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CONTESTED ELECTION LAWS: REPRESENTATION, ELECTIONS, AND PARTY BUILDING IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1788–1794

David W. Houpt

n preparation for the 2012 presidential election, members of the Pennsylvania GOP have been considering changing the way the state awards its electoral votes. Under the current system, the candidate who wins the greatest number of votes statewide receives all twenty of the state's votes in the Electoral College. In recent years, heavy Democratic voting in urban areas such as Philadelphia and Pittsburgh has offset Republican victories in rural parts of the state. In order to build on their strength in the less-populated areas, Republicans are considering having Pennsylvania award electors based on a district method. While this approach is technically constitutional, political commentators have been quick to condemn the proposal as unethical and potentially dangerous.¹ This is not, however, the first time a political party has attempted to change election laws to their advantage. The manipulation of election law dates back to the first elections under the Constitution.

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Concern over the lack of representation in the British Parliament was one of the major reasons the colonists decided to declare independence.² The Revolution established the principle of actual representation—that all regions of a state or the nation ought to be represented in the legislature, and that federal representation ought to be apportioned by population in the House of Representatives—but there were still many questions about what that meant in practice. As the country went through the process of establishing a government, representation remained a divisive subject. Specifically, there was disagreement over how to elect a federal representative and whether the electoral votes a state cast for president ought to be divided by district or given completely to the statewide winner.

Historians who have discussed representation and election law in the early Republic tend to focus on ideology. The standard narrative is that Federalists supported at-large elections because only the most qualified, well-known candidates had a chance at winning. Additionally, large election districts ensured that no single interest group had too much influence. Anti-Federalists, and later Republicans, advocated district elections to ensure that representatives remained tied to local interests. Whereas Federalists wanted the "best" men to serve in office, Anti-Federalists and Republicans believed a representative should be one of the people.³ There is certainly truth to this account, but a straight ideological explanation fails to explain why Pennsylvania changed the way it elected representatives four times in the first four congressional elections even though Federalists held a majority in the state legislature the entire time.

The federal Constitution left it to each state to select a method for electing representatives. In 1788 the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law providing for at-large elections for the commonwealth's allotted eight seats in the House of Representatives. Each voter wrote the names of eight different men on a piece of paper, and the eight men receiving the greatest number of votes were elected. Although Federalists remained in control of the state legislature, an election law passed in 1791 divided the state into districts for elections to the Second Congress. Then, in 1792, the legislature narrowly voted to return to at-large elections. Finally, in 1794, the state settled on a district system. While Federalists and Anti-Federalists/Republicans clearly had ideological disagreements, a review of the debates surrounding the framing of election laws reveals that political strategy played a decisive role in the decision to select a particular mode of electing representatives. Strategically, Federalists favored the at-large system because, while they had a numerical advantage over their opponents, most of their supporters were concentrated in the more populous eastern part of the state, in and around Philadelphia. Anti-Federalists, on the other hand, favored a district system because their supporters were dispersed throughout the state. Federalists could easily dominate at-large elections, but a state divided into election districts could lead to the election of a number of western Anti-Federalists.

In addition to illuminating the ways in which partisans manipulated election laws to get the upper hand, a close study of the change between at-large and district elections sheds light on the development of political parties in Pennsylvania. Parties emerged from the crucible of ongoing electoral experimentation, geographic tensions, and shifting attitudes toward the federal government. The process of switching back and forth between at-large and district elections forced politicians to develop communication networks throughout the state, hone methods of nomination, and devise new ways of campaigning.

After losing the majority of seats in the first elections, opponents of the Federalists began to organize. Their efforts led to the legislature dividing the state into districts for the second congressional elections and the defeat of a few Federalists. Due to confusion over the number of seats allotted to Pennsylvania in 1792, the state returned to the at-large system for the third congressional elections. Despite preferring districts, Republicans used this opportunity to dramatically increase intrastate cooperation and improve their methods of campaigning. This party building resulted in a number of gains throughout the state. The realization that they were not equipped to compete with the Republican organization led Federalists to abandon at-large elections in 1794. There is, therefore, a clear relationship between the state's election laws and the rise of political parties.⁴

The Seeds of Conflict: East-West Divisions and the Ratification of the Constitution

The fault lines that would divide Federalists from Anti-Federalists and later Republicans date back to long-standing geographic and socioeconomic tensions. On the eve of ratification, Pennsylvania was a socially and economically diverse state. With a population of 28,522 according to the federal census of 1790, Philadelphia was the second-largest city in the country and home to a diverse group of merchants, manufacturers, laborers, artisans, and a few slaves.⁵ It was a center of both economic and intellectual life and very much a part of the larger Atlantic community. The eastern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Berks, York, and Lancaster tended to vote with the city. Overall, the eastern parts of the state were ethnically diverse, with the largest groups being English and Germans. Those who lived west of the Alleghenies tended to live in isolated, rural areas. Despite encompassing more than half of the state's size, only 75,000 people, less than 20 percent total population, resided in the western counties of Allegheny, Fayette, Westmoreland, and Washington. Most westerners engaged in agricultural pursuits, although a few of the larger towns had attorneys and artisans as well. Populated primarily with recent immigrants, the two largest ethnicities were Scots-Irish and English.⁶

The United States experienced a painful economic downturn at the end of the War for Independence, and Pennsylvanians from all walks of life were in desperate need of relief. Many farms in the west were devastated during the war; the price of land bottomed out, leaving westerners on the brink of ruin. The east suffered as well, just for different reasons. A surge in British imports in 1783 and 1784 drove down the price of goods, crippling many merchants. Laborers and artisans found themselves out of work for the first time in years. Rising taxes threatened to break people throughout the state.⁷

These conditions help explain some of the disagreements over the ratification of the federal Constitution. Although not a monolithic group, Philadelphia merchants believed the Constitution offered a solution to their economic woes. Similarly, many of the urban laborers and artisans favored ratification as a way to bring about fiscal stability. A strong central government could ensure the collection of taxes and provide protection against foreign markets. Many in the west disagreed. The proposed Constitution, they believed, only favored the merchants and the rich. Farmers and small merchants feared the imposition of heavier taxes and worried that a stronger federal government would weaken state and local institutions. Although patches of Federalism existed in the west, the vast majority of westerners sided with the Anti-Federalists.⁸

With the majority of Philadelphia and its environs supporting the new Constitution, Federalists clearly had the upper hand. Most of the state's wealth and nearly two-thirds of the population resided east of the Alleghenies. Even with this advantage, Federalists were not willing to leave anything to chance. During the ratification debates, Pennsylvania Federalists proved well organized and easily outmaneuvered their opponents. In fact, the majority of the debate surrounding the Constitution took place after the state convention had ratified the document.⁹ Federalists moved with such precision and speed that Anti-Federalists, whose supporters were dispersed throughout the west, were simply unable to mount an effective opposition in time. Anti-Federalist leaders in Philadelphia did their best to stall ratification (including hiding to prevent the calling of a quorum in the convention), but on December 12, 1787, Pennsylvania became the second state to ratify the federal Constitution.¹⁰

After the necessary nine states ratified the Constitution, both sides turned their focus to the first federal elections. Pennsylvania Federalists had the momentum, but they did not take success for granted. In the late summer of 1788, Thomas Fitzsimons, a well-known Federalist and wealthy merchant from Philadelphia, decided that his party needed to seize the initiative. He wrote to a friend on August 20 that "the representation of this state in the new Congress will in a great measure depend upon the plan that may be adopted for choosing them. A good mode might now, I believe, be obtained, which in another Assembly would not be practicable."¹¹ Federalists outnumbered the Anti-Federalists thirty-seven to twenty-seven in the 1787–88 General Assembly.¹² Federalists, therefore, had the numbers to pass an at-large election law that favored the more populous, Federalist, eastern part of the state.

In the Assembly, the Federalist-sponsored bill providing for at-large elections came up for discussion on September 24, 1788. William Findley, a leading Anti-Federalist from Westmoreland County, led a weak effort to promote district elections, arguing that they were the only way "that eight men could have a particular knowledge of the local and common interests throughout the state." He saw it as "almost impossible in so large a state as Pennsylvania, to have an actual representation in Congress." James McLene, an Anti-Federalist from Franklin County, was the only other member to express support for the district method, but both McLene and Findley acknowledged that such a bill had no chance of getting passed. Findley did, however, manage to ensure that the language of the at-large bill did not apply to future elections. Clearly he viewed this debate as the first battle in a longer war. After Findley withdrew his measure, the at-large representation bill passed without a recorded vote.¹³ Elections were set for November 2, 1788.

At-large elections for representatives were not part of the national Federalist program. Instead, Federalists supported the mode of election

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most likely to ensure a Federalist majority. Pennsylvania Federalists supported at-large elections because they had a numerical but not geographic advantage.¹⁴ In South Carolina the situation was reversed. Low country Federalists supported district elections because of the large number of Anti-Federalists residing in the backcountry.¹⁵ Likewise, although Pennsylvania Anti-Federalists supported district elections, their counterparts in other states fought for at-large elections. Though ideology certainly mattered, it appeared that modes of election were often contingent on political conditions.

A Federalist Triumph: The First Federal Elections

Both Pennsylvania Federalists and Anti-Federalists held nominating conventions in preparation for the first federal elections. These coalitions were not parties in the modern sense of the word. In 1788 Federalists and Anti-Federalists had organized for one purpose—either to support or oppose the federal Constitution. The first federal elections were an extension of this conflict. Although the Constitution had been adopted, Anti-Federalists held out hope that members of the First Congress would adopt structural amendments to weaken the central government. For this purpose, a group of Anti-Federalists from across the state met at Harrisburg in early September 1788. Although the primary motivation was to draft a set of amendments, the men also agreed on an eight-man ticket to run statewide in the upcoming election. The convention occurred a month before the election law passed, suggesting that Anti-Federalists knew beforehand that the state would not be divided into districts. The ticket included a mixture of loyal Anti-Federalists, moderates, and two Federalist-leaning Germans.¹⁶ Four of the candidates came from the eastern counties and three resided in the west. Designed to appeal to a broad base, this eclectic group of candidates hailed from a variety of different social and economic backgrounds.

At first, Federalists responded to the Harrisburg convention with outrage. According to one Federalist writer, the goal of "*the Antifederal conclave*" in creating a ticket had been to "save all the trouble of *free elections* in the future."¹⁷ Federalists claimed the Anti-Federalists were attempting to deprive the people of Pennsylvania the right to vote for whomever they pleased. Despite their public outcries, some Federalist leaders were concerned that the Harrisburg ticket would prove successful and decided to hold their

				Federalists			Anti-Federalists	alists
	F. A. Muhlenberg	H. Wynkoop	T. Hartley	G. Clymer	T. Fitzsimmons	T. Scott	J. P. Muhlenberg	D. Hiester
City of Philadelphia	1774	1743	1726	1699	1714	1718	821	796
Counties:								
Philadelphia	812	786	776	769	764	766	495	495
Bucks	682	658	656	658	657	651	259	226
Chester	106	904	903	890	006	895	211	209
York	1492	1497	1497	1482	1488	1486	205	203
Berks	187	27	24	26	7	\$	450	458
Lancaster	771	656	655	642	652	649	320	348
Cumberland	285	283	285	287	268	281	1553	1559
Northampton	311	27 I	256	260	267	261	406	419
Dauphin	367	349	311	320	321	308	300	286
Montgomery	121	16	96	85	86	79	486	498
Northumberland	961	198	197	195	661	197	355	355
Franklin	373	375	374	363	363	365	545	541
Huntington	134	139	134	131	138	138	70	65
Bedford	97	92	16	93	92	90	214	212
Westmoreland	145	137	133	137	118	118	426	426
Luzerne	16	ΓŢ	IΤ	ľγ	ГŢ	IΤ	Ι	Ι
Washington	33	28	32	33	35	44	298	306
Fayette	29	29	28	29	30	28	50	52
Totals	8726	8280	8191	8116	8116	8096	7465	7455

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own convention in Lancaster on November 3, 1788. The ticket Federalists adopted at Lancaster was less varied than the Harrisburg ticket. Half of the men nominated by the Federalists resided in or near Philadelphia, and only one lived in the west. Because the vast majority of their supporters lived in the eastern parts of the state, Federalists had little incentive to nominate men from the west.

Geographic voting in the first election led to a decisive victory for Pennsylvania Federalists. The Federalists' statewide election strategy worked perfectly. Even with members of the Harrisburg ticket outpolling the Federalists almost six to one in some western areas, only two of the state's eight seats went to Anti-Federalists.¹⁸ Federalist majorities in the heavily populated eastern counties more than offset whatever advantage Anti-Federalists had in the west. The two Anti-Federalists elected, Daniel Hiester and J. Peter Muhlenberg, were of German heritage and likely owed their victory to the tendency of Pennsylvania Germans to vote as an ethnic bloc. William Findley later recalled that, in effect, the 1788 election had been "carried wholly by one side of the state."¹⁹

Anti-Federalists did not put much effort into the first federal election.²⁰ During the campaign season, backcountry leaders focused more on the upcoming fight over the state Constitution than on the election of federal congressmen.²¹ Besides the Harrisburg convention, no evidence exists that the Anti-Federalists made any concerted attempts to organize. Because the majority of their support was in the west and rural areas, without at least some organization the Anti-Federalists simply could not compete with the Federalists.

Second Congressional Elections: District Elections and the Campaign Learning Curve

Because the election law of 1788 applied solely to that year, the second set of federal elections could not occur without new legislation. But even as other states took steps to conduct elections in 1790, the Pennsylvania legislature was mired in debates over a new state Constitution and showed no signs that they were thinking about federal elections. With elected officials distracted, the debate over the means of electing representatives moved into the public sphere. Hoping to generate a discussion, William Irvine had penned a series of articles under the pseudonym "Juniata Man" beginning in January of 1790.²² A native of Ireland, Irvine moved to Cumberland County in 1764. Elected to the Confederation Congress in 1786, he allied himself with the conservatives and emerging Federalists. Although he had endorsed ratification of the federal Constitution, Irvine became disenchanted with the Federalist administration during the 1790s and drifted toward the Republican camp.²³

Irvine's political journey is reflective of a larger phenomenon. The new national government had inherited a fiscal disaster. During the Revolutionary War, the government lacked specie and had to pay soldiers in promissory notes. These notes quickly depreciated in the years following the Treaty of Paris. Poor veterans sold their notes to speculators for a fraction of their face value. The majority of the national debt was therefore owned by a small number of people. States also carried significant debt from the Revolutionary War. In 1791 Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton proposed that the federal government fund the notes at their original value, assume state debts, create a national bank, and levy excise and custom duties. The plan clearly benefited speculators, many of whom lived in the east, at the expense of veterans. Assumption of state debts and the establishment of a national bank pointed to a centralized, powerful national government. The direct taxes Hamilton proposed on distilled spirits fell particularly hard on poor western farmers who were still struggling to recover from the downturn after the war. The end result was that Hamilton's plan drove many moderates and lukewarm Federalists to the opposition and convinced the former Anti-Federalists of the need to organize.²⁴

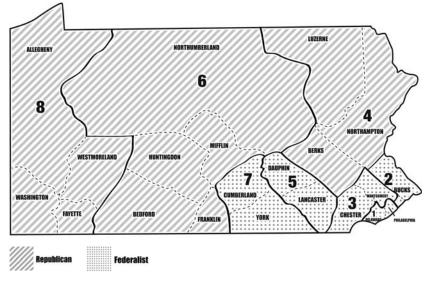
In the "Juniata Man" letters, Irvine warned that the next Congress was about to "fund an immense public debt" and "will have a power to impose direct taxes." The next congressional delegation, he insisted, must consist of men who would have the people's interest in mind. He argued that district elections were the best way to achieve this goal. Irvine blamed much of the state's problems on the men of Philadelphia who had been "in the habit of nomination at least, if not appointing, every officer of note." In the last "Juniata Man" letter, which appeared on April 17, 1790, Irvine lashed out at the men in the east. "Let them rant, rave, or assume an air of gravity," he sneered. "It is high time for the people of the middle and back countries to take themselves out of leading strings—Let the *drones* of Philadelphia, Bucks, and part of Chester, now Delaware, sip the honey they have made in welcome—but do not suffer them to put a gall into your cup."²⁵

Despite the absence of an election law, some politicians took concrete steps to prepare for the next elections. Notably, many former Anti-Federalists started organizing to avoid a repeat of 1788. Federalist leader Thomas Fitzsimons fretted to Benjamin Rush in early March 1790 that the next elections "will be in districts and in that case I think it highly probably that the Commerce of Pennslya. May be without a Single Representative."²⁶ In June members of an emerging Republican coalition already had sketched out a ticket.²⁷ By August Fitzsimons had heard reports that "the Western people [word deleted] Mean to Carry things with a high hand. . . . Nothing less than a total Change of the Present Representative."²⁸ On September 2, 1790, the state adopted its new Constitution, potentially leaving time to hold elections. However, the Assembly adjourned the next day without passing an election law and the new House of Representatives did not begin discussing the second congressional elections until December of 1790, months after most states had already held their elections.²⁹

When the legislature convened in December, a coalition of westerners and former Anti-Federalists narrowly succeeded in passing a district bill in the Pennsylvania House by a vote of thirty-two to thirty-one. The bill included a compromise provision that allowed districts to elect men who resided in other parts of the state.³⁰ Only three Federalists sided with the bill, and just two Republicans voted against its passage. In addition to a partisan split, the voting also showed a clear geographic split with the representatives from the west favoring the bill and those from the east opposing it. Before party lines hardened, sectional interests often trumped partisan.³¹ In the Senate, the bill passed nine to eight, with all the nays coming from Federalists in the south-eastern counties.³²

Because the elections were held in districts, neither party needed to hold a state nominating convention. Candidates were selected in a haphazard fashion, oftentimes with a few politically influential figures making the decision, a situation that led historian Harry Tinkcom to declare that "in comparison to the campaigns that preceded and followed it, the congressional race of 1791 was dull and unexciting."³³ This may be the case when just looking at the actual elections, but when the battles over election laws are factored in, the elections are just as interesting and pertinent as any other.

