

ALMOST OUR OWN MONTMARTRE:
STUDYING HARRISBURG'S OLD
EIGHTH WARD

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Histories of small communities—or at least histories that are set in small communities—have had an outsized impact on American historiography. For example, Stephan Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress*, a study of social mobility in mid-nineteenth-century Newburyport, Massachusetts, was one of the first and most influential examples of the “new social history”; John Demos' *A Little Commonwealth*, an interdisciplinary investigation of family life in Plymouth colony, Massachusetts, led off a score of inventive studies in family history; Anthony Wallace's *Rockdale*, an analysis of owners, workers, evangelical Christianity, and cotton manufacturing in an antebellum Pennsylvania village, set the standard for thickly detailed historical ethnography; Robert Gross's *The Minutemen and Their World*, a survey of Concord, Massachusetts, before and after the Revolution, showed that the new social history could meld artful narration with quantification; Paul Johnson's *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, an investigation of the interplay between revivalism and industrialism in early nineteenth-century

Rochester, New York, won plaudits similar to *Minutemen* for the winning way it combined story-telling and data processing.¹ There may not be money in local history, but there is influence.

By now you may want to call out the titles of your own favorites that deserve more attention. Mine would include Tamara Hareven and Randolph Langenbach's *Amoskeag*, a collection of affecting oral histories from early twentieth-century factory workers in Manchester, New Hampshire. The employees' testimonies were surprising to me for the affection they showed for the workplace. Although it was intended to be a sociological study of an anonymous Midwestern town in the early 1940s, James West's *Plainville, U.S.A.* can now be used as a historical document. I have found it to be a keen-eyed account and even comical in its observations of the local class system. A highly strange history that I use is Michael Lesy's *Wisconsin Death Trip*, which covers the fate of the westward movement in Black River Falls, Wisconsin, in the late nineteenth-century. Lesy's text, virtually all original photographs and press clippings, is relentlessly gothic, but that is the point—to show that frontier small towns had their dark side. Going beyond American examples, I have always admired Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*, a brilliant examination of the worldview of medieval French villagers. This is the kind of "mental history" I hope someone will write about an American locality and its population.²

Regardless of favorite titles, there is no disputing the utility and importance of this kind of "microhistory." The major generalizations in American history—democratization, modernization, bureaucratization, whatever—need to be checked out by historians doing community studies. Novice scholars must be convinced of the intellectual justification for local history, because otherwise the young might dismiss the enterprise as mere parochialism or boosterism. Fortunately, American Studies graduate students at the Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg, at my urging, have been pleased to do historical community studies, specifically uncovering Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward.

Referred to in its heyday as the "Ate," the "Bloody Eighth," and later on, as the "Old Eighth," the neighborhood occupied about twenty city blocks, immediately to the rear of Pennsylvania's Capitol building, which was its western hard boundary. A residential neighborhood, formerly the site of the Civil War's Camp Curtin, was its northern boundary. To the south was the city's business district, and to the east was another hard boundary, the Pennsylvania Canal and the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks. The Old Eighth was a fixture of city life from before the Civil War until its disappearance just before the New Deal. Its residents were typically German and Irish Catholics, Russian Jews, and African

Americans. Early in the ward's history many of the whites were immigrants, and some of the blacks were escapees from southern slavery. The landscape was thoroughly urban Victorian, consisting of factories, utilities, hotels, schools, firehouses, boarding houses, cigar stores, corner groceries, Chinese laundries, market houses, row houses, churches, synagogues, brothels, saloons, and a couple of mansions converted to larger purposes. Construction was either of brick or wood and reached three or four stories. For journalists, the area was useful as newspaper "filler"—two inches on a fight between drunks, or three inches on a scrape between women—and for residents of the city's other wards, and for state legislators, the Old Eighth offered forbidden fruit. It was Harrisburg's most notorious neighborhood, and, paradoxically, it was documented relatively well, even on a par with the city's most picturesque strip, the mansion-lined Front Street, which overlooks the Susquehanna River.

