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ON THE COVER: *The Artist in His Museum*, 1822, Charles Willson Peale.
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CATHOLIC ACTIVISM

HOW RELIGIOUS IDENTITY SHAPED COLLEGE PEACE AND ANTI-ROTC MOVEMENTS IN PHILADELPHIA

Lauren Michele De Angelis
Temple University

ABSTRACT: This article traces the emergence of activism on two Catholic campuses in Philadelphia during the Vietnam War: St. Joseph's College and La Salle College. Unlike previous histories relating to campus protests, the article connects participants' Catholic beliefs to their activism. Although affiliated with different religious orders, both of these colleges embraced Vatican II reforms, which engendered dialogue in their communities, allowed lay professors a more prominent voice, and created a debate on war and violence in the modern world. In academic communities where religion was deeply entrenched, students, faculty, and staff formed their antiwar debates around core Catholic doctrines. The importance of religion when initiating social change is underscored by analyzing newspapers, speeches and events on their respective campuses.

KEYWORDS: Catholicism and Catholic identity, Vietnam antiwar protests, Philadelphia Colleges and Universities, La Salle College, St. Joseph's College

Numerous issues emerged in the post-Vatican II world, causing Catholics to grapple with their own identity in modern society. Although they experienced a major crisis in relation to the Vietnam War, historians have produced little scholarship on the significance of Catholicism in shaping the antiwar movement. This fact is especially true in the historiography of antiwar campus activism.¹ While scholars have written exhaustively on the larger topic of campus activism and have looked at religious aspects of the movement, few have closely examined Vietnam protests in relation to the emergence of a stronger, post-Vatican II Catholic identity.² Even those historians and theologians who specifically explored Catholic identity after Vatican II failed to connect it to the rise of demonstrations at Catholic colleges.³ One noted

exception is historian Helen Ciernick who analyzed Catholic antiwar and anti-ROTC protests in the San Francisco Bay area. While her work illustrates the aforementioned trends, it does not expand in depth to other areas of the country. This article therefore both serves to fill a historiographical gap by illustrating that similar developments occurred on East Coast urban campuses and further buttresses Ciernick's claims. Catholic identity did profoundly shape the dialogue and eventual demonstrations occurring on Catholic campuses during the Vietnam War. Activist events and discussions at both St. Joseph's and La Salle colleges demonstrate the important role of religious beliefs in shaping antiwar movements in Catholic communities.

For some Catholic Americans in the United States, escalation of the conflict in Vietnam caused an identity crisis, forcing many to reconcile their religious views with their responsibilities as secular citizens. Nowhere was this drama played out more clearly than on Catholic college campuses. Students, faculty, and administrators began to engage in open dialogue to determine how to respond to public antiwar messages embraced by more radical Catholic thinkers after witnessing the actions of militant antiwar clergy such as the Berrigan Brothers, who were arrested during Vietnam War protests.⁴ They also intently read Pope Paul VI's official statements disparaging war in his 1965 *Gaudium et Spes*.⁵ Catholic periodicals also increasingly became critical of the United States' involvement in Vietnam.⁶ Looking through the lens of their faith, Catholics made decisions affecting their positions regarding a controversial war.

This work explores the public dialogue over Catholic perspectives on the Vietnam War at two colleges in Philadelphia, St. Joseph's College and La Salle College (both now universities). Many members of these college communities in the latter half of the 1960s and early 1970s followed the lead of the Church hierarchy by using religious rhetoric in their own arguments against violence and war. Because many powerful and prominent members of the Church took a staunch stance against the Vietnam conflict, Catholics on these campuses embraced many of the moral claims espoused. These teachings legitimized the actions of individuals at St. Joseph's and La Salle. Although this article focuses on a small geographic area, it nevertheless speaks to the national and international religious trends affecting Catholic activists' outlooks toward these problems in secular society.⁷

For Catholics, the Vietnam War did not occur in a theological vacuum. Changes in the Church in the 1960s gave Catholics a sense they could and should debate major moral and religiously inflected secular issues. In addition,

the shifting composition of Catholic educational institutions contributed to a different intellectual atmosphere on campus. These changes emerged out of the most significant ecumenical council of the twentieth century: the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II. From 1962 to 1965, bishops and cardinals from around the world met in Rome where they examined and reshaped the doctrines and practices of the Church in order to adapt to the modern world.⁸ For the laity, it provided official statements on key ideological issues they struggled with in the modern era, such as birth control and liturgical revision. Two important statements concerned the role of the laity in the Church and an official stance on war. These would influence how Catholics, especially at Catholic colleges, responded to major international events. To understand the important role doctrine played in shaping these Catholic communities, it is necessary to explore these two influential reforms.

Prior to Vatican II, the laity had a limited role; however, in 1965 bishops called on them to assume a more prominent position in order to strengthen the Church. Clergy recognized that fewer individuals joined religious orders, forcing them to rely more on the participation of nonreligious people. The Council specifically stressed the role of nonreligious men and women in education, petitioning them to become involved in Catholic schools.⁹ Many Catholic colleges throughout the United States responded to this message vigorously, oftentimes out of necessity. For example, many religious-affiliated institutions incorporated their colleges, established lay boards of trustees, and hired more nonreligious faculty and staff.¹⁰

The expansion of nonreligious involvement in Catholic colleges and universities played an integral part in shaping community activism. Students had the ability to ask the opinion of their lay professors, instead of turning solely to the clergy. More radical faculty members had greater accessibility to pupils, allowing them to easily influence student opinions on war, peace, and violence. No longer did religious orders have a monopoly on the formation of campus-wide opinions. Influential lay professors profoundly affected these communities by participating in debates and open discussions. Their voices often eclipsed more formal stances taken by religious educators and administrators.

Similar to the question of lay involvement in the Church, the issue of violence and war became a major concern. Catholic teachings on war centered on Thomas Aquinas's arguments in his *Summa Theologiae*. In this document, Aquinas declared war could only be acceptable if a sovereign declared war for a just cause.¹¹ Vatican II refocused and reapplied this treatise in a modern

context. Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris* addressed war in a nuclear era. He declared, "in this age which boasts of its atomic power, it no longer makes sense to maintain that war is a fit instrument with which to repair the violation of justice."¹² In 1965 Pope Paul VI delivered *Gaudium et Spes*, a more explicit stance on war. He stated, "Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities . . . with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits . . . condemnation."¹³ As a result, Vatican II created a guideline for lay Catholics to follow as they confronted the war in Vietnam.

As fighting in Vietnam intensified, American Catholics used the new doctrine to debate, protest, and object to its escalation. At both St. Joseph's and La Salle, many students, faculty, and staff protested the presence of the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps (AFROTC) and the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) on campus by focusing on the question of religion. Antiwar Catholics at these schools asserted the AFROTC and the ROTC programs had no place at a private Catholic-affiliated institution, since many in the Church hierarchy decried modern war. Preparing students for war, they claimed, contradicted key elements of their faith. Members of these communities thus had to find a way to come to terms with military programs on their campuses.

SAINT JOSEPH'S: A JESUIT COLLEGE'S IDENTITY CRISIS

Philadelphia Jesuits founded St. Joseph's College in 1851. As mainly a regional school, it attracted middle-class students from the tri-state area. Although originally a single-sex college, St. Joseph's embraced the coeducational trend by admitting female students in 1970. The Jesuits' educational philosophy focused on social justice and the *cura personalis*: the development of the whole student. Students who attended Saint Joseph's during the 1960s and 1970s were mainly Catholic; 95 percent of the student population identified with this religion and the school's mission.¹⁴ The predominance of Catholicism on campus affected how it situated itself within not only the city of Philadelphia, but also the nation and world.

During the early 1960s the college remained a politically conservative institution. Many students, for example, supported the Vietnam War because they believed, like Church officials at this time, that it prevented the spread of Communism.¹⁵ In November 1965 the student newspaper, *The Hawk*, published a poll illustrating that a majority of students either supported the

American presence in Vietnam or wanted fighting to escalate.¹⁶ Although many students remained conservative, a surge of activism emerged that grew in strength and number as the 1960s progressed. This movement, grounded in religious beliefs, occurred because of the more open community that Jesuits encouraged on campus. This change did not occur by chance, but rather grew out of the international movement begun during Vatican II. The Jesuits at St. Joseph's embraced recommendations made by the Vatican in order to keep their institution relevant in the modern world.

Tasked with creating a more liberal atmosphere, Father Terrence Toland arrived at St. Joseph's College in 1966. First as the executive vice president and eventually president from 1968 to 1976, Toland worked exhaustively to create an inclusive community where students, faculty, and administration

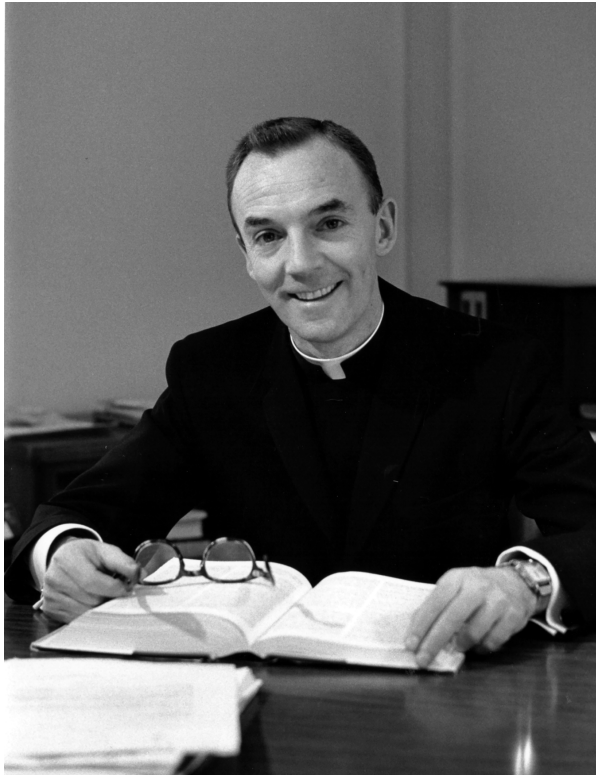


FIGURE 1 Father Terrence Toland, S. J., 1967. Photograph by Walter Holt. Courtesy of the St. Joseph's University Archives.

participated in open dialogue. Toland, for example, initiated “Dialogue Days,” instituted new bylaws that allowed for student protests, and represented the administration when questioned by activist students. Following instructions inspired by Vatican II, Toland helped shape the engagement that occurred on campus; he allowed it to unfold safely without letting it devolve into violence.¹⁷

Dialogue Days especially gave members of the campus a chance to express their opinions regarding change, with Toland declaring they were instrumental to the advancement of the community. The initial Dialogue Day occurred in October 1968 where it attempted to “identify and clarify the problems of this academic community as we perceive them and to establish priorities for a small number of issues to be selected for intensive” investigation.¹⁸ Students came forward demanding the administration abandon old educational methods in order to develop the “whole man,” an integral part of its mission as a Jesuit institution. They debated issues pertaining to residence halls, core curriculum, and student rights and responsibilities. Topics considered at this meeting shaped future Dialogue Day discussions, which occurred at the beginning of each year, and allowed the campus community to debate how such changes and reforms would create a college that more strongly embraced the Catholic-oriented mission.¹⁹

As the 1960s progressed, Dialogue Days fostered more overt activism, leading to additional assemblies where students, faculty, and staff spoke out on more volatile issues, such as the Vietnam War and the presence of AFROTC on campus. Toland, who actively sought to change St. Joseph’s, amended various campus rules so that students and faculty could express their opinions without fear of reprisal. In 1969 the College Council, which included Toland, other administrators, faculty, and students, adopted the “Policy of Freedom of Assembly.” This document protected student rights to protest college regulations under the provision that they did not disrupt campus activity. As long as they followed the policy, the “college will endeavor to protect the appropriate exercise of this freedom of assembly.”²⁰ This measure reassured members of the St. Joseph’s community that they would not be censured for their opinions on sensitive subjects like the Vietnam War.

As American participation in Vietnam escalated, the students and faculty shifted their discussions, and ultimately protests, specifically toward the AFROTC program. As more community members spoke out against AFROTC, the College Council issued the “Policy on Political Activities on Campus” in September 1972. This document emphasized that individuals at

St. Joseph's were citizens and, as such, had the right to express their opinions, even though they attended or worked at a private Catholic college. This document also protected students from discrimination based on their political ideologies.²¹ By 1972 those at St. Joseph's exercised their democratic rights by embracing more open political dialogue.

Dr. James E. Dougherty, a well-respected political scientist, also influenced the campus activist movement at St. Joseph's during this increasingly radical time.²² First as a faculty member, then as executive vice president in the Toland administration, Dougherty supported open dialogue and believed "a genuine environment of free and calm intellectual discussion" aided in problem solving and general understanding of one's peers. He, however, remained moderate in his ideas of free speech and protests on campus, and wrote an open letter where he disparaged those in the community who manipulated campus free speech in order to create a "crisis atmosphere" that hindered rational discourse.²³ Illustrating his more measured stance, Dougherty preferred to educate the larger campus population through organized discussions and debates on pertinent issues of this time. For example, he chaired an all-day conference on War and Peace in 1968 where outside speakers from Georgetown, the University of Massachusetts, and Emory University discussed their varied opinions on the war in Vietnam. Dougherty opened this conference by "noting the deep-rooted problem of war and peace and its relationship to Christianity." Before allowing panel participants to speak, Dougherty posed the main question: "How are we to assign priorities to the Christian conscience and wisdom?"²⁴ Dougherty's support for this type of forum, where panelists embraced both pacifist leanings and active military roles, exemplified the open atmosphere administrators tried to foster at St. Joseph's.

Dougherty's participation in the aforementioned forum also highlighted a main issue he grappled with in his professional career, and which affected St. Joseph's campus deeply during the Vietnam era: the importance of one's religious beliefs during war. In multiple papers, he made frequent attempts to adequately evaluate the relationship that dutiful Catholics had with the institutional church and civil society during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The attention he gave to this topic thus demonstrates not only how American Catholics faced the contradictory responsibilities as citizens and Christians, but also how they could potentially form arguments out of this discourse to gain selective conscientious objector status (SCO).²⁵



FIGURE 2 James E. Dougherty, David Marshall, and Fred J. Foley, Jr. participating in a panel discussion debating the Vietnam War before an audience of 400 students and faculty, 1967. Courtesy of the St. Joseph's University Archives.

As a political scientist at a Catholic college, Dougherty frequently discussed selective conscientious objection, which targeted lay Catholics as well as Church hierarchy. His March 1971 "Commentary on the Draft Declaration on Conscientious Objection," for example, cautioned US bishops to carefully examine "just war theory" in light of modern Church teachings. American bishops had important decisions to make, according to Dougherty, because they had

an obligation to defend to the utmost the integrity of the religious conscience. But as citizens of a constitutional democratic state, they also understand that the government is responsible for weighing the political consequences for the national common good of various courses of political action.²⁶

He recognized that Catholic bishops held dual roles as both clergy members and citizens. As official agents of the Church, however, they had to examine current military policy as religious representatives. Parishioners looked to

these bishops as exemplar Catholics who could guide them as they took their own positions on war. Dougherty therefore reminded bishops of their duties, and emphasized decisions must be based on a clear understanding of the Church's role in the twentieth century in order to properly lead the laity.