The results of the second congressional elections were not as disastrous for the Federalists as Fitzsimmons had feared, but the opposition did gain ground. Of the eight seats, Federalists won five, Republicans two, and one independent or moderate was elected.³⁴ All of the Federalists victories came in the eastern part of the state. Despite Republicans winning a few eastern counties, the only Republicans elected came from the far western part of





the state. Moderate Daniel Hiester ran unopposed in the Fourth District, composed of Berks, Luzerne, and Northampton counties.³⁵

The results of the second congressional election point to a few conclusions. First, the state was still geographically divided, with the eastern sections voting Federalist and western areas siding with former Anti-Federalists and emerging Republicans. The outcome also suggests that opponents of the Federalists had started to organize. Unlike the first election, western leaders like William Findley put more time and energy into the second congressional elections. Overall, the elections demonstrated that most Pennsylvanians remained Federalists. Republicans had shown their strength in the west, but the densely populated eastern areas were still securely in the Federalist column. It would take more than a change in election law for the Republicans to win a majority of the congressional seats.

Third Congressional Elections: At-Large Elections and the Emergence of the Republicans

Because the second congressional elections were held so late, only a short time remained before the Pennsylvania legislature needed to draft an election law for the third congressional elections. But before they could do so, they

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needed to find out how many representatives Pennsylvania would be sending to Congress. The Constitution requires a decennial census to help insure the allotment of federal representatives fairly reflected population. Having tallied the 1790 census results, the federal Congress spent much of the spring of 1792 debating the apportionment of representatives. The census reported that Pennsylvania had a population of 434,373, making it the second-largest state behind Virginia.³⁶

The U.S. House and Senate passed a bill on March 28, 1792, that would divide the total population of the country by 30,000 and then assign the states' representatives based on their population, with one representative for every 30,000 people. This calculation would have translated into fourteen congressional seats for Pennsylvania. Working under the assumption that this bill would become law, the Pennsylvania legislature launched discussion of a new election law. On March 30 Albert Gallatin, a Republican representative from Fayette County, made a motion to once again divide the state into districts. Every representative from the west and all but one Republican voted in favor, but it was not enough. Republicans and supporters of the district method had lost seats in the Pennsylvania House since 1791, and Gallatin's motion was defeated by two votes. The state seemed to be heading toward at-large elections.

At-large elections became even more certain on April 5 when President George Washington vetoed a proposed federal reapportionment bill. Supporters of at-large elections seized upon this ambiguity and forced a vote on the election law knowing that, with the exact number of representatives still uncertain, at-large elections were the only feasible option.³⁷ The final vote on the bill providing for an at-large election in the Pennsylvania House was thirty-one to sixteen. In the Senate, Republicans and Westerns made a spirited attempt to pass a law requiring district elections. But the defection of Republican senator John Hoge from the Washington-Fayette district resulted in an eight-to-eight tie that was broken by the speaker, Samuel Powel of Philadelphia, who supported at-large elections.³⁸

At-large elections meant that Republicans would have to increase their intrastate cooperation significantly. Faced once again with the possibility that eastern Federalists would select the majority of Pennsylvania's representatives, Republicans set out to build an at-large campaign organization. Westerners William Irvine, William Findley, and Albert Gallatin kept in constant contact with Philadelphia Republicans James Hutchinson and Alexander Dallas. In addition to the exchange of letters, newspapers helped link western and eastern sections of the party. Journalists Phillip Freneau of the *National Gazette*, Benjamin Franklin Bache of the *General Advertiser*, and John Dunlap of the *American Daily Advertiser* supplied Republicans with plenty of space to communicate their message to the broader public. These communication networks proved crucial in the process of party building.³⁹

Most of the drama surrounding the election of 1792 stemmed from rival methods of nominating candidates. Most Federalists advocated a caucus whose members were referred to as "conferees," while the majority of Republicans, or "correspondents," favored sending out a circular letter to their supporters asking for suggestions for nominees. Federalists preferred the caucus method because it was more controlled. Only a select few men, usually those with money, could afford to take time off work and travel to attend. Republicans, on the other hand, were making an effort to create a popular base. The circular letter could reach people who would otherwise be blocked from participating. Just as important, the circular helped build communication networks that could be utilized in future efforts.⁴⁰

These different means of selecting candidates emerged following a strategy on which both parties agreed: that town meetings were the way to obtain support in Philadelphia. The passionate response to these meetings demonstrates that the people of Philadelphia were well aware of the significance of federal elections.

On July 30, 1792, Republicans assembled in the State House Yard to develop an election strategy. In advertising the meeting, they made a special appeal to Philadelphia's mechanics, artisans, and tradesmen. The meeting was set for 7:00 p.m. in order to accommodate their schedules. By the time the meeting convened, more than two thousand people had flooded into the State House Yard, making it the largest public gathering in Pennsylvania since 1779.41 Thomas McKean, a moderate Federalist and Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, was selected to the chair the meeting.⁴² The group agreed to a series of motions that established a nonpartisan committee to draft and send a circular letter to "collect information of the sense of the people in different parts of the state, respecting the characters proper to be nominated as Members of Congress." Those selected to draft the letter included Republicans Hutchinson, Dallas, and Wilson, and Federalists McKean and Jared Ingersoll, one of the state's foremost attorneys. On August 3, 520 copies of the circular letter were distributed. The letter's stated goal was "to obtain a list of the various characters whom citizens, of every denomination and in every part of the state, deem to be qualified."43 This was a far cry from Anti-Federalists' weak effort in 1788.

Federalists responded by holding their own meeting the following day, July 31. The meeting was scheduled to begin at 3:00 p.m., a time Republicans claimed was designed to prevent mechanics and tradesmen from attending. In response, Republicans blanketed the city with handbills and broadsides that called on their supporters to leave work early. Enough Republicans turned out that when the meeting convened Federalists were unable to muster enough votes to elect a chairman. As the afternoon wore on, more and more Republicans poured through the gates. Realizing they would soon be outnumbered, a group of Federalists retreated to the western part of the yard, a few hundred feet from the crowd and proceeded to select Federalist Robert Morris as the presiding officer. Republicans quickly caught on and rushed the Federalists. A riot nearly ensued, and in the mayhem the officer's chair and table were smashed. When order was restored, both parties withdrew from the yard. A witness recounted that "it was with difficulty *violences of a more serious nature* were prevented."⁴⁴

The meeting clearly demonstrated that Republicans were better equipped to mobilize popular support, so Federalists simply announced that there would be a nominating caucus in Lancaster on September 20, 1792. Only nine of the state's twenty counties and the city of Philadelphia ended up sending delegates. York was the only western county represented, highlighting the fact that the Federalists were almost exclusively a party of the east. Though the group nominated candidates anyway, the "Conferee Ticket" reflected a growing awareness of the danger in not appealing to all parts of the state. In an attempt to appeal a broad geographic base, five of the candidates nominated on the Conferee ticket came from western counties.

The results of the Republican circular letter were published on September 26 and 27. It included forty-four men and a mix of Federalists and Republicans. From this list, Hutchinson and a few other influential Republicans created the final Republican ticket known as the "Rights of Man Ticket."⁴⁵ Notably, the ticket included seven men that the Federalists had also nominated: William Findley, Frederick Muhlenberg, William Irvine, Thomas Hartley, John Kittera, Daniel Hiester, and J. Peter Muhlenberg. The overlap between the two suggests that parties were still in flux and had not yet completely polarized. It also points to the fact that both sides were more concerned with nominating men who could win than they were in putting forth candidates that adhered to a specific set of beliefs. Thus both the Lancaster and the Rights of Man tickets included moderates mixed with partisans. Despite the fact that William Findley referred to the Conferee ticket as "the aristocratic ticket," there were a number of candidates both parties nominated.⁴⁶ The Rights of Man ticket was made up of four western partisans and eight eastern moderates. Hutchinson regretted that more prominent Philadelphia Republicans were not running but he felt that "on the whole we have done tolerably well, and the ticket . . . will meet with Active support in this part [Philadelphia and environs] of the state."⁴⁷

The next step was to circulate the ticket to Republicans throughout the state. Party organizers focused most their attention on the west. Much of the work fell to Albert Gallatin, an immigrant from Switzerland and one of the Republicans' chief operators in the west. As the congressional election approached, Republican congressmen William Findley spelled out what was at stake and implored Gallatin "not to therefore disappoint us when we had reason to expect the greatest strength." In another letter Findley described his own activities and again pleaded with Gallatin to ensure that the ticket be publicized. "I have within this few days seen a number of people from both ends of that County [Allegheny] and have supplyed them with tickets. I have got some tickets into Washington County, but not a sufficient number. . . . Your attention to Washington is still necessary, at least with respect to information—I have wrote to Bedford County with tickets but our friends there are much scattered, the Glades I trust to you." Along similar lines, from Philadelphia James Hutchinson wrote, "The election for the representative from this side of the mountains in the first congress under the federal constitution under a [illegible] law is not forgotten here. . . . Please exercise all the influences you can so that we do not suffer through another two years like those." Alexander Dallas reminded Gallatin, "The opportunities of communication [between east and west] are so rare . . . we must rely on your giving way respecting information to the Committees."48 Clearly, the west was vital to Republican hopes for success.

The results of the third election reveal a changing political landscape. The seven candidates that both parties nominated were easily elected. Although chosen by both parties, Republican leader William Findley received the most votes statewide, suggesting that the political pendulum was swinging toward the Republicans. Rounding out the delegation were three Republicans and three Federalists. The Republicans sent two well-known partisans and one moderate. The three Federalists elected resided in the east and were committed party-men.⁴⁹

Western voters had turned out in droves for the Rights of Man Ticket. Heavy ticket-voting in the west suggests that Gallatin did a good job

		Rep	Republicans						Federalists	sts		
	W. Findley		W. Irvine J. P. Muhlenberg	A. Gregg V	W. Montgomery	J. Simile	F. A. Muhlenberg		J. W. Kittera	T. Hartley	D. Hiester J. W. Kittera T. Hartley T. Fitzsimmons	T. Scott
Philadelphia City	2179	2190	2084	915	950	816	2194	2137	2190	2189	1378	1379
Counties:												
Philadelphia	1140	1096		683	705	653	1150	1140	1139	1144	506	511
Bucks	1215	1194	796	188	303	286	1197	6111	1106	1172	973	916
Chester	2003	2011	950	321	262	261	2034	2009	1999	1973	1843	1787
Lancaster	1243	1237	1213	137	112	134	1257	1232	1237	1240	1170	1132
York	4818	4912	4914	32		55		4909	4884	4919	4880	4840
Cumberland	3097	3123	1130	2899	2917	2870		3054	3125	2977	194	298
Berks	1466	1330	1226	713	1248	659	1460	1474	1442	1467	1332	294
Northampton	800	813	735	372	454	508	762	800	812	727	339	394
Bedford	1158	1182	669	797	832	807	1173	918	523	798	369	159
Northumberland	1172	1012	517	1174	1077	950	945	1129	1124	1139	383	353
Westmoreland	2054	2006	1778	1935	2005	2009	2007	1958	875	53	181	237
Washington	1863	1563	1587	1335	1368	1613	1600	1643	1070	813	272	451
Fayette	778	767	769	767	773	787	728	677	713	677	ГТ	28
Franklin	786	677	460	416	608	505	785	700	745	25I	305	254
Montgomery	1550	1228	1062	1039	745	723	1240	1559	1490	1466	875	936
Dauphin	936		LOI	847	428	311	1023	OIII	1118	5111	714	166
Luzerne	308	305	284	60	46	86	327	290	327	305	319	314
Huntington	552	130	86	441	125	Loi	553	162	465	541	479	25
Allegheny	1274	1250		176		614	1223	1239	853	824	822	503
Mifflin	2064	1780	IОТI	2065	1963	1963	1952	2049	1904	1998	61	51
Delaware	702	530	437	60	27	27	650	714	694	703	585	274
Totals	33,158	30,968	21,784	17,372	17,019	16,754	32,341	32,147	29,835	28,493	17,997	16,657

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distributing and promoting the Rights of Man ticket. Republicans did particularly well in Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Fayette, Bedford, and Mifflin counties. Although the eastern section of the state remained primarily Federalist, Republicans made significant inroads in Philadelphia City and County. Federalists dominated Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, and York. But the geographic division that had characterized the first two elections began to blur. The fact that Republicans were able to overcome a method of electing congressmen that favored Federalists attests to their efforts to build a statewide party.⁵⁰

Overall, Republican leaders were pleased with the outcome. Hutchinson even believed that Republicans could have swept the elections if Republicans "in every part of the state [voted] a solid ticket." He also regretted that some of the candidates and other prominent Republicans attended a meeting in Pittsburgh in late September that had condemned the federal excise. Federalists seized on the meeting as proof that the Republicans were encouraging opposition to a federal law. Hutchinson claimed the meeting "lost us the Majority in the Counties of Berks and Dauphin." Despite these setbacks, Hutchinson felt proud that despite "the strong opposition we had a majority in Philadelphia County for the whole, and were close on the heels of our Opponents in the City."⁵¹ Even Thomas Jefferson took note of the Republican successes. He commented to a friend that "in this State the election has been triumphantly carried by the republicans . . . and the vote of this state can generally turn the balance" on questions relating to major national issues such as Hamilton's fiscal plan.⁵²

Even though Republicans had proven their ability to compete statewide, many had not given up fighting for district elections. A month before the election, Hutchinson condemned "the unjust and impolitic law that has deprived this State of district Elections for representatives in Congress." The problem with the law was that "Except in their own neighborhood the great body of Electors are unacquainted with the persons much less with the abilities and integrity of candidates that must be voted for." He concluded that "the various interests of so great a State can only be represented properly by a district representation."⁵³ Hutchinson was not alone in this sentiment. On September 17, 1792, a group of citizens met at Redstone Fort in Fayette County to condemn the practice of at-large elections. "To call such election free," they declared, "is an insult to common reason." The battle lines were drawn for the framing of the next election law.⁵⁴

Fourth Federal Election: Triumph of the District and the Party

Not until February of 1794 did the Pennsylvania House of Representatives broach the topic of the fourth congressional election. Although the composition of the House had changed little since the previous vote in 1792, the district method had clearly gained support in the interim. A Republicansponsored bill proposed to divide the state into twelve districts based on population. The counties of Bucks, Northampton, and Montgomery would elect two representatives and the rest of the districts would elect only one. As had been the case in 1790, the districts could elect men who resided anywhere in the state. When the final vote was called on February 27, 1794, the bill passed forty-five to eighteen. It passed the Senate without a recorded vote. Among those voting in favor of dividing the state into districts were staunch Federalists Cadwallader Evans (Montgomery), Gerardus Wynkoop (Bucks), and John Chapman (Bucks). These men had been in the House in 1792 and voted against districts. Representatives from the eastern counties of Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster also sided with the bill for the first time. Clearly something had changed in the way some Federalists approached the issue.