I encountered the Old Eighth Ward more than twenty years ago quite accidentally, a word memoirists often use in association with pivotal events. Because I was president of the Historical Society of Dauphin County (another accidental event), I had been asked to write a coffee-table history of Harrisburg. Looking for good material in the archives of the Historical Society, I came across some newspaper columns that had been pasted into an old scrapbook. Each column was titled "The Passing of the Old Eighth," and was written by J. Howard Wert. One clipping in particular I found greatly interesting; it dealt with a funeral in the ward on April 29, 1877. Wert wrote,

I'll never forget the funeral of Harry Cook. [When] he died his wife determined that he should have a gorgeous funeral, with brass band accompaniment. Fancy that. On the day of the funeral the remains lay in state in the barroom, surround by floral tributes galore from the loving wife. Deceased was attired in his best suit, lavender trousers, black velvet coat, with rose in the lapel, low cut vest, open front starched shirt containing a diamond pin as big as the end of your thumb, low collar with wide-flowing white scarf, side-whiskers and moustache waxed to needle points.³

A funeral in a saloon? A corpse with a diamond stick pin? These were not the ordinary data that a systematic researcher like myself was accustomed to quantifying. Wert went on to describe, in the same florid prose style, a funeral march consisting of fifty carriages and hundreds of followers of all races and ethnicities, including "denizens of the underworld." The crowd was great, wrote Wert, because Cook had

a heart readily touched by tales of woe. He had given money lavishly to the poor and the needy. He had helped bury the dead of these poor folk when men who would have considered Harry Cook's touch contamination had turned coldly away.⁴

The crowd was also numerous, no doubt, because Cook had been the owner of a major saloon, the Lafayette Hall, which Wert described as having "a free-and-easy dance hall where most anything would go."⁵ Even its stalls for horses had mirrors. Expecting that my readers would be as entertained as I was by Cook, and Wert, and considering the story revelatory of Harrisburg in its rowdy Gilded Age, I included it as one of the "snapshots" in my book, *Life by the Moving Road: An Illustrated History of Greater Harrisburg*.⁶ I also promised myself that sometime in the future I would find out more about both this saloonkeeper and his historian.

I did so several years later when there was an opportunity to reproduce Wert's newspaper stories with Arcadia Publishing, an avid local history press. I tracked down the entire collection of thirty-five columns that had been originally published from November 18, 1912 to July 14, 1913 in the *Harrisburg Patriot*. I discovered that J. Howard Wert had been a school superintendent in Harrisburg and was mainly famous as a historian of the Gettysburg battle and a collector of its artifacts. The occasion for his writing these Old Eighth Ward stories turned out to be the impending destruction of the neighborhood itself, as the state wanted the land for a park and more government buildings behind the Capitol. Wert, however, wanted to remind readers what had gone on there before, good and bad. I found in another scrapbook at the historical society, and also in the files of the State Archives, a multitude of photographs of the ward that were contemporary with Wert's articles. Many of these were taken by J. Horace McFarland, a local reformer who campaigned against the Old Eighth Ward, and who also became nationally prominent as a leader of the "City Beautiful" movement. These images showed in gritty detail why politicians and reformers wanted to completely replace the Bloody Eighth. My resulting book was *Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward*, consisting of Wert's articles, over eighty photographs of the ward, and an instructive introduction, co-written with my colleague, Professor Jessica Dorman, whose academic specialty happened to be Wert's mode of literary muckraking.⁷ This is now the textbook that introduces Penn State Harrisburg students to the Old Eighth Ward and starts them on their research.

At virtually the same time as the book was published, a musical was made of it. This result, not the usual fate of scholarship, was still another accident.