In August 1972, Dougherty wrote another work examining Catholic reaction to the current war. "War, Peace, and the Christian Conscience" traced the history of Catholic Conscientious Objectors (COs) in the United States, asserting few existed prior to the Korean Conflict. American Catholics in the latter half of the twentieth century, however, did not know how to reconcile the two, especially during Vietnam. Dougherty tried to soothe their fears in this piece by declaring a Catholic could either be a CO or a member of the military, "*provided that both are acting with the intention of serving the wider common good as they honestly perceive it* [italics in original text]."²⁷ This statement supported his earlier claims that Catholics should follow their personal religious understandings when making choices about their own participation in the war. His ideas and contributions offered recourse to the Church community by advising both the clergy and laity. Dougherty's involvement in this important debate as a lay professor and administrator showed the growing influence of those outside Church hierarchy. Men and women like Dougherty held places of influence within their own communities as well as the larger Church.

As key members of the St. Joseph's community, Toland and Dougherty fostered an environment conducive to activism. Because of changes initiated at St. Joseph's, it is unsurprising that multiple debates and protests occurred about Vietnam from 1968 to 1972. Because of Toland's emphasis regarding open dialogue, both the lay and clergy had that opportunity. Everything had fallen into place at St. Joseph's College, and a passionate issue could spark more radical activism. The presence of AFROTC on campus became that trigger.

Individuals on public and private college campuses across the country became concerned over the existence of ROTC. Academic institutions allowed ROTC programs for a variety of reasons, ranging from patriotism during the Cold War to the moralizing factor trained students could have on the growing military establishment. Certain members of the clergy and lay administration, however, more openly feared the loss of autonomy and contradictory implications the program created at religious-affiliated colleges during wartime. If they continued to allow government-sponsored programs on campus, the institution could potentially lose its ability to stand against official government policy or face participation in unjustifiable warfare.²⁸

Many such administrators at Catholic colleges keenly followed how other schools handled this difficult issue. Campus officials at St. Joseph's were aware of Marquette University's "University and Catholic: Final Report of the Special Committee on the Christian Character." In 1970 this committee at Marquette addressed ROTC's campus presence; a main criticism pointed to an incongruity in having ROTC at Catholic universities. According to the committee, "The central Christian message . . . is a message of love, and ROTC as a manifestation of warfare is in contradiction to this message." Although it made this strong statement, the Marquette committee conceded that the Church had not made an official declaration against war; only certain clergy members had individually made their antiwar feelings known. They concluded that if ROTC continued on campus, it must be closely regulated. Any given Catholic host school must stress that ROTC's mission did not reflect the mission of the institution.²⁹ Marquette's public stance helped other Catholic colleges, such as St. Joseph's, to make a decision about its own participation in the government program, albeit after a long and hotly debated struggle.

The AFROTC program began at St. Joseph's in September of 1951 because college officials feared that the Korean War, which had erupted eight months earlier, would lead to the draft of the majority of the student body. According to the official statement by James Dougherty, "practically everyone viewed the presence of the ROTC on campus as a matter of institutional survival. The favorite quote was: 'No ROTC, no opening.'"³⁰ Until 1964 the program existed as a two-year mandatory commitment for all freshmen and sophomores. In that year, members of the community who opposed the mandatory AFROTC program because it hindered the liberal arts education offered at St. Joseph's pressured the college to renegotiate the contract with the military. They ultimately pushed to make the program voluntary for all new students entering the institution.³¹ Even though students now had the option to join, radical members of the campus community wanted it completely removed. As a result, informal debates occurred in October 1971. Debaters included AFROTC students, professors, and members of the campus ministry staff. Both sides aired their grievances in order to sway the community's opinion.³²

Despite the fact that Dr. Dougherty was a well-known political scientist who had extensive knowledge on Vietnam and its relationship to religion, he did not participate in the actual debates. He instead provided the background and laid out the issues. He explained the government did not impose the AFROTC contract on the college, but, in actuality, the college

had sought it out for the aforementioned reasons. Dougherty recognized that the St. Joseph's community wanted to know the official rationale on why the program was present. He, however, simply stated there was no official reason. With this abrupt statement, he opened up the floor to presenters who argued their own opinions and ideas about its existence.

The debates dragged on for six days in the Bluett Theatre as multiple speakers delivered impassioned speeches both for and against the program in front of 400 students and faculty.³³ The Campus Peace Coalition (CPC), an influential group at St. Joseph's run by the Campus Ministry and comprised of lay and religious students, faculty, and staff, made bold statements against the AFROTC and emphasized a key statement: "This College, by allowing ROTC to remain on campus is *actively endorsing* modern military strategy [emphasis in original]." According to the CPC, the war in Vietnam was not only wrong, but also immoral because it subjected a nation of innocent people to everyday violence. By supplying men for these military actions, St. Joseph's was "morally reprehensible." They then challenged proposed rationalizations for the continuation of AFROTC. One such rationalization included providing a "liberalizing effect" to the military, meaning St. Joseph's graduates could use their Catholic education to infiltrate and influence the military system. A CPC representative argued, however, "the ROTC programs are not designated to promote moral principles learned in college, with the intention of reforming the military."³⁴ This passionate group thus pushed back against those supporting the program in order to show the community that AFROTC undermined their Catholic mission.

Father Anthony Capizzi of the Campus Ministry openly participated in the debates, taking a staunch anti-AFROTC stance. He used logic to assert that as a Catholic college St. Joseph's should not allow AFROTC on campus. He declared that the Vietnam War was sinful because it involved the killing of innocent people. Since the military killed during war, Capizzi asserted, then it too must be immoral. He concluded, "A Christian college cannot, in good conscience, condone the presence on campus of an immoral organization."³⁵ Although Capizzi did not believe AFROTC had a place on a Catholic campus, he did not disagree with its existence elsewhere; he even did not oppose St. Joseph's students joining as long as it did not occur at the college. His views seemed radical and somewhat contradictory to many onlookers. One AFROTC cadet, Teresa Kwoka, argued against Capizzi by using his contradictory answers to challenge his original syllogism, asserting he could not declare the military

immoral while at the same time condoning St. Joseph's students enlisting at off-campus locations.³⁶ Although some observers did not agree with Capizzi's passionate reasoning, the overall anti-AFROTC coalition swayed many toward their side.

The Edmund Burke Society, a conservative organization on campus, stood firmly against the arguments put forth in the debates by opponents of the AFROTC. Members of this group declared their support for the war and on-campus military training. They asserted that "history's judgment will espouse the spirit of Christian sacrifice, which compelled [the United States] . . . to donate so much so selflessly."³⁷ Preparing young men to fight in Southeast Asia, these conservatives stated, embraced the Christian message of helping those who suffer under harsh regimes. Burke members thus saw this fighting as an extension of their duty as Catholics. In order to spread their views, this group distributed "The Burke Bulletin" in the months following the debates. They handed out 1,700 copies to fight against those moralists who passed "judgment on ROTC as a pollutant in the campus community," a symbol of "the dirty hand of the military in the cookie jar of knowledge."³⁸ The Edmund Burke Society stood strong against the rising tide of antipathy toward the military and AFROTC. The organization saw the program as an asset and, as such, had to do everything in its power to preserve it.

Liberals also followed up the debates by urging continued discussion among the entire community. The staff of the Campus Ministry hoped that further dialogue would make the College Council vote in favor of the AFROTC's removal. The Campus Ministry became the main sounding board for anti-AFROTC groups, many of which identified with its position in regards to the immorality of the program. This group, which included both religious and lay men and women, felt obliged "to bring to the attention of the College Community the particular question of AFROTC's presence on our campus and its connection to warfare."³⁹ Outside of the debates, this organization did not feel that the anti-AFROTC movement had gone far enough. Because of the continual prodding of the Campus Ministry, along with its campus supporters, the College Council decided to rethink the AFROTC's presence, launching a series of investigations that they used to inform their ultimate decision.

Throughout the remaining 1971–72 academic year, the College Council heard remarks from many members of the community. For instance,

Dr. Thomas McFadden, assistant professor of theology, addressed the council May 1, 1972, stressing the importance of the moral issue. He stated, "American troops especially the Air Force, are engaged in an immoral war in Southeast Asia." He challenged the administration's character, emphasizing that it had undermined the moral environment by perpetuating its support for the program. This disparity, McFadden suggested, needed remedy. The College Council had to remove AFROTC from St. Joseph's because it had a negative effect on not only the college's reputation, but the lives of the students as well. These reasons, he asserted, were valid enough to break the government contract.⁴⁰

On September 21, 1972, the College Council voted on resolutions pertaining to the AFROTC program and most notably, rejected the resolution to terminate AFROTC as a program for credit. This decision meant the activists failed their mission, because AFROTC would continue accepting students. Their efforts, however, did not result in a complete loss. Echoing the Marquette resolution, St. Joseph's College Council decided to take more control over the program. For instance, it sought to closely regulate the AFROTC-affiliated aerospace studies program in the hopes of assuaging the fears of those who believed it had too much influence on campus. Anti-AFROTC activists also prevented the expansion of the AFROTC program, which would have made students eligible for four-year full scholarships. The proposal to grow the program for financial aid benefits, however, was ultimately voted down by the college board of directors.⁴¹ While activists such as Fathers Capizzi and Thomas McFadden pushed for complete removal rather than the aforementioned compromises, they could not persuade the majority to back their more drastic anti-AFROTC opinions.

The activist campus culture, despite taking a moral stance to appeal to Catholic concerns of war and violence, could not influence enough community members to give up their more conservative ideologies. Regardless, the case at St. Joseph's illustrates a strong link between Catholic identity and issues over participation in Vietnam. The debate over the perpetuation of the AFROTC program reinforces this connection. Individuals at all levels in this college were compelled to discuss the role of this Catholic institution in the modern world. They grappled with their dual identities as Catholics and Americans. As a result, a strong torrent of debates and protests arose in the hopes of coming to terms with their role in both the Church and civil society.

LA SALLE COLLEGE'S MANDATORY ROTC PROGRAM: AN OXYMORON LEADS TO PROTEST

The Christian Brothers founded La Salle College in 1863 in North Philadelphia with the goal of educating a predominantly Catholic immigrant population. During the 1960s, La Salle's all-male student body came from blue-collar, Catholic backgrounds.⁴² Overall the Christian Brothers' mission focused on meeting their students at their individual intellectual levels to help them achieve their greatest potential. This focus on a sound Catholic education that centered on students created an environment where undergraduates developed close relationships with one another, as well as to faculty and staff.⁴³

Like St. Joseph's, La Salle's campus experienced similar antimilitary and antiwar activism, albeit a few years earlier beginning in 1967 and culminating during the 1969 academic year. During this time, La Salle's leaders likewise questioned its place in the twentieth century as a Catholic institution in a secular society. Members of the La Salle community were preoccupied with and openly discussed their Catholic identity in a post-Vatican II world. The *La Salle Collegian*, for example, dedicated the entire November 11, 1969 issue to religion on campus, and its significance on the national and international scenes. Multiple theologians also granted interviews to the campus newspaper throughout this period to discuss modern Catholicism in terms of how it influenced an individual's stance on war, violence, and military service. One noted theologian in particular, Peter Riga, surveyed contemporary problems in a November 1968 interview, highlighting issues of war and the growing problem faced by Catholic selective conscientious objectors (SCOs) in contemporary America. He asserted that some American Catholics disagreed with SCOs' arguments by claiming these people merely wanted to avoid service in Vietnam, and used religion as an escape. He declared, "It is no longer a question of morality. It is a question of nationalism or emotionalism. When war takes over, truth is the first casualty."⁴⁴

Riga's statements highlighted the tension between religious views and civic duties that Catholics in this time period struggled to overcome. SCOs found it hard to defend their understanding of Vietnam as an unjust war, while many other Catholics held tenets of nationalism and emotionalism above one's personal religious understanding. La Salle College experienced how contention between both secular and religious morals affected its campus community throughout the late 1960s. The issue of the Vietnam War and,

more precisely, mandatory ROTC participation at La Salle forced students, faculty, and staff to confront what role a Catholic college in a secular world should have during a time of war.

To grapple with this concern, students and faculty initiated a series of activist events in the 1967 fall semester. A group of La Salle faculty and students, as well as members from neighboring colleges and universities, such as Saint Joseph's, planned an intercollegiate forum on the Vietnam War. The goal, according to the faculty organizer, Dr. John Connors of La Salle College's Sociology Department, was to inform the public about American participation in Vietnam, allowing for debate about the justification, both moral and political, of the United States' actions. The committee also sought to explain and clarify the theory set forth by United Nations Secretary General U Thant, who had asserted, "If the American people knew the facts of the Vietnam War, it would be over very quickly." In order to inform the intercollegiate audience, the planning committee invited famed American historian Henry Steele Commager, who contributed to the definition of modern liberalism, Dr. John Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, and state senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska. This event proved important to many antiwar members of the La Salle community.⁴⁵

Although Connors and the other planners feared that no one would show up at the forum on October 16, more than 1,000 crammed into the Union Ballroom to listen to the speakers' overall message: "Stop the war in Vietnam." The presenters passionately delivered their speeches in order to make their audience understand that the war should end as soon as possible; these noted orators used political, theological, and ideological reasons to persuade their audience. Bennett began his talk by solemnly proclaiming Vietnam was "the sacrificial lamb for our policy." He then followed this blanket statement by asserting that the United States destroyed the society it sought to protect, which, according to Bennett, made this war unjust. In his remaining time, he described and then undermined each supposition the US government used to justify its presence in Southeast Asia. In closing, Bennett asked a simple question to the audience: "When will conscience stop them [the government] from an unjust war and a self-defeating cause?"⁴⁶ These speeches utilized powerful rhetoric to convince the audience that the government had failed at its job, and as a result, citizens suffered. Using a collective voice, Americans had to act in order to stop this unjust war.

Although the thousand individuals in attendance applauded the speakers' message, not everyone at La Salle supported it. In a column called "Conservatively Speaking," a student named J. P. Morgan defended the conservative position against the liberals who attended the forum.⁴⁷ He forcefully declared that liberals had started this war and as its source should be held accountable. He wrote, "This is the establishment. This is their war. They may squeal like rats, but they cannot deny it."⁴⁸ Morgan's statements reflected the presence of hostility toward the liberal community at La Salle. Although he used the campus formal media outlet to express his grievances, others took a more aggressive stance and used violence to show their displeasure.

According to the *La Salle Collegian*, a group of male fraternity members in the cafeteria began verbally harassing students who wore "hippie" clothes and had attended the forum. The aggressors called their targets Communists, Viet Cong, and homosexuals; eventually they physically attacked these students. One guilty individual later commented to reporters that the growing protests on campus against the Vietnam War had created hostility in the community, which he claimed had pushed him toward violence against those who represented it.⁴⁹ This outburst, as well as more decorous disagreements throughout campus, illustrated that not everyone at La Salle agreed with the antiwar movement emerging at this school. Like at St. Joseph's, this liberal group did not make up a majority, but nevertheless gained a louder, more influential voice. As the war progressed, antiwar proponents became more vocal and numerous, especially with regard to the mandatory ROTC program.

Established in 1950 following the outbreak of the Korean War, the artillery branch of the ROTC had become a major presence at La Salle, drawing students from around the city to participate prior to the mid-1960s.⁵⁰ Although voluntary in its first two years, the program became mandatory for freshmen and sophomores in 1952 in order to boost ROTC enrollment.⁵¹ With rising criticism on the Vietnam War, however, the two-year mandatory ROTC program came under heavy fire from both students and faculty.

