military stores in time of war, cement and identify us by mutual benefits in the interchange of the various products incident to every part of this extended union."[19] Rejecting the canal, he warned, meant falling behind economically and even militarily to other countries and other states. A year later, Jacob D. Miller, president of the town council, spoke more bluntly. Miller emphasized that the stable and extensive connections between eastern and western states imparted by the Ohio Canal were essential for the nation to remain economically and militarily vigorous. For these reasons, the Ohio canal, he lectured, had to be the highest priority for all voters. "No man ought to receive your suffrages," he sternly cautioned, "who is an enemy to this system."[20]

The support for Ohio canals was so widespread in Warren County that virtually no political opposition existed.[21] In fact, in 1824, two office seekers, Dr. Joseph Canby and Thomas R. Ross exchanged verbal jabs over who was the greater advocate of canals. Canby wanted the state to build more than just two canals. He insisted that the canal system be extended to "every great valley in the state," and he accused Ross of refusing to ask Congress to grant public lands to facilitate its construction.[22] Ross, on the other hand, argued that a system of two canals had the best opportunity to receive Congressional funding and to gain the political support necessary in the state assembly. He ridiculed Canby's idea of a canal in every valley as harebrained, and portrayed Canby as a greedy land speculator hoping to cash in on his investments by increasing the value of his property.[23] Canby lost the election. Apparently, Warren County voters believed that a multiplicity of branch canals, which Canby had proposed, would be too expensive, and they had faith that one or two principal canals were enough to stimulate the local economy.

No voice in Lebanon was louder or more sustained in promoting the canal system than that of *The Western Star.* The newspaper dedicated an enormous amount of space to articles about the benefits of the Erie Canal to New York, to reports of Ohio's Canal Commission, and to canals in general. In the three years from 1822 through 1824, of the 156 issues it published, no less than thirty-eight issues, nearly one quarter, included an article about canals. Many of these were reprinted from other newspapers. Some were wide-ranging tutorials, while others were merely reports on the status of the canal survey. All of them contributed to the paper's objective–build a consensus among voters of Warren County for the canal system. For example, the paper reported in 1822 that New York's Erie Canal could hardly handle all the traffic it generated.[24] Tolls were expected to exceed all estimates.[25]

Bank of the United States banknote. Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society

What the Erie Canal had done for New York commerce, the editors advised, an Ohio canal could do for trade in the land between the Miamis. Reports carried in the paper declared that the value of flour exports from the Miami Valley region would increase by $364,000 if the Miami and Erie Canal were built.[26] Alternatively, if Ohio did not construct canals, the excessive cost of overland transportation would keep the price of its farmers' produce too high to compete with that of more developed regions. Ultimately, it warned, economic ruin awaited the state if it did not embark on the creation of the canal system.

The Western Star's complete dedication to promoting a canal system reflected a more general ideological commitment of the leaders of Lebanon to improvement: improving their economy, their society, and their place in Ohio. Besides articles on canals and politics, the paper carried exhortations from the Women's Bible Society, parables by temperance leaders, denunciations of slavery from *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and descriptions of evangelical camp revivals. Historians have identified and described this devotion to progress and uplift in the Whig political party of the 1830s-50s.[27] *The Western Star*, however, was steeped in Whiggery a decade before the political party emerged on the national scene. The social concerns of the editors of the paper were indistinguishable from their economic interests. Individuals who worked hard, were disciplined, efficient, and sober not only led less sinful lives, they also achieved financial success. The "Whigs" of Warren County were not content with just improving their own lives morally and economically. They tried to change the community. This helps to explain their excitement about Ohio's canal system. Just as the Miami and Erie Canal would usher in the commercial market economy, it would also serve as a catalyst for reshaping the residents of the county into better people.

The Miami and Erie Canal was just one part of their vision. The county needed turnpikes, improved roads, and even railroads if it was to be a manufacturing and commercial center. But these required considerable financial investment either by the state government or on the part of Warren County's wealthy and would take time to build. And no other method of transportation would have as much an impact on the county as the canal because of its cheap freight rates and direct connection to Cincinnati. The canal, therefore, became a symbol of the county's progress towards a new improved condition. Is it any wonder, then, that in the summer of 1825, the prominent men of Lebanon stayed up too late and drained too many glasses with their champions of progress, Dewitt Clinton and Henry Clay, celebrating the initiation of construction on the Miami and Erie Canal?

At the same time the county leadership was promoting an Ohio canal system, residents of Warren County found themselves in the middle of an economic transformation. The semi-subsistence economy was giving way to a commercial market economy. Likewise, the local economies that revolved around the county's many small towns experienced the pressure and influence of the commercial market economy emanating from Cincinnati. In the older semi-subsistence economy, farmers grew much of their own food, raised their own cows for dairy products, and came to the town market where they bartered or bought other necessities. The incoming commercial market economy, however, favored specialization, raising just one or two primary saleable goods in large quantities. The amount of these goods surpassed the needs of the local residents. Indeed, the products were intended for the regional, national, or even international commercial market and were sold for cash with which the seller could purchase the food, tools, and other necessities they no longer produced themselves. Certainly not every farmer in Warren County favored this economic change. Some were likely content with a semi-subsistence life; others had too little land to produce crops on a scale profitable in a commercial economy. Nevertheless, either willingly or out of necessity, many attempted to become players in the commercial market economy.