A year earlier, David Weisberg, a former student of mine, had approached me and asked for advice. He was working with the city's Capitol Dinner Theater, the Council for Public Education, and *Harrisburg Magazine* to produce something for the musical stage that showed off local history. What events could they use from Harrisburg's past, he asked me? Jessica and I had just finished going over the final transcription of Wert's thirty-five articles, so I handed him the typescript and said, "Your play's in here, somewhere." David, in turn, handed the text to a professional dramatist, Jack Mezzano of Miami, Florida, who proceeded to invent some characters, some conflict, and, of course, some romance. Working also as the lyricist, Mezzano wrote nineteen catchy show tunes for a semi-professional cast of thirty-four performers. It was comforting to me as a historian to see Wert's salient facts make it into Mezzano's script—the Lafayette Hall and the Red Lion saloons, Harry Cook and his funeral, the State Street Market and the Rescue Mission, and the emphasis on racial and ethnic conflict and comity.

The musical, "The Bloody Eighth," was advertised on radio, television, and highway billboards; there were posters and a CD of the show tunes for sale, as well as tee-shirts and chocolate bars embossed with the clever "Bloody Eighth" logo (the number 8 rendered sideways in spelling "bloody") and featuring its motto ("Be lured to ruin"). *Harrisburg Magazine* and the *Harrisburg Patriot-News* gave the show major coverage, partly because the profits went to a scholarship fund honoring the magazine's recently deceased editor, Ron Minard. The first season in 2003, the musical played ten performances, in accordance with the theater's ordinary schedule; in 2004, it was revived for another run of ten performances. I have often wondered if J. Howard Wert could ever have imagined such a use of his earnest journalism.

The book and musical are directly tied to the explanation I give students for doing research on the Old Eighth Ward. Our success in Harrisburg demonstrates that local history can be not only a serious assignment for scholars, but also an occasion for thoughtful reminiscence by the community. I have been asked to give a number of public presentations in and around Harrisburg about the Bloody Eighth, and invariably members of the audience come up to me after my lecture and slide show and tell me they had ancestors who had lived in the ward or who had heard stories about it. The same thing happened when I appeared at bookstores to autograph copies of *Life by the Moving Road* and *Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward*: Harrisburg citizens wanted to talk about the city, their ancestry, and their identity. They realized that the ward's wild reputation was in many ways hyperbole; indeed, the show and the book had

somewhat “deconstructed” the negative image of the neighborhood. What that left us to chat about was both the truth and falsity of “the good old days” mythology, and that is the historian’s stock-in-trade. The practice of local history, I found, has a constant capacity to put historians actually in touch with their public in a way that “macrohistory” less often does. These contacts provide “teaching moments” that are good for citizens, and perhaps more importantly, they offer “learning moments” that are good for teachers.

Our Old Eighth Ward research requires a context as well as a pretext, and we are integrating our findings with the pertinent urban historical scholarship. There is no over-arching theoretical model we are following; we agree with Timothy Gilfoyle’s assessment, expressed in his most recent overview of American urban history, that there is “no totalizing theory, hegemonic interpretation, or universal paradigm” for the field, and that a “plurality of microtheories characterizes the history of American cities.”⁸ Among those microtheories, and scholarly results, we have found a number that provide pertinent background and attractive leads for our research.

For example, Eric Monkkonen’s provocative works, *The Dangerous Class: Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio, 1860–1885* and *Murder in New York City* present crime history as social history. We want to take this approach as we study crime data and newspaper accounts of criminal behavior in the Old Eighth Ward. The questions we are asking in our current research are quite concrete: Where did crimes take place in Harrisburg, and where did the criminals live? Was the Old Eighth Ward the heart of the problem? How did crime rates change over time? What other variables did crime correlate with? The answers students find to those questions should shed light on the ward’s nasty reputation. Along with the crime statistics, we want to analyze the full range of health statistics from the ward and the city at large, such as birth, death, and disease records, because those are bound to inform us directly and indirectly about other forms of social order and disorder. Both crime and health statistics are available, incidentally, because of a local history initiative my graduate students and I launched a year ago: the Harrisburg City Archives Project, which will re-establish the city’s historical records center. The City Archives consist of approximately three thousand feet of records and documents that had been boxed up and stored after the facility had to be shut down. In a new and better location, we have built shelving and reorganized the collections, and now, with assistance from a consultant from the Pennsylvania State Archives, students are cataloguing and computerizing all the records. This was the first joint project of its kind between the City of Harrisburg and

the Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg, and we are pleased that it was each party's support of local history that led to the agreement.