During the latter half of the 1967 fall semester, the *La Salle Collegian* conducted an investigation into the program because rumors had swirled across campus that the college received a sizable subsidy of \$60 for each student enrolled in ROTC. Many believed that the mandatory nature of the program derived from the financial gains the college received. Stories spread that this additional income was unethically spent on the president's

personal expenses, basketball scholarships, and even wine for the Christian Brothers. The student investigators, however, found no evidence of such a deal. The professor of military science, Colonel Stephen Silvasy, showed the *Collegian* documents that debunked this myth; the ROTC program received \$149 per advanced corps cadet. This money could only be used in the ROTC program.⁵² Therefore, the mandatory lower-division classes did not reap any financial benefit for either the school or the ROTC program. This attempted exposé, however, illustrated the shift toward a more critical and wary attitude concerning this government-sponsored program on campus.

Because of the growing discontent with the ROTC program, the Faculty Senate decided to convene in March 1968 to discuss the various opinions regarding to the mandatory nature of ROTC at La Salle. Many criticized the ROTC program from an educational standpoint, asserting it cut into other academic work and weakened the overall curriculum. Much of their discussion, however, focused on the latent issue of Catholic morality. Professor Bertram Streib of the Physics Department, for example, claimed the ROTC program reinforced the growth of national defense in a war that was against the school's Catholic identity. Other faculty members also demonstrated similar thoughts and worries. In this two-hour meeting, liberal members of the Senate openly expressed their concerns, as other more conservative participants backed the administrative decision for compulsory ROTC.⁵³ Although this meeting created a more prominent dialogue between pro and anti-ROTC faculty members, it nevertheless resulted in a loss for opponents of the program. The council voted to retain ROTC by a 10–4 vote.⁵⁴

Discussions about ROTC became more frequent, and those participating began calling for more vigorous action. In May 1968 a group of 130 students held a demonstration during the Annual ROTC Review. This demonstration remained peaceful as the cadets conducted their drills. A student participant later provided the reasons to the *La Salle Collegian* as to why they protested during the event. The anonymous student commented:

It should be obvious that a Christian community should at very least be morally repulsed by the idea of war, and such a stand should at all times be clearly and publically maintained. . . . War functions merit serious negative emphasis from those who profess to be Christians. . . . The ROTC is not only present on campus, but it is

often officially lauded, a situation which beclouds the moral status of an area which should be seen in as clear a moral context as possible.⁵⁵

This remark exposed the Catholic undertone that pervaded many of the arguments used by opponents of the ROTC program. Because the administration continued to support ROTC, while also tolerating these protests, students progressively moved toward more prominent and radical acts at La Salle. One such demonstration happened during the St. Barbara's Day parade.

The St. Barbara's Day protest occurred on December 3, 1968.⁵⁶ The annual cadet march down Broad Street to the Holy Child Church for mass became the scene of a peaceful demonstration over the ROTC program. Protestors donned black bands as they silently walked along the cadet column. Half of the forty-five participants entered the church where they held a silent prayer vigil in the aisles for the end of war and ROTC. Again, the anti-ROTC demonstrators remained peaceful as they used their religious beliefs to guide their actions. Although protestors never aggressively acted out, their actions grew more visible and drastic in order to make the administration take notice of their discontent.

In March 1969 the College Council, which included the president, vice president, and deans, reaffirmed the earlier vote conducted by the Faculty Senate, albeit by a narrow margin of 7–6. In response, both faculty and students amassed 1,750 signatures in a petition, which they presented to the council. Brother Daniel Bernian, the president of La Salle College, felt pressured to ask the council to reassess the matter and reconsider holding a campus-wide referendum that spring to decide whether or not to make ROTC voluntary.⁵⁷ A predominantly student-led ad hoc committee told Bernian during a two hour meeting, "a threat of strong student support for a sit-in and possible strike by both students and faculty" remained a likely recourse if the council did not change its decision.⁵⁸ Although the College Council conceded to allow the referendum to occur, disaffection across the college's campus remained and even escalated following the vote.

A clear majority emerged: 1,229 student and faculty members out of the 1,869 who participated favored voluntary ROTC at La Salle beginning the following year. The Ad Hoc committee assumed they had settled the issue, and that the council would listen to the majority. This supposition proved false: Brother Bernian affirmed that the administration retained the right to make the final decision, despite what the majority wanted. Handing the

decision over to the board of trustees, he removed himself from the matter. When the board declared that mandatory ROTC would continue at La Salle, students and faculty members decried the verdict. The administration threw down the gauntlet, and the students chose to respond to this indignation by planning a sit-in.

Amid the debate between the Ad Hoc committee and the College Council, the *La Salle Collegian* published a flurry of articles relating to the rising tension on campus, many of which tried to defuse the situation before the sit-in happened. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Fallon, a member of the ROTC faculty, grew increasingly exasperated at the circumstances on campus, and commented that a decision cannot be made “in an atmosphere highly charged with the hyperbole of ‘feeding the war machine.’”⁵⁹ He perhaps uttered this inflammatory rhetoric toward this predominantly peaceful movement out of frustration. He recognized the importance of the moral position, but did assert it ought not to be overly exaggerated in light of the animosity between the administration and the faculty/student population. A cadet also made a similar appeal. “No one wants peace,” this anonymous student declared, “more than those people in the military.” Both of these ROTC representatives tried to humanize cadets in the program to show that they had not been morally corrupted; many in the ROTC truly wanted the war to end as much as protestors.⁶⁰

Although members of the community attempted to neutralize the rising tide of dissent on campus, they could not prevent the four-day sit-in that began Tuesday, April 15, 1969. Not only did protestors demand the removal of compulsory ROTC, but also a restructuring of the decision-making process, which gave the board of trustees power to issue academic and curricular decisions affecting the whole campus community. Demonstrators asserted that these men did not understand the viewpoint of current members of La Salle College, since many were removed from daily campus life. In order to push for a complete overhaul, 250 students sat on the first floor of College Hall, refusing to move until they swayed the College Council’s opinions.⁶¹ Though tense moments occurred when the administration threatened legal action, the demonstration did not devolve into violence. Many influential members of the community supported the movement. Professors conducting class in the building, for instance, did not even try to stop the students. Brother Daniel Burke, La Salle’s academic vice president, reportedly even stepped over the protestors as he congratulated them on their tenacity.⁶²

Negotiations dragged on for days with neither side budging. Finally, the Ad Hoc committee demanded that the president be present for any further meetings between the administration and student-protestors; they forced the highest levels of the college to listen to them. The students insisted that either the council make the final decision in regards to ROTC or turn the decision over to the community. By Wednesday, the sit-in's support had grown. Three hundred students now lined the halls as many faculty members signed a petition in support of it. The board of trustees bowed to the demands, relinquishing their ability to make these types of decisions. By Friday of that week, not only had the students solidified which body or individuals had the right to decide college policy, but also forced the administration to concede to their demands to make ROTC voluntary.⁶³

While many celebrated the victory, others arguably criticized how those involved achieved their goals. Alumnus Paul Simon pointed out in the alumni newsletter that while the activists succeeded, their victory may arguably be hollow. He asserted, "Perhaps subconsciously, they realized it was really an unhappy victory, one predicated upon 'demands,' 'capitulation,' 'ultimatums' and, yes, 'victory.'"⁶⁴ La Salle's student and faculty population had fought hard to make their voices heard. They felt empowered to do so, however, because they felt passionately about this issue. Students, faculty, and even some administrators saw an inherent contradiction between compulsory ROTC and La Salle's Catholic identity. Many questioned how La Salle, as a Catholic college, could support and supply men for a military effort that stood at variance to institutional core beliefs. The religious significance of this matter thus led to the extreme measures used by these Catholic activists. Members of this community felt fervently about this unjust war and would not bend to an administration that forced them to participate against their will. Although this victory was not supported unanimously by everyone connected with La Salle College, the results nevertheless illustrated the power of a movement based on a communal understanding of religion and morality.

ST. JOSEPH'S AND LA SALLE COLLEGE: REPRESENTATIONS OF CATHOLIC-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

Both St. Joseph's and La Salle witnessed the growth of college activism on their respective campuses during the 1960s and 1970s. As religious institutions, however, both experienced a type of activism embedded in Catholic teachings. These schools had to contend with secular issues not only as citizens, but also

as Catholics in a church that had recently undergone extreme reform. Often these issues conflicted, resulting in a crisis of one's civic and religious morals, especially as the Vietnam War intensified in the mid-1960s. In both of these communities, a profound struggle occurred between those who supported the war and ROTC programs and those who did not. The main argument focused on their Catholicism and how to interpret religious doctrine in the twentieth century. Students, faculty, and staff confronted the question of how they, as devout Catholics, could participate in a possibly unjust war as US citizens. Many believed the teachings of the Catholic Church guided them one way, a way of peace and toleration, as the government pushed them toward war. In order to solve this dilemma, St. Joseph's and La Salle found various means to guide their communities in an open dialogue embracing communal responsibility and decision-making. The issue of ROTC at each of these schools not only proved a pertinent issue to debate in light of the Vietnam War, but also offered participants an opportunity to explore their individual faith and religion within the larger secular world.

Although this article explored two colleges in one city, it nevertheless serves as an example of how Catholic campuses in America handled these hard issues during the Vietnam era. They survived and strengthened as a result of their ability to adapt to change. In order to fully realize this argument, further research must be conducted across a wide array of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. Analyzing the response of different types of Catholic institutions in varied settings will further buttress the claims made in this article. Members of Catholic college communities generated a new breed of activism during the Vietnam conflict, one that utilized Catholic teachings to undergird their antiwar arguments.

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NOTES

1. For more information on the general relationship between activism and religion see Dr. James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997). He linked various activist associations on campuses in the 1960s through the vein of personalism. He concentrated

specifically on the interconnections between these organizations, as well as the religious undertones within each person's ideological beliefs. Doug Rossinow's *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) argued that young people embraced the idea of authenticity through Christianity. He examined the rise of the New Left at the University of Texas by emphasizing how Christian existentialism played a major role in the formation and perpetuation of the movement. Dr. Penelope Adams Moon analyzed the actions of Catholics in her article "'Peace on Earth—Peace in Vietnam': The Catholic Peace Fellowship and Antiwar Witness, 1964–1976," *Journal of Social History* 36 (2003):1033–57. Moon explained how CPFers taught their fellow Catholics about their faith in order to inform them how they can relate to their religious and civic identities. While this article mainly focuses on the general American Catholic population, Moon does describe the transition the Church underwent with regard to its support of the Vietnam War, and also how many Church officials came to see selective conscientious objection (SCO) as an important recourse for Catholics in America.

2. For a discussion of earlier works on elite universities see William O'Neil's *Coming Apart* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005); Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989); and W. J. Rorabaugh's *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). For works on activism on public campuses see Kenneth J. Heineman's *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993) and Paul Lyons's *The People of This Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
3. The scholarship on the Catholic identity crisis emerged soon after Vatican II ended. In 1968 Thomas E. Quigley edited the essay volume *American Catholics and Vietnam* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans). Religious-affiliated men and women, as well as religious scholars and philosophers, worked on multiple essays iterating the Catholic understanding of war in Vietnam as an unjust conflict. Other scholars looked at the Catholic education system to show the transformative effects of 1960s radicalization. Father Charles E. Curran wrote *Catholic Higher Education, Theology, and Academic Freedom* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990). His chapter on "Acceptance of Academic Freedom of Catholic Higher Education in the 1960s" examined the expansion of freedom of speech among Catholic institutions as they embraced change not only in the Church, but also in secular society. As they did so, however, administrators felt as if they had abandoned their religious roots; they did not think they could embrace wholly the religious and the secular. Two recent works speak more closely to this article's argument. Sister Alice Gallin's *Negotiating Identity: Catholic Higher Education since 1960* (Notre

- Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000) clearly outlined what she called “The Americanization of Catholic Colleges and Universities.” She explained how Catholics used the creativity that began with Vatican II and Kennedy’s New Frontier by bringing in more lay teachers, administrators, and government-sponsored funding. The educational historian Stephen Denig edited *Catholic Higher Education in the 1960s: Issues of Identity, Issues of Governance* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009), which fashioned a similar analysis to that of Gallin’s. He explored institutional changes at specific Catholic universities, but focused in on particular cases that illustrated the more general theme of reform in Catholic higher education after Vatican II.
4. For information on the Berrigan brothers see Fred Wilcox’s *Uncommon Martyrs: The Berrigans, the Catholic Left, and the Plowshares Movement* (Reading, MA: Addison-West Publishing, 1991), Murray Polner and Jim O’Grady’s *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Phillip Berrigan* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), and Ross Labrie’s *The Writings of Daniel Berrigan* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989).
 5. The Second Vatican Council produced *Gaudium et Spes*, the Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, to address many social, cultural, and theological issues both lay and religious men and women encountered mid-twentieth century. It addressed issues pertaining to social justice, poverty, marriage and family, economics, and relations between nations. Both lay and religious were directed by the council to actively contribute to the advancement of Christian values within a modern context. This more open direction from Church leadership helped centralize a mission that the entirety of the community could discuss and execute on local, national, and international levels. To access this document see http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.
 6. Joseph G. Morgan, “A Change of Course: American Catholics, Anticommunism, and the Vietnam War,” *US Catholic Historian* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 117–30. Morgan traces the change in editorial commentary in multiple Catholic publications, including *Commonweal*, *Ave Maria*, the *Brooklyn Tablet*, and the *National Catholic Reporter*. He argues that these periodicals at first supported anticommunist efforts that US officials made in Vietnam in the late 1950s; however, a marked shift occurred in the 1960s when writers began condemning the continued fighting. This change, according to Morgan, mirrored the reactions of the American Church hierarchy, which called for a quick end to the war during a 1971 national conference.
 7. While there are few works pertaining to the exploration of student antiwar protests on Catholic college campuses, a strong regional study exists for the San Francisco Bay area conducted by Helen M. Ciernick. In her 2008 article “A Matter of Conscience: The Selective Conscientious Objector,

Catholic College Students, and the Vietnam War,” *US Catholic Historian* 26 (Summer 2008): 33–50. Ciernick makes an important analysis of both Catholic and non-Catholic activists, stating: “Students’ protests of the Vietnam war took the same forms as that of their non-Catholic counterparts, for a segment of the Catholic college student population these students’ motivation was rooted in their Catholic faith.” For more on Ciernick’s work see “Catholic College Students in the San Francisco Bay Area and the Civil Rights Movement,” *US Catholic Historian* 24 (Spring 2006): 131–41. In the first article Ciernick discusses a University of San Francisco student named James McFadden who fought for SCO status in order to “live in accord with his conscience.” Ciernick traces how this collegiate environment fostered discussion about the reemerging Catholic pacifist mindset that eventually caused McFadden to contest the Selective Service System (SSS). Steadfastly against the two-year mandatory ROTC requirement on campus, McFadden published letters where he argued the University identified with the military-nationalistic structure by forcing students to participate in ROTC. In doing so, USF supported an unjust war that went against the Catholic Just War ethic. Similar to instances at St. Joseph’s and La Salle, McFadden and his fellow students argued these Catholic institutions gave away their autonomy by allowing the government onto campus and enforcing mandatory participation in this type of military-sponsored curriculum. In the end, McFadden’s fight against the SSS to become an SCO went to the US Supreme Court where it suspended judgment. Ciernick states his case nevertheless illustrates the many layers of American Catholicism, and the ways in which Church teachings could be interpreted in a twentieth-century context. The latter article analyzes “the nature of students’ on-going assimilation into American culture, and the theological and cultural changes taking places with the American Catholic community” by looking at how Catholic college students specifically understood the civil rights movements in the 1960s. Her article, broken into two parts that illustrate Catholic college students’ reactions to the early civil rights movement and how they became more involved following demonstrations and the creation of Catholic Interracial Councils at the University of San Francisco and Santa Clara University. While not looking specifically at antiwar and anti-ROTC, her thesis regarding how students at these institutions negotiated the social justice tradition of the Catholic Church with looming issues in a modern world. Both of these articles originated in Ciernick’s 2003 dissertation: “Student Life on Catholic-College Campuses in the San Francisco Bay Area during the 1960s” (Catholic University of America).