William Henry Harrison (1773-1841). Undated. Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society

The transition to a commercial economy did not happen automatically. Warren County farmers had to develop the skills and products the commercial market desired. *The Western Star* became a vocal advocate of the commercial economy and offered advice to farmers looking to increase their yields or raise bigger livestock. The newspaper counseled them to "cultivate no more land than can be thoroughly ploughed, well manured at once, and kept free from weeds," and to rotate corn, wheat, and clover to improve harvests.[28] It also instructed local farmers on the best ways to raise hogs for the market. "Suitable pens, pasture, plenty of food, and care and judgement in feeding," one article read, "are all subjects to be attended to."[29]

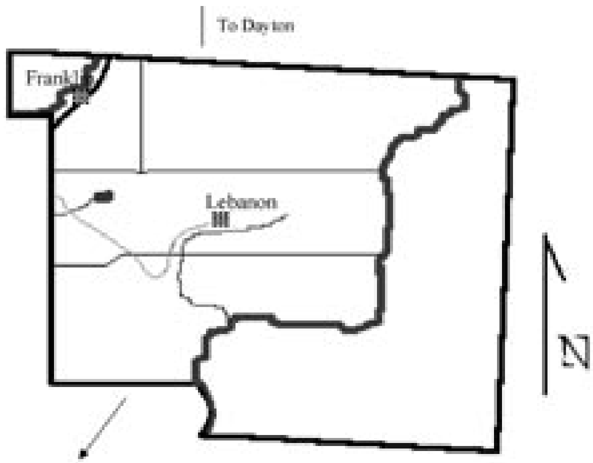
When county farmers had a success *The Western Star* celebrated it. An 834-pound, locally raised hog prompted the paper to note, "the farmers of Warren county, are entitled to much credit for their attention to the improvement of stock." It went on to claim that the county had for some time been providing Cincinnati with "the finest pork."[30] In fact, hogs represented the county's progress toward the commercial market economy. Farmers invested time, money, and energy breeding hogs to develop the "Warren County hog" or "Shaker hog," and, in 1839, the "celebrated" Poland-China breed.[31]

The Miami and Erie Canal along with roads and turnpikes completed in the late 1830s and 1840s, provided farmers with the necessary access to the regional markets at Cincinnati and Dayton. Farmers specialized in producing hogs for the market and raised a tremendous number destined for the meat-packing houses of Warren County and Cincinnati. In 1840 alone the county produced 56,847 hogs, more than all but two other counties in Ohio.[32] By then, the commercial market economy was fully exerting its influence on the residents of the county.

Farmers were only one segment of Warren County's emerging commercial market economy. Local manufacturers provided goods to the neighboring farmers and townsmen. The 1820 census listed 725 of its 17,837 residents as engaged in manufacturing.[33] Blacksmiths, shoemakers, wool carders and combers, weavers, potters, carpenters, coopers, millers, brick makers, furniture makers, hatters, tanners, wagon makers, saddle makers, tailors, and distillers all operated in the local economy.[34] The development of transportation systems and the transition to the commercial market economy meant that these manufacturers could sell their goods to a broader group of consumers. The Report of the Canal Commission of January 1823 clearly stated this expectation. The canal system would "place the American artisan on fair equal ground of competition with the foreign [manufacturers] in the American market."[35] Yet, at the same time, the integration of local economies into the commercial market economy meant that manufacturers who produced only for the residents of their town and the surrounding countryside could face new competition from larger regional manufacturers. Coopers in Lebanon, for instance, would have to compete against those in Cincinnati, Dayton, or any other town along the canal.

The leaders of Lebanon, however, looked forward to their chance to expand their consumer base and attract new manufacturing to the town. "Commerce not only affords employment, subsistence and comfort," *The Western Star* explained, "but contributes most largely to the general wealth and prosperity, strength and happiness of every country where it is pursued."[36] Continuing, the writer celebrated the great social benefits of commerce. The "habits of activity" and "powers of body and mind" of individuals participating in commerce were "stimulated to a more vigorous, healthful, effective exercise."[37] With construction on the Miami and Erie Canal already begun in 1825, it would not be too long, the residents of Lebanon hoped, before the town experienced the beneficial effects of increased commerce.

Perhaps the first indication that the emergence of the commercial market economy would not bring the promised prosperity to Lebanon and Warren County came less than two months after the festivities of July 1825. A correspondent who adopted the name "Ohio Patriot and Philanthropist" warned the readers of *The Western Star* that the canal system, the very symbol of the new economy, would be the ruin of poor Ohioans. State taxes to support the canal on top of those already imposed by the county and township, he wrote, "will finally be so great as cannot be defrayed by the ordinary class of people, who will at best have to depend on day's works for a support."[38] The independent small farming family, he maintained, would be a casualty of the commercial market economy; farmers would be forced to become wage earners, dependent on other people for their very survival. "If this is called freedom," he bemoaned, "I am a stranger to the phrase."[39] "Ohio Patriot" pointed out to those who may not have considered it that the new economy would come at a cost not all were anxious to pay.



Warren County, Ohio

The sentiments of this one correspondent living in southwest Ohio reflected a widespread and common resistance to the commercial market economy wherever the transition had begun. Though they generally accept the existence of an opposition to the new economy, historians have argued over the prevalence and pervasiveness of this resistance. Harry L. Watson, for instance, has asserted that in Cumberland County, North Carolina, the division over the future of the political economy, or in his words, how residents "wanted their community to fit into the rapidly developing world of international capitalism," manifested itself in two competing political parties.[40] Indeed, Charles Sellers argues that acceptance of or hostility toward the commercial market economy caused the ideological split in the late 1820s between the Jacksonians, the political supporters of Andrew Jackson, and their rivals the National Republicans. Both Watson and Sellers contend that by the election of 1828 both parties had clearly enunciated their economic policies, and their resonance with the public played a major role in the outcome of the contest. Sellers states that the results of the presidential race in the most closely contested states "mirror[ed] the clash of land and invading market, of contrasting modes and relations of production, and of consequent cultural dispositions." Those who were part of the market economy, he argues, voted for the National Republicans and those outside of the market or who earned their keep through wage labor favored Jacksonians.[41]

Warren County saw a foreshadowing of the second party system as the elections of 1828 approached, but a contest over political economy was not at its root.[42] Correspondents to *The Western Star*, certainly, filled its pages with inflammatory accusations against Jackson and bitter remonstrations of

John Quincy Adams. Even the local Congressional representative contest pitted a Jacksonian, James Shields, against a friend of the administration, John Woods. The results indicate that the voters of the county divided nearly evenly in both races. Jackson captured 1,797 ballots, while 1,835 voted for Adams. The Jacksonian Congressional candidate garnered 1,391 votes; his opponent received 1,390.[43]