The eighteen who voted against the measure remained committed to the at-large system and issued an official dissent explaining their reasoning. They argued that dividing the state into districts "tends to disunite interest that ought to be common," promotes local interests over state ones, was not requested by the people, and went against the spirit of the U.S. Constitution. These were essentially the same arguments that supporters of at-large elections had been making for years. The only new argument proffered was that since "the Governor is chosen by general suffrage and yet is not of half the consequence with the election of a member of that body [the U.S. House of Representatives]" it made no sense to divide the state into districts.55 That the other representatives who had previously opposed the district method did not join the dissent suggests something more than ideology motivated their change of heart.⁵⁶ The turn away from at-large elections by the majority of the Federalists reflects a change in political strategy. The results of the previous election demonstrated that Federalists could no longer count on their numbers for success. Not only was the number of Republicans growing, but they had clearly done a better job at organizing. Beginning in 1793, opponents of the Federalists throughout the state organized Democratic and Republican societies that were tasked

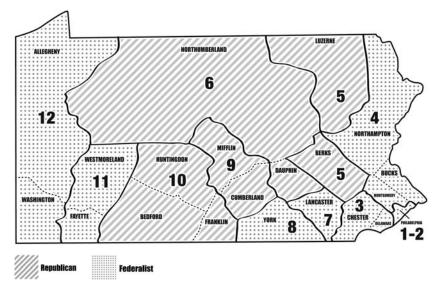
with guarding against government abuses and mobilizing supporters.⁵⁷ Federalists may have recognized that there was a legitimate possibility that Republicans could pick up more seats if another at-large election was held. With district elections Federalists assumed that they could at least count on winning the eastern districts.

With no need to hold statewide conventions, each district adopted its own method of nominating candidates. Most districts left the job to party leaders, and neither party exhibited a strong desire to include the general public in their decisions. The sole exception occurred in Montgomery County, where a group passed a resolution requesting that delegates be appointed from Bucks and Northampton to attend a nominating meeting. No evidence confirms such a meeting actually took place, but the counties would meet in this manner in later elections.⁵⁸

Although the next Congress would face important issues such as defining America's role in the most recent British-French War, how to respond to British impressments of American sailors, and frontier defense, newspapers reflect a certain degree of voter apathy. "The election is at hand," bemoaned a correspondent to Benjamin Franklin Bache's *General Advertiser*, "yet our citizens appear totally unmindful of the all important period. The importance of the present crisis led everyone to suppose that we would have a warmly contested election, but unless matters are working in secret it would appear as if there would be no election."⁵⁹ The only contest to generation any significant interest was between John Swanwick and Thomas Fitzsimons in Philadelphia.⁶⁰

As the state geared up for the vote, the political situation in the western counties took a turn for the worse. Disgruntled farmers, whom some people claim were urged on by the Democratic and Republican societies, took up arms in protest against the national excise on whiskey. Tensions had been rising since the law went into effect in 1791, but in the summer of 1794 a series of attempts by the local courts to force payment led to calls for action. Protesters sacked the house of tax inspector General John Neville and burned it to the ground. Gaining in strength, the rebels prepared to march on Pittsburgh. The federal government took no chances with the situation and responded by federalizing the militias of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New Jersey. The force, led by Washington and Hamilton, swelled to nearly 13,000. Not only did the Whiskey Rebellion distract many voters from the campaign, but many of the men who might have voted were otherwise engaged on election day.⁶¹ Though the Whiskey Rebellion and George Washington's subsequent condemnation of certain "self-created societies" killed the Democratic and Republican societies, other, unintended, consequences may have helped Republicans. Philadelphia Republicans, for example, used the Rebellion as an opportunity to prove their loyalty to the Constitution and demonstrate a support of law and order. In the west, heavy-handed reprisals and Federalist attempts to deprive some areas of representation in the state legislature galvanized moderates and propelled people to the polls.

When the votes were tabulated it became clear that Republicans had made inroads across the state. In the First District of Philadelphia, John Swanwick upset incumbent Thomas Fitzsimons. James Madison celebrated Swanwick's victory and believed it represented "a stunning change for the aristocracy."⁶² Federalists discounted the significance of the victory and argued it had more to do with "resentment against Fitzsimons than [Swanwick's] own merits." Without doubt, some people voted against Fitzsimons for personal reasons, but it is no coincidence that the candidate who ran the better campaign won the election. Swanwick represented a new type of Republican in Pennsylvania and was the first Republican to win a congressional race in Philadelphia, a critical development in the party's quest to be competitive statewide. Much of his success owed to his ability to mobilize Republican supporters and





still appeal to the city's wealthy men. Members of the gentry traditionally sided with Federalist candidates and, because of their tendency to vote in large numbers, prevented any Republican candidate from gaining a foothold. Through a combination of public rituals and fêtes designed to galvanize lower- and middling-class Philadelphians, along with moderate rhetoric to assuage members of the elite, Swanwick provided a blueprint for future Republicans in urban areas.⁶³

Overall, Republicans won eight of thirteen seats.⁶⁴ Along with the First and Fifth districts, Republicans won every seat in the west. Federalists won in the Second, Third, Seventh, and Eighth districts, which were all east of the Alleghenies. The election in the Fourth District, which selected two congressmen, was contested. Federalist Samuel Sitgreaves easily won one of the seats with a vote of 2,954. Only three votes separated the second- and third-place winners: James Morris, a Republican received 1,648 votes and Philadelphia County's justice of the peace John Richards, a Federalist, got 1,645. Richards challenged the election results, and Governor Thomas Mifflin refused to issue an election certificate. The issue was settled when Morris died in July 1795.⁶⁵

By 1794 the Republican Party had developed an effective statewide party system and could compete in any part of the state, but the Federalists remained a potent force. Though they lagged behind Republicans, Federalists also began to take steps toward party building. Federalists may not have had the same popular base, but they had large sums of money, the power of patronage, and a network of loyal journalists.⁶⁶ The outlines of the first-party system in Pennsylvania were now clearly established. The election of 1794 thus marked both the end of at-large elections for states with more than one or two representatives and the beginning of a new epoch in American politics characterized, at least in Pennsylvania, by the competition of two well-organized parties.⁶⁷

Conclusion

Though the battles over the method of electing a federal representative were surely influenced by ideology, political strategy was clearly a driving factor. Federalists went from voting overwhelmingly in favor of at-large elections in 1788 to accepting a district system in 1794. As has been shown, the ideological justifications for at-large elections remained the same throughout this period. What changed was the political situation on the ground. Opponents of the Federalists built a statewide organization in order to be able to compete in an at-large election. Had the congressional elections been conducted in districts the whole time, there would have been less incentive for Republicans in Philadelphia to build communication networks with partisans in the west.

Parties developed in Pennsylvania earlier than they did in most other states. Pennsylvania had a long history of partisan conflict and closely contested elections.⁶⁸ The seeds of conflict were sown deep in the nation's most ethnically and economically diverse state. With Philadelphia serving as the seat of federal government, local, state, national, and even international politics became intertwined. All of these factors need to be taken into account when studying the politics of the 1790s. As these findings suggest, it is also important to take into consideration the "rules of the game" such as election laws. Politicians then, as now, were more than willing to exploit opportunities that might tip the scales in their favor.

NOTES

The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their input, the First Federal Congress Project for sharing their resources, Philip Lampi for providing election returns, and Sebastian von Cuervo for assistance with the maps.

- Nate Silver, "Pennsylvania Electoral College Plan Could Backfire on the G.O.P.," New York Times, September 15, 2011, http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/15/pennsylvania-electoralcollege-plan-could-backfire-on-g-o-p/ (accessed April 11, 2012).
- Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 164.
- 3. Rosemarie Zagarri believes that the differences between supporters of a district system and those who backed at-large elections can be boiled down to a division between large and small states. Large states supported a district system and small states supported at-large elections in large part because it was not practical to hold at-large elections in large states. Though she admits that some states, such as Pennsylvania, did not immediately fit this pattern, she offers no real explanation for why the state switched back and forth between modes. Rosemarie Zagarri, *The Politics of Size: Representation in the United States*, 1776–1800 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987). Harry M. Tinkcom acknowledges that there may have been a strategic reason for supporting one method of election over another but he does not see a connection between the changing methods of electing Congressmen and the development of parties. Harry M. Tinkcom, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania*, 1790–1801 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950). For an example of the traditional narrative, see Saul Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America*, 1788–1828 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 147–52.
- 4. For the sake of clarity I have simplified party terminology. Parties were in their infancy in the early 1790s. Labeling a particular group "Federalist," "Anti-Federalist," or "Republican" should not be

taken as meaning these factions were rigidly defined. Those who supported the federal Constitution and members of the later political party are termed *Federalists*. The term *Republican* was used as early as 1790 to describe members of the opposition even though there were no formal parties, and is used here in preference to *Democratic-Republican*. The term *moderate* is applied to those who supported both Federalist and Republican measures.

- U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population of 24 Urban Places: 1790," http://www.census.gov/population/ www/documentation/twps0027/tab02.txt (accessed March 16, 2011). Unless otherwise stated, Philadelphia refers to the city, not county, of Philadelphia.
- 6. Tinkcom, Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 20.
- See Terry Bouton, Taming Democracy: "The People," the Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Owen S. Ireland, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics: Ratifying the Constitution in Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).
- Jackson Turner Main, The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781–1788 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).
- 10. See Ireland, Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics.
- Thomas Fitzsimons to Samuel Meredith, August 20, 1788, in *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections*, 1788–1790, ed. Merrill Jensen and Robert A. Becker (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 1:253–54 (hereafter *DHFFE*).
- 12. Unless otherwise noted, party designations in the Pennsylvania state legislature come from the Wilkes University Election Statistics Project, "Pennsylvania Election Statistics," http://staffweb. wilkes.edu/harold.cox/index.html (accessed March 5, 2011). Although the rationale behind applying labels is suspect, the terms are useful when taken as generalizations.
- Assembly Proceedings, September 29, 1788, in DHFFE, 291–92; Pennsylvania Election Law, October 4, 1788, in DHFFE, 299–302; John Caldwell, William Findley: A Politician in Pennsylvania, 1783–1791 (Gig Harbor, WA: Red Apple Publishing, 2000).
- 14. For further evidence that the Federalists in Pennsylvania were supporting the at-large method for strategic reasons see Thomas Hartley to Tench Coxe, March 3, 1788 (RC, Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Historical Society of Pennsylvania), in DHFFE, 272 n. 6; and Benjamin Rush to Jeremy Belknap, October 7, 1788, in DHFFE, 302. Originals of Coxe and Rush papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- 15. For information on the first federal elections in South Carolina see DHFFE, 147–226. As mentioned, Zagarri contends that these differences can be explained by viewing representation through the lens of the large/small state divide. Though she is correct that conflicting views of representation were an important element in the fights between large and small states, it overlooks the importance of partisan strategy in states like Pennsylvania. See Zagarri, *Politics of Size*, 105–18.
- 16. "Proceedings of the Harrisburg Convention, September 3–6, 1788," in DHFFE, 258–59. The proceedings published in the newspapers said nothing about candidates for the upcoming elections. Private letters, however, suggest that there was discussion of a ticket. When the slate was finally published on November 7 in the *Federal Gazette* it was referred to as the "Harrisburg Ticket." For a discussion of the candidates see Tinkcom, *Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania*, 22–23.
- Pennsylvania Gazette, September 3, 1788, in DHFFE, 265. For other examples of Federalist condemnations of the Harrisburg convention, see "A Federal Centinel," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 10, 1788, in DHFFE, 267–69.

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- Anti-Federalists elected: Daniel Hiester and J. Peter Muhlenberg. Federalists elected: George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Thomas Hartley, Frederick Muhlenberg, Thomas Scott, and Henry Wynkoop.
- William Findley, "An Autobiographical Letter," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 5 (1881): 445.
- Russell J. Ferguson, *Early Western Pennsylvania* Politics (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1938), chap. 5.
- 21. Pennsylvania's 1776 state constitution weakened the executive power, preserved the colonial unicameral legislature, opened suffrage to males over the age of twenty-one, expanded the number of assembly seats to favor the west, and limited assemblymen to four years' service out of seven in the nation's first experiment with rotation in office. Conservatives and Federalists had made a number of failed attempts to draft a new constitution.
- 22. The River Juniata is a tributary of the Susquehanna located in central/western Pennsylvania and considered a major link for opening up a water route westward. The pseudonym is therefore a clear geographic reference.
- 23. DHFFE, 418-19.
- For a good discussion of Hamilton's fiscal plan and how it related to party formation see, Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic*, 1789–1815 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 95–103.
- 25. Independent Gazetteer, March 13, April 10 and 17, 1790.
- 26. Thomas Fitzsimons to Benjamin Rush, March 7, 1790, privately owned in 1983.
- 27. James Hutchinson to Albert Gallatin, April 1, 1790, Gallatin Papers, New-York Historical Society.
- 28. Thomas Fitzsimons to Tench Coxe, August 20, 1790, Coxe Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- 29. Thomas Fitzsimons to Arthur St. Clair, 1790 cited in Tinkcom, *Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania*, 45.
- 30. Journal of the First Session of the First House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Anno MDCCXC, and the Fourteenth Year of Independence of the United States (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1790), 151–52. Federalists outnumbered their opponents 36 to 33 during this session. The discrepancy in number of votes cast reflects the fact that a number or representatives were absent.
- 31. The final bill passed the House on February 1, 1791, by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-eight. Seven Federalists, five of whom resided in the west, voted in favor of the measure.
- 32. Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Anno MDCCXC and the Fourteenth Year of Independence of the United States (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1790), 124–25, 143–48.
- 33. Tinkcom, Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 47.
- 34. Federalists elected: Thomas Fitzsimons (First District); Frederick A. Muhlenberg (Second District); Israel Jacobs (Third District); John W. Kittera (Fifth District); Thomas Hartley (Seventh District). Republicans elected: Andrew Gregg (Sixth District); William Findley (Eighth District).
- 35. Daniel Hiester began his career in Congress as a Federalist and slowly migrated to the opposition. The exact timing of the switch is unclear but by 1795 he was firmly in the Republican column.
- First Census of the United States, 1790, Pennsylvania U.S. Census Bureau; http://www.census.gov/ prod/www/abs/decennial/1790.html (accessed December 20, 2011)