8. Frans Jozef van Beeck, SJ, *Catholic Identity after Vatican II: Three Types of Faith in the One Church* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1983), 3.
9. Chapter VI, “Formation of the Apostolate,” in Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, Pope Paul VI, November 18, 1965,

- http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651118_apostolicam-actuositatem_en.html.
10. Alice Gallin, OSU, *Negotiating Identity, Catholic Higher Education since 1960* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 43. St. Joseph's, for example, followed this trend. According to historian David Contosta, in *Saint Joseph's: Philadelphia's Jesuit University 150 Years*, the Jesuits had become less prominent on campus throughout the 1960s as lay faculty and staff filled new and existing positions. By the early 1970s, the Jesuits established a separate corporation for the college and handed over control to a lay board of trustees. These events arose out of need due to a shortage of religious men, changing demographic shifts in the Philadelphia area, and the emergence of a more open Church in a post-Vatican II world.
 11. Thomas Aquinas, "Whether it is always sinful to wage war," *Summa Theologica*, <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3040.htm>. The most recent definition of "Just War Theory" can be found in paragraph 2309 of *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*. It states: "The strict conditions for *legitimate defense by military force* require rigorous consideration. The gravity of such a decision makes it subject to rigorous conditions of moral legitimacy. At one and the same time: the damage inflicted by the aggressor on the nation or community of nations must be lasting, grave, and certain; all other means of putting an end to it must have been shown to be impractical or ineffective; there must be serious prospects of success; the use of arms must not produce evils and disorders graver than the evil to be eliminated. The power of modern means of destruction weighs very heavily in evaluating this condition. These are the traditional elements enumerated in what is called the 'just war' doctrine."
 12. Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem_en.html.
 13. Pope Paul VI, "The Avoidance of War," *Gaudium et Spes*, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.
 14. David Contosta, *Saint Joseph's: Philadelphia's Jesuit University 150 Years* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2000), 257. Contosta explains the decision to become a coeducational institution arose for multiple reasons, citing demographic shifts following the construction and 1959 dedication of the Schuylkill Expressway, and increased suburbanization further away from St. Joseph's campus. The population in the neighborhood surrounding St. Joseph's, that is, the area from which it drew a large amount of its student body, dropped significantly resulting in a proportional loss of students. Contosta states the percentage of Philadelphia residents forming the student body dropped from a high of 55 percent to 30.6 percent by 1970.
 15. Moon, "Peace on Earth—Peace in Vietnam," 1038.

16. Joseph R. Weak, "Poll Reveals Majority Favor Continuing War in Viet Nam," *The Hawk*, November 18, 1965, <http://thehawkarchive.sju.edu/Default/Skins/TheHawk/Client.asp?skin=TheHawk&AW=1367930864779&AppName=2>. It is also worth noting Contosta asserted *The Hawk* had previously been pro-administration, meaning many articles agreed with University policy. Students wrote pieces that did not spur contention in the community. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the paper's stance had indeed shifted.
17. Contosta, *Saint Joseph's*, 252.
18. Tom Neuberger, "College Plans Dialogue Day," *The Hawk*, September 27, 1968.
19. Jack Murtagh, "After One Year, the Dream Emerges," *The Hawk*, May 19, 1969; Jack Borland, "Dialogue Day II Examines Educational Goals," *The Hawk*, October 27, 1969.
20. College Council, "Statement of Policy on Freedom of Assembly," March 13, 1969, Student Association Box, 0230.SLSA, St. Joseph's Archives (hereafter cited as SJA).
21. College Council, "Policy on Political Activities on Campus by Members of the College Community," September 12, 1972, Student Association Box, 0230.SLSA.I, SJA.
22. James E. Dougherty was a former enlisted soldier in the army after he graduated high school in 1942. Following his service in World War II, he earned graduate degrees from Fordham University and the University of Pennsylvania. While Dougherty was an influential member of the St. Joseph's community, he also served as a faculty member at the National War College in Washington, DC, from 1964 to 1965. He also acted as a research associate at the Foreign Policy Research Institute from 1956 to 1968. From 1973 to 1976, Dougherty also was an associate editor for *Orbis*, a journal for world affairs. Dougherty was thus well known and revered in the political science and international relations fields. "James E. Dougherty," Dougherty Folder (hereafter cited as DF), SJA.
23. James E. Dougherty, "A Statement by James E. Dougherty," undated, SJA. Dougherty did not only specifically address issues at St. Joseph's in this statement, but also the general atmosphere on most university campuses during the 1960s and 1970s.
24. Tom Ryan, "War: Problems and Alternatives Explored," *The Hawk*, February 21, 1968.
25. Selective Conscientious Objection refers to the right of members of the Catholic Church to object to specific wars, such as Vietnam, that they viewed as unjust. Dougherty cautioned that SCO possibilities could lead to corruption among Church members who could use this stance as a way to get out of serving.

26. James E. Dougherty, "Commentary on the Draft Declaration on Conscientious Objection," DF.
27. James E. Dougherty, "War, Peace, and the Christian Conscience," August 1972, DF.
28. "What Do You Think of the ROTC Program?" *The Hawk*, February 18, 1965.
29. "University and Catholic: Final Report of the Special Committee on the Christian Character of Marquette University," December 10, 1969, AFROTC, Box 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
30. James E. Dougherty, "Statement on ROTC at Saint Joseph's University," November 1, 1971, SJA.
31. James E. Dougherty, "Statement on ROTC at Saint Joseph's University," October 1, 1971, SJA.
32. "SA Organizing ROTC Debates," October 1, 1971, *The Hawk*, SJA.
33. The debates occurred from October 1 to October 6, 1971.
34. Campus Peace Coalition, October 1971, AFROTC, Box 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
35. Father Anthony Capizzi, "Some Moral Implications of AFROTC Presence on the Saint Joseph's Campus," November 3, 1971, AFROTC, Box 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
36. Richard Costello, "Letter," *The Hawk*, November 15, 1971. It should be noted that this letter merely restates what Capizzi said at the debates. Few of the original speeches and notes survive. On Kwoka's argument, see Contosta, *Saint Joseph's*, 251. AFROTC allowed women in its ranks beginning in 1972. Saint Joseph's began accepting women into the University's Day School in 1970. Two years later, St. Joseph's admitted women to the AFROTC program, thus following the national trend.
37. The Edmund Burke Society, May, 6, 1970, 14, Special Interest Clubs Box, 0251: SLCLBS.
38. "Local Conference to Re-Evaluate Viet Conflict," *The Hawk*, October 4, 1967. Saint Joseph's sent two faculty and one student representative to the forum. These individuals included the following: Rev. Michael Smith, SJ, Dr. David Marshall, both of the philosophy department, and student Tom McCoog.
39. "Memorandum, The Campus Ministry Staff to The College Community," Discussions on AFROTC at St. Joseph's College, November 3, 1971, AFROTC Box, 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
40. Remarks of Dr. Thomas McFadden to the College Council, May 1, 1972, "On the Continuance of the Air Force ROTC Program," AFROTC Box, 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
41. John Foster, "EP Subcommittee Approves ROTC Expansion," *The Hawk*, November 22, 1974;
42. La Salle did not admit women until 1970.
43. "Mission Integration," La Salle University website, <http://www.lasalle.edu/missionoffice/index.php?page=history&group=history>.

44. John DeWald, "Modern Theologian Peter Riga Surveys Contemporary Problems," *La Salle Collegian*, November 15, 1968, 1968–1969 *Collegian* Folder (hereafter CF), La Salle University Archives (hereafter LUA).
45. Edward Longacre, "Vietnam War Truths Subject of Forum," *La Salle Collegian*, October 3, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
46. Bernie Krimm, "Commager, Bennet and Gruening Attack Washington's Viet Policy," *La Salle Collegian*, October 20, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
47. In an interview conducted by the author June 6, 2016, Francis J. Ryan, Ed.D., a participant in the 1969 sit-in, recalled that many conservative students hailed from the business school, while many of the anti-ROTC and antiwar students studied the liberal arts. He asserted that the focus on discussion and free thinking in the liberal arts fostered in these students the ability to seek out answers to questions and analyze situations from a different point of view than perhaps business courses did. Ryan ('69) studied English and represented the English Club at faculty meetings following a student-body push for greater undergraduate involvement in academic affairs.
48. J. P. Morgan, "Viet Forum Viewed as Farce," *La Salle Collegian*, October 20, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
49. "Student Strong in Cafeteria Over War Protest Argument," *La Salle Collegian*, October 30, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
50. John Rossi, *Living the Promise: A History of La Salle University* (Philadelphia: La Salle University Press, 2012, 107.
51. In an interview conducted by the author on June 6, 2016, John Rossi stated the military pressured La Salle University to boost its enrollment. If not, La Salle risked losing the program and any potential government support.
52. "ROTC Myths Refuted; No Subsidy to School," *La Salle Collegian*, December 11, 1967, 1967–1968, LUA.
53. Tom Smith, "Compulsory ROTC Questioned in Faculty Senate," *La Salle Collegian*, March 1, 1968, 1967–1968 CF, LUA. In conjunction with the Faculty Senate meeting, the administration also allowed students to conduct a poll regarding whether or not mandatory ROTC should continue. This poll, however, was haphazard; therefore, the administration told them to redo it in order to have it reviewed. Although the Faculty Senate meeting and poll of the student body did not spark immediate change, it was nevertheless significant in that La Salle had an environment conducive to open dialogue.
54. Rossi, *Living the Promise*, 109.
55. "Christian Commitment," *La Salle Collegian*, May 10, 1968, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
56. La Salle University, "La Salle College Bulletin Student Handbook 1968–1969" (1968). *La Salle Student Handbooks*, Book 25, http://digitalcommons.lasalle.edu/student_handbooks/25.

57. John P. Corr, "1750 Seek to Abolish La Salle ROTC Rule," March 20, 1969, Mutual Press Clipping, LUA.
58. Liberal faculty members also participated in the Ad Hoc Committee. Some noted names include John Connors and Richard Leonard from the Sociology Department, Bert Strieb from the Physics Department, Russ Naughton of the Philosophy Department, and John McNelis who ran La Salle University's outreach center. Rossi, *Living the Promise*, 108.
59. "Moral Position Summarized," *La Salle Collegian*, April 1, 1969, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
60. "Cadet Claims ROTC Program Would Die If Made Voluntary," in *ibid.*
61. "Sit-in Wins Complete Victory," *La Salle Collegian*, April 22, 1969, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
62. Rossi, *Living the Promise*, III.
63. "Sit-in Wins Complete Victory," *La Salle Collegian*, April 22, 1969, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
64. "College Hall Sit-In: Sound of Silence," *La Salle: A Quarterly La Salle College Magazine* (Summer 1969): 40.

PROMOTING THE BOOK OF NATURE

PHILADELPHIA'S ROLE IN POPULARIZING SCIENCE FOR CHRISTIAN CITIZENS IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT: In the early republic, Americans witnessed the popularization of the natural sciences in the midst of the religious growth of the Second Great Awakening. Inspired by republican rhetoric and natural theology the natural sciences found a broad audience in Philadelphia and throughout the young nation. At museums and public lectures, Americans were invited to inspect the “book of nature”—God’s created universe—up close in an effort to understand the nature of the creator himself. Beyond the elite world of religious scholars and naturalists, this view of science was popularized among Americans as a benefit to the republican moral order as well. This article looks at the ways in which that understanding of the relationship between science and religion was packaged and marketed to the citizens of Philadelphia and the broader United States as the key to preserving the moral and civic order required for a strong republic.

KEYWORDS: Science and religion, republicanism, Philadelphia, early federal period, Peale’s Museum, early American museums

In 1819 Philadelphia minister William Staughton beheld a comet with the religious reverence of a cleric and the excited interest of a naturalist. In a poem shared with friends and students, he noted the comet’s “lunar-like orb” and “illustrious trail!” Referencing the great astronomers, he stated that “A Tycho, a Newton, may measure thy course/Determine thy fervors and value thy force.” He lamented that astronomers had not yet determined the full extent of the comet’s orbit. Reflecting that such knowledge would “sing the loud praises of God,” Staughton considered the scientifically definable comet as a religious symbol as well, one that might have significance for a nation experiencing the Second Great Awakening. Perhaps, he opined,

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the comet's purpose was "To feed with new fires the diminishing sun? / Over nations in guilt to exhibit the rod? / Or invite to the high contemplation of God?" Regardless of the spiritual or physical purpose of the comet, Staughton reveled in the sight, believing it gave men like him an opportunity to advance their knowledge of the natural world while also celebrating that "Revealed in yon firmament . . . the God of creation—of comets, is mine."¹

The dual nature of Staughton's reaction to the comet reveals the perceived spirituality and usefulness of scientific inquiry that made studying the natural sciences increasingly popular in the early American republic. Throughout the young nation, men like Staughton—a minister, public lecturer, and later college president—presented the natural sciences as civic and moral education that would nurture good Christians and good citizens at the same time.

While many modern Americans assume a division between science and religion, historians have demonstrated over the past few decades that this was not typical prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Naturalists in the early modern Atlantic world saw every form of scientific inquiry as part of an effort to understand the entire "book of nature"—God's work revealed through creation, which, once observed, could be "read" in a fashion similar to the Bible. As such, no field of study was beyond inductive reasoning, and no field of scientific inquiry was beyond an artistic and metaphysical understanding.² The natural sciences were often discussed in a religious context, and religion often played a part in the growing scientific community. Contrary to the "warfare thesis" assumption that religion and science have always been at odds, historians have increasingly argued that the relationship between science and religious belief, especially Protestant Christianity, has never been so simple. While a "harmony thesis" gained some traction in the 1970s and 1980s, more recent works by scholars such as John Hedley Brooke, David C. Lindberg, and Ronald L. Numbers have argued for a "complexity thesis" that identifies the interplay between religious and scientific world-views.³ In recent years, the complexity thesis has been further complicated by scholars such as David N. Livingstone, who argued that the geography of scientific inquiry is an important aspect for understanding why and how discoveries were made.⁴ While Livingstone was concerned with how location affects knowledge creation, locale is also important for how that knowledge is shared with its audience.⁵ The unique intellectual geography of the early American republic shaped a discourse of science and religion that, while informed by the larger Atlantic world, was distinctively American, for the ideology of republicanism necessitated the dissemination of these ideas

among the public. As the home of the nation's oldest scientific institutions and the early capital, Philadelphia held significant sway over the development of the discourse of popularized science throughout the young republic.

Many scholars have pointed out that American science was largely dependent upon European sources in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet the American context created uniquely American approaches to science. As Conevery Bolton Valencius and others have demonstrated in their recent article, the "scientific community" in the early republic was much more amorphous than its European counterpart. While scientific institutions existed, close reading of print culture shows a "broader range of participants in science." These authors have called for more consideration of the science of territoriality and the role of popular culture in shaping that discourse. Focused on print culture, they argue that creation and compilation of scientific knowledge and professionalization in the early United States was diffused because it was often linked to efforts for economic gain and political, intellectual, or physical control of territory.⁶

Popular science in the early republic was also driven by ideology. Philadelphians promoting science for popular audiences emphasized the moral and civil benefits of studying the natural world. While a new proto-professional scientific community was taking shape across the United States, the long-established scientific community of Philadelphia inspired popularization of science as a moral and civic asset in the experiment in republican government. Conscious of the failings of the French Revolution, some popularizers argued that a godless republic would fall into the chaos and corruption found in the Terror and the rise of Napoleon. Others, swept up in the religious winds of the Second Great Awakening, promoted science as a devotional tool and protection against the natural religion promoted by deists and skeptics like Thomas Paine. In both cases, promoters of the natural sciences described their subject as an aid to teaching religious morality and piety, which would be needed in the New Jerusalem and young America.