However, it was the results of the October elections that truly caused the emergence of two parties in Warren County. Shocked at the loss of that month's Congressional election, the supporters of Adams formed a "Committee of Vigilence" to increase participation in the upcoming presidential contest. "Apathy and indifference," the committee proclaimed, "has too long prevailed among the friends of the administration." It warned: "Whatever may be our majority, negligence might give it to those who support a different candidate and different principles."[44]

The men of the Committee of Vigilence believed that the Jacksonians represented a real threat to the status quo and their own positions as leaders in the county. Ironically, the elite adopted populist names and labeled the Jacksonians as social climbers. James Shields, for example, had been vilified as both an upstart and a pretentious elitist. A detractor calling himself "Democrat" described him as a "polite finical little man, with his hair powdered and combed after true the English cut." He also derided his foreignness, pointing out that Shields was not born in the United States. [45] The Jacksonians, he implied, would use political power to benefit only themselves. By casting Shields as an outsider and a status seeker, "Democrat" hoped to appeal to voters' sense of familiarity and desire for stability.

It was a defensive mindset that spurred Adams's men to action. Yet, Warren County's Jacksonians were not hostile to the commercial market economy. As with most Ohio Jacksonians, those of Warren County supported state-sponsored internal improvements like the canal system.[46] Instead of rejecting the new economy as Sellers characterizes them, Jacksonians in Warren County and Ohio in general meant to fashion it to their advantage by making social and economic mobility more accessible to the public and themselves.

The success of their campaigns also changed the political battlefield for Jacksonians in Warren County. In January 1829, *The Democrat*, a Jacksonian newspaper, published its first edition. The Franklin-based paper seems to defy the pattern Sellers describes for party affiliation. Located in the only town in the county through which the Miami and Erie Canal passed–the canal was completed through Franklin to Dayton by July 1828–Franklin fit Seller's mold for a National Republican stronghold. Yet, Adams had received only seven more votes than Jackson in Franklin Township.[47] Additionally, Franklin, as a growing community on the major regional transportation route, stood in contrast to Lebanon, which had experienced a decline in its population and

Table 1: *Adult Population Of Lebanon and Franklin, 1820-1830*

	Franklin	Lebanon	Warren County
Population 1820	150	558	8233
Population 1830	205	482	8864
% Change	+36.7%	-13.7%	+7.6%

Note: Table based on U.S. Manuscript Population Census 1820 and 1830. Since the U.S. Census Bureau changed the categories between 1820 and 1830, in this table "adult" in 1820 means white males of 18 years or older, white females of 16 years or older, and African-American males and females of 26 years or older, in 1830, adult means white males and females of 20 years or older, and African-American males and females of 24 years or older.

in 1829 still lacked even a good road to Cincinnati.[48] The political and social old guard of Warren County perceived the Jacksonians of Warren County as more closely resembling those described by Bray Hammond or similar to Paul E. Johnson's Antimasons: enterprising men who created their own political structure to aid their ascension into the social and economic status held by the old elite.[49]

The emergence of a full-fledged rival political party within their own county must have been disconcerting to the leaders of Lebanon. The Jacksonian challenge arose at the same time that the civic leaders recognized that Lebanon was not attracting more manufacturing or commerce, and the canal was producing the opposite effect on the county than expected. "While we possess one of the richest and healthiest portions of the Miami County," *The Western Star* complained, "real property is lower [in price] in Lebanon and the surrounding country than at any other point with equal advantages."[50] The editors of the paper observed: "Too far from the greater portion of the county, to be of any direct benefit, [the canal] has drawn to its margin and towns immediately thereon, for the present at least, most of the business of active trade."[51]

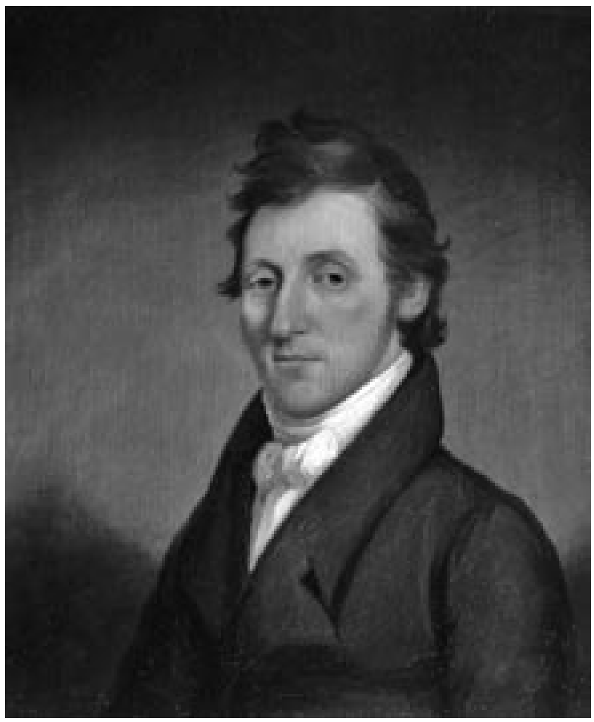
Table 2: *Manufactories In Franklin and Turtle Creek (Lebanon) Townships, 1832*[1]

	Franklin	Turtle Creek
Manufactories	17	19
Population (1830 Census)	2268	4943
Ratio	1:133	1:260

[1] Warren County 1832 Tax Duplicate, Bowyer Records Center and Archives, Warren County Administration Building, Lebanon, Ohio. The manufactures included are distilleries, tanneries, saw mills, grist mills, paper mills, oil mills, iron foundries, breweries, and woolen factories. Unlike the 1820 and 1840 manuscript population censuses, the 1830 manuscript population census did not calculate the number of manufacturers. The county auditor began to make note of manufactories that occupied property in 1832.