- 37. This was George Washington's first use of the veto. An apportionment bill was finally adopted on April 10, 1792. The country's population was divided by 33,000, which meant Pennsylvania would receive thirteen seats in the House of Representatives. Edmund J. James, "The First Apportionment of Federal Representatives in the United States," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 9 (1897): 1-41.
- 38. Journal of the First Session of the Second House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Bailey and Lane, 1792), 284–85; Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Commencing on Tuesday (Philadelphia: Bailey and Lane, 1792), 236–42.
- 39. For more information on the importance of the newspapers in Pennsylvania parties see Jeffrey Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers: Newspapers Politics in the Early America Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003). The exchange of newspapers and information was, in large part, facilitated by the burgeoning postal system. See Richard John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Richard G. Miller, *Philadelphia—The Federalist City: A Study of Urban Politics*, 1789–1801 (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1976), 45–47.
- General Advertiser, July 30, 1792; "Freedom of Election," General Advertiser, August 1, 1792; Tinkcom, Federalists and Republicans in Pennsylvania, 56.
- 42. Like many "moderate" Federalists in Philadelphia, Thomas McKean would later join the Republicans.
- 43. "Freedom of Election"; General Advertiser, August 4, 1792.
- 44. James Hutchinson to Albert Gallatin, August 19, 1792, Gallatin Papers. For the sake of clarity I have simplified party terminology. Parties were in their infancy in the early 1790s. Emphasis in original.
- 45. There is some evidence that the entire circular letter was a scam and that Hutchinson had already decided on a ticket before getting the results. Hutchinson had sent Gallatin a list of candidates who matched the final ticket a month before he heard back from the various counties. Various Federalist authors attempted to prove this point during the election. Even if Republicans knew who they were going to nominate, they still went through the motions of involving a large section of the electorate. For Federalists' attempts to expose the circular letter see, for example, "Cerberus," *General Advertiser*, September 5, 7, and 14, 1792.
- William Findley to William Irvine, September 28, 1792, William Irvine Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- 47. James Hutchinson to Albert Gallatin, September 14, 1792, Gallatin Papers.
- 48. All in the Gallatin Papers: William Findley to Albert Gallatin, August 20, 1792; William Findley to Albert Gallatin, September 27, 1792; James Hutchinson to Albert Gallatin, September 14, 1792; Alexander J. Dallas to Albert Gallatin, September 25, 1792.
- 49. Both tickets: William Findley (R), Thomas Hartley (F), Daniel Hiester (I), William Irvine (R), John W. Kittera (F), Frederick A. Muhlenberg (F), and J. Peter Muhlenberg (R). Republicans elected: Andrew Gregg, William Montgomery, and John Smilie. Federalists elected: James Armstrong, Thomas Fitzsimons, and Thomas Scott.
- General Advertiser, October 30, 1792; Dunlap's Daily Advertiser, November 1, 1792; Claypool's Daily Advertiser, November 2, 1792. All three of these papers claim that the results published came from

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"official" sources, yet there are slight differences between them that do not change the overall conclusions drawn.

- 51. James Hutchinson to Albert Gallatin, October 24, 1792, Gallatin Papers.
- Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, November 16, 1792, in Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. H. A. Washington (Washington, DC: Taylor and Maury, 1853–54), 3:491.
- 53. Hutchinson to Gallatin, September 14, 1792, Gallatin Papers
- 54. Citizens at Redstone Fort to Committee of Correspondence at Philadelphia, September 17 1792, Gallatin Papers.
- 55. Journal of the First Session of the Fourth House of the Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia: Bailey and Lane, 1793), 163–70, 225–27.
- 56. It is also worth noting that, when a similar debate over whether the state should select presidential electors by districts or at-large occurred in 1796, Federalists vehemently defended at-large elections as the only way to ensure the state was properly represented. See Tinkcom, *Republicans* and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 163–64.
- 57. Though not overly aligned with the Republican Party, many prominent Republicans such as John Swanwick, Alexander James Dallas, and Benjamin Bache were members and the two groups shared many common goals. Hutchinson was a prominent member of the Philadelphia Democratic Society. See Eugene Perry Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies*, 1790–1800 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); Marco M. Siolo, "The Democratic Republican Societies at the End of the Eighteenth Century: The Western Pennsylvania Experience," *Pennsylvania History* 60 (1993): 288–304 Albrecht Koschnik, "The Democratic Societies and the Limits of the American Public Sphere." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001): 615–36
- 58. Tinkcom, Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 140.
- 59. "From Correspondents," *General Advertiser*, September 4, 1794. The "present crisis" is a reference to the Whiskey Rebellion, which will be discussed below. The best history is Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- 60. Gazette of the United States, October 11, 1794. For more information on the election of 1794 see Richard Baumann, "John Swanwick: Spokesman for 'Merchant Republicanism' in Philadelphia, 1790–1798," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 97 (1973): 131–82; Baumann, "Philadelphia's Manufacturers and the Excise Taxes of 1794: The Forging of the Jeffersonian Coalition," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 106 (1982): 3–39. Miller, Philadelphia— The Federalist City, 65–69; Tinkcom, Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 138–42.
- 61. There are some returns listed as being from "the army" but they amount to a mere fraction of the men who were sent to put down the Rebellion.
- 62. Madison to Jefferson, November 14, 1794, in Letters and Other Writings of James Madison (Philadelphia: U.S. Congress, 1865), 2:19.
- 63. William Bradford to Elias Boudinot, October 17, 1794, Wallace Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2:101. Baumann, "John Swanwick"; Baumann, "Philadelphia's Manufacturers and the Excise Taxes of 1794."
- 64. Republicans elected: John Swanwick, Daniel Hiester, Samuel Maclay, Andrew Gregg, David Bard, William Findley, and Albert Gallatin. Federalists elected: Frederick Muhlenberg, Richard Thomas, Samuel Sitgreaves, John Richards, John W. Kittera, and Thomas Hartley.

CONTESTED ELECTION LAWS

- 65. According to "A New Nation Votes," Richards received 1,791 votes and Morris 1,776. This tabulation includes the votes from the army, something the state does not appear to have counted until some months after the election. "A New Nation Votes: American Election Returns, 1787–1825," http://elections.lib.tufts.edu/aas_portal/index.xq (accessed December 20, 2011)
- 66. See Todd Estes, *The Jay Treaty Debates, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Political Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).
- 67. Both David Waldstreicher and Albrecht Koschnik see 1794 as a key turning point. David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Albrecht Koschnik, "*Let a Common Interest Bind Us Together*": Association in Philadelphia, 1775–1840 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007).
- 68. For a general discussion of the politics of the 1790s see James Roger Sharp, American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993). For an overview of electioneering practices in Philadelphia, see Mark Winston Brewin, "A History of Election Day in Philadelphia: A Study in American Political Ritual," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2002.

NOT ONLY PRINTS: EARLY REPUBLIC-ERA VISUAL CULTURE RESEARCH AT THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA

Rachel A. D'Agostino, Alison M. K. Klaum, Erika Piola, and Aaron Wunsch

INTRODUCTION

Erika Piola

Scholars, the general public, and special collections libraries are increasingly aware of the importance of visual images in examining the past.¹ With the proliferation of sophisticated digitization technologies, researchers now have the opportunity to "see" images in new ways. No longer considered secondary to text and used merely to illustrate the written word, visual materials are taking their rightful place as primary evidence that document the past and influences our understanding of the present. The Library Company of Philadelphia supports this continuing focus on the historical importance of visual culture. An independent research library specializing in American history and culture from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, the Library Company was founded as the first subscription library in the country in 1731 by Benjamin Franklin and his Junto of fellow tradesmen. Serving as the library for Congress in the later eighteenth century and the city library during the nineteenth century, the Library Company transformed itself in the mid-twentieth century into a closed-stack research facility to both preserve and provide

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the best access to its nationally and locally significant collections of rare books, manuscripts, broadsides, ephemera, prints, photographs, and works of art.

Through its 281-year history, the Library Company has collected visual material and since 1971 has maintained a separate graphics department, with current holdings at over 70,000 items. Among the visual treasures are Peter Cooper's *Southeast Prospect of the City of Philadelphia*, a circa 1720 painting believed to be the earliest painted view of a North American city; an 1844 William and Frederick Langenheim daguerreotype showing a crowd gathering outside of militia headquarters during anti-Catholic riots, often referred to as Philadelphia's first news photograph; and the three-volume elephant folio of John James Audubon's *Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* (1845–48), filled with 150 beautifully hand-colored lithographs of wildlife. The Library Company also holds subject and genre collections rich for visual study, including more than 8,000 late nineteenth-century trade cards, many relating to popular medicine; nearly 800 mid-nineteenth-century comic valentines; and a strong collection of books relating to the history of printing, as well as optics and optical equipment dating back to the sixteenth century.

Launched in 2008, the library's Visual Culture Program (VCP at LCP) promotes the use of historical images as primary sources for studying the past and fosters research, collection, and interpretation of historic visual material. Through exhibitions, research fellowships, conferences, and public programs, VCP at LCP, under the direction of Curator of Printed Books Rachel D'Agostino and Associate Curator of Prints and Photographs Erika Piola, promotes the creative use of the Library Company's varied collections of visual materials. These programs have included the 2010 Philadelphia on Stone exhibition researching the first fifty years of commercial lithography in the city, and also a talk by local artist Jennifer Levonian describing how the Library Company's Civil War collections inspired her 2011 animated work "Rebellious Bird," which is also discussed in a blog about her experience accessible on the VCP website (http:// www.librarycompany.org/visualculture/index.htm). The website also provides information about the fellowship program and descriptions of past and forthcoming events, as well as an overview of the visual culture materials related to other subject strengths at the library, including Philadelphiana, women's history, economics, natural history, popular culture, and African American history.

In the summer of 2011, in further support of the mission of VCP, directors D'Agostino and Piola chaired a panel at the annual meeting of the Society of Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR). The panel, "Not Only Prints: Early Republic-Era Visual Culture Research at the Library Company

of Philadelphia," was designed to disseminate awareness of the breadth and depth of the Library Company's visual culture collections, the importance of visual materials as primary sources, and the methods scholars could pursue to perform graphically oriented research. The presenters were Alison Klaum, PhD candidate in English at the University of Delaware; Aaron Wunsch, a lecturer in the University of Pennsylvania's Historic Preservation Program; and Anne Verplanck, associate professor of American and heritage studies at Penn State University. The presenters described the collections they used and why, the insights and conclusions they formed from their work with the materials, and the outcomes from their research.

Klaum, currently completing her dissertation "Pressing Flowers: Floral Discourses and the Development of American Print Culture, 1790–1860," discussed her work at the library for a chapter of her dissertation focused on the historical importance of the interrelationship of graphic depictions and textual descriptions of flowers in understanding nineteenth-century botanical education. Wunsch focused on the Library Company's defining role in forming his understanding of the iconography and construction of the Laurel Hill Cemetery, which he has been researching for over a decade. Verplanck outlined her research at the library for her current project, "The Graphic Arts of Philadelphia 1780–1880." The following pages contain essays derived from the papers presented by Klaum and Wunsch and the summary of all the presenters' work authored by VCP codirector D'Agostino.

NOTE

 See Margaret Dikovitskaya, *The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Nicholas Mizeroff (New York: Routledge, 2002); *Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Pryzblyski (New York: Routledge, 2004); and W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

TALES FROM THE CRYPT: CEMETERY-RELATED NOTES ON LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA RESEARCH

Aaron Wunsch

Asking scholars to discuss their aims, methods, and discoveries is a risky proposition, like pointing a telescope at your navel. Will anyone want to see the view? Years ago a colleague of mine, fresh from a prestigious fellowship

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that required him to attend endless academic mixers, captured the problem with this piece of self-mockery: "But enough about me; let's talk about my work." Despite the risks, my essay does just that. It summarizes insights I have gained about the genesis of Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery while working with graphic materials at the Library Company of Philadelphia. Those insights will be of particular interest to historians of American architecture and landscape who focus on the early to mid-nineteenth century. But there is a larger historiographic moral to the story, and it is this: study the repository as you study your topic. Archivists and librarians will not be shocked by this injunction, and neither will many historians. If the following case study reinforces an old maxim and enhances interest in one of the richest collections of antebellum visual culture in the United States, then this glance backward through the telescope will (almost) be justified.¹

Architectural historians tend to put architects first. When I began researching Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery as an employee of the Historic American Buildings Survey some fifteen years ago, I quickly discovered that existing scholarship on the site fell into two categories: cultural histories of something called the "rural cemetery movement" and narrower design histories, written by people with training like mine, that explored the work of architect John Notman.² Laurel Hill, established in 1836, was America's second major rural cemetery, postdating Boston's Mount Auburn by five years. Although the differences between the two institutions were marked, their founders shared an interest in burial reform that combined urban civic pride with ideas about health, horticulture, history, class, and family that were as private and sentimental as they were public and scientific. I also learned that the person most responsible for giving architectural form to these impulses at Laurel Hill was John Notman.

Focusing on architects when writing design history isn't wrongheaded but it can be self-contained and, potentially, self-fulfilling. The scholarship on Notman was generally rigorous and well written. Better still, it fell within my comfort zone. While I quickly perceived that rural cemeteries were complex cultural and material phenomena trailed by disparate business records, drawings, photographs, poems, and diary entries (to name only the most obvious primary sources), it was initially reassuring to know that the story of the cemetery's creation followed developments in architecture and landscape gardening I had learned about in school and was, at first glance, tidy. It went something like this: Laurel Hill Cemetery took shape on the banks of the Schuylkill River beginning in 1836. The site's rolling terrain, mature plantings, and river views appealed particularly to John Jay Smith, the most active promoter of the cemetery plan and the eminent librarian of Philadelphia's Library Company. He and three like-minded collaborators followed convention by holding a competition for the design of the new institution's buildings and grounds.³ The winner was John Notman, a recently arrived Scottish carpenter with significant architectural training who vanquished leading local architects Thomas Ustick Walter and William Strickland. The result was an arboretum-like, gardenesque landscape adorned with neoclassical, Gothic, and vaguely Chinese buildings housing various cemetery functions. While Walter was called in, or perhaps volunteered, to improve Notman's gatehouse drawing, Notman received credit for the project overall, and it effectively launched his nationally important career.⁴

Notman as lone wolf—or close to it. That story cohered, and it got me through a report for the National Park Service and earned a National Historic Landmark nomination for the cemetery. But there were annoying loose ends. Citing the work of Keith Morgan, historian Constance Greiff suggested that a British architect's published proposals for Kensal Green Cemetery near London had been available to competition entrants and had influenced both Notman's ground plan and an unrealized Gothic entrance suggested by Walter.⁵ The "Walter" gatehouse sketch appeared on a larger drawing, also attributed to him, showing wildly writhing paths around a central, church-like building (see figs.1a and 1b). If the latter feature represented another link to the Kensal Green proposal (and Greiff and Morgan felt that it did), why was the overall composition so rough? Could this really be the drawing Walter, a renowned architect with training as a landscape painter, used to persuade cemetery managers to hire him?

These questions brought me to the Library Company in the summer of 2001. A callow doctoral student with a month-long Mellon Foundation fellowship, I wanted to pore over the drawings in question and learn more about the institution that, along with Laurel Hill, had consumed John Jay Smith's mental energies for most of his adult life. The drawings were a mixed bag. In addition to the one attributed to Walter, there was another, more finished one actually signed by him. This called for an Egyptian Revival gatehouse like the one at Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery. A similar scheme, set forth by William Strickland, was accompanied by a ground plan that showed two stepped terraces (or "amphitheaters") descending towards the river (see fig. 2). None of this came as a surprise. Other researchers had analyzed these proposals while noting the absence of a signed entry from Notman. But two things became clearer to me. First, the ground plans were based on

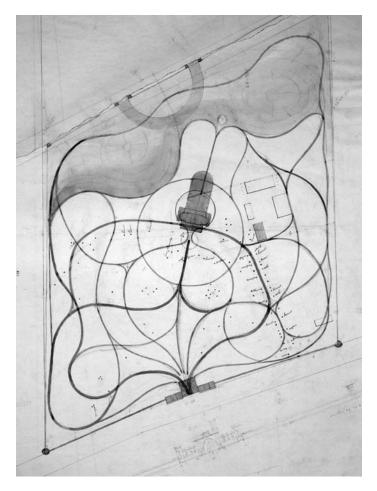


FIGURE 1A: [Plan of Laurel Hill Cemetery with elevation of the entrance] ([Philadelphia, 1836]). Proposed plan for Laurel Hill Cemetery grounds, problematically attributed to Thomas Ustick Walter. Library Company of Philadelphia.