We also plan to research in the ward one of the original "new history" subjects: social and occupational mobility. The bibliography that would inform this work is voluminous. A good place to begin is Stephan Thernstrom's *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*, a model of its kind for theory, method, and testable propositions. We also want to emulate the goals and apply the results of Theodore Hershberg's Philadelphia Social History Project, contained in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century*, especially because he, like us, has taken a team approach to studying the city.⁹

We are working to discover what productive parallels can be drawn between the Bloody Eighth and New York's Five Points, the subject of Tyler Anbinder's notable book, *Five Points: The 19th-Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum*. Both neighborhoods were famous and were deemed threats to the moral order. What were their similarities and differences beyond that? Speaking of moral order, Paul Boyer's *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920*, promises to be a suggestive study. He argues that two attitudes toward urban reform had developed by the onset of the Progressive era; one led to coercive strategies that sought to control behavior directly, and the other was a more hopeful evaluation that led reformers to improve the urban environment, thinking that would improve citizen behavior indirectly. We are looking for evidence of those two attitudes in Harrisburg to see how they played out in the Old Eighth Ward. We know that hopefulness was in the minds of the reformers featured in William H. Wilson's book, *The City Beautiful Movement*, which covers Harrisburg usefully. A valuable reformer's biography we have used is Ernest Morrison's *J. Horace McFarland: A Thorn for Beauty*, which describes the efforts of Harrisburg's most prominent Progressive. McFarland targeted the Bloody Eighth for improvement, and got it.¹⁰

Our research will try to validate the assertions and observations in J. Howard Wert's original newspaper stories. He appears to have interviewed many of the Old Eighth Ward's respectable leaders, trying to ascertain the facts about the place, but I suspect he may also have bought into some of its mythology. Ultimately, we know that the scholarship we will learn the most from, and need most to integrate with our results, is Gerald Eggert's *Harrisburg Industrializes: The Coming of Factories to an American Community*, which is the definitive interpretation of Harrisburg's economy and society in the last half of the nineteenth

century. Besides the considerable amount of census data he compiled, Eggert's most powerful finding is that Harrisburg was a relatively peaceful and harmonious community during the late nineteenth century's process of industrialization and urbanization. That conclusion is sure to have implications for our understanding of social conflict within the Bloody Eighth, as well as conflict between the ward and the rest of the city. *Harrisburg Industrializes* is also vital because it is one of the few studies to deal with the city's political history, which we need to know better in order to understand events in the ward.¹¹