Because of its lack of a sound transportation network, Lebanon could not attract commerce. Residents of Lebanon had to look on ruefully as manufacturers moved to Franklin to have access to the Miami and Erie Canal. It is noteworthy that Franklin Township included five distilleries, where Lebanon had none. All along the Miami and Erie Canal this particular pattern held true. Distillers established themselves near the canal and used it to transport their whiskey to Cincinnati.[52]

It was not just the editors of *The Western Star* who discerned Lebanon's ebb in fortune. A correspondent wrote to the paper that the fertile region should be flourishing. "But it is far otherwise," he lamented, "and unless some steps of a very decisive character are taken, we must decline and continue to decline."[53] Not disposed to sit still, in the summer of 1829 the leaders of Lebanon called for the construction of a branch canal to connect Lebanon directly to the Miami and Erie Canal. The canal, it was hoped, would allow Lebanon the same access that Franklin had to the commercial market economy. Franklin had reported exporting $44,000 worth of goods just between December 1829 and March 1830, while it imported some 900 tons of merchandise in the same period.[54]



Micajah T. Williams, 1819. Oil on canvas. Artist unknown. Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, History Collections

With a branch canal, it was expected that Lebanon businessmen could capture the same money Franklin entrepreneurs made on packing, storing, shipping, and selling goods. In February 1830, the state incorporated the Warren County Canal Company, and in early March men from across Warren County met and appointed a board of commissioners with George Kesling as its head. Kesling, publisher of the Jacksonian *Democrat*, may have seemed an ironic choice to lead the construction of the canal that, in the minds of some, would save Lebanon. But Jacksonians like Kesling concerned themselves with fostering commerce as the means by which resourceful men could improve themselves economically and socially. Talk of railroads to Chillicothe and Springfield also spread, and, though its work had stalled, a turnpike company expecting to build a road to Cincinnati continued to meet and at least plan for its completion.[55] However, the canal attracted the most attention and promised the greatest effects.

Financing the excavation of an eighteen-mile canal proved a real challenge. The board of commissioners had to amass $100,000 for construction.[56] The company's charter called for investors to pay for their shares in five installments, which meant commissioners had to remind investors when payments were due and cajole those who fell behind.[57] The company even sued seven investors who consistently refused to meet their obligations.[58] *The Western Star* promoted the general benefits of the project in hopes of inspiring farmers of the county to take a more active role in its completion. The great advantage of the Warren County Canal, the editors explained, was that "it brings into demand every kind of produce," decreasing the need for specialization by farmers.

Lebanon, Ohio, 1854

Moreover, the canal would, it was asserted, cause a rapid increase in the population of Lebanon as the Miami and Erie had in towns like Dayton. With twice the number of mouths to feed, Lebanon would be a "respectable market," consuming, the paper estimated, $50,000 more produce per year. Furthermore, the canal would lower the cost of transportation significantly so Warren County farmers could compete with others for a larger share of the Cincinnati market. In fact, transportation costs would supposedly be reduced by such an extent that the paper projected a yearly savings of $20,000 for the region serviced by the canal.[59] Despite such endorsements, fund raising progressed slowly. Even a change in the charter, which allowed the company to collect the state tolls of canal boats using the Miami and Erie Canal to access the Warren County Canal, and *The Western Star's* promise of $10,000 in revenue per year, did not inspire investment.[60]

Work on the canal was slower still. Not until April 1833, three years after the company was chartered, did the engineers undertake the survey of the route. The projected course of the canal ran southwest from Lebanon following Turtle Creek for approximately two miles. Then it turned northwest, cutting across a swampy area known as Shaker Run, before intersecting with the Miami and Erie Canal near Middletown in Butler County. When construction finally did begin in 1834, the company had still not accumulated enough funds to complete the canal.

If the Warren County Canal would benefit farmers so much, why did they, in particular, seem so unwilling to invest in it? The editors of *The Western Star* suggested that farmers did not understand the advantages of the commercial market economy. However, the reality had less to do with willingness than ability. An examination of rural land holdings between 1825 and 1850 leads to four conclusions.[61] First, property ownership expanded rapidly before 1840, but afterward grew at approximately the same rate as the population.

Second, most of the new landowners owned less than one hundred acres, often even fewer than fifty acres. Third, farmers owning between 100 and 150 acres appear to have thrived, adding acreage to their holdings and positioning themselves well to succeed in the commercial market economy. And fourth, the universal prosperity that advocates of the new economy espoused proved a dream.

In the period between 1825 and 1835, Warren County experienced a land ownership boom. The number of property holders in Warren County grew by sixty percent. This was well above the twenty-percent expansion in population, meaning that new landowners were not just the children of county settlers who gained an inheritance. By 1835, owning land was more common than it had been earlier. From 1825 to 1835, the ratio of property owners to adult men in the county increased from one in three to nearly one in two. The low price of public land, just $1.25 per acre payable in cash or land scrip, with a minimum purchase of eighty acres, may have contributed to this circumstance.[62] Many families were confident that they could live a decent life in the county.

Yet, many of these same families owned too little land to become full-fledged commercial farmers. Commercial farmers needed land to grow corn to feed

Table 3: *Property Holding*
In Warren County, 1825/1835, Excluding Towns

	1825 Property Holders	1825 % of Property Holders	1835 Property Holders	1835 % of Property Holders	Change from 1825 to 1835
Less Than 50 Acres	255	17.4	646	27.5	+153%
50 Acres – 100 Acres	524	35.7	770	32.7	+47%
100.1 Acres – 150 Acres	266	18.1	391	16.6	+47%
150.1 Acres – 200 Acres	203	13.8	267	11.4	+32%
200.1 Acres – 250 Acres	72	4.9	98	4.2	+36%
More than 250 Acres	147	10.0	180	7.6	+22%
TOTAL	1467	100	2352	100	+60%

Note: Property holdings based on 1825 and 1835 Warren County tax duplicates. Town property was excluded because the very small size of holdings would lead to an inaccurate portrayal of rural land holding.

their hogs and wheat to be ground into flour, as well as to furnish other various produce. More land could provide more corn for more hogs, increasing the farmer's profits on his investment. Although numerous families became property owners between 1825 and 1835, most held modest amounts of land. In 1825, 255 property owners, over seventeen percent of the total, held less than fifty acres. Ten years later, in 1835, the number of families owning less