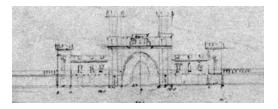


FIGURE 1B: Detail of "Walter" plan, showing sketch of a proposed gatehouse.

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the same site survey, showing pre-existing buildings (as hatched rectangles) and trees (as dots). Second, although the drawings were few, they ranged from polished to crude. The putative Walter drawing, indeed, appeared to be a kind of worksheet on which designs were being tested, perhaps by multiple hands.

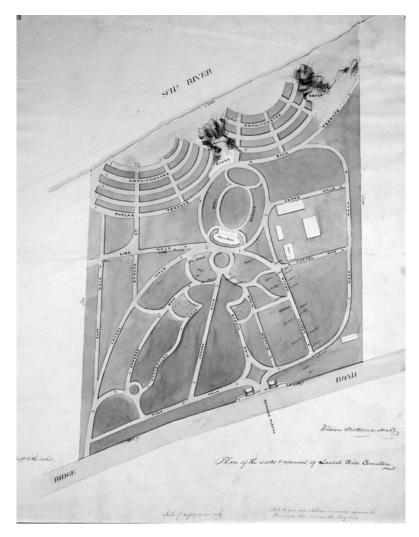


FIGURE 2: William Strickland, *Plan of the walks and avenues of Laurel Hill Cemetery* ([Philadelphia, 1836]). William Strickland's proposed ground plan for Laurel Hill Cemetery. Library Company of Philadelphia.

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The antebellum decades witnessed enormous quantitative and qualitative changes in the production and consumption of architectural books. Before the rise of public libraries in Philadelphia, the Library Company came closer than any other local institution to serving that purpose. Books on architecture and landscape had long found a home there and it made sense that, when thinking about Laurel Hill, John Jay Smith would avail himself of the collection over which he presided. To my delight, I discovered that Smith had compiled a catalog of the library's holdings a year before founding the cemetery.⁶ Why not peruse the architecture and landscape entries to get a sense of possible design sources?

This sort of exercise is open to criticism. At best, it tends to yield generalizations about what so-and-so "might have seen." But sometimes one can do better. Thumbing through Humphry Repton's *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803), I came across a scheme Repton had proposed as the gatehouse for a large English estate (see fig. 3). Not only did it bear a striking resemblance to its counterpart at Laurel Hill, it also showed



FIGURE 3: Humphry Repton's proposed entrance gate for the Harewood estate in Yorkshire, England in Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: Printed by T. Bensley for J. Taylor, 1803). Note the pencil marks on this illustration from the Library Company copy. Library Company of Philadelphia.

pencil marks where someone had begun to sketch in the latter building's doorways and niches. Similar but less satisfying revelations came from other books. John Claudius Loudon's *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (1833) was missing page 999. Locating the book at another library, I discovered that the excised image likewise recalled Laurel Hill's gatehouse in some very specific ways. If John Jay Smith had allowed someone to draw in the Repton book, or perhaps had done so himself, might he have removed a page from Loudon to facilitate deliberations over Laurel Hill's design or, more bluntly, to instruct Notman?

Whatever its dangers, such speculation prompted me to rethink what I knew about Laurel Hill's genesis. Notman was new to this country, his youth and lack of reputation perhaps seen as an asset by the founders of a novel and relatively low-budget institution who had design ideas of their own. What if the whole process had been more open and synthetic than anyone believed, with various players chiming in and various print sources being dropped upon the table? This theory worked better than Notman-as-formgiver because it explained more of the evidence. Whatever its origins, the snaky plan attributed to Walter looked still more like a worksheet. Walter might have made the Gothic gatehouse sketch but someone else likely traced out the winding paths that recalled those proposed for Kensal Green. This rough plan was important. Far more than Strickland's, it prefigured the road and path system that was actually built at Laurel Hill (see fig. 4). Yet Strickland ultimately made a contribution, too. One of his terraced "amphitheaters" found its way into the final design, as did some of the Gothic features Walter (?) had suggested for the cemetery's street front. A combination of Library Company resources, managerial suggestions, and architects' proposals, Laurel Hill's design began to look like a collage.

My conversion of Notman into a cipher worried me a bit. His career, after all, was illustrious, as a trip to the Philadelphia Athenaeum, St. Mark's Church, or the grounds of the Virginia State Capitol will remind you. But it was the early Notman, Notman-the-near-nobody, whom Laurel Hill's founders had employed. And it was this humbler, more malleable Notman whose gatehouse design T. U. Walter reworked, making sure the press knew he had done so. Maybe there was a reason no original Notman drawings of Laurel Hill survived. Maybe they embarrassed him. Maybe that unsigned, writhing ground plan is one of them. Again this is speculation. But, again,

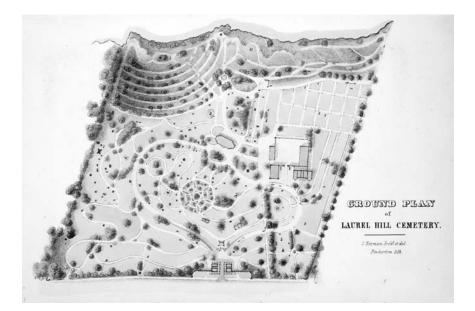


FIGURE 4: J. Notman, *Ground Plan of Laurel Hill Cemetery* in [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery, Near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844). Printed by Edward Pinkerton. Laurel Hill's ground plan as it looked in the early 1840s. Although this lithograph is commonly understood to capture Notman's original intentions for the cemetery landscape, it first appeared in Smith's guide, eight years after the cemetery's founding. Library Company of Philadelphia.

it led me in new directions and, ultimately, to more solid conclusions. The critical ones are these:

First, there was no formal competition for Laurel Hill's design. Architectural historians look for such events as a matter of course but a few handsome rendered drawings do not a competition make. Nowhere in Laurel Hill's records is there mention of a competition. The beautiful Walter and Strickland proposals at the Library Company were surely meant to land their creators lucrative commissions but the very lack of a formal process for receiving them may have fostered the sort of borrowing and recombination that transpired.

Second, whatever his skills as an architect, Notman was shakier at landscape. He may well have supplied a general scheme for Laurel Hill's grounds (as he did for later cemeteries) but, as written evidence and a copperplate engraving at the Library Company show, the details were worked out by surveyor Philip M. Price. Price, incidentally, laid out much of Philadelphia's Spring Garden neighborhood and went on to survey the city's Monument and Woodlands cemeteries. A landscape designer without architectural credentials, he remains virtually unknown.⁷

Before concluding, we might revisit the Library Company and the ways the institution's history has shaped its collections. Well before John Jay Smith got into the cemetery business, he was immersed in antebellum print culture. And well before he borrowed Library Company books for their images, he was borrowing their texts.8 In the same years Smith was settling into his post as Librarian, he was forging a second, complementary career as an editor of books and magazines. This work depended on the absence of international copyright; almost all of Smith's publications were reprints, abridgements, or serializations of European works. It likewise depended on Smith's unrivaled access to the Library Company's collections. Smith would borrow and serialize recent works, most notably in Adam Waldie's Select Circulating Library. Whatever gain he received from such ventures, he believed that their contribution to the diffusion of knowledge made them compatible with the Library's mission; indeed, the name "Circulating Library" played on the connection, as did a host of upbeat editorials. And Smith gave back. When his beneficence was brought to the attention of the current Librarian, he replied: "That explains why we have so many copies of Waldie's in our basement."9

Did Smith's work in the world of print affect the shape and character of Laurel Hill? In the course of my dissertation research, I became convinced that it did. Certainly, there were occasional articles about the cemetery in Smith's publications—reprints, of course, but flattering nonetheless. More important, I began to recognize the extent to which Laurel Hill was an artifact of the emerging middle-class literary culture of the antebellum decades. Unlike other rural cemeteries, Smith's branded itself as a literary landscape by placing a sculpture group derived from the tales of Sir Walter Scott at its entrance (see fig. 5).¹⁰ Cut by stonemason James Thom, the group features Old Mortality, who traveled the Scottish countryside restoring the epitaphs of Presbyterian martyrs. To the rear stands his faithful pony, while off to the left Sir Walter himself looks on. Historians have seen possible ties between Thom and John Notman, both of whom were natives of Scotland. They have alleged that the sculpture amplified Laurel Hill's resonance with middle-class religious values and longing for familial perpetuity. But might it also be

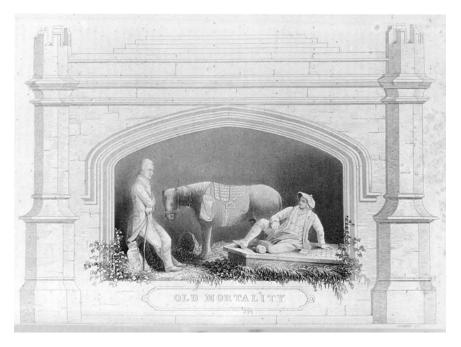


FIGURE 5: Old Mortality in Godey's Lady's Book (April 1842). Library Company of Philadelphia.

noteworthy that John Jay Smith began his literary career by abridging Scott's *Life of Napoleon* and made a living through similar work?¹¹

There are other such connections, too. Smith clearly valued and, to some extent, shaped, the coverage Laurel Hill received in popular journals such as *Godey's Lady's Book*. (Here it is worth mentioning how poorly *Godey's* illustrations reproduce online and on microfilm and how important it is to see the originals at the Library Company.) And when in the mid-1840s Smith obtained the American rights to a lithographic process known as anastatic printing, a new world of possibilities for the repackaging of intellectual property opened up that would again resonate with his cemetery and library work. Antiquarian publications, such as *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, featured autographs of people buried at Laurel Hill. There were pattern books like *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets* (1847), whose borrowed English text was followed by images of American cemetery monuments. And, perhaps most intriguing, the anastatic adventure lured Smith into the map publishing business. Perched at the Library Company, he oversaw the tracing of old maps for reproduction. His draftsman was a young English

civil engineer named J. C. Sidney, later a major cartographer and landscape designer. Sidney's earliest known work in the landscape field is a late-1840s addition to Laurel Hill Cemetery.¹²

Again, the reader may wonder: what broader lessons can I glean from this story? Here are a few that may be of use, especially to fellow scholars of the built environment. The Library Company's collections of drawings, maps, and photographs are spectacular. Although it is by no means comprehensive, ImPAC, the library's portal to its digital-image collection, offers an important starting point. However, the larger imperative to study the repository as you research your topic stands. Although my own work has focused rather narrowly on Laurel Hill and John Jay Smith, I suspect there is much to be learned about the Library's relationship to the architecture and landscape fields in the antebellum era.¹³ Many of the leading architects of the day were shareholders in the Library Company. Some had large libraries of their own, but they may nonetheless have checked out expensive or out-of-print works. Nor should we assume the story ends with the likes of Benjamin Latrobe or T. U. Walter. More than kindred institutions such as the Athenaeum of Philadelphia, the Library Company was dedicated to the popular diffusion of knowledge in the new republic. What did this mean for the circulation of architectural books and periodicals? How did it relate to what historian Meredith McGill has called "the culture of reprinting"—the culture in which John Jay Smith was so steeped?¹⁴ I don't have the answers but I am hoping future research will get us closer.

NOTES

- I. An earlier version of this paper was presented at "Not Only Prints: Early Republic Visual Culture Research at the Library Company of Philadelphia," Session 23 of the 2011 meeting of the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, held in Philadelphia. I would like to thank the Library Company's Erika Piola and Rachel D'Agostino for their subsequent encouragement and revisions.
- 2. Discussions of the rural cemetery movement that address Laurel Hill include John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), chap. 12; David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (1984): 291–304; David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), chap. 3; Colleen McDannell, "The Religious Symbolism of Laurel Hill Cemetery," *Pennsylvania Magazine*

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of History and Biography III (1987): 275–303; David Charles Sloane, The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), chaps. 3–4; Dell Upton, Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), chap. 9. For design histories of Laurel Hill, see Keith N. Morgan, "The Landscape Gardening of John Notman," M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1973, chap. 2; Reed Laurence Engle and Constance M. Greiff, "Historic Structure Report: Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," unpublished report prepared under John M. Dickey for the Friends of Laurel Hill Cemetery, 1979; Constance M. Greiff, John Notman, Architect, 1810–1865 (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1979), catalog entry 2; Keith N. Morgan, "The Emergence of the American Landscape Professional: John Notman and the Design of Rural Cemeteries," Journal of Garden History 4 (1984): 269–81; Blanche Linden, "John Notman," in Pioneers of American Landscape Design II: An Annotated Bibliography, ed. Charles A. Birnbaum and Julie K. Fix (Washington, DC: Historic Landscape Initiative, National Park Service [NPS], U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995).

- 3. Smith's fellow cemetery founders were Benjamin Richards (1797–1851), former mayor of Philadelphia, Frederick Brown (1796–1864), a successful druggist, and Nathan Dunn (1782–1844), a China merchant turned philanthropist and collector. Dunn was the venture's financial backer and, contra standard accounts, the most likely to have brought John Notman to the board's attention. A month before underwriting the purchase of the Laurel Hill tract, Dunn had similarly subsidized the purchase of a new site for the Philadelphia Museum. Among the proposals he reviewed for the museum's design was one from John Notman—perhaps the first recorded (but now lost) scheme from the architect. See Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), 274.
- 4. On June 30, 1836, *Poulson's Daily Advertiser* announced, "There is now to be seen at the Exchange a very beautiful picture drawn by Mr. Walter, and designed by Mr. Notman, the architect, of the entrance adopted by the company to the new Rural Cemetery at Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia." Lest readers think Walter acted only as delineator, the following day's paper added, "a plan [for the entrance], not entirely correct in its proportions, was handed to Mr. Walter, who, as a friend, politely agreed to remodel it . . . without giving an opinion of the merit of the plan." See Engle and Greiff, "Historic Structure Report," 12.
- 5. Engle and Greiff, "Historic Structure Report," 11.
- Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia; To Which is Prefixed, a Short Account of the Institution, with the Charter, Laws, and Regulations (Philadelphia: C. Sherman and Co., prs., 1835).
- On Price's work at Laurel Hill and beyond, see Aaron V. Wunsch, "Addendum to Laurel Hill Cemetery," HABS no. PA-1811, Historic American Buildings Survey (NPS, 1999), 19, 21, 28, 58, 66, 83–84; Aaron V. Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," HALS No. PA-5, Historic American Landscape Survey (NPS, 2004), 12–13, 15, 39–45, 104, 107–15, 138–39, 175–77.
- The following discussion draws on John Jay Smith, Recollections of John Jay Smith, ed. Elizabeth Pearsall Smith (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), 221–22; Joseph Jackson, "John Jay Smith," in Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Scribner's, 1935);

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Aaron V. Wunsch, "Parceling the Picturesque: 'Rural' Cemeteries and Urban Context in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," Ph.D. thesis, University of California–Berkeley, 2009, chap. 3.