What have we learned so far from the student research? Our work over the past three years has concentrated on the histories of particular types of businesses, the structure of particular occupations in the Old Eighth Ward, and the composition of the resident population on particular streets. We are still finding our way around the neighborhood, so to speak. But we have an agenda and some tentative trends. As for the general contours of the Old Eighth Ward's history, it seems that its best days were in the 1890s, when the city itself was enjoying prosperity because the influence of industry and the railroads was paramount. When the ward's demise was planned, shortly before World War I, the neighborhood was not at its worst, but its days were numbered. As for economic conditions, data from the northern sector of the ward tends to resemble data from other wards in the city, so that sector may have been misjudged in the past as a slum. It was the southern sector of the ward that may have lived up to its negative caricature, and that is where most of the neighborhood's blacks lived. In any case, there is still work to be done on this subject. As for social mobility in, and out of, the ward, it was well known before we began our research that Harrisburg's Jewish community had uplifted itself, but the details of their progression to middle-class status from the Old Eighth Ward need to be produced. As for physical mobility, African-Americans are thought to have migrated to the city's Allison Hill area, southeast of the Old Eighth Ward, but the movement of that population within and from the ward, in a racially segregated city, needs to be traced precisely. As for residency patterns in the ward, we find what other historians have found in other American cities: high rates of transience, with citizens staying at their addresses for only a few years; again, however, there is more work to be done on that topic. There were successful entrepreneurs in the ward, but most of its citizens, unsurprisingly, were low-paid unskilled labor. A great many of them lived near where they worked, such as the railroad yards and factories that were on the eastern border of the ward. Finally, we know the ward featured a diversity of racial and ethnic groups, but we still need to

document and calculate how that diversity changed over time, both in the ward and the city.

A sampling of the forty-three student papers written to date may be seen on the Old Eighth Ward website, <old8thward.com>. As well as papers, the website shows many of the photographs we found and other helpful documents and useful links. The images have been placed on a nineteenth-century map of the ward, matching them up exactly with where the photographer was standing. The sampling of student papers on the website features those that offer the most information on the ward. Students had only a few weeks to write their papers, and they worked mainly at the Historical Society of Dauphin County in Harrisburg during our evening classes. Some of the students became deeply involved in the research and produced more data than I had reason to expect; others were less involved, but their contributions still add up. I am grateful for all their work, and that is not saying enough.

Let me speak of the student papers from my seminars that are being included in this issue of *Pennsylvania History*. Julie Hurst's skillful essay on barbershops is about the tonsorial trade and its relation to race at the beginning of the twentieth century. Using the federal census and Harrisburg city directories, she identifies the barbers and locates the busy addresses where they worked and lived, which was often the same place. She shows that they stayed in no particular place very long in the ward, which complicates their reputation as a durable community institution. The most complex and intriguing feature of her study, however, is her discussion of black and white barbers serving black and white customers in this generally segregated northern city. The changing patterns of deference in their relationships we can only partly understand at present. We wish we could know about other features of social life in the shops, such as the topics that men discussed with their barber, or the subjects that were avoided, but that information was never archived.

John D. Myers's instructive article is about butcher shops and city politics in the late nineteenth century. Like other students' work, his is based on evidence from city directories and maps. We see that the trade was dominated by a few successful, long-standing butcher shops whose owners were city leaders, which reminds us of the folklore of the butcher as a man of strength and character. Myers finds more questions than answers in his research, however, and that should encourage us to delve more deeply into the social dynamics and cultural significance of this occupation.

Stephanie Patterson Gilbert's research on the Eighth Ward's bakers and confectioners opens up the study of another core activity. She describes in

detail the lives of several of the store owners and the conduct of their operations. Her keen analysis shows that changes in these businesses mirrored larger shifts that were taking place in the nation's economy. Also suggestive are her comments on the role of ethnicity and immigration in these occupations.

Gilbert's second essay on her "interpretive digital history" does not reveal the hundreds of hours she spent designing, building, and polishing her Eighth Ward website. Furthermore, she edited all the student papers and improved them where needed before uploading them. All the energy she has devoted to the project must have violated some labor law, and the professor who oversaw this excellent accomplishment should probably be prosecuted. She maintains the site on her own, and adds research and sources to it regularly, so that students might continue to learn, and the ward might continue to teach.