Table 4: *Number of Landowners Versus Acreage, 1835, Excluding Towns*

	Property Owners	% of Total	Acres Owned	% of Total
Less Than 50 Acres	646	27.5	11,380	4.3
50 Acres – 100 Acres	770	32.7	57,616	21.9
100.1 Acres – 150 Acres	391	16.6	47,673	18.2
150.1 Acres – 200 Acres	267	11.4	46,172	17.6
200.1 Acres – 250 Acres	98	4.2	21,972	8.4
More than 250 Acres	180	7.6	77,512	29.5
TOTAL	2352	100	262,325	100

Note: Property holdings based on 1835 Warren County tax duplicates.

than fifty acres had expanded by 153% and comprised twenty-seven percent of the county's total landowners, making this group the fastest growing in the county.

Property ownership increased, yet most of this growth occurred in families owning one hundred acres or less. Moreover, though the families owning one hundred acres or less composed sixty percent of the total non-town property owners by 1835, they only owned a little over a quarter of the land in the county. Even more striking, the twenty-seven percent of property owners with less than fifty acres controlled only four percent of the land. This does not mean that the largest property owners acquired the land. In 1825, land speculators constituted many of those who possessed more than 250 acres. One man alone owned nearly 4,000 acres. Though the 1835 tax duplicate shows their holdings increased by 9,000 acres, the average acreage for this group fell from 460 acres in 1825 to 431 acres ten years later.[63]

After 1835, the expansion of property ownership slowed dramatically. This was due, in part, to the Panic of 1837–a contraction of the cash and credit

Table 5: *Number of Landowners Versus Acreage, 1850, Excluding Towns*

	Property Owners	% of Total	Acres Owned	% of Total
Less Than 50 Acres	1036	38.1	14,563	5.8
50 Acres – 100 Acres	731	26.9	55,014	21.8
100.1 Acres – 150 Acres	445	16.4	54,137	21.4
150.1 Acres – 200 Acres	258	9.5	44,442	17.6
200.1 Acres – 250 Acres	100	3.7	22,075	8.8
More than 250 Acres	152	5.6	61,812	24.5
TOTAL	2722	100	252,043	100

Note: Property holdings based on 1850 Warren County tax duplicates.

system–which prevented many would-be purchasers from acquiring land.[64] Between 1840 and 1850, the number of landowners increased by fifteen percent, while the population of the county grew by ten percent. However, the pattern of the majority of landowners holding one hundred acres or less continued. The median land holding fell from one hundred acres in 1825 to seventy-two acres twenty-five years later. By 1850, nearly sixty-five percent of the county's property owners controlled less than one hundred acres, and fully thirty-eight percent of all owners held fewer than fifty acres.

By this time Warren County had come into the commercial market economy. Yet, farmers with less than fifty acres could not produce the quantity of goods necessary to be successful in the new economy. Compounding the problem was the fact that as land passed from one generation to the next, it was often divided creating even smaller farms. By 1850, 560 property holders, over twenty percent of the total, owned less than ten acres. The advocates of integrating the county into the commercial market economy had not predicted such disparity among farmers. These families could not depend on their land for sustenance. Instead, work as a wage laborer became their means of survival.

The phenomenon of more families owning less land during the Age of

Table 6: *Warren County Land Ownership 1825/1850 Divided into Quarters, Excluding Towns*

	Bottom 25%	Next 25%	Next 25%	Top 25%
1825	11,287 acres	29,721 acres	46,056 acres	110,731 acres
1850	2999 acres	30,714 acres	66,634 acres	151,843 acres

Note: Property holdings based on 1825 and 1850 Warren County tax duplicates.

Jackson has attracted the attention of historians. In *Sugar Creek,* John Mack Faragher describes a process of stripping land from squatters and concentrating property in the hands of the wealthy in a small community in Illinois.[65] Edward Pessen argued that, across the United States, a few individuals "held an inordinate amount of the wealth of their communities."[66] By 1850, he contends, most Americans owned no taxable property.[67] The tax records of Warren County do not lend themselves to an easy determination of residents' wealth. Neither Ohio nor the county collected an income tax or a tax based on the wealth of the heads of families. Instead, residents paid taxes on real estate, houses, cows, horses, and fancy carriages. It would be naive to assume that those who owned more land were necessarily wealthier. However, using a technique that many historians employed and analyzing land holding in Warren County by dividing property owners into quarters shows that from

Table 7: *Percentage* *Change of Landholders And Acreage, 1825 to 1850, Excluding Towns*

	Less than 50 acres	50 – 100 acres	100.1 – 150 acres	150.1 – 200 acres	200.1 – 250 acres	More than 250 acres
No. of Landholders	+306%	+39%	+67%	+27%	+39%	+3%
No. of Acres	+157%	+38%	+65%	+27%	+36%	-9%

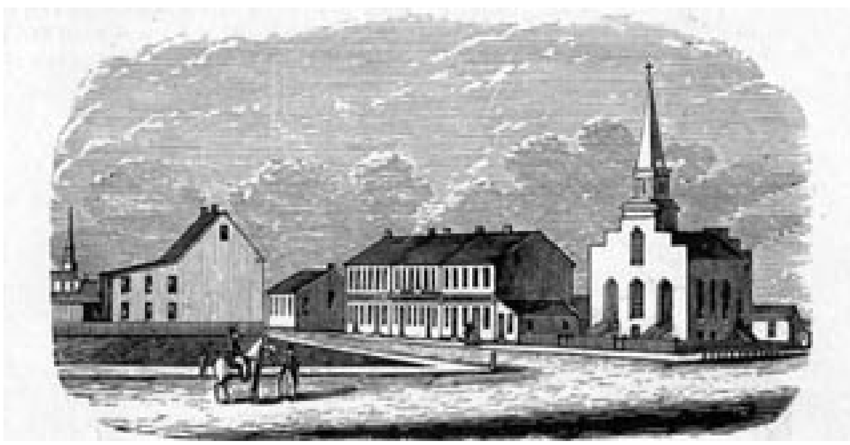
Note: Chart based on Warren County 1825 and 1850 tax duplicates.