As a colonial hub of knowledge creation and distribution, early national capital, and economic center, Philadelphia had a unique political and social structure that helped shape the way scientific ideas were shared with the American public. While some historians have argued that there was a growing tendency among naturalists throughout the Atlantic world to emphasize natural causes over supernatural intervention, the popularized science growing out of its Philadelphia roots rarely challenged the assumption that the laws of nature were written by God.⁷ The discourse of popularized science

that came out of Philadelphia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was uniquely American in the way it tied Protestant and republican ideologies together, making the story of American science ideological as well economic.

Between 1776 and 1840 an increasing number of Americans had access to the natural sciences. Public lectures, museums, and textbooks emphasized the usefulness of such knowledge for both good citizens and good Christians. Scientific inquiry found an ever-broader audience, functioning as both an educational and entertaining endeavor. Educated individuals in towns and cities throughout the young nation founded lyceums, arranged mineralogical cabinets, and established science/natural history museums and societies.⁸

Nowhere was this truer than in Philadelphia, a community that helped shape the American discourse of science, religion, and citizenship in the early republic. As recent scholarship has demonstrated, the city had a long history of scientific inquiry.⁹ Already a major node of the Atlantic world intellectual web by the end of the eighteenth century, it had a well-established scientific community. The Library Company of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences, as well as a medical school and the University of Pennsylvania supported an elite community of men who sought to engage with the transatlantic republic of letters.¹⁰ In the early national period, the audience for science expanded as popularizers drew upon this milieu to market the study of the natural world as an essential tool for creating the religious and civic virtue necessary for a flourishing republic.

The men and women behind popular science institutions advertised their endeavors as more than entertainment. The natural sciences were useful and essential to a Christian education for virtuous citizens. Lecturers and textbook authors repeatedly reminded Americans of the utility of scientific study in a growing nation that celebrated innovation in farming, mining, surveying, and manufacturing. The development of science could bolster economic enterprise and demonstrate the potential of the American experiment. Scientists and naturalists themselves very self-consciously studied American phenomena to prove that America and its natural world were anything but degenerative.¹¹

Informed by the tradition of European natural theology, American Protestant writers and speakers supported the popularization of science, arguing that the collection of more scientific data would inevitably prove the greatness of the creator God. Christian periodicals as diverse as the *Methodist Monthly Magazine*, the Presbyterian *Christian Advocate*, and the Episcopal

Sunday Visitor promoted natural sciences as a means to better understand the Creator.¹² Devotional literature from both sides of the Atlantic incorporated lessons from Isaac Newton and William Herschel into descriptions of the sovereignty of God. Protestant colleges and academies—on the rise in the early republic—enthusiastically included the natural sciences into their curricula. They hired scientists to “teach young students that nature . . . revealed the perfections and sovereignty of God.”¹³

With Philadelphians often leading the charge, the combined impetuses of religious fervor and republicanism shaped a public discourse promoting study of the natural sciences to an ever broader audience as a support to civil and religious virtue. Promoters of natural theology encouraged audiences to see the book of nature as a source for civic virtue. At the heart of this discourse rested the core beliefs of natural theology: The creator God displayed the evidence of his activity obviously in the natural world and revealed equally reliable additional information about himself in the Bible, which would be borne out as truth the more people studied nature. Guided by this hermeneutic, American Protestant educators, ministers, and authors argued that the combined efforts of naturalists and philosophers to catalog and systematize a broad base of facts about the world would reveal a fuller picture of the divine actions and character of God—the book of nature.¹⁴

The message of natural theology was not restricted to religious spaces. In public venues like museums and lectures the rhetoric of republicanism and the involvement of Protestant clerics blurred the line between secular and Christian education, as well as that between civic and religious virtue. Many popularizers of science agreed that an introduction to the natural sciences could bring people into the fold. Public lecturers and museum proprietors emphasized the usefulness of such knowledge for both good citizens and good Christians. In these cases, seemingly secular venues served the same purpose as religious ones—to encourage the laity (scientific or religious) to view the natural world as evidence of God’s power and love. Thus, even Americans who did not hear it from the pulpit learned about the inviolability of nature as God’s handiwork.

Through the ostensibly secular venues of museums, public lectures, and science textbooks, Americans increasingly began to share a preconception of the natural world as God’s creation—a place where they could meet the Creator by simply applying human reason to scientifically observed phenomena. These venues, in conjunction with a growing number of explicitly religious devotionals by the 1830s, facilitated the dissemination of Christian

scientific knowledge to a wide audience. At the heart of it all, the Philadelphia religious and scientific community often set a unique example in propagating Christian scientific knowledge to a wide audience.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION IN PUBLIC LECTURES

While much has been made of the lyceum movement in the 1820s and 1830s, the popularization of science began much earlier in American cities. Even before it reached its peak in the 1830s, Philadelphians frequented scientific lectures taught by famous “scientists” and local experts.¹⁵ The Philadelphia region played host to a number of lecturers and courses open to the public as early as the 1780s. A few miles to the south, the Philosophical Society of Delaware regularly invited the ladies and gentlemen of Wilmington to take part in scientific lecture series offered as early as 1799 (when, it is rumored, the society nearly blew up town hall with a working model of a volcano).¹⁶

While the Library Company and American Philosophical Society had begun hosting lectures for their own members by the 1760s, access to (and interest in) lectures for public consumption grew substantially after Independence. By 1826 John Sanderson lamented that “Of all our intellectual pursuits the most fashionable and prevalent in this city is science . . . it has spread amongst the people like an epidemic” and had “not even spar[ed] the fair sex.”¹⁷ Science lectures, it seemed, were everywhere. For example, in 1782 John Macpherson advertised that he would deliver a series of lectures at his home in Philadelphia. The lectures covered “astronomy and every other branch of natural philosophy” and were open to the paying public.¹⁸ Benjamin Rush offered a course of chemistry lectures for students at the Young Ladies’ Academy in Philadelphia in 1787 wherein he highlighted the role of chemistry in housework.¹⁹ Benjamin Tucker offered a course of chemistry lectures for young ladies in 1810. Tucker’s audience was so large that he expanded his offerings to young men and women in 1811 and continued his courses through the 1820s.²⁰ Mr. S. Gordon taught a course of mineralogy lectures at “the hall of the Philosophical Society in the spring of 1811.” William Staughton delivered his first course of lectures on natural history in 1816, and Dr. M. Mossoman offered a course at the “German schoolhouse” in 1818.²¹ By the time Sanderson was complaining in the 1820s, there were competing lectures on geology offered by Dr. Gerard Troost (at the courthouse) and Mr. Finch (at the Philosophical Society’s hall) in 1823. That same year, the Friends’ schoolhouse hosted Joseph Roberts Jr. for a series of lectures

on natural philosophy.²² In November 1823 Drs. John Godman and Elijah Griffith delivered lectures on anatomy and philosophy “intended as a popular rather than a scientific course” at the Masonic Hall. Drs. Middleton, Charles D. Meigs, and Benjamin Horner Coates also taught at popular lecture halls throughout Philadelphia on medical science topics in 1823, and 1824 at “Dr. Parrish’s lecture-room” on Second Street.²³

By the 1820s the epidemic had spread throughout the city, infecting even the less respectable. While Godman’s 1823 course of lectures cost \$10, a mere 25 cents could gain admission to a demonstration of “comparative anatomy” at the Lailson Circus. In 1803 Thomas Swann, a riding instructor and farrier, advertised that he would hold a horseback-riding exhibition at the old Lailson Circus building in Philadelphia at which a horse would be dissected for the public. Tapping into the prevailing rhetoric about the usefulness of the book of nature, Swann advertised the event as educational and uplifting. The evening’s program included a lecture on the possibilities of lameness in horses and how to treat equine injuries, followed by the dissection of one incurably lamed horse, while “at the same time a real skeleton of a horse will be presented, [for] gentlemen of the faculty and others, who may not think comparative anatomy beneath their notice or study.” The 25-cent price of admission to the lecture and dissection was the same as admission at most of the budding museums in the Philadelphia area.²⁴ While these lectures made scientific knowledge relatively accessible to Philadelphians of moderate means, even those who could not afford it might hear about science from an equally trusted source. For many, the most persuasive voice encouraging Christian citizens to study natural sciences was likely the one they encountered every Sunday.

PREACHING FROM THE OTHER GOOD BOOK: MINISTERS ENCOURAGE CONTEMPLATION OF NATURE

In an era of growing religious and social upheaval, ministers promoted science as an aid to religious and civic stability. For many, science could contribute to the religious awakening the nation was experiencing. Couching science as an avenue for personal interaction with the Creator, some promoted study of the natural world as a form of pious devotion. With the rise of evangelicalism in the Second Great Awakening, many believers looked for an increasingly emotional and personal experience of God in their lives.

Yet reason, rationality, and Enlightenment science also permeated American Christianity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The popularization of Enlightenment ideology and the natural sciences emphasized the importance of “Reason” in even the most unreasonable sects. Evangelicals and nonevangelicals alike embraced science. As the American republic took shape, most Protestants embraced science as a means for deepening their experiential knowledge of an increasingly personal and immanent God.

Philadelphia experienced this as much as any other city. As Dee Andrews has demonstrated, Philadelphia was a city experiencing significant socioeconomic changes, exemplified by the large poorhouse (known as the “bettering” house), a building standing larger than those housing the new government or the religious congregations of the city.²⁵ The Second Great Awakening, like republican ideology, was a social ordering effort that occurred in a world that seemed to be unnervingly disordered.²⁶ The seeming chaos and comfort of religious revivals, whether Methodist, Baptist, Christian, or Presbyterian, made all men equal before the Lord. While this Great Awakening sparked emotional revivals across the countryside, historians like Bruce Dorsey have demonstrated that much of the revivalist energy in urban centers was funneled into benevolence societies and reform movements. Philadelphia’s religious milieu mirrored that of many other urban centers in the early national period. The city was certainly experiencing the market revolution and growing importance of the voluntarism that defined the religious landscape of cities like New York, Boston, or Baltimore.²⁷

But for many religious leaders the republic needed more than religious fire, it needed republican virtue. Promoters of science in early national Philadelphia tended to come from more established sectors of the religious marketplace. Overwhelmingly these men represented Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational, Lutheran, and Quaker backgrounds. Yet, one of the loudest voices for science as source of both religious and republican virtue in Philadelphia was a Baptist, William Staughton, an outspoken preacher of the book of nature. For him, “the natural sciences presented a wide field to his view,” which he studied and shared “with fervor and advantage.” In addition to his regular course of natural history lectures, Staughton often brought students along on “a morning visit to the Museum of Mr. Peale,” reinforcing the lesson that the book of nature served as a devotional aid. As one friend later eulogized, this lover of botany and natural history believed that flora and fauna demonstrated “the power of their author,” God. As he described the nature of plants

“from the delicate germ to the finished fruit,” he reminded his students, “The hand that made *us is divine*.”²⁸ In 1816 Staughton invited the “ladies and gentlemen” of Philadelphia to his own course of scientific lectures that winter on natural theology and natural history.²⁹

Staughton enjoyed popularity as both an evangelical preacher and reformer and as a scholar. Professor Thomas D. Mitchell of the University of Pennsylvania described Staughton as a well-loved minister of both the Good Book and the book of nature. “No pastor of any other denomination in Philadelphia retained so large a popularity in so long a period of years. Many a time have I seen the enlarged house most uncomfortably packed. . . . The people came from every corner of the city.” When he taught botany at Columbia College, Staughton’s students noted the interconnectedness of theological and scientific fields of study from the very first day of class, when he explained that the earliest botanical studies could be found in the divisions of “plants, grass, herbs, and trees” described by Moses in the Good Book.³⁰ Staughton had been the minister of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia since 1805, where he often preached in the style of the new revivalism, without the appearance of notes.³¹ His popularity was such that meetings and prayer groups had to be set up throughout the city, hosting the pastor in order to share the word. Staughton was an advocate of the Sunday School movement in Philadelphia and baptized many young men and women in the Schuylkill River.³² Staughton’s service to the Lord was not limited to the pulpit and lecture hall. In addition to his weekly sermons and science lectures, he wrote hymns, several of which appeared in the 1819 hymnal compiled by John Rippon.³³ Deeply committed to the benevolence work central to the Second Great Awakening in American cities, Staughton was active in the founding of the Philadelphia Bible Society and involved in organizing his congregation’s missionary efforts into the western territories.³⁴

Those presenting popular science often chose deists and atheists as their foil. Study of the book of nature, they argued, uncovered the moral and physical order of an immanent God. The emphasis upon reason may also have acted as a defense against what seemed to be reason-less enthusiasm found at many revivals and camp meetings. Even as popularizers encouraged audiences to engage with the awe-inspiring and emotionally charged natural wonders of the created world, the reason/enlightenment discourse shaping this approach seemed to discourage a purely emotional faith.

While one might see the efforts of the older denominations as part of the larger backlash against the enthusiasm and anticlerical (even anti-intellectual) strains of the Second Great Awakening, these men tended to couch their efforts as a defense against threats from the other side. Promoters of science and natural theology typically described their efforts as a bulwark against doubt, infidelity, and deism. Amanda Porterfield has demonstrated that skepticism appeared to pose a significant threat to many elites in the early national period. Often focused on Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, fear of deism as a road to infidelity (and unchecked democracy) loomed large in early national politics as Federalists painted Jeffersonians as godless (and thus immoral) deists in the school of Paine and the French Revolution.³⁵ In an effort to assuage such fears, those most likely to flirt with deistic tendencies increasingly emphasized their own embrace of scripture and revelation. Promoters of science, a group who might be lumped in with promoters of natural religion and deism, were especially concerned to demonstrate their embrace of scripture and revelation.

Religious leaders from other cities learned from Philadelphia institutions to preach the book of nature as well. Presbyterian leader and member of the American Philosophical Society Samuel Miller encouraged Christians to visit Peale's Museum and study the latest scientific discoveries in his 1803 book, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, based upon a sermon he delivered to a New York City congregation on the first Sunday of the century.³⁶ As a member of the American Philosophical Society, Miller drew upon his Philadelphia-based knowledge of the natural world to encourage his readers and listeners to study the book of nature for themselves. Confessing himself "indebted to Professor [Benjamin] BARTON," a professor of natural history and botany at the College of Pennsylvania, Miller encouraged the faithful to study the mammoth at Peale's museum to judge the wonders of God's design for themselves.³⁷

Like Staughton, Miller believed that study of the natural world could be a form of religious devotion that allowed students to more fully understand the Creator. In fact, Miller argued that even when geologists set out to work without the knowledge given through the Bible, their research had still proven the veracity of scripture as they added new findings to the universal book of nature defined by natural history. Miller believed that even those French scholars who "embraced geological principles unfriendly to revelation" and Christianity "have all brought to light facts, and given views of the subject, which remarkably confirm the sacred history."³⁸

Not all congregations relied exclusively upon their pastors to teach the book of nature. Between 1806 and 1808, a group of English-speaking Lutherans broke away from the German Lutheran churches in Philadelphia to found their own congregation: the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John. The church purchased a lot on Race Street between Fifth and Sixth streets where they built a large church as well as a schoolhouse. Under the direction of a few outspoken parishioners—mostly scholars like Dr. John Goodman—the schoolhouse became something more ambitious than an ordinary church school and came to be known as “St. John’s Lyceum” or “St. John’s College.” In 1812 Professor James Cutbush gave lectures there on chemistry, natural philosophy, and mineralogy. The schoolhouse was too small for the ambitions of Cutbush, who wished to attach the school to the church to provide more space for lessons. Instead, the congregation constructed a larger building, where Cutbush added demonstrations of the effects of nitrous oxide gas (laughing gas) to the Lyceum’s offerings.³⁹ Whether led by the pastor or the congregation, then, Philadelphia religious institutions demonstrated the reach of the growing discourse among Protestants that endorsed the book of nature as devotional aid that promoted republican virtue in the early nineteenth century.