- 9. Author's conversation with James N. Green, September 2010.
- McDannell, "Religious Symbolism of Laurel Hill Cemetery," 289–90; George Thomas, "The Statue in the Garden," in *Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone* (New York: Walker Publishing, 1974), 37.
- 11. Smith, Recollections, 222, 224. Smith's collaborator in this unlicensed abridgement was Dr. Samuel George Morton, who married Smith's cousin in the same year (1827). Trained in medicine, Morton later achieved fame as a naturalist who used his extensive cranium collection to argue for the existence of original and distinct human "races." His work and its social implications are treated in many scholarly studies. A recent contribution is Ann Fabian, The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- Walter W. Ristow, "The Map Publishing Career of Robert Pearsall Smith," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 26 (1969): 174–85; Walter W. Ristow, "The Anastatic Process in Map Reproduction," *Cartographic Journal* 9 (1972): 37–42; Edward J. Law, "The Introduction of Anastatic Printing to America," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, n.s., 14 (2009): 41–55; Wunsch, "Parceling the Picturesque," chap. 4.
- 13. For a detailed discussion of architectural history resources at the Library Company and other Philadelphia-area repositories, see Jeffrey A. Cohen, "Evidence of Place: Resources Documenting the Philadelphia Area's Architectural Past," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 124 (2000): 145–201.
- Meredith McGill, American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

SEEING BOTANICALLY: LINNAEAN INFLUENCE IN POPULAR ANTEBELLUM FLOWER BOOKS AND THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA'S VISUAL COLLECTIONS

Alison M. K. Klaum

In the introduction to *Flora's Interpreter, or the American Book of Flowers and Sentiments* (1832), of which the Library Company of Philadelphia has nine editions, Sarah Josepha Hale supplies two reasons for incorporating Linnaean taxonomy into her collection of floral poems.¹ She writes that Linnaeus's choice to use twenty-four categories of plants "seems most gracefully to round the number of classes" and that his system is also the "most poetical."² By applying these aesthetic modifiers to abstract botanical theory, Hale links the artistic and the analytical. These surprising associations are indicative of the ways in which writers and editors of many popular nineteenth-century floral texts incorporated botanical theory into their aesthetic study of flowers,

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basing their choices on the system's beauty rather than on its scientific correctness.

Hale's reference to the work of Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus also indirectly invokes the sensual temptations associated with the floral. Linnaeus was famous for revolutionizing botanical studies by devising his "sexual system" for organizing plants that he outlined in his first publication, *Systema naturae* (1735). Based on the knowledge that flowers house the reproductive organs of the plant, Linnaeus's system divided plants into classes and orders according to the number and arrangement of the stamens (male sexual organs) and pistils (female sexual organs).³ As a result of Linnaeus's sexual system, the flower became integral to the discovery and categorization of new plant species as well as a focal point for metaphors of human desire.⁴

While many scholars have emphasized both the overt and covert sexual associations of floral temptation, they have avoided Linnaeus's warnings about flowers, and how, though flowers house the very means by which the plant can be identified, other features like color may distract the scientific eyes of the botanist.⁵ Linnaeus's aesthetic caveats about the danger of color in flowers, and his instructions on how botanists must train themselves to perceive abstract ideals in the face of visual variation, also seeped into the discourse of popular American flower books. Common in American educational literature and as subjects for new printing techniques, printed flowers functioned as key sites for cultural concerns about human control and self-restraint, both physical and intellectual.

While Linnaeus's influence can easily be traced in the many popular nineteenth-century botanical treatises or floral texts that adopt or reference his taxonomy directly, my research at the Library Company revealed other, less obvious textual evidence of his botanical sway. Floral-themed instructional art books such as *A Series of Progressive Lessons Intended to Elucidate the Art of Flower Painting in Water Colours* (1818) promote self-discipline and the careful observation and processing of floral nature in a way that echoes Linnaean botanical ways of seeing even in the absence of direct references to botanical theory. Conversely, American language-of-flower books such as Elizabeth Wirt's *Flora's Dictionary* (1829) showcase the vicissitudes and inconsistencies of floral print culture, which challenge Linnaeus's method for seeing botanically, even as they devote whole sections to descriptions of his sexual system.⁶

Despite their variations in method and focus, these two types of floral genres collectively demonstrate how Linnaean botanical theory contributed to the diverse applications of floral aesthetics in nineteenth-century American popular print culture. And it was my encounter with these two genres in the archives of the Library Company that has significantly shaped how I look at the relationship between visual and verbal floral vocabularies in nineteenth-century printed works.

How to See Botanically: Linnaean Visual Self-Control

Although Linnaeus likened plant reproduction to sexual relations in the context of marriage, his system still ignited controversy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.7 It inspired Erasmus Darwin's provocative poem The Loves of the Plants (1789), which drew out, through personification of flowers, the illicit potential of multiple female and male sexual groupings.8 Such associations made flowers tricky objects, but sexuality represented only one facet of their desirability. In Critica Botanica (1737), a work that has received little scholarly attention regarding its influence on floral aesthetics in popular culture, Linnaeus identifies several different floral scientific temptations about which the budding botanist needed to be warned.⁹ Linnaeus asserts in this work that seeing botanically, or being a botanist, required an ample amount of self-discipline and concentration. According to his binomial nomenclature, or the system of identifying the genus and species of plants through their sexual organs, the reproductive parts of the plant were not illicit but necessary for determining important plant categories. They did not, therefore, present any potential distraction for the botanist. Rather, when it comes to identifying species, being "led astray" by the nonsexual or aesthetic characteristics of the plant-such as size, color, and scent-was the true danger for the botanist.¹⁰ Among all the distracting attributes of flora that Linnaeus identifies in his Critica Botanica, color particularly offends him. It can be dangerously seductive because

nothing strikes our senses more through sight than colour: hence it is not strange that the eyes of many have been quite taken captive by it, not to say spellbound. In early times colour was accepted as a means of distinguishing species, and before long became used as a criterion of species . . . though anyone who is not blind can see that *Mirabilis* and *Impatiens* produce a hundred differently coloured flowers on the same plant.¹¹

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Since sight is so crucial to botanical categorization, a floral quality that captivates the eye serves as a distraction from a flower's sexual characteristics, which were more reliable indicators of distinct plant categories. According to Linnaeus, color is "strangely sportive" and therefore more likely to have variations not indicative of separate species. As a result, Linnaeus implored botanists to look for the more dependable floral qualities such as the "number, shape, position, and proportion" of the plant's anatomy.¹²

Seeing botanically, however, involved more than just seeking out the right plant details. As Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison demonstrate in their study of the history of scientific objectivity, Linnaeus and the enlightenment naturalists sought to access an archetype of nature not located by the naked eye alone. Uncovering "truth-to-nature," suggest Daston and Galison, was not tantamount to forfeiting sensory perception in favor of a blind adherence to Platonic forms; rather, these two approaches worked together. One must be a careful and diligent observer of numerous examples in order to conceive of a generalized or regularized form that "transcended" specific categories expressing "a never seen but nonetheless real plant archetype." And one became a diligent observer by attending to the right parts of the plant and by employing four crucial skills—"selecting, comparing, judging, [and] generalizing."¹³

Seeing as a botanist involved the mental and the physical, the analytical and the concrete, the hidden and the exposed. Linnaeus employed this way of seeing to conceptualize the natural world and to establish standards for scientific botanical images used for plant identification. And while he primarily attempted to systematically categorize plants, his promotion of a disciplined form of botanical seeing shaped popular attitudes about self-control in relation to floral aesthetics in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴

Seeing Botanically in America: Color and Control

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, illustrated instructional monographs designed to teach the art of drawing and painting began to appear in America. Among these works was the Philadelphia publication *A Series of Progressive Lessons Intended to Elucidate the Art of Flower Painting in Water Colours*, which engendered a tradition of American instructional art books devoted solely to floral subjects. Printed anonymously in 1818, this work is generally ascribed to François-Thomas-Louis Francia, a French-born watercolorist; its colored aquatints are ascribed to John Hill, who became a significant American engraver during the 1820s and 1830s.¹⁵

Aimed at a primarily female audience interested in art, *Flower Painting* bears little resemblance to a scientific botanical treatise. Though plates 7–11 focus on the flower alone, as they would in a proper Linnaean botanical drawing, the similarities stop there. A typical Linnaean image would also include cross-sections of the plant's fructification (flower and fruit) and directly emphasize the plant's pistils and stamens, neither of which appears in the images of *Flower Painting*.¹⁶ Despite these missing elements, *Flower Painting* is still preoccupied with idealized floral forms in the vein of Linnaean theory. Beyond simply promoting genteel feminine accomplishment and leisure, *Flower Painting* endorses concentration, attention to detail, and the disciplined engagement of mind and body reminiscent of Linnaeus's approach to the natural world.¹⁷ One must know flowers intimately but reservedly to be either a floral painter or a botanist and to see botanically.

Like other works of its kind, *Flower Painting* presents the art of watercolor painting in a "series of progressive lessons."¹⁸ This method of painting breaks the process down into a number of small steps, with each lesson increasing in difficulty. While usually reserved for landscape drawing books, this form of instruction seemed particularly well suited for painting a complex and detailed subject like flowers. The first lessons in *Flower Painting* focus on the reproduction of abstract curvilinear lines (see fig. 1) and then proceed to the more recognizable shapes of leaves and greenery (fig. 2) before graduating to tinting (fig. 3) and then to the flower form and the application of color in paint (fig. 4). Once the student has mastered the initial steps, the author entrusts her to paint a colorful bouquet of flowers. Collectively, the plates of *Flower Painting* train the student not only to create an artistic image—building up the flower through layers of pencil, tint, and paint—but to do so by attending to specific parts of the plant, both tasks involving a carefully orchestrated series of actions.

Working in concert with the book's images, the written instructions emphasize the importance of practicing a disciplined form of floral study to become a proficient watercolorist and to help manage the student's desires regarding the flower. Rather than focusing on the dangerous sexual temptation of flowers, *Flower Painting*, and other works of its kind, admonish the reader about the temptation of color in a Linnaean fashion. In *The Rudiments* of Drawing and Shadowing (1827), author Maria Turner asserts that, especially

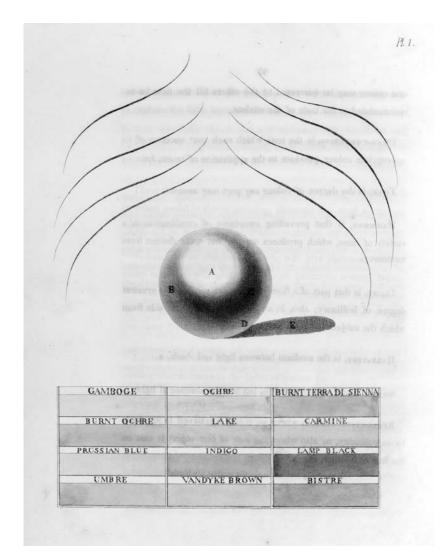


FIGURE I: Plate I in A Series of Progressive Lessons Intended to Elucidate the Art of Flower Painting in Water Colours (Philadelphia: Published by M. Thomas, 1818). Library Company of Philadelphia.

among young people, "there is generally too much eagerness . . . for colouring before they have acquired sufficient practice in Drawing."¹⁹ The author of *Flower Painting* notes the unfavorable results of such premature applications

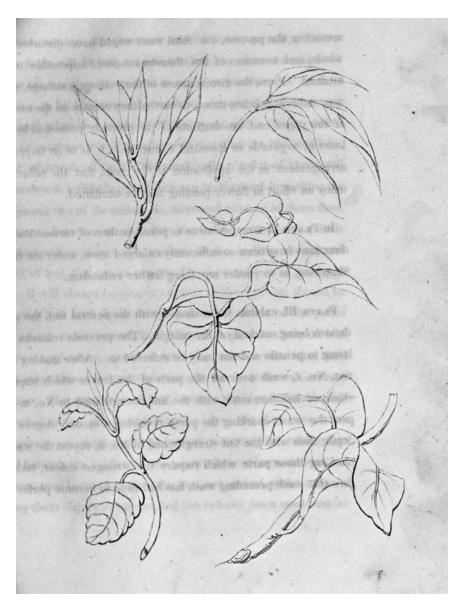


FIGURE 2: Plate 2 in A Series of Progressive Lessons. Library Company of Philadelphia.

of color: "There is an absolute necessity for the flower to be drawn with a considerable degree of correctness, before colouring is attempted. The flower must not be painted that is badly drawn; for, like decoration on deformity, the

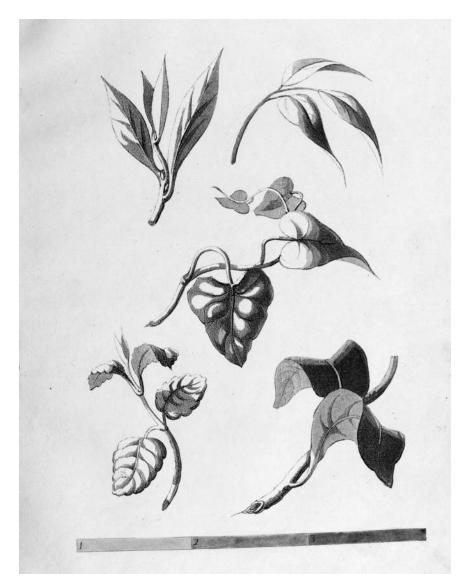


FIGURE 3: Plate 3 in A Series of Progressive Lessons. Library Company of Philadelphia.

colours will deride the ill-shaped form beneath."²⁰ Color plays a significant role in the floral image, emphasizing rather than masking any underlying problems with the drawing. But the drawing, and proper adherence to the steps, is even more important. If the flower is "deformed," no amount of color



FIGURE 4: Plate 7 in A Series of Progressive Lessons. Library Company of Philadelphia.

will beautify it. The student, then, must seriously and diligently attend to the structures of the drawing before she contemplates any application of color.

The one area in the drawing process that the author of *Flower Painting* seems to free the student from self-control is in the creation of the underlying abstract lines of the flower. This process, however, typifies the Linnaean concept of applied abstraction, where the student who has dedicated herself diligently to the study of nature would intuitively apprehend the most

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"natural" line. Before the student ventures into the creation of recognizable floral forms (such as the leaf and stem), the author asks her to produce abstract lines upon which she will build the rest of the flower. Rather than relying on very carefully orchestrated movements to create the curvilinear form-a technique that would promote a realistic reproduction of a specific object in nature-the work encourages her to "hold the pencil carelessly," recommending that "straight and angular markings" should be "rendered subservient to one sweep of freedom." According to Flower Painting, once the student has drawn a number of lines, "the eye will intuitively fix on one." The author identifies this foundational abstraction as "the line of beauty" with which the student will be "satisfied, while all others will be rejected in proportion to the pleasure this particular line has elicited."21 Not only does this abstract form resemble the generalized floral archetypes that Linnaeus and other naturalists believed in, but the process by which the art student automatically recognizes it also bears a strong likeness to botanical seeing. The student's intuitive selection of the archetypal "line of beauty" employs a version of Linnaeus's botanical seeing that results from astute observation and an understanding of abstract forms underlying the natural world.

On the surface, Linnaean botanical thought and amateur flower painting seem quite different: one spurns the beauty and color of flowers while the other embraces them; one is geared toward men while the other is associated with women. Upon closer examination, however, the fundamental ways of seeing the floral world promoted by both are quite similar. The author of Flower Painting concludes his treatise by underscoring the art student's need to move beyond the pages of the book in order to seek "nature in her boundless charms." He suggests that taste and genius "always operate in proportion to our attention in observing the works of nature, to our skill in selecting, and to our care in *digesting*, methodizing, and comparing our observations" (emphasis added).²² In order to arrive at a floral form that will effectively create and incorporate the "line of beauty," the art student must first attend to the forms of nature through careful observation and thorough processing. Performing a series of actions similar to those favored by Linnaeus and other enlightenment naturalists, the art student can, in fact, demonstrate her skill and taste before her pencil even touches the paper.²³

By examining floral-themed art instruction books from the first few decades of the nineteenth century in conjunction with Linnaean theory, we glimpse the covert ways in which eighteenth-century scientific ways of seeing were transmitted through aesthetic popular culture. Later in the nineteenth century, however, Linnaeus's influence on the practices of aesthetic floral instruction was no longer predominant but still significant as other floral discourses such as sentimental poetry entered into popular culture alongside of botany and horticulture through language-of-flower books.