1825 to 1850, the top quarter clearly controlled far more acres than any other group in 1850.

Yet, this does not tell the whole story. The dramatic increase of property owners with less than fifty acres skews these figures. The top twenty-five percent appear to have gained more land, but, because more landholders entered the pool closer to the bottom twenty-five percent, the top bracket, in effect, slips. Some landholders who were not in the top twenty-five percent in 1825 were in 1850, even without increasing their acreage.

A different method of analysis reveals a contrasting pattern and a more accurate description of who held land in Warren County. Instead of the largest property owners consolidating land in their hands, a group of middling farmers who owned between 100.1 and 150 acres increased the amount of land they held faster than any group but the smallest property owners. Just as importantly, the amount of acres they owned kept pace with the increase in their population. On the other hand, those with less than fifty acres tripled in number even while the amount of land they controlled was effectively halved. Landowners with over 250 acres, meanwhile, did not increase their holdings and actually sold off some of their property. This group of middling farmers group represents those farmers who decided to become full participants in the commercial market economy. The increase in the number of property owners in this group indicates that one family could effectively manage this amount of acreage and could profit from it. The new economy favored producers who could provide a large quantity of specialized goods, and the amount of land they owned gave them that ability. Warren County's commercial farmers had the potential to do more than survive. They could prosper. With the money they earned they could afford to purchase the increasing number of luxury goods and efficient agricultural tools that were available in the market economy. These farm families had positioned themselves well to succeed in that economy. And the fact that they bought more land demonstrates that they had the financial wherewithal to invest in their future.

Unfortunately, not everyone's future appeared as bright. The prospects for the Warren County Canal Company's project seemed meager. In January 1835, the Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners informed the Assembly that it wished the state to revoke the company's privilege of collecting tolls from the Miami and Erie Canal even before it was completed.[68] It was already concerned that the cost of maintaining the Miami and Erie Canal exceeded the tolls and it therefore could not allow a private company to appropriate them. Perhaps, the commissioners asked, the legislature could buy back the right it granted in the company's charter? When it reacted a year later in February 1836, the assembly went one better. The state bought the canal in its uncompleted condition, paying $33,494 to the stockholders – half of what they had invested. Though the canal commissioners decreased the estimated revenue from the canal to $3,000 per year, and this not from the canal itself but from the tolls the canal would generate on the Miami and Erie Canal, the assembly voted to designate $128,000 to complete its construction. If the commissioners forecasted correctly, the canal would finally pay for itself in 1882, forty-three years after it began to operate. Ironically, the canal board estimated that the canal would generate $800 more per year from waterpower leases to manufacturers along the Miami and Erie Canal, which of course lay primarily outside of the county, than from the tolls from canal traffic.[69]



View of Franklin County. Drawing by Henry Howe, 1846. Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

The state's investment in the Warren County Canal, despite any realistic possibility of its solvency, was part of the legislature's new equal opportunity in internal improvements attitude. Between 1836 and 1838, the assembly initiated nine other major projects. Just twelve years before, the voters of Warren County had rejected Joseph Canby's plan for a canal in every major valley in the state. The political climate had changed, however. Feeling pressure to live up to egalitarian principles, the state government commenced these works knowing it stood little chance to recover the expenses through tolls, but trusting that the canals would raise land values and increase tax revenues.[70]

By 1839, state contractors had constructed the Warren County Canal to within two miles of Lebanon. Sensing that the town was on the verge of a great turnaround, the editor of *The Western Star* predicted, "Lebanon will become the centre of the pork trade and the produce market, to a considerable extent, for the counties of Warren, Clinton, Green, Montgomery, and Butler."[71] Fifteen years earlier the best men of Lebanon had turned out to carouse with some of the nation's leading politicians reveling in their shared vision of a thriving, commercial town. Yet, when the canal was finally completed one year later, no celebration or festivities marked the event. Almost symbolically, only a small advertisement in *The Western Sta*r heralded the end of canal construction.[72]

It soon became apparent that the paper's forecasts for commercial success were wishful thinking. Though boats began carrying goods to and from the town, the canal had serious design shortcomings. First, Shaker Run frequently overran its banks after heavy rains and dumped silt, branches, and other debris into the canal, making it impassable. Second, the canal could not handle boats over forty tons, meaning that the boats that traveled on the Miami and Erie Canal could not use the Warren County Canal. By 1847, the canal was abandoned due to frequent flooding by freshets from Shaker Run and the exceeding cost of maintaining it. The state contemplated repairing the canal for $31,613 in 1852, but decided against it.[73]

From A New Map of Ohio with its Canals, Roads, and Distances, *by S. Augustus Mitchell (Philadelphia, 1846). The Filson Historical Society*

It would be convenient to claim that the failure of the Warren County Canal prevented Lebanon from becoming the manufacturing and commercial center its leaders had hoped. It would also be wrong. The reduction of manufacturing in Lebanon had already begun well before the canal's abandonment in 1847. Soon after the construction of the Miami and Erie Canal in 1828, manufacturers established themselves in Franklin in preference to Lebanon. Moreover, even if its canal had remained open, manufacturers in Lebanon would have been unable to compete with those in Dayton and Cincinnati. The dream of Lebanon as a commercial and manufacturing center was a casualty of the commercial market economy. Businesses in Cincinnati, like meat packers, could process more hogs, more efficiently, and at a lower cost than those in Warren County.