SHOWCASING THE BOOK OF NATURE: MUSEUMS IN PHILADELPHIA AND BEYOND

The most visible promoters of the book of nature in early US cities were the proprietors of the nation’s budding museums. For those who could not afford public lectures, a growing number of museums offered city-dwellers a view of God’s creation in a collection of “curiosities.” While Philadelphia was not the first city to host a museum, it set a national example leading the way in successfully displaying the book of nature through museums. America’s first public museum, founded by the Charleston Library Society in 1773, displayed donated samples of flora and fauna, minerals, and accounts of how best to use plant samples for medicinal and agricultural purposes. The museum was destroyed by fire and war during the Revolution.⁴⁰ Though a group of Charlestonians continued to support the museum throughout the nineteenth century, it had little regional or national impact. Philadelphia’s earliest forays into museum making, on the other hand, inspired imitation. In fact, the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina did

not know of the Charleston museum's existence when the president called for the creation of a museum in 1814 that would emulate Philadelphia's example.⁴¹

The clearest argument for science as a religious aid to the republic was made by Philadelphia artist, naturalist, and museum proprietor Charles Willson Peale. In 1784 Peale opened the doors of his museum in Philadelphia, where he displayed many of his own paintings alongside a great variety of natural specimens (best depicted in his 1822 self-portrait, *The Artist in His Museum*). Much like the earlier one in Charleston, Peale's museum was an eclectic collection of natural phenomena and curiosities, held together by enlightenment ideology about the importance of collecting all information about nature to understand God's created universe.⁴² The museum offered visitors a glimpse at some of nature's greatest wonders alongside wax statues and portraits of great men and women of Western history. For example, visitors could see a "sea-serpent" from Massachusetts—on loan from the New England Philosophical Society—in 1817, three live chameleons from Spain in May of 1818, a "devil-fish" in October of 1823, and an orrery—displaying the workings of the solar system—from Partridge's Academy in Connecticut in 1826. The Peale family often offered additional incentives to visit: Rubens, Franklin, and Titian Peale gave public lectures and experiments covering chemistry, philosophy, and electricity.⁴³

While financial gain certainly played a role in his promotional efforts, Peale advertised his museum as a place to study the book of nature. In public lectures and published tracts Peale argued that the nation needed science museums. Visiting a museum was an opportunity for moral uplift, gained through observation of God's work through the book of nature. From the outset Peale insisted upon keeping the museum open on Sundays. Reasoning that an exhibition of the works of nature should be open on the Lord's day, he placed a placard in front of the museum entrance on Sundays that read: "Here the wonderful works of the Divinity may be contemplated with pleasure and advantage. Let no-one enter to-day with any other view."⁴⁴ Though Peale himself tended toward deism, he believed that "Nature was a book whose structure was a display of both the original 'Word' and the confining law of its Maker."⁴⁵ This book of nature, displaying the work of God, was surely an appropriate site for Christians and citizens to visit on Sundays. Whether motivated by profit or principle, Peale's call for public access to God's book of nature on the Sabbath must have had an audience, for it appears that the museum remained open on Sundays until his death in 1827.

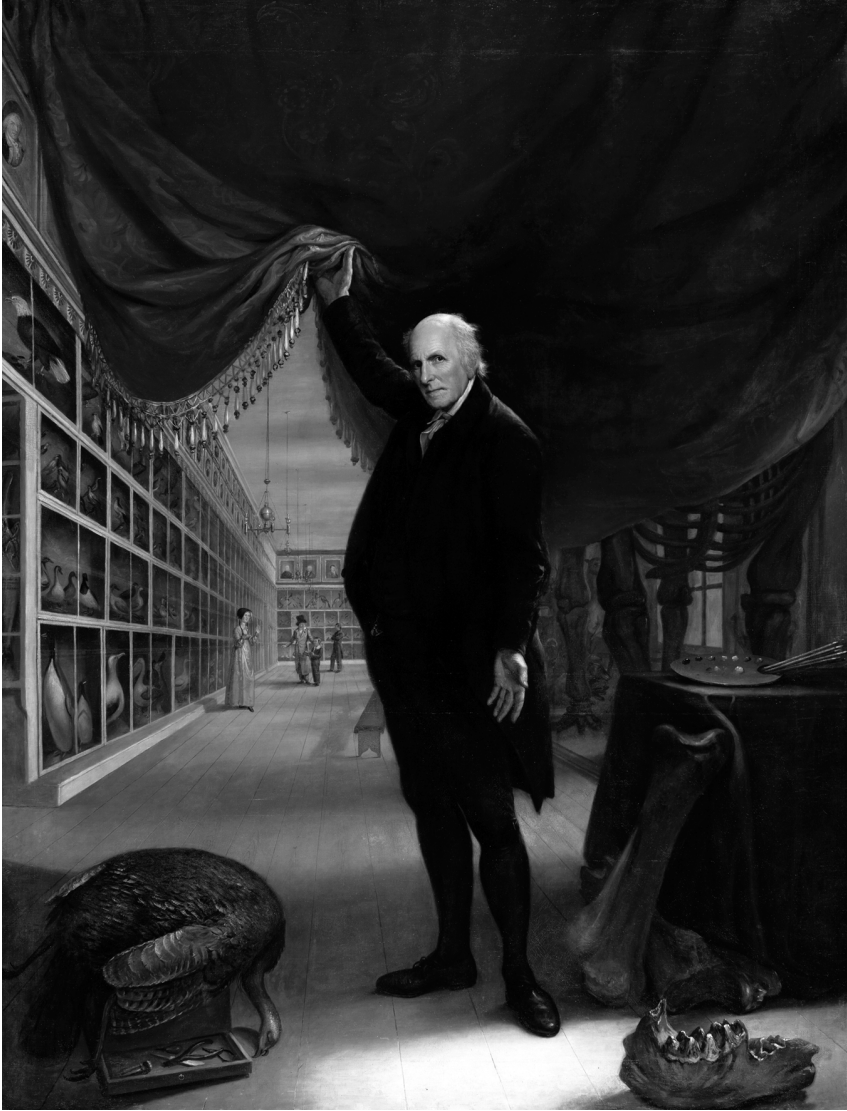


FIGURE 1 *The Artist in His Museum*, 1822, Charles Willson Peale. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Gift of Mrs. Sarah Harrison (The Joseph Harrison, Jr. Collection).

Christian traditions and imagery played a large role in Peale's museum. The "sea-serpent" displayed in 1817 had been deemed a "Leviathan" (as described in the Book of Job) by the people of Gloucester, Massachusetts,

who captured it.⁴⁶ Tickets to the museum themselves invoked the words of Job 12:7 with the phrase, “The Birds & Beasts will teach thee.” But nowhere did Peale invoke religion more clearly than in the room that displayed the famed mammoth skeleton. Mammoth bones had been on display in America since the days of Cotton Mather, who believed them to be the remains of Nephilim, described in the Genesis story of the Noachian flood. The name “mammoth” itself derived from the Russian word for Behemoth—the creature mentioned in Job 40:15. While the mammoth was a mythical figure, Peale’s expedition to uncover a full skeleton in 1801 proved that “mammoth” bones were in fact those of a mastodon. Yet Peale often referred to the mastodon as a mammoth, probably to drum up larger crowds who would be drawn to the legendary—even biblical—proportions of the skeleton.⁴⁷

Museums lasting the longest in the early nineteenth century followed Peale’s example of leaving the pages of the book of nature open to the view of all visitors by displaying natural curiosities and scientific discoveries. For example, Jesse Sharpless’s Washington Museum, founded in 1807, remained open for at least a decade in Philadelphia. Much like Peale’s museum, the Washington boasted scientific attractions such as “a complete electrical machine, with extensive philosophical [i.e., scientific] apparatus” and “ten different pieces of anatomical preparations in wax, executed in the first style.” In 1818 and 1819 Sharpless exhibited the further curiosity of a live trained elephant. Meanwhile, the Phoenix Museum—moved from Boston to Philadelphia in 1813—displayed “panoramic views” and wax statues for only a few months before it failed. Similarly, the Columbian Museum of Wax Statuary—featuring only wax statues of luminaries like Jefferson and Napoleon along with some allegorical pieces—“did not achieve sufficient success to warrant a long continuance.”⁴⁸ Neither the Columbian nor the Phoenix displayed natural curiosities or other scientific discoveries that made the book of nature accessible, which seemed to be an integral component to a successful museum. Without the natural sciences, the educational and moral value of a museum seemed questionable.

Peale’s belief that museums and public knowledge of the natural sciences were central to the creation of an enlightened and virtuous citizenry was borne out by his perennial entreaties to Congress for funding.⁴⁹ In public lectures, Peale represented the book of nature as instructive for both good Christians and good citizens. Stating that “the study of natural history . . . [would] make us acquainted with the perfection of all created beings,” he argued that a publicly funded and accessible museum like his would be “a powerful aid to

the truly religious mind.” After all, “*no man* can attentively view and study the infinite variety and perfection of the origination of Creation and *be an infidel*.” For Peale, the spiritual virtues of the museum contributed to the strength of the republic. Studying the book of nature would remind visitors of their civic responsibilities “to fulfill every duty to our associates, exercising all our powers to promote love and harmony with those to whom we are connected in domestic life, to sustain the salutary measures of civil government, desiring to promote our lives, liberty and property.”⁵⁰

Peale’s argument that museums and science were good for the republic had an audience beyond his hometown. The rhetoric of science as religious and republican support to the nation played a role in a much more openly politically motivated museum that followed Peale’s Philadelphia model—the Tammany Museum. When the Society of St. Tammany established a museum in New York City, its goals were similar to Peale’s. Inspired by the optimism of American independence and the ratification of the Constitution, Tammany’s membership sponsored activities that would foster a strong American identity based upon republican virtue and morality. With this in mind, they founded a museum of history and natural science in 1790, showcasing a collection of American historical and natural specimens—all aimed at celebrating America and encouraging virtue in her citizens. By the end of the decade, however, Tammany shifted its interests from culture to politics, and abandoned the museum to its caretaker, Gardiner Baker. When Baker took over, he modeled the exhibits directly after those Peale created in Philadelphia. They included displays of stuffed animals in reproductions of their natural habitats—an exhibition method developed by Peale. Much like his Philadelphia counterpart, Baker relied on his museum for his livelihood. Yet he worked hard to encourage New Yorkers of all financial capabilities to visit and learn from the book of nature—inviting all men over age twenty-one in the city to visit the museum’s library for free, and striving to keep the admission price low after Tammany withdrew its support. Like the Peale family, Baker endeavored to make the natural sciences widely available, believing his work would strengthen a Christian American society.⁵¹ Like Peale’s museum, the Tammany Museum (later Scudder’s American Museum) served a political purpose. Even after Tammany left the museum in Baker’s care, the society required free or reduced admission for its members. Baker, it seemed, was a true believer, providing access to the museum’s library to all of the city’s young men, free of charge, regardless of political affiliation.

A similar message was available to visitors of Daniel Bowen's museum, operating in Philadelphia between 1790 and 1795. Not wanting to continue to compete with Peale's museum, Bowen removed his museum of paintings, wax figures, and natural curiosities to Boston where he opened the Columbian Museum in 1795. Though the Columbian Museum burned down twice before 1812, each incarnation brought large audiences.⁵² A later commentator described it as "the only museum of character" in Boston."⁵³ A veteran of the American Revolution, Bowen was as strong an advocate of republican virtue as his fellow proprietors in Philadelphia and New York. Bowen was an active member of Old South Church so religion also shaped his work.⁵⁴ With a deep commitment to both his faith and his nation, Bowen modeled his natural history exhibits after those he saw in the great museums of England while advertising them with the same call to civic and religious virtue that Peale relied upon in Philadelphia. Thus, museum proprietors hawked their wares as access to the book of nature, using Peale's Philadelphia model to perpetuate the narrative that science would promote both the religious and civic virtue of the republic.

GOOD LITTLE REPUBLICANS: PHYSICIANS PROMOTE THE BOOK OF NATURE

While ministers claimed a spiritual benefit, and Peale and his colleagues represented the group with the most obvious economic stake in its success, physicians regarded the book of nature as an aid to educational reform that would serve the medical profession. Medical doctors and professors used the same rhetoric of science and religion that ministers and museums used to promote the expansion of science education as well as the popularization of natural sciences for lay audiences. Much like museum proprietors, physicians and medical scholars stood to gain from the advancement of scientific education in the young nation. Seeing the popularization of science as an extension of their own profession, some doctors and medical professors gave public lectures reinforcing the argument that science supported the Christian faith and the virtue of the republic. Those most deeply involved in promoting science as devotional and civic aid were often the ones calling most loudly for increased professional (academic) training for practitioners. The most visible example was noted Philadelphia doctor and politician Benjamin Rush; religious instruction was a key component of his vision of a virtuous republic.

He argued that “the only foundation for a useful education in a republic is to be laid in Religion. Without this there can be no virtue, and without virtue there can be no liberty, and liberty is the object and life of all republican governments.”⁵⁵ Like William Staughton, Rush was actively involved in benevolence organizations like the Philadelphia Bible Society.

Religious instruction was only half of Rush’s formula for virtuous citizens. Citizens also needed a practical education, steeped in “useful knowledge.” A term originating in Europe to describe a classical education, “useful knowledge” had come to mean something different in late eighteenth-century America. Men like Rush and Benjamin Franklin used the phrase to describe “applied knowledge.” Useful knowledge was meant to support the practical as well as intellectual needs of the nation by creating the space for objective discourse and debate.⁵⁶ For Rush such an education had to include both religious and scientific instruction. In his 1798 *Essays, Literary, Moral & Philosophical* Rush proposed plans for schools and colleges in Pennsylvania that would ensure students could read, write, and figure confidently. Students should also be equipped to contribute to the scientific and agricultural progress of the young nation. To that end, Rush promoted a religious approach to science: “I cannot help remarking . . . that [C]hristianity exerts the most friendly influence upon science, as well as upon the morals and manners of mankind.” An oft-cited advocate of female education in the 1780s, Rush promoted a version of useful knowledge that gave preference to literature, government, and figures for girls as well as boys. But both sexes would also benefit from lessons in the natural sciences. “A general acquaintance with the first principles of astronomy, natural philosophy and chemistry” would be “calculated to prevent superstition by explaining the causes, or obviating the effects of natural evil, and such.”⁵⁷ Taken with religious instruction, natural sciences like astronomy and chemistry would equip young citizens with the practical and moral understanding necessary for a virtuous republic. To meet these goals, Rush promoted expanded education in Pennsylvania and gave courses of public lectures.