While writing this essay, I attended an exhibition, "Toulouse-Lautrec and Montmartre," at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. This proved to be still another profitable, accidental event. Only a few minutes into inspecting the works on display, it occurred to me that the Old Eighth Ward was almost our own Montmartre in Harrisburg. A working-class section of northern Paris, Montmartre was famous in the late nineteenth century for its dance halls, cabarets, and bordellos. The entertainment there was racy and daring, luring thrill-seeking Parisians from around the city. Its residents were diverse and seedy, providing striking subject matter for avant-garde artists, of whom the most famous was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, who portrayed Montmartre approvingly and brilliantly in his popular posters. He worked from such venues as the Moulin Rouge dance hall and the Chat Noir cabaret, where the brash singer Aristide Bruant performed, and who became Lautrec's most dramatic subject. While Edgar Degas was creating timeless images of ballet elsewhere in the city, Lautrec was revealing the can-can, transforming what was tawdry and garish into an icon of French style. From an aesthetic point of view, the "balcony of Paris" was quite exuberant and alluring, the epitome of bohemianism. Lautrec had rendered Montmartre as the place to be—unless one was trying to get a decent night's sleep, or raise a good bourgeois family in fin-de-siecle Paris.¹²

But if the Bloody Eighth was almost Montmartre in its reputation and relation to decadence, the ward was all American in other distinguishing respects. In Harrisburg there was no sophisticated art scene and no patrons in top hats; here the low life was democratic. The St. Lawrence Catholic Church on Walnut Street that served parishioners of German descent did not resemble the exotic basilica of Sacre-Coeur set on the highest point in Montmartre, built in remem-

branch of fallen French citizens. In Lautrec's neighborhood, one would see a "social menagerie," but the mix there did not resemble the one found in the Old Eighth Ward, with its Russian Jews and African Americans.¹³ Unlike Montmartre, citizens of the "Ate" never formed a Paris Commune, with barricades, to defend their political community against the authorities. The last difference between the two sites is that Montmartre was allowed to survive, although it was tamed down, while the Bloody Eighth, a victim of progress, was torn down. But, it should be noted, the Old Eighth Ward's residents seemed to be the willing victims of progress. Renters were more likely to move out of the neighborhood when they had a chance, while property owners sold out when they had a buyer. By 1917, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had spent over two million dollars purchasing 541 parcels of land occupying twenty-seven acres in the ward, to make way for its Capitol Park Extension. The record shows that all but seven addresses were acquired through "amicable proceedings."¹⁴ It thus struck me, as a matter of comparison to France, that Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward needs to be understood as a piece of American real estate.

A Listing of Student Research Papers on Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward,
as of June 2005

Spring 2002 (American Studies 534)

- Marc Anderson, "Residents of the 500 Block of North Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1883-1887"
- Daniel N. Bailey, "The Cigar and Tobacco Trade in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1866-1920"
- LeAnn Fawver, "The 100 Block of Cowden Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1892"
- Christopher Potts, "The 500 Block of North Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1871-1875"
- Joyce Ray, "Residents of the 400 Block of Cranberry Avenue in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1874-1883"
- Gwen Wind, "Short Street of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward: 1869, 1880-82, 1890"
- Lisa M. Wingard, "Harrisburg Newspapers and the Old Eighth Ward's M. Henry Cook"
- David L. Wyche, "Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward Grocers: A Social Analysis, 1892-1902"

Spring 2003 (American Studies 534)

- Heather Deppen, "Synagogue Chisuk Emuna's Charter Members and Presidents, 1883-1898"
- Brandon Gryde, "Mrs. Ingram's Harrisburg: Her 1881-1897 Scrapbook"
- Kristine L. Rost, "Hotels and Social History in Harrisburg, 1839-1869"
- Kimberly Sebestyen, "The Old Eighth Ward in the Harrisburg *Telegraph*, January - March, 1903"
- Christine G. Sholly, "Hotels and Social History in Harrisburg, 1869-1899"
- Karen Sichler and Karla West, "Saloons in the Old Eighth Ward: Fun and Amusement, 1890-1905"

Spring 2004 (American Studies 534)