It was not only Lebanon, however, that lost its manufacturing base. Franklin, too, experienced a decline in manufactories. Together the two towns' total number of mills, tanneries, distilleries, and iron foundries fell from thirty-six in 1832 to twenty-one in 1845, a decrease of forty-two percent. Additionally, all five distillers in Franklin closed.[74] Other counties in the Miami country, especially Hamilton and Montgomery, where Cincinnati and Dayton lay respectively, surpassed Warren County in manufacturing. For instance, 822 people were employed in 1840 in Hamilton County's butcheries compared to Warren County's thirty. Where Warren County contained five flourmills in that year, thirty-four operated in Montgomery County. And machinery production in Hamilton County amounted to $545,000, while Warren County lacked any machine shops at all. Warren County was not completely destitute of manufacturing. In 1840, it still had thirty-five tanneries and a robust paper industry, but agricultural goods comprised the primary exports of Warren County.[75] In general, Warren County became a consumer, not a producer, of manufactured goods.

The farmers of the county had changed their production to meet the market's pressure to specialize, too. By 1840, they concentrated on producing hogs and sold them for cash in Cincinnati. Often when *The Western Star* printed the price of market goods, it only published those of pork products and flour. Not all farmers integrated themselves into the market economy with the same enthusiasm or succeeded under the demands of the new economy. Where those owning between 100.1 and 150 acres were positioned to prosper, many others owned too little land to depend on farming to support their families. Some of the county's farmers continued to live a semi-subsistence life, selling a few goods to have some cash but exchanging most of their produce for merchandise or services. But others could not continue as so-called independent farmers. Of the men residing in the townships that included Franklin and Lebanon, one in seven earned their living as laborers in 1850.[76] With the trend towards more families owning less land, more families would face the same situation. To survive they would eventually either have to sell their land, leave, and start over somewhere else, become tenant farmers or agricultural laborers, or move to a city or town and take wage-paying jobs.

The commercial market economy had transformed Warren County. It brought prosperity to some, but not to most. It subsumed Lebanon, making it a less important manufacturing and commercial town. The invisible hand of the market combined with material efforts on the part of entrepreneurs, politicians, and civic leaders of other cities and towns to ensure Lebanon would not be the commercial center its own leaders had envisioned. The leaders of Lebanon, who had struggled so hard to promote the Miami and Erie Canal, to teach the residents of the county how to be successful commercial farmers, and to convince them to invest in the Warren County Canal, could not withstand the force of the commercial market economy. The leaders of Lebanon had hoped to counter the forces of this new economy that were stripping their town of economic importance by positioning it at the center of a commercial sphere they would construct through the Warren County Canal. Yet, as the half-hearted support of the canal indicates, some had already given up on the chances of their town.

Lebanon's fate was hardly unique. Across the west, as a region became more settled, secure, and domesticated, residents found that the commercial market economy increasingly influenced their lives. How and where manufactured goods were made and what kind of agricultural commodities were profitable was decided less and less by the local population. In some places the populace embraced the new economy; in others it was resisted. Willpower, however, did not constrain the market revolution. And, as the west transformed economically, its social and political outlook changed too. Many in the population emphasized traditional social values that were both conservative and suited for the new economy. Politically, men who championed the individualism and ostensible democracy of the commercial market economy solidified their party organization. But in Warren County, even the Democratic opposition had not anticipated or desired the outcome of the economic transformation. Despite their efforts, the leaders of Lebanon not only failed to remake the town to fit their image, but saw it converted into the antithesis of what they had hoped. They had struggled mightily to master the effects of the market revolution, only to become servants to it in the end.

1. *The Lebanon Star and Gazette*, July 25, 1825. Lebanon's newspaper, commonly known as *The Western Star*, which began in 1807 and is still in print, went through several name changes. For simplicity's sake, *The Western Star* is used throughout this essay.
2. Ibid.
3. Leading studies of the economic and political conflicts that occurred as part of the transformation of the frontier from a semi-subsistence economy to a commercial market economy include Harry L. Watson, *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict: The Emergence of the Second American Party System in Cumberland County North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millenium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); and Melvin Stokes and Stephen Conway eds. *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996). For analyses of government's role in transforming the economy, see Harry N. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820-1861* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1987) and George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1958). For more on the political divisions of Ohio, see Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966) and Donald J. Ratcliffe, *The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818-1828* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000).
4. See n. 3.
5. Ratcliffe, *Politics of Long Division*. For more on the West's reaction to the collapse of banks in the Panic of 1819, see Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 266, 279-85.
6. *The Western Star*, March 5, 1821; April 16, 1821; May 14, 1821; July 16, 1821; August 6, 1821.
7. Ohioans' belief that the government had to play an active role in the economy reflected a more general nationwide attitude against *laissez faire*. For more on this see Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 354-54.
8. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, Nineteenth General Assembly, 1820-21* (Columbus: Ohio Monitor, 1820); 162-63; 192, 193. Warren County's state representatives, William Schenck and John Bigger, both supported the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and Ohio's right to tax businesses established by Congress, but were at odds concerning the revocation of bank charters. Schenck voted against the bill and Bigger voted for it.
9. Ibid., 145, 154.
10. *The Western Star*, July 23, 1821.
11. Ibid., January 5, 1822; reprint from the *Cincinnati Advertiser.*
12. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era*, 4-5, 15-16.
13. Ibid., 4.
14. *The Western Star*, March 5, 1821; reprint from the *Indianian*. For more on the low prices of agricultural goods see Ratcliffe, *Politics of Long Division*, 32-35.
15. Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 33.
16. *The Western Star,* January 26, 1822.
17. Sheiber, *Ohio Canal Era*, 17.
18. *The Western Star*, September 21, 1822; reprint from *The Scioto Gazette*.
19. Ibid., July 12, 1823.
20. Ibid., July 17, 1824.
21. This, of course, does not mean that everyone in Warren County supported the canal system. However, it appears that no politician seeking office refused to support a canal system.
22. *The Western Star*, October 9, 1824.
23. Ibid., September 25, 1824. The debate between Ross, who was running for Congress, and Canby, a candidate for state senate, filled the pages of *The Western Star* from September 18 – October 9, 1824.
24. Ibid.,July 6, 1822.
25. Ibid., October 26, 1822.

26. Ibid., January 19, 1822. The figure is from Micajah T. Williams's report to the state legislature. The paper published Williams's report in full in two editions, January 19 and 26, 1822.