Languages of Flowers: Personal Taste and the Difficulties of Seeing Botanically

While Flower Painting encouraged a way of seeing botanically without any direct mention of Linnaeus or his taxonomy, American language-of-flower books directly incorporated descriptions of his sexual system even as they challenged other elements of his botanical approach such as his standards of botanical drawing, abstract methods, and emphasis on self-control. Flower books like Elizabeth Wirt's Flora's Dictionary (1829) and Sarah Josepha Hale's Flora's Interpreter (1832) might include a biography of Linnaeus, an in-depth discussion of his sexual system, and even a likeness of him, but they did not nor did they require their readers to see flowers through his botanical eyes. Arranged alphabetically by flower, these works included a sentiment expressed poetically for each flower type. They claimed to promote the development of aesthetic taste among Americans, especially women, and often expressed a hope that the reader would be stimulated to learn more about botany after the brief exposure these books provided.²⁴ But rather than advocating meticulous observation and processing of the natural world in order to promote the development of taste among their readers, they encouraged them to carefully select and process the poems, sentiments, and images presented within the pages of the books. A preoccupation in these books with the "mystic language" of flora that supposedly began among "Eastern" cultures replaced the interest in perceiving the abstract "line of beauty" promoted in floral painting books.²⁵ Signifying a shifting site of taste, cultural and personal associations replaced abstractly constructed forms as the objects of study and emulation in the language-of-flower books.

As printing techniques became cheaper and easier, language-of-flower books incorporated more visual images of flowers. Lithographs and engravings appeared where blank pages used to be. By 1855 the style of Elizabeth Wirt's *Flora's Dictionary* merged with the more expensive end of the gift book tradition, featuring gilt binding and ornate floral borders (see fig. 5). In the 1855 edition, an image accompanies nearly every flower featured in

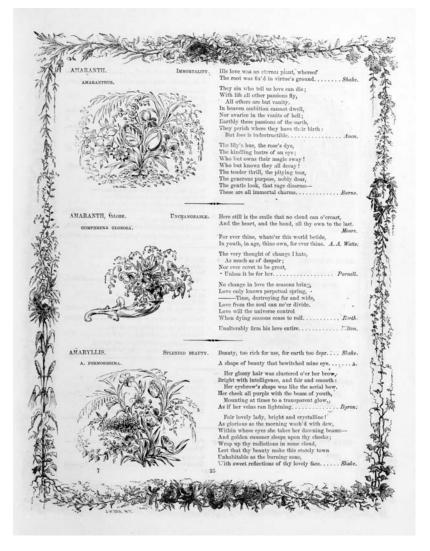


FIGURE 5 Illustration on page 25 from E. W. Wirt, *Flora's Dictionary* (Baltimore: Lucas Bros., [1855]). Library Company of Philadelphia.

the text, but a limited number of images are repeated throughout, blurring visual distinctions between individual plants. Heavily stylized still-lifes or garlands, the floral visuals are formulaic and highly decorative. In some cases, they do not visually correspond at all to the flower entry they accompany.

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Though the images in *Flora's Dictionary* function as generalized floral types that do not conform to any one specimen, they are markedly different from the floral schematics promoted by Linnaeus. Botanical images should depict floral forms that transcend nature and are "truer" than any actual specimen while still making distinctions between plant categories.²⁶ The images in Wirt's flower book, on the other hand, elide significant differences between categories of plants, functioning as generic decorations to ornament each floral entry rather than as useful tools for identifying plants.

Variations in floral meanings throughout language-of-flower books worked in conjunction with the stylized images to transform flowers from objects of observation to objects of association. Since the compilers of these works created links between specific flowers and sentiments by drawing from a variety of sources-scientific, etymological, literary, folkloric-the meanings assigned to specific flowers varied widely across the genre. For instance, one work associates the acacia with platonic love, while others associate it with mystery or elegance.²⁷ In *Flora's Dictionary*, Wirt admits that while "very few . . . emblems have been attached without reason"-inspired by British poems, the flower's botanical or popular name, or unique properties of the plant—some have been "arbitrarily assumed" (her emphasis). But even those associations that have a logical connection to a plant's specific properties are not part of a stable and consistent system for organizing flowers. Many of the specific plant attributes that she lists are the same ones Linnaeus warns against using for determining species because of their variability in nature: hue, odor, and place and manner of growth.²⁸ Such inconsistencies highlight the artificiality of the floral system underlying these language-of-flower books' floral vocabularies. Granted, Linnaeus's classification system was also artificial-that is, it disregarded natural affinities between plants in favor of a single characteristic (sexual organs) that he selected. But his focus on consistent floral attributes produced a reliable system for organizing flowers.²⁹ The amalgamation of sources and inconsistent array of floral associations and images in language-of-flower books, on the other hand, pulls the reader farther away from the Linnaean world of archetypal floral forms and selfdisciplined botanical observation even as these works showcase his popularity.

While these books did not promote extensive and careful observation of the natural world, they did encourage floral self-expression by incorporating either blank pages or space at the bottom of pages for readers to mark up. As the penciled-in notations in copies of Sarah Josepha Hale's *Flora's Interpreter* reveal, when readers interacted with the text they generated highly

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personalized floral associations rooted in their individual social world. They focused on their interests, some marking specific sentiments in the index, while others made notations next to favorite flowers or poets.³⁰ If the books encouraged flower-seeking in nature it was generally with an eye to capturing a favorite poem or emotion embodied in a floral package. And when pressed flowers appeared in the texts, they usually bore an association with a personal memory—a visit to a new place or a gift from a loved one. These floral expressions challenged botanical seeing by valorizing particular specimens and individualized expression and association over archetypal floral forms and a consistent system of categorizing flowers.

It may seem surprising for language-of-flower books, which are so resistant to promoting Linnaean botanical seeing, to include parts of Linnaeus's botanical theories so openly. Yet these language-of-flower books presented his floral taxonomy as one aesthetic floral discourse among many in the pages of these works. Though Linnaean theory does not function as the basis for their system of floral aesthetics, it contributes to a larger aesthetic matrix that makes up the collective vision of the work, with which the reader could engage to demonstrate her floral taste. Language-of-flower books ultimately situated the floral not as a singular type of study but as a cultural node where meanings could easily link and unlink.

Collectively, flower-painting books and language-of-flower texts demonstrate how scientific and aesthetic ideas commingle as they pass through the cultural site of the printed flower. By demonstrating engagement with aspects of Linnaean theory both within and outside of his commonly studied sexual system, these two genres also ask us to reconsider the nature of Linnaean botanical influence in nineteenth-century popular culture. Seemingly counterpoints to each other, the genres of instructional drawing and languageof-flower books both situate Linnaeus's system within their covers, charting a transformation over the decades in the popularization of flowers. Though they differ in their didactic methodology, the visual properties in both genres ultimately link Linnaeus to the aesthetic. For while the self-discipline asserted in drawing books seems to dissipate in language-of-flower books, the latter genre functions as a gateway to learn more about Linnaeus (as they could learn about any of the poets, poems, or flowers) if they were so inclined. Either through demanding strictures or subtle suggestion, both genres present Linnaeus's theories as "graceful" and "poetical" systems well suited to visualizing, selecting, and categorizing the floral world.

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NOTES

- Special thanks to the Library Company for the William Reese Company Fellowship that supported the research for this paper.
- Flora's Interpreter; or, The American Book of Flowers and Sentiments (Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1832), v.
- 3. As Gunnar Eriksson points out, Linnaeus was aware that the fruit also contained reproductive organs, collectively forming, along with the flower, the fructification. But Linnaeus gives preference to the flower because they appear before the fruit in the reproductive cycle of the plant. See Eriksson, "Linnaeus the Botanist," in *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1994), 78.
- 4. For a discussion of botany, specimen collecting, and empire in the eighteenth century, see Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); also *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). For a discussion of this relationship in the nineteenth century, see, for example, Lucille H. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002). For a more general discussion of the influence of travel and natural history practices on imperial expansion, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- 5. For discussions about Linnaeus's sexual system and its cultural implications, see, for example, Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 11–39; François Delaporte, *Nature's Second Kingdom: Explorations* of Vegetality in the Eighteenth Century, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 136–48.
- 6. Like Beverly Seaton, I use the phrase "language-of-flower books" to designate a subset of popular nineteenth-century flower books that featured a range of floral-themed contents including folklore, poetry, botany, and illustrations, but focused on an alphabetical list of flowers and their cultural associations. Seaton refers to this larger category of nineteenth-century flower books as "sentimental flower books," a term I avoid in this article because it does not fully account for how these texts gain their cultural resonance through their diversity of sentimental, botanical, and aesthetic associations. See Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 2–3. Despite Vera Norwood's application of the term "sentimental flower books" to works like *Flora's Dictionary*, she acknowledges that botany and horticulture also play key roles in these texts. See Norwood, *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 16. For more about the history of the language of flowers as a broader cultural trend see Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 232; Seaton, *Language of Flowers*, esp. chaps. 4 and 5.
- In Nature's Second Kingdom, Delaporte argues that plant sexuality was based on "permissible human behavior, respectable marriage" (143).

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- 8. On the influence of Linnaeus's sexual theory in relation to Erasmus Darwin's Loves of the Plants and the social and political milieus of late eighteenth-century England and America, see Janet Browne, "Botany in the Boudoir and Garden: The Banksian Context," in Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature, ed. David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 153–72; Fredrika J. Teute, "The Loves of the Plants; or the Cross-Fertilization of Science and Desire at the End of the Eighteenth Century," Huntington Library Quarterly 63 (2000): 319–45; Allen Buell, "On the Banks of the South Sea": Botany and Sexual Controversy in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Visions of Empire, ed. Miller and Reill, 173–93.
- Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison are a partial exception. Though they do not discuss the work in relation to popular floral culture directly, they focus on the ideas laid out in *Critica botanica* in relation to the larger eighteenth-century scientific milieu. See *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 59.
- According to Linnaeus, these are among the "deceptive" characteristics of plants that are not "constant, certain, and organic" and therefore cannot be used to make legitimate distinctions between species. See Carolus Linnaeus, *Critica Botanica*, trans. Arthur Hort, rev. M. L. Green (London: Ray Society, 1938), 115, 121.
- 11. Linnaeus, Critica Botanica, 138, 139.
- 12. Ibid., 138, 161
- 13. Daston and Galison, Objectivity, 58, 59, 60. Gunnar Eriksson likewise qualifies Linnaeus's belief in an archetype of nature, suggesting that his thinking did not reflect a straight form of platonic thought, but represented a more general belief that nature functioned within a limited number of laws. See Eriksson, "Linnaeus the Botanist," in *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1994), 84.
- Ella M. Foshay argues that early nineteenth-century floral art expressed Linnaean influence but she does not discuss the subtleties of Linnaean aesthetics in light of self-control and the various temptations of the flower. See Foshay, *Reflections of Nature: Flowers in American Art* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 31–37.
- For the major study on Hill, see Richard J. Koke, "John Hill, Master of Aquatint, 1770–1850," New-York Historical Society Quarterly 43 (1959): 51–117.
- On the characteristics of a Linnaean botanical illustration, see Gill Saunders, *Picturing Plants: An Analytical History of Botanical Illustration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 89–96.
- 17. On British women's involvement with popular botany, see Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England*, 1760–1860 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), especially chap. 7; and Nicolette Scourse, *The Victorians and Their Flowers* (London: Croom Helm, 1983); for American women's involvement with popular forms of botany, see Norwood, *Made from This Earth*, 11–24; on the role of botany as a particularly appropriate endeavor for women, see Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 241–44.
- 18. Ann Bermingham discusses the emergence of the "progressive" method of painting that became popular around the turn of the nineteenth century. See *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 155–56.

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- Maria Turner, Rudiments of Drawing and Shadowing Flowers in Pencil (Boston: Monroe and Francis, 1827), introduction.
- A Series of Progressive Lessons Intended to Elucidate the Art of Flower Painting in Water Colours (Philadelphia: M. Thomas, 1818), 13–14.
- 21. Ibid., 10–11.
- 22. Ibid., 10, 32.
- 23. Daston and Galison, Objectivity, 59.
- 24. See, for example, the introduction to Sarah Josepha Hale's Flora's Interpreter, v.
- 25. For a discussion of the popular but apocryphal belief that the Turks had developed a whole language system of flower meanings used to express secret messages between lovers, see Goody, *Culture of Flowers*, 233–35; Seaton, *Language of Flowers*, 61–66.
- 26. Daston and Galison, Objectivity, 60.
- 27. Seaton, Language of Flowers, 167–97.
- 28. E. W. Wirt, Flora's Dictionary (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1829), 3; Linnaeus, Critica botanica, 115.
- 29. Linnaeus's "Sexual System" was considered artificial since it grouped unrelated plants based on a common criterion (the sexual organs) selected by the classification system's creator, rather than on natural affinities between plants. See A. G. Morton, *History of Botanical Science* (London: Academic Press, 1981), esp. 268–70.
- 30. Several copies of the language-of-flower books that I viewed at the Library Company showed evidence of reader notations.

SUMMARY

Rachel D'Agostino

The Visual Culture Program at the Library Company of Philadelphia endeavors to bring awareness of the library's visual collections to scholars, both to enhance ongoing research and to inspire new projects. Our researchers' ability to discover new ways to use the visual materials we hold is confirmation of the vitality of visual culture studies and the importance of visual culture programs in research institutions like the Library Company.

Visual materials have always played a key role in society, and examining the value placed on them by members of the society can add significant depth to one's research. Anne Verplanck conducted extensive research at the Library Company in the collection of papers, ephemera, and photographs of mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia-based antiquarian John A. McAllister, for her upcoming book on Philadelphia as a center for artistic production. In the paper she presented at the SHEAR conference Verplanck described her findings about how antiquarians collected, shared, and even created visual materials that depicted their understanding of their city's and nation's history (Verplanck's essay will appear as a separate publication). Examining what they chose to preserve tells a story about the collectors. While these antiquarians were keen to identify the most accurate image of an individual or the best depiction of an early manifestation of a building, they nonetheless focused their energies on the powerful, and left the powerless to shrink into oblivion with the passage of time. In an 1854 letter to McAllister, New York–based antiquarian Benson Lossing explained that mid-nineteenth-century antiquarians should rely on "patriotism, good taste, and public sentiment" to guide them in the creation of an illustrated history of their time for future generations. Through an examination of resources like the McAllister Collection at the Library Company, we can more deeply engage the creation of that history, while questioning its fundamental tenets.

In the same way that we must look critically at the collectors of our history to determine to what extent they are the creators of our history, we must look at the institutions that are the stewards of that history to get a fuller perspective on it. In his essay, Aaron Wunsch advises us to "study the repository as you study your topic." Wunsch used the 1835 *Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia* to investigate what printed works were available to those who were devising plans for the new rural cemetery at Laurel Hill. This approach had the potential to be particularly fruitful, as the primary deviser of the cemetery was the Library Company Librarian at the time, John Jay Smith.