- Arlene Benson, "Early Years of Keshet Israel in Harrisburg, 1902-1949"
- Danny Byrd, "Pawnbrokers, Jewelers, and Watchmakers in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1860-1910"
- Samuel Chappell, "State Senator John E. Fox and the Capitol Park Extension"
- Stephen Feldman, "The Jeremiah Uhler Properties in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward"
- Patricia Ferris, "Grocery Stores in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1860-1880"
- Stephanie Patterson Gilbert, "Bakers and Confectioners in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1917"
- Mike Griffin, "Property Ownership in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward; Names from the 1889 Roe Map"
- Ted Herman, "The 500 and 600 Blocks of North Street and the Capitol Complex of Harrisburg, 1925-1940"
- Angela Hoffman, "Harrisburg Dressmakers, 1908-1914"
- John D. Myers, "The Butcher Shops of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1860-1916"
- April Rabe, "An Index of Residents Mentioned in *Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward*"
- Kim Wenrich, "Carpenters, Builders, and Contractors in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1869-1900"

- Theresa Yoder, "Bakers and Confectioners in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1859-1889"

Fall 2004 (American Studies 482)

- Danny Byrd, "Doctors, Dentists and Druggists of the 8th Ward"
- Enna Carpenter, "Butchers and Meatmarkets in the 8th Ward, 1890-1917"
- Kim Hostetter, "Photographers in Harrisburg and the 8th Ward"
- Julie Hurst, "Barbers of the 8th Ward"
- Jen Miller, "Short Street Residents, 1871-1879"
- Michael Stanilla, "The 500 Block of North Street, 1876-1882"

Spring 2005 (American Studies 534)

- Mary Draisey, "Alcohol in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1871-1894"
- Maureen Frei, "St. Lawrence German Catholic Church in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward"
- Tiffany Hall, "Cowden Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward: A Look at its Population from 1863 to 1887"
- Andrew Hamann, "Residents of Tanner's Alley in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1839-1867"
- Kim Hostetter, "Residents of Short Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1880-1889"
- Paul MacPhee, "The 400 Block of Walnut Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1893"
- Shae Miller, "The Col. Strothers Pool Hall in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1900-1921"
- Kimberlee Neitz, "Dressmakers of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1888-1910"
- Kyle Schlett, "Perception and Reality on the Spread of Infection in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1894-1895"
- Michael Stanilla, "The 500 Block of North Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1894"

NOTES

1. Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

- (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1972); Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976); Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millenium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).
2. Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); James West (pseud.), *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); Michael Lesy *Wisconsin Death Trip* (New York: Pantheon, 1973); Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: George Braziller, 1978).
3. Unlabeled clipping, Philip German's scrapbook, Historical Society of Dauphin County.
4. Harrisburg *Patriot*, January 9, 1913.
5. Harrisburg *Patriot*, January 9, 1913.
6. Michael Barton, *Life by the Moving Road: An Illustrated History of Greater Harrisburg* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1983).
7. Michael Barton and Jessica Dorman, *Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002).
8. Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "White Cities, Linguistic Turns, and Disneylands: The New Paradigms of Urban History, *Reviews in American History*, 26 (March, 1998), 191.
9. Eric H. Monkkonen, *The Dangerous Class: Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio, 1860-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Eric H. Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); Theodore Hershberg, ed. *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
10. Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The 19th-Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001); Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Ernest Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland: A Thorn for Beauty* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1995).
11. Gerald G. Eggert, *Harrisburg Industrializes: The Coming of Factories to an American Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).
12. All the posters and paintings in the exhibit are included in Richard Thompson, Phillip Dennis Cate, and Mary Weaver Chapin's catalogue, *Toulouse-Lautrec and Montmartre* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005). See also Gabriel P. Weisberg, ed., *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), especially the Foreword by Karal Ann Marling on Americans' relation to Montmartre.
13. The phrase comes from Phillip Dennis Cate's essay, "The Social Menagerie of Toulouse-Lautrec's Montmartre," in Richard Thompson, et. al., 26-43.
14. Morrison, *McFarland*, 253.