27. See Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979).

28. From an extract of an address by Andrew Nicholas, Esq. printed in *The Western Star*, April 12, 1823.

29. Ibid., December 1, 1821.

30. Ibid., April 6, 1822.

31. *The History of Warren County, Ohio* (Chicago: W.H. Beers and Company, 1882), 323-24.

32. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of the United States of America as Collected and Returned by the Marshals of the Several Judicial Districts under the Thirteenth Section of the Act for taking the Sixth Census; Corrected at the Department of State. June 1, 1840* (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1841), 320-21.

33. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1820 Manuscript Population Census, housed at The Warren County Historical Society Museum, microfilm roll M310 1820 DR5.

34. List based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States and of their Manufactures* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1823), p. 30, and Warren County Indenture Book, Edna L. Bowyer Records Center and Archives, Warren County Administration Building, Lebanon, Ohio.

35. The Report of the Canal Commissioners, January 3, 1823, as printed in *The Western Star*, January 18, 1823.

36. *The Western Star*, April 30, 1825.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., September 13, 1825. Quotations are reproduced exactly as printed with no attempt to change grammar or spelling. *Sic* is not used to keep free from clutter.

39. Ibid. An article in the December 9, 1826 edition addressed a list of similar concerns about the costs of the canal system.

40. Watson, *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict*, 14. The resistance to the commercial market economy occurred throughout the United States as each region went through a similar process of transition from semi-subsistence to a commercial economy.

41. Sellers, *Market Revolution*, 299. Watson addresses national politics in *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990). Sellers, Watson, and other historians challenge a divergent interpretation that asserts that differences in ideas of the political economy did not come to the forefront of the political divide until Jackson's Bank War in 1832.

42. Ohio held local, state, and Congressional elections in October and presidential elections in November.

43. *The Western Star*, November 21, 1828; October 17, 1828.

44. Ibid., October 17, 1828.

45. Ibid., October 10, 1828.

46. Ratcliffe, *Politics of Long Division*.

47. *The Western Star*, November 7, 1828.

48. Population increase for Franklin and decrease for Lebanon based on U.S. Manuscript Population Census of 1820 compared to U.S. Manuscript Population Census of 1830. The 1830 Manuscript Census is housed at The Warren County Historical Society Museum, microfilm roll M310 1830A/B DR5.

49. Hammond, *Banks and Politics*; Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millenium*.

50. *The Western Star*, June 6, 1829.

51. Ibid.

52. Schieber, *Ohio Canal Era*.

53. *The Western Star*, September 12, 1829.

54. "Commerce of Franklin" submitted by William R. Schenck of Franklin to *The Western Star*, March 20, 1830. The exports were agricultural in nature: flour, pork, apples, lard, beets, barley, butter, and whiskey. The imports consisted of salt, fish oil, and "other articles of merchandise."

55. The Chillicothe and Lebanon Railroad was proposed at a meeting announced in *The Western Star* on September 21, 1832. The road, the Cincinnati, Lebanon, and Springfield Turnpike, was not completed until 1839. For more on early transportation efforts, see Joseph D. Barnes et al, eds, *Memoirs of the Miami Valley* 4 vols. (Chicago: Robert Law and Company, 1919), 1:164; and *History of Warren County, Ohio*, pp. 289-90.

56. Cost estimate based on *The Western Star*, March 1, 1833.

57. *The Western Star* printed the Warren County Canal Company charter on June 5, 1830.

58. Warren County Common Pleas Final Record Books 14 1834-1837, 453, 469; 15, 10, 285, 397; Law Book 17 1840-1842, 137, 141. Both books are housed at the Bowyer Records Center and Archives, Warren County Administration Building, Lebanon, Ohio.

59. *The Western Star*, June 26, 1830, 3.

60. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, Thirty-First General Assembly, 1832-33* (Columbus, 1832). The Ohio state assembly changed the charter on February 22, 1833. The revenue estimate was stated in *The Western Star*, March 1, 1833.

61. The Warren County tax duplicates for 1809, 1825, 1835, 1840, and 1850 were used to draw these conclusions. Property within town boundaries was excluded to eliminate artificially small plots of land. The 1835, 1840, and 1850 tax duplicates are housed at the Bowyer Records Center and Archives, Lebanon, Ohio. Microfilm of the 1809 tax duplicate is also available there. Microfilm of the 1825 tax duplicate is available at the Warren County Historical Society Museum, Lebanon, Ohio.

62. Congress changed the minimum acreage to forty in 1832. See George W. Knepper, *The Official Ohio Lands Book* (Columbus: The Auditor of the State of Ohio, 2002), 42.

63. Property ownership and size of land holdings based on Warren County 1825 and 1835 tax duplicates. The 1825 duplicate was used instead of 1820 because the effects of the Panic of 1819 would produce atypical results.

64. The Specie Circular of 1836, by requiring payment for large tracts of land in hard currency, made land speculating more difficult. But by 1836, large unclaimed stretches of land were rare in Warren County.

65. Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 184-86.

66. Pessen, *Jacksonian America*, 81. Pessen's work is meant to challenge the notion of the period between 1820 and 1850 as The Age of the Common Man.

67. Ibid.

68. Reported in *The Western Star*, January 30, 1835.

69. Ibid., January 29, 1836.

70. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era*, 88-113.
71. *The Western Star*, July 5, 1839.
72. The first advertisement for goods shipped via the Warren County Canal began on November 1, 1839.
73. Willard J. Wright, ed., "The Story of Warren County," published in *Memoirs of the Miami Valley*, 2:274-75; *History of Warren County, Ohio*, 288-89.
74. Warren County 1832 and 1845 tax duplicates. The 1832 and 1845 tax duplicates are housed at the Bowyer Records Center and Archive, Lebanon, Ohio.
75. U.S. Bureau of Statistics, *Statistics of the United States of America for the Sixth Census; 1840*, 324-27.
76. U.S. Bureau of Statistics, U.S. Manuscript Population Census 1850, housed at The Warren County Historical Society Museum, microfilm roll M310 1850 DR5.