As Wunsch discovered, the Library Company's long and active history can tell stories about our city and our nation that are bigger than just the materials we hold. In particular, our catalogs, published at irregular intervals through our history, can shed light on what was available to people in Philadelphia at a particular time, and what was deemed important by our librarians and others who added to our collection. Much more difficult to determine is how the collection was used, but occasionally this too can be ascertained, and can lead to new insights. Wunsch's examination of drawings in the collection, coupled with his knowledge of the institution's history, and in particular Smith's connection to both the Library Company and Laurel Hill Cemetery, led to a reevaluation of the creation of the cemetery. It also led to an examination of how library staff of the time used our collections to further their own goals—a not entirely comfortable revelation! Without the visual resources in the Library Company's collection, it would have been impossible to reconstruct the creative process that formed Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Much can be learned by examining how visual materials were viewed, used, and perhaps abused by their contemporaries. We can also learn a great

deal by studying how and why they were created in the first place. The important influence of visual materials was appreciated long before developments in printing processes, such as lithography, made it easier to massproduce illustrations for advertisements. Carl Linnaeus understood the capacity of visual stimuli to thwart the proper classification of species. Color was particularly dangerous. His approach stressed the importance of selfcontrol while seeing botanically. Through an examination of two genres of works dealing with floral description (poetic language-of-flowers books, and floral-themed instructional art books), Alison Klaum studies how the selfcontrol advocated by Linnaeus was exhibited in nineteenth-century floral art. A Series of Progressive Lessons, Intended to Elucidate the Art of Flower Painting in Water Colours taught flower painting in a way that emphasized the importance of self-control and the resistance of the temptations brought on by color. On the other hand, while language-of-flower books often linked themselves to Linnaeus by including a description of the botanist and his sexual classification system, they readily allowed for the seduction of color and other sensual stimuli, and were less than stringent in their regard for the accuracy of depictions of particular floral species. This disregard for botanical accuracy only increased as new printing techniques emerged that allowed for more heavily illustrated works. As Klaum describes, the volumes became so full of garlands and decorative motifs that they strayed farther and farther from accurate depictions of the particular flower being discussed. It is intriguing that Linnaeus held such sway that he was discussed and paid homage to in these books, while his actual approach to floral classification was almost entirely disregarded. Thus, an examination of these visual materials can inform our understanding of the intersection of science and art, and the priority of each, in one demographic sector of nineteenth-century America.

Through their use of the visual materials in the Library Company's collection, Klaum, Wunsch, and Verplanck were able to approach traditional historical scholarship from a different angle, and deepen their understanding of the histories they studied. It is the goal of the Visual Culture Program at the Library Company to support such new and innovative uses of our collection, and to enable discoveries only possible through an examination of our visual history. These essays serve as a testament to this goal.

BOOK REVIEW

enjamin H. Irvin. Clothed in Robes of Sovereignty: The Continental Congress and the People Out of Doors (Oxford University Press, 2011). Pp. 392. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95

> Benjamin Irvin provides a compelling analysis of the Continental Congress's struggle to establish sovereign authority during the American Revolution. In attempting to garner respect for a quasi-national government, Irvin argues, Congress attempted to appeal to a national identity through the construction of new symbols, rituals, holidays, and public ceremonies. In order for them to work, however, these "invented traditions" needed the acceptance of the "people out of doors," without whom the Congress and this new nation could never exist, at least cohesively (5). The "people out of doors," particularly Philadelphians, Irvin posits, did not willingly accept all of Congress's creations, but instead confirmed, debated, rejected, and tailored the symbols and fêtes of Congress to fit their own views of the new nation.

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Together, Irvin contends, Congress and the "people out of doors" fashioned "a revolution in America's national identity" (10).

Members of the Continental Congress attempted to shape a national identity using their own cultural lexicon and in their own self-perceived image. The goals were twofold: to encourage within the people allegiance to the nation, while at the same time bolstering the authority of a gentry class to govern the nascent republic. The behavioral practices Congress demanded, the images it designed, and the fêtes it approved, "employed material wealth and polite sociability" in order to establish the gentry's "prerogative to rule" (24). For example, Irvin argues that Congress's enactment of the Continental Association in 1774, which was an attempt to govern the manners of the people by proscribing luxurious consumption and popular diversions, was also part of a concerted effort to establish the core of a republican ethos that garnered loyalty to the American cause and its new government. The association, according to Irvin, "bore the power to promote a collective, even a national, consciousness." But this "consciousness," Irvin argues, was also "borne of an impulse to preserve Anglo-American social hierarchy" by hardening "distinctions of class, race, and gender." Restrictions on the consumption of tea, for example, targeted women in an effort to promote "masculine virtue" in the face of "effeminate luxury" (32, 34, 36).

Congress attempted to affirm this circumscribed identity through a host of symbols and rituals. Congress commissioned Benjamin Franklin to print a currency with symbols encouraging "righteousness, industry, and fortitude" (77). Heraldic depictions of royal authority were replaced with images such as a hand-threshing grain and mottos like "Mind Your Business," which, Irvin claims, aimed to reform human behavior (86). Like the association and currency, some of the public celebrations promoted by Congress, such as Independence Day festivities, days of fasting and thanksgiving, and funerals for deceased members of Congress, were all imbued with a similar "patriotic sentiment" (8).

Not every public display of sovereignty drew on such austerity. In an excellent section on congressional diplomacy, Irvin shows how republican ideals competed with the exigency of establishing the United States on the world stage as a sovereign power and gaining wartime assistance from European allies. Diplomacy mandated pomp, ceremony, lavish dinners, and even seemingly royal gesticulations. Nothing seemed further from the republicanism of the association or the symbols on Franklin's Continental bills than

BOOK REVIEW

a congressionally planned parade with French ambassador Conrad-Alexander Gerard riding toward the State House in the United States' coach-and-six accompanied by a retinue of local officials. Even more telling, once inside the State House, Gerard met a literally elevated President of Congress, Henry Laurens, who sat in an ornate mahogany armchair set up on a platform in imitation of monarchical authority. According to Irvin, "having seen the king of England on his throne," many congressmen, especially southern delegates, "would not relinquish the monarchical conceit that national glory resided in the exalted body of a supreme ruler" (175).

For all the planning and public fêtes, however, Congress's efforts failed on several levels. By the end of the book, Irvin deems the once-buoyant and vibrant Congress "impoverished and ineffectual" (268). It could scarcely form even spasmodic internal unity and was challenged externally on multiple fronts. As early as 1775, the "people out of doors" threatened to raze Congress's drinking hole, the City Tavern, because of rumors circulating Philadelphia of a lavish congressionally sanctioned ball to welcome Martha Washington. Philadelphians, especially the laboring people, who had suffered under the association, were angered by the apparent hypocrisy of Congress. Similarly, Congress's use of a socially circumscribed identity was contested by ardent loyalists, who turned Congress's constructions of gender, class, and race on their head. Moreover, when inflation racked the fledgling United States, Continental bills, with all of their symbols of republicanism, were discredited. Loyalists refused to deal in them and even ardent patriots scorned their worthlessness by, in one instance, fashioning them into gaudy necklaces for dogs they paraded through the streets. Likewise, angry soldiers mutinied and Continental officers threatened national harmony with the creation of the Society of the Cincinnati. Not only did Congress have to shield itself from loyalists and angry patriots, but also the states, equally wary of threats to their sovereign authority, challenged the omnipotence of Congress. Besieged on all sides, Congress became peevish and introverted, commanding "little of the public's esteem" (268).

Irvin provides a forceful depiction of the inability of Congress to formulate national unity. Yet, this downward trajectory in congressional authority as tied to national sentiment ultimately brings into question statements made in the book's introduction, such as the argument that Congress and the "people out of doors" created a "revolution in America's national identity." Surely, something changed when subjects became citizens, but it is unclear in

this book if an American identity actually emerged and if it did, for whom? Irvin smartly maneuvers through the heterogeneity of the "people out of doors" by demonstrating that "the people" were not just a conglomerate whole, but deeply separated by diverging loyalties, interests, social standings, race, and gender. While Irvin shows that these distinctions hindered the full acceptance of Congress's vision for the nation, it is not quite clear if or how an alternative identity emerged. Moreover, it is equally unclear if powerful biases influenced by region, section, ethnicity, or religion played as important a role in identity formation and the allure of a national government as they had in the colonial past. An exploration of such prejudices is crucial when contemplating a "national sentiment" in early America, especially considering the tenuousness of that sentiment in the face of these differences during the first half of the nineteenth century. As John Adams irritably asked Benjamin Rush in the winter of 1813, "Are we one Nation, or 18?" (John Adams to Benjamin Rush, February 23, 1813, in Old Family Letters, ed. Alexander Biddle [Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892], 447).

> CHRISTOPHER R. PEARL Binghamton University

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BOOKS RECEIVED

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he current editors regret that due to several turnovers in all of the editorial positions of *Pennsylvania History* in recent years, the journal has been unable to review all of the works received in a timely manner. The failure to do so is no reflection on these books, however, and we now want to acknowledge receipt of and draw our readers' attention to the following monographs:

William and Peggy Bailey. Murder in Muncy Creek: A True Account of the 1836 Trial, Conviction, and Hanging of John Earls, 175th Anniversary Edition (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley, 2011). Paperback. Illustrations, notes. Pp. 375. Paper. \$19.95 Available from the Muncy Historical Society, 40 North Main Street, P.O. Box 11, Muncy, PA 17756. Story of the trial and execution of John Earls, an abusive husband who murdered his wife in 1836. The authors have integrated with their compelling narrative a set of documents, illustrations, court records, and news stories including the testimony of fifty-seven witnesses, the legal arguments, results of autopsies, the verdict, sentence, appeal, and petition for pardon, as well as Earls's confession and eyewitness account of the hanging.

Erica Armstrong Dunbar. A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). Pp. xvi, 196. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00. Examines networks,

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friendships, community building, and antislavery and literary activity among black women in Philadelphia. Highly praised by leading scholars of African American and women's history.

Betsy Fahlman and Eric Schruers. Wonders of Work and Labor: The Steidle Collection of American Industrial Art (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008). Pp. 176. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$50.00. One of the largest (over 500 items) and finest collections of industrial art in the world may be found in the Museum of the College of Earth and Mineral Sciences at Penn State University. Collected by the College's dean Edward Steidle during the Great Depression, this beautifully prepared volume contains images of many of the paintings that can only be shown a few at a time due to space limitations.

J. K. Folmar I. California, Pa., 1849–1881: The History of a Boat Building Town. Steamboats, Including Transports, Tinclads and Rams in the Civil War; Education, Politics, Temperance, Religion and Social Life &c. (California, PA: Yohogania Press, 2009). Pp. 466. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$29.95. A retired professor of history at California University of Pennsylvania, Folmar presents a detailed study of the early years of Pennsylvania's California, integrating social, economic, and political history in an excellent portrait of this town.

J. K. Folmar I. *Gleanings: From Pittsburgh and W. Pa.: Newspaper &c, Views,* 1786–1886. (California, PA: Yohogania Press, 2006). Pp. 260. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$20.00. Professor Folmar here presents documents that detail and enliven the important role of the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania and U.S. history.

Nancy M. Heinzen. *The Perfect Square: A History of Rittenhouse Square* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009). Pp. xiv, 203. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$29.50. Written by a political activist who has helped shape the square's history, this well-illustrated and researched book is a history of this important neighborhood in Philadelphia, famous as the home of high society during the Victorian era, now the residence of wealthy apartment dwellers and site of fashionable shops.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Susan Colestock Hill. *Heart Language: Elsie Singmaster and Her Pennsylvania German Writings* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009). Pp. xviii, 280. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$40.00. Contains sixteen essays by a once-popular author who did much to describe and popularize the virtues of the Pennsylvania Germans at the turn of the twentieth century.

Ralph Ketcham, editor. *Selected Writings of James Madison* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006). Pp. xxxii, 396. Bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00. Contains 81 documents, selected and introduced by the foremost living Madison scholar, from his early political writings during the Revolution to his final thoughts on the nation's course in the 1830s.

Sarah Knott. Sensibility and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). Pp. ix, 338. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$40.00. Well regarded by leading scholars, Knott's book describes how during and after the Revolution people realized mutual sympathy among citizens was the key to maintaining the Republic by creating morally better human beings.

Philip Ruth. O'er Stormy Seas: The Far-Flung Family of Mart and Mattie Zimmerman (Denver, PA: David L. Hollinger, Publisher, 2009). Pp. iii, 207. Illustrations. Paper, \$49.95. History of a Mennonite couple, their six children, and their families from the Civil War to the 1930s. Special attention is paid to their role and suffering in the bitter split between conservative and progressive Mennonites that occurred beginning in 1889.

CONTRIBUTORS

RACHEL A. D'AGOSTINO is Curator of Printed Books at the Library Company. She has worked most extensively with early American imprints, children's literature, American bindings, and sheet music. In addition to the study of American visual culture, her research interests include religious history, science and medicine, and bibliography.

DAVID W. HOUPT is a PhD candidate at the City University of New York's Graduate Center. His work focuses on elections, political mobilization, and the development of parties in early national Pennsylvania.

ALISON M. K. KLAUM is a PhD candidate in English at the University of Delaware where she is completing her dissertation on early American literature and print culture. Her research explores the influence of floral discourses on the development of artistic and botanical education in America. Her interests include the history of the book, material culture, and visual culture studies, and she has held fellowships at the American Antiquarian Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and Winterthur Museum, Gardens and Library.

ERIKA PIOLA is Associate Curator of the Prints and Photographs Department at the Library Company. She has authored works about the Library Company's Afro-Americana graphics collection, nineteenth-century photographic views of Center City, ephemera, and prominent early Philadelphia photographers. Her research interests also include nineteenth-century commercial lithography and stereographs portraying the "New Woman."

AARON WUNSCH is a lecturer in the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate Program in Historic Preservation. His doctoral thesis (UC Berkeley, 2009) dealt with the rise of "rural" cemeteries in the Philadelphia area and he recently served as guest curator for an exhibition on Laurel Hill Cemetery at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

) all For Papers—Joint Issue with *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*

Special Issue: Teaching Pennsylvania History (Fall 2014)

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography and Pennsylvania History are planning a joint publication, scheduled for 2014, on teaching Pennsylvania history. We invite teachers who have a special interest in a topic such as women's history, African American history, political bosses, religious sects, a particular event (Coal Strike of 1902/3, Centennial Exhibition of 1876, etc.), to prepare an article that describes their method, perhaps with illustrations, documents, and connection to websites, that would help others teach that subject in the context of Pennsylvania and U.S. history at the college level (though articles that suggest how to adapt the presented materials for high school use are welcome). Articles should be about 15–20 pages, double-spaced. Please indicate any documents or other resources you would like to include, either in print or online.

Submission details: Please send inquiries to either Tamara Gaskell (tgaskell@hsp.org) or Bill Pencak (wap1@psu.edu).

Deadline for submissions: January 1, 2013.

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2012 Winner of the Donald G. Davis Article Award

Bernadette Lear, Behavioral Sciences and Education Librarian at Pennsylvania State University Harrisburg, is the 2012 winner of the Donald G. Davis Article Award presented by the American Library Association (ALA) Library History Round Table (LHRT). This award is given every second year to recognize the best article written in English in the field of United States and Canadian library history, including the history of libraries, librarianship and book culture in the previous two calendar years.

Lear's winning article, "Yankee Librarian in the Diamond City: Hannah Packard James, the Osterhout Free Library of Wilkes-Barre, and the public library movement in Pennsylvania," was published in *Pennsylvania History:* A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies, 78, 123–62.

The committee cited "Bernadette's exceptional use of a variety of primary sources, her attention to Hannah James's personality and personal life as part of the context of her work as a librarian, and the attention to a conservative librarian during the Progressive Era," said Holly Willett, chair of the Library History Round Table Davis Award Committee. "We believe the article opens the way for a closer examination of that era as a contested space," added Willett.

Forthcoming Publication

Michael Abelberg, author of an excellent history of Monmouth County, New Jersey during the American Revolution (reviewed by William Pencak in the *Journal of Military History*), has written a new book, *The Razing of Tinton Falls: Voices of the American Revolution*, also published by the History Press. The book focuses on an unstudied Revolutionary War event: A Loyalist raid in June 1779 that resulted in the razing of the village, the kidnapping of its leaders, and the death of the militia officer who led the counter-attack. The book includes non-fiction essays built on twenty years of research, as well as ten fictionalized narratives of the raid written in the voices of ten real people who experienced the raid from different vantage points (i.e., militiaman, pacifist, child, runaway slave turned Loyalist). For more information, consult the History Press Web site or michael.adelberg@gmail.com.