In addition to his medical practice and public service, Rush also served as a professor of medicine. Many professors of anatomy and medicine at the College of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia School of Anatomy offered public courses and demonstrations throughout the city (even at Peale’s museum). Some also published (or edited) textbooks aimed at children and lecture audiences. When Drs. Middleton, Charles D. Meigs, and Benjamin Horner Coates, delivered public lectures on medical science topics at popular

lecture halls throughout Philadelphia in 1823 and 1824, they likely built upon the success of Dr. John D. Godman of the Philadelphia School of Anatomy.⁵⁸ Along with Dr. Elijah Griffith, Godman gave a popular lecture series on anatomy and philosophy in November 1823. Godman, who had been “*a known infidel*” in the school of “French philosophers,” experienced a conversion in 1827 upon the death of one of his students. Even before this event, Godman’s lectures and writings encouraged observation of the book of nature on a popular level for well-informed citizens of the republic. He was a member of the Franklin Institute, author of *American Natural History*, and he had translated an account of Lafayette’s travels in America. He was also a regular contributor to the Quaker magazine, *The Friend*. In the face of his renewed faith, Godman continued to write scientific treatises, give lectures on scientific topics, and publish articles that emphasized the veracity of the New Testament from a “scientific” approach.⁵⁹

Some physicians shared this message beyond the boundaries of Philadelphia. One such physician was Dr. James Tilton of Delaware, who believed that scientific learning made good Christians and, therefore, good republicans. For example, Tilton explained in his lecture before the Philosophical Society of Delaware that “by hasty & surprizing [sic] advances in human knowledge, all the arts & sciences contribute their [support] towards the growth & progressive improvement of human society.”⁶⁰ Tilton, who had served as the surgeon for the First Delaware Regiment in the Revolution, been a representative to the Confederation Congress in 1783–85 and the Delaware state legislature, and would later become a trustee of the College of Wilmington, was particularly concerned with the use of scientific education in helping each child and citizen to develop into “a good little republican.”⁶¹ Tilton was also a founding member of the Patriotic Society of New Castle County, one of many democratic societies to emerge in this era, and served as president of the Delaware Society of the Cincinnati in the 1790s.⁶² In his 1799 lecture to the young ladies and gentlemen assembled in Wilmington’s town hall, he informed his listeners that the sciences could be “justly . . . compared to a well ordered republic, where there is no jarring or discord, and where every constituted member renders the most amicable aid & assistance to his neighbor.”⁶³ Being an example of the good republic, science itself would improve civic and moral virtue in young Americans.

The republic of science supported Tilton’s millennial theology as well as his political ideology. Believing that the millennium may be near at hand, Tilton conjectured that reading the book of nature would help prepare

humanity for God's reign. "Will the progress of science and the universal diffusion of useful knowledge be sufficient, under providential direction, to give righteousness such a prevalence, as to fit men for peace & happiness?" Tilton confessed that he believed man's happiness and enlightenment closely tied to the rise of scientific understandings of creation. Believing humanity's spiritual happiness so closely entwined with the progress of the sciences, he argued that faith "ought to be a powerful incentive with every virtuous man, to aid and encourage [*sic*] the progress of science, by every means in his power."⁶⁴

Science's role in shaping "good little republicans" lay in its ability to educate Americans in both civic and Christian morality. As Wilmer Worthington explained in 1835 to his listeners at the Chester County Cabinet of Natural Science in Pennsylvania, "Whether we confine ourselves to the investigation of one branch of [Natural Science], or extend our researches into every portion hitherto . . . we find indubious traces of Almighty wisdom and design." Such discoveries within the book of nature would "lead us to contemplate the exquisite skill and benevolence of their Author with emotions of deepest admiration."⁶⁵ Following in the footsteps of Tilton, Worthington was an influential physician in his native Pennsylvania. Born after the Revolution, he was part of the inheriting generation described by Joyce Appleby.⁶⁶ Worthington was an active promoter of his profession, serving as a founder of county and state medical societies and as a delegate to the first meeting of the American Medical Association in Baltimore in 1847.⁶⁷ Worthington appears to have regarded popularized science as an extension of his work in medicine. His own interests led him to botany, but he actively promoted the diffusion of all of the natural sciences through his lectures at the Chester County Cabinet and as a founder of the Pennsylvania Lyceum.⁶⁸ Like Tilton, Worthington was active in politics and was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1833, where he helped to pass the school law of 1834, expanding access to public education in the state.⁶⁹

EXPORTING THE PHILADELPHIA MILIEU: TEXTBOOKS AND THE BOOK OF NATURE

By linking the natural sciences to Christian morality, Philadelphia popularizers encouraged the spread of the prevailing discourse among elites: that the book of nature could serve as a devotional practice that would promote

religious piety and republican virtue. As Mark Noll has demonstrated, founders like Benjamin Rush argued “that religion could and should contribute to the morality that was necessary for the virtuous citizens, without which a republic could not survive.” Evangelicals beyond Philadelphia, like Staughton and Tilton, adopted the republican view that religion and morality functioned as the basis for republican virtue.⁷⁰ Without Christianity, one could not have republican virtue. And, proponents of science argued, knowledge of the book of nature strengthened Christianity.

This growing appreciation of the civic and Christian morality of the natural sciences fed a rise in educational opportunities and textbook publication in the early nineteenth century, with Philadelphians again playing an outsized role. In textbooks, students found that the natural sciences offered learning that could be applied to improve humanity’s condition in the world, and—as emphasized by public lecturers—knowledge that would bring one closer to God. Students, parents, and teachers regarded such an education as crucial to sustaining the republic in the early nineteenth century because it built a moral and useful citizenry. Thus, schools, academies, and colleges introduced an increasing number of American children to the natural sciences as the early republic grew—encouraging them to become familiar with the book of nature that others encountered at lectures and museums.⁷¹

By the 1820s Philadelphia authors and publishers offered a wide array of textbooks, hoping that all Americans sought an education in the natural sciences, whether they engaged in formal schooling or not. Part of a larger boom in early American print culture, booksellers in the first half of the nineteenth century offered an increased number of textbooks written and published strictly for the use of schoolchildren.⁷² In the first few decades following Independence, they featured mostly reprints and abridged versions of British works—James Ferguson on astronomy, the Reverend David Blair’s textbooks, and George Adams on natural history. After about 1815, an increasing number of American textbooks had American authors or editors. Publishers continued to offer the familiar British works by marketing them as “American Editions” with notes and abridgements made by an American man (or woman) of science, and particular attention paid to the needs and interests of American readers. For example, when instrument-maker William Jones and University of Pennsylvania professor William Patterson offered a reprint of George Adams’s *Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy* (commonly known as Adams’s *Natural History*) in 1807, they advertised it as the “American Edition, printed from the last London Edition” with changes

and additions made for American audiences.⁷³ The Philadelphia publishers of the 1819 edition of Blair's *The Universal Preceptor* made the same claim.⁷⁴ Title pages of such works also made clear the authors' connection to the American scientific community in Philadelphia, listing affiliations with the American Philosophical Society and the University of Pennsylvania. In the case of the pseudonymous "Tom Telescope," the author was identified as "a teacher of Philadelphia," even though the 1803 *The Newtonian System of Philosophy* was likely a reprint of a British text.⁷⁵ The Philadelphia imprint was widely circulated throughout the United States, but carried the implied connection to Philadelphia, which remained a center of learning for Americans.

Philadelphia writers and editors of textbooks portrayed science as both a useful and morally uplifting subject, necessary for all Americans. Like the popularizers in museums and lecture halls of American cities, textbook authors believed the knowledge they imparted would help shape "good little republicans" by encouraging Christian devotion. But they also emphasized that the practical nature of their subjects promoted morality—civic and religious—among readers. For example, Jones and Patterson's edition of Adams's *Natural History* held that a correct knowledge of nature could promote religion, the welfare of society, and a "love of order"—qualities essential for those "good little republicans." Just as the leaders of many American lyceums thought the natural sciences would guard against vice among the working classes, Adams's American editor, William Jones, claimed that "Researches in philosophy tend to make the minds of its students cheerful, tranquil, and happy: and the science itself may be considered as the most sublime and refined species of drama."⁷⁶

CONCLUSION: PHILADELPHIA'S OUTSIZED IMPACT

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Philadelphia led the way in building the United States' early scientific community. Through the efforts of public lecturers, ministers, museum proprietors, and physicians, Philadelphia also helped shape the discourse of popular science and religion in the early republic, in part because the city had the institutional legacy to take the lead in setting the national discourse on the role of science in American society. It had several long-standing organizations that already had a tradition of publishing scholarly papers in books, journals, and newspapers: the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the

American Philosophical Society, the Franklin Institute, and the University of Pennsylvania. The city's long commitment to education was visible in classrooms and lecture halls across the city in the 1790s even as it served as the nation's capital.⁷⁷ Leading names in American natural sciences could generally be traced back to Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhouse certainly took top billing, but the Bartrams, whose botanical gardens supplied botanists and naturalists across the nation and the Atlantic were also well-known residents.⁷⁸

Scientific headliners across the young nation claimed membership in the American Philosophical Society. As American science took on a more professional caste in the nineteenth century, leaders of American science often trained first in Philadelphia. Benjamin Silliman, for example, who would become one of America's leading scientific minds in the early republic and the editor of the *American Journal of Science and the Arts*, began his training to become professor of chemistry at Yale in 1802. Yale sent him first and foremost to Philadelphia (not Boston or New York) for his training. When he returned there the following summer, he modeled his new laboratory and classroom upon those he had seen in Philadelphia and at Princeton (before leaving for further study and to purchase supplies in Britain).⁷⁹

With its long history of scientific institutions, Philadelphia not only took the lead in promoting the natural sciences but also was a city to be emulated. In October of 1821, law student and native Tennessean John W. Brown reflected on the progress of his current residence, Louisville, Kentucky. "This town is quite a flourishing place and I think bids fair for a city equal to any in the U.S.A. at some future day." But it was not with just any American city Brown sought comparison. "Why not rival Philadelphia itself?" he wrote in his diary. "One thing however is at present to be regretted. The neglect of institutions of learning which are so necessary to every city, town, and society."⁸⁰ Meanwhile, Daniel Drake of Cincinnati, Ohio, argued that his efforts to open a medical school would make his city more competitive. "Upon the whole, I am convinced that Cincinnati is to be the Philadelphia of the West as to medical instruction." To ensure Cincinnati's success, Drake recommended that the school hire professors from Philadelphia.⁸¹

Philadelphia was a destination for those seeking intellectual and social affluence. With such ideas in mind, young Samuel Beall made a trip from Kentucky to Philadelphia in 1814. During his visit, Beall made a point to visit "Museum, Wax Works & Launch."⁸² William Staughton often hosted "sons of his particular friends at a distance, who came to Philadelphia to attend

the Medical Lectures” and other educational opportunities.⁸³ One example is that of John Temple, who was “persuaded that to let Peter come to Philad. would be much to his honour and comfort in the whole of his subsequent life.” Thus, Peter Temple headed to Philadelphia in search of scientific learning under the roof of a Baptist minister in 1827.⁸⁴

Ministers, museum proprietors, and physicians played a significant role bringing the book of nature to lay audiences of Philadelphia and, by extension of Philadelphia’s influence, other urban centers. Despite disparate backgrounds, circumstances, and even religious or political agendas, they shared a common ideological lens that argued for educated and religious citizens as the key to a strong and lasting republic. For all of these men the natural sciences (not just applied or mechanical sciences) were essential to maintaining the moral and civic virtue required for a successful republic. Using public venues like museums and lecture halls, famous men of science, like Charles Willson Peale, religious leaders like William Staughton, and lesser-known amateur naturalists/physicians like Wilmer Worthington promoted science for a virtuous citizenry.

The morality of textbook writers echoed the civic and Christian virtue presented by public lecturers and museum proprietors in the early republic to a growing audience beyond the city limits. Rather than encourage the feared disbelief of “French philosophers,” American scholars couched the natural sciences in terms of explaining *God’s* book of nature. As Americans gained greater access to education, they increasingly turned to the study of the natural sciences, encouraged by the moral and civic lessons they were supposed to impart. As the popularizers of the natural sciences in early national Philadelphia would argue, a useful education in the natural sciences went hand in hand with a Christian education. In fact, it could foster morality and a closer relationship with God. Because such an education created both a virtuous and useful citizenry, the natural sciences were central to the education of virtuous citizens in the early republic. As Benjamin Tucker—a public lecturer himself—reminded textbook readers in his preface to *A Grammar of Chemistry*, an unfamiliarity with the book of nature would be “a mortifying ignorance.”⁸⁵

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UNITED SERVICE IN DIVISIVE TIMES

THE PITTSBURGH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, 1916–1929

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ABSTRACT: Despite the disruption of the Great Steel Strike of 1919 and the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the 1920s, the Pittsburgh Council of Churches managed to hold together a fragile coalition for the cause of social betterment in the Steel City. Their noteworthy service record reveals a Protestant establishment eager to appear strong in the face of mounting criticism of indifference as well as a sincere desire to do good.

KEYWORDS: Pittsburgh, Social Gospel, American Protestantism, Pittsburgh Council of Churches, Daniel L. Marsh, Charles L. Zahniser

When the Protestant churches of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, formed an interdenominational organization in late 1916 with the stated purpose of fulfilling the Social Gospel aim of “enlistment in the Christian life and service,” they would soon have their newfound bonds challenged.¹ A major steel strike beginning in the fall of 1919 stretching from Baltimore to Chicago—and affecting Pittsburgh profoundly—immediately tested the Pittsburgh Council of Churches’ (PCC) resolve to “stand for the protection of the workers” in the city’s mills and factories.² The Great Steel Strike was violent, disruptive, controversial, and stirred public alarm about a possible Bolshevik revolution on American soil. As in many American cities at the time, the owners of industrial plants and financial interests in Pittsburgh were overwhelmingly Protestant in their affiliation, putting the labor-sympathetic leadership of the PCC at odds with powerful factions in their constituency.³ Two years before the strike, for instance, one of the PCC’s key leaders, the Reverend Daniel L. Marsh, had openly complained that the church was “muzzled by rich pew-holders” and that now was the time for change.⁴

Theological divisions also rattled Protestant Americans in the years around World War I as fundamentalists reacted to the rise of liberalism, also known as modernism, in two denominations with a strong presence in Pittsburgh. Northern Baptists, with 10,229 members in 1916, and the northern Presbyterian Church (USA), with 59,551 members in the same year, together accounted for nearly a third of the PCC's membership rolls. Both denominations experienced bitter divisions on the national level during these years over competing interpretations of the Bible that could easily have led to rifts in Pittsburgh's Baptist and Presbyterian communities.⁵

By appearances, it might have seemed that the ecumenical-minded PCC was born at the wrong time as its early momentum—aided by wartime mobilization efforts in 1917 and 1918—faced a series of roadblocks beginning in 1919: labor strikes, Red Scare anxieties, cultural, ethnic, and racial clashes. Yet despite these challenges, member congregations remained committed to the agenda of the PCC through the tumult that soon followed its founding, accumulating an impressive record of voluntary service and reform advocacy. Claiming to represent 83 percent of Allegheny County's 235,182 Protestant church members in a city of 1,018,463 by a 1916 count—at the time one of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States—PCC leaders enlisted hundreds of clergy and laypeople in a variety of undertakings.⁶ By the late twenties, they had conducted several local surveys of conditions in various neighborhoods, encouraged members to participate in existing reform organizations, sought to assimilate recently arrived African Americans and immigrants, and established a Morals Court providing mentors to young law-breakers, among dozens of other noteworthy undertakings. Under the spirited leadership of two Pittsburgh-area clergymen—Presbyterian Charles Reed Zahniser and Methodist Daniel L. Marsh—the PCC presented a unified front and underscored that its thousands of members cared enough about the welfare of the Steel City to fight for its improvement.⁷

The story of the Social Gospel in Pittsburgh has received limited attention from historians, most of that dealing with efforts in the years leading up to World War I before the formation of the PCC in 1916. Keith Zahniser, in particular, has written extensively about Protestant elites' efforts to mobilize the city's churches behind the cause of municipal reform beginning in the late 1880s, but his coverage ends with the dissolution of the Christian Social Service Union in 1916.⁸ In studies about religion in Pittsburgh, furthermore, it is often the assumption that Protestant churches protected the robber-baron class while turning a blind eye to their victims suffering in the mills

and the immigrant hovels.⁹ Although there were factions within the churches and some clergy who were loyal to the interests of Pittsburgh's captains of industry, their influence was waning by the second decade of the twentieth century as the values of Progressivism and reform gained popular support. Increasingly, churchgoers and Pittsburgh-area ministers sympathized with the plight of the immigrant laborer in his or her neighborhood and at work, even if they shied from openly confronting the ruling capitalist class.

The growing chorus of journalistic pieces, detailed urban studies, and the prodding of churchgoing citizens had awakened this sizable Protestant population of congregations to the problems in their own back yard and by 1910 the cause of social Christianity gained momentum. Implied in many sermons and editorials was the argument that if this Protestant ruling class did not repent of their negligence, God might take away their custodial role over Pittsburgh's affairs and give it to an alien people. Now was the time to act, they believed, and under the diplomatic leadership of Daniel Marsh and Charles Reed Zahniser, hundreds stepped up to the call to service. The decade of service and reform advocacy that followed demonstrates that many of Pittsburgh's Protestants were eager to set aside their differences to face—in a united front—the perceived threats of immigration, urban poverty, vice, political corruption, the exploitation of workers, and the growing tide of secularism. Establishment anxieties had a lot to do with why this regional subculture so robustly engaged in voluntarism in the Steel City between 1916 and 1929, illustrating the hopes and insecurities of Protestant Americans during this time.¹⁰

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE FORMATION OF THE PITTSBURGH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN 1916

The Pittsburgh Council of Churches (PCC) started the new year of 1917 with a recruitment drive and quickly had thousands of laypersons enlisted in a variety of causes, but this strong start had been three decades in the making. The earliest significant efforts at activism emanated in the 1880s from Calvary Episcopal Church in the wealthy East End suburbs where the Reverend George Hodges was rector from 1881 to 1894. Hodges was committed to the Social Gospel, a movement among British and American Protestants deemphasizing individual salvation, instead stressing using the resources of the churches to address poverty, worker exploitation, pollution,

and other problems caused by rapid industrialization and urbanization. Typical of his fellow Social Gospelers, Hodges expressed a desire to bring Christian ideals “out of the distant sky into [the] streets” of American cities, calling for “fraternal love” in a time when many celebrated Gilded Age individualism.¹¹ Historian Henry May describes Hodges as a pivotal early voice in the emerging Social Gospel, as important a Christian reform advocate as such luminaries as Washington Gladden, R. Heber Newton, Philip S. Moxom, F. G. Peabody, Lyman Abbott, Charles Stelzle, Josiah Strong, and Graham Taylor.¹² Preaching his progressive Christian convictions, George Hodges spurred his well-to-do Calvary Episcopal congregation to lead the fight for honest and just government, housing reform, temperance, and aid to the unemployed in Pittsburgh during the 1890s and into the first decade of the twentieth century.¹³

Calvary Church produced laypersons who contributed significantly to the reform cause in the Steel City at this time: Henry D. W. English, president of the Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission; George Guthrie, a pioneering anti-machine reformer who was elected mayor of Pittsburgh in 1906; attorney George R. Wallace, who was executive secretary of the reforming Voters' League; Judge Joseph Buffington of the city's orphan court; industrialist and US Congress member James W. Brown; and H. Kirke Porter, (also a businessman-congressman) who served with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Western Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind. Calvary Church's well-connected parishioners—members of the old Pittsburgh social elite—were joined in their early efforts by other citizens and organizations sympathetic with the reform cause such as the Reverend C. E. St. John of First Unitarian Church, businessman Oliver McClintock of Second Presbyterian, the United Presbyterian Ministerial Association, the founders of the Kingsley House settlement, and those involved in congregational women's organizations. At this stage, this small regional coalition of reformers was comprised of upper-class families with a strong sense of *noblesse oblige* and idealistic clergy and church members who all wanted to challenge civic neglect and corruption in municipal government.¹⁴

Despite their tireless efforts, the Social Gospel movement in Pittsburgh in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century did not attract much support from the city's massive Protestant church population; most of its momentum, instead, came from the contributions of this relatively small number of citizen-reformers who eventually grew weary in their lonely

fight for municipal reform.¹⁵ Illustrative of this undertaking by the city's patrician class of Social Gospel activism was the 1906 election of Pittsburgh mayor George Guthrie. Although a reform candidate through and through who called for revived democracy, he hailed from one of the city's founding families and believed that it was primarily the job of the ruling class to fix the city's problems.¹⁶ As much as he and other Social Gospel advocates attempted to attract the mass of Protestant churchgoers to their cause, the fact remains that their overriding tendency was to approach reform through the existing circles of Pittsburgh's elite classes and the various civic organizations they had traveled in for decades.

As Keith Zahniser has underscored, there was a disjoint between this first wave of Social Gospel activists—and their strident calls to uproot vice, graft, and corruption in city government—and the broader Protestant middle-class constituency. What this first generation of Pittsburgh-area Social Gospel reformers like George Guthrie and Henry D. W. English did accomplish, however, was to plant the seed of the idea of citizen-based activism that would come to fruition—in a modified form—in the next generation of Protestants who made the PCC their primary outlet. The PCC involved a far greater percentage of the area's churches and laypeople than the first wave of Social Gospel efforts, even if it dropped overt calls for sweeping municipal reform—a cause that stirred controversy, for the feeling among churches was that direct political advocacy was not the appropriate role of the clergy. Instead, the PCC rallied around attempts to assist the needy through volunteering and encouraged laypeople and clergy to participate in existing municipal reform organizations of their own choosing, a message with a wider appeal.¹⁷

What also helped to win over the middle-class Protestant constituency in Pittsburgh were the writings of journalists and survey investigators who did their part to expose blighted areas to the Pittsburgh public. Although there were dozens of magazine pieces about Pittsburgh written by morally outraged journalists in the decades following the Civil War, the most influential was an article by Lincoln Steffens entitled "Pittsburg: A City Ashamed," appearing in the reformist *McClure's Magazine* in 1904. For this investigative writer whose famous book *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) did much to awaken the public to the corrupt alliance between industry and municipal government in several American cities, Pittsburgh was one of the worst; as he phrased it so colorfully, the Steel City was "hell with the lid on." To Steffens, the Pittsburgh industrial class had quietly built up their millions in the iron

and steel industry, but in the process “despoiled the government,” “let it be despoiled, and bowed to the despoiling boss.” Like journalists writing before him, Steffens linked the ruling business class of Pittsburgh to the area’s Protestant churches as he pointed to the “Scotch Presbyterians and Protestant Irish” as the larger religious-ethnic subculture to which the city’s robber barons retreated. Steffens did acknowledge the activism of the “strong minority” of Social Gospel citizen-laypersons from Calvary and other religious circles who opposed this corrupt alliance between the steel industry and the city’s Flinn-Magee Republican machine. But he noted that theirs was a “long, brave [and lonely] fight” against such entrenched forces and that the public had not rallied around them quite as they hoped.¹⁸

Others soon echoed Steffens’s well-received muckraking critique of Pittsburgh as a city run by the steel industry, financial interests, and a Republican machine whose questionable decisions Protestant churches seemed willing to turn a blind eye to. The *Pittsburgh Survey* of 1907 and 1908, for instance, was a path-breaking sociological study that exposed unpleasant facts about impoverished neighborhoods and worker exploitation in the mills and factories in the Steel City. Initiated by a small group of professional and business elites including some of the pioneers of the Social Gospel movement such as then-mayor George Guthrie, William H. Matthews of the Kingsley House settlement, H. D. W. English of the Chamber of Commerce, and US circuit court judge Joseph Buffington, the *Pittsburgh Survey* revealed a city in peril.¹⁹ Investigator Edward Divine, for example, described a business culture obsessed with profits, even at the expense of the welfare of tens of thousands laboring in the mills. Holding the owners and managers of the factories responsible, Divine described Pittsburgh’s prevailing culture of “absentee capitalism” and noted the “incredible amount of overwork by everybody,” particularly those in the steel mills and the railroad yards. Immigrant family life was in a state of “destruction,” Divine concluded, as the “great majority of [male] laborers” suffered under inadequate wages while women’s wages were still lower than men’s.²⁰ Protestant churches, in the opinion of these investigators, offered a moralistic piety that directed attention away from more pressing structural economic problems and focused instead on personal spirituality and the afterlife. Divine found the churches a cause of concern, stating that their “orthodox spirit” of Calvinism—a reference to the Presbyterian churches that held such sway in the region—focused on “outward moral decorum” while the city’s real problems festered.²¹ Investigator John Fitch similarly complained of wealthy and influential congregations with an

“individual, not social” emphasis while the opportunity for “organized Christian service” against the great injustices of their day passed by.²²

As other *Pittsburgh Survey* investigators highlighted dysfunction in politics, health, housing, women’s employment, and water treatment, there was a common refrain: Pittsburgh was a city whose leaders excelled in profit-making, but invested little of their resources in civic efficiency or workplace justice. The Protestant churches, furthermore, were complicit in this neglect and ought to be held accountable.²³ The *Survey* found a sympathetic national audience upon its publication in 1908 and the finger-pointing directed at the city’s Protestant middle and upper classes helped awaken a new attitude.²⁴ In 1910, for instance, when a Voters League investigation into the Pittsburgh City Council revealed bribery and vice-related corruption, the public was outraged and Social Gospel leaders helped other reformers draft a proposal called the Pittsburgh Plan. It went to the state capital of Harrisburg the following year and passed only with most of its critical reform measures removed, but nonetheless served as a defining moment for the city. The general public—including the churches—was now awakened and demanded more responsible government, much to the relief of the city’s old Social Gospel circle of reformers than had been pointing to the same issues for years.

The reform cause in Pittsburgh also benefited from the Men and Religion Forward Movement campaign in 1912, which attracted many from Protestant denominations in western Pennsylvania and had a significant influence on American religion for the next several years.²⁵ This interdenominational event involved male church members in evangelism and social service activities, laying the groundwork for the formation of the Christian Social Service Commission (CSSU) in Pittsburgh in 1912. At the outset, the Pittsburgh-based CSSU claimed 400 member congregations from Baptist, Christian, Congregational, Evangelical Association, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed, United Brethren, United Evangelical, and United Presbyterian denominations.²⁶ Building on themes from the 1910 Voters League investigation two years earlier, the CSSU focused on moral government concerns such as agitating for the enforcement of antiprostitution laws, restricting the licensing of saloons and the distribution of liquor, reform of the court system to reduce the power of local wards and aldermen, and surveys of distressed industrial neighborhoods. Its leaders shared Steffens’s critique that cities like Pittsburgh throughout the United States were run not

only by corrupt and self-interested machine politicians, but also by the business interests that kept them in power. With this belief in mind, leaders in the CSSU pushed vigorous municipal reform agenda and made politics and the idea of moral government a front-and-center theme. The CSSU, therefore, set out to continue to expose the Protestant church members in their constituency to the greatest problems in the governance of the city and then to recruit them to citizen-based and voter-based solutions. Throughout its four years of existence, however, the CSSU continued to walk the fine line between advocating for moral government and industry without explicit political advocacy, an ambiguity ultimately leading to its dissolution.²⁷

THE LAUNCHING OF THE PITTSBURGH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN JANUARY 1917

Even if it fell short of its goal of mobilizing the vast majority of Pittsburgh's Protestant churches, the 1912 formation of the CSSU was an important moment for the city's Social Gospel movement. It demonstrated that a growing number in Pittsburgh's various denominational bodies and congregations were committed to the idea of church-based voluntarism in one shape or another. One of the reasons for the CSSU's successful achievements was the emergence of two talented young clergymen at the time—Charles Reed Zahniser (1873–1955) and Daniel L. Marsh (1880–1968)—who would prove indispensable in mobilizing the city's Protestants in the decade and a half to come. Although both from families with deep roots in Pennsylvania, neither was part of the tight-knit circle of elites who essentially ran the city and resided in the East End suburbs where Calvary Episcopal was located. This relative outsider status may have aided them in relating to—and winning over—ordinary middle-class churchgoers who helped make the PCC so successful later on. Charles Reed Zahniser, born in Mercer County, north of Pittsburgh, grew up Presbyterian in a region where five out of ten Protestants belonged to either the Presbyterian or the United Presbyterian denomination.²⁸ After theological studies at the University of Chicago, he returned to Pittsburgh in 1901 to form the Lemington Presbyterian Church, became involved with the Anti-Saloon League, and in 1912 assumed the position of executive secretary of the CSSU, where he also served as the editor of its periodical, the *Pittsburgh Christian Outlook*. During his career, Zahniser also authored several titles on the Social Gospel, his 1911 *Social Christianity* being

his first and most explicit expression of his understanding of what Christian activism should be. The "Social Question," as he described it, required Protestant clergy and laypeople to act "clearly and honestly" and demanded they confront the injustices caused by "absentee capitalism."²⁹

Zahniser could boast the highest Social Gospel credentials and would one day correspond sympathetically with labor leader William Z. Foster during the Great Steel Strike of 1919. His books lambasted that workers were "little more than part of the [industrial] machine" and he aligned himself with Social Gospel mainstays such as Shailer Matthews, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Francis Greenwood Peabody, declaring the old individualistic evangelism "insufficient." Zahniser also had orthodox leanings and stated often that social redemption required more than improved housing, neighborhoods, factory sites, and an overhaul of the city's political culture. Revealing his more conservative Presbyterian tendencies, Zahniser often claimed that the "reality of sin" in the individual was also a cause of social problems, a view that he was aware aligned him with "the great mass of Christian people."³⁰ His interest in balancing Social Gospel aims with more traditional orthodox Christian ideas such as personal sinfulness would serve him well in Pittsburgh, where the average Protestant churchgoer leaned more to the orthodox end of the spectrum.

Daniel L. Marsh, like his friend Zahniser, was the right leader at the right time and used his talents to draw his fellow Methodists together behind many charitable and public-minded causes. Born in 1880 in West Newton, Pennsylvania, southeast of Pittsburgh, Marsh descended from English Quakers who had settled the eastern end of the state in the late seventeenth century with William Penn. After attending public primary and secondary schools, he collected a variety of degrees blending a study of society with the traditions of Methodism: bachelor's and master's degrees from Northwestern University, a year with that university's settlement house in Chicago in 1906, and ordination two years later after theological studies at University of Chicago Divinity School, the Garrett Biblical Institute, and the Boston University School of Theology. Very much in step with the times, he soon engaged in Progressive Era causes as well: he entered Pittsburgh's conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1903, taught for a time in West Newton's township schools, and, like Zahniser, was also a member of the Anti-Saloon League, and served as a minister in Monaca, just northwest of Pittsburgh. In just a few years at this post, he not only built a new church, but helped increase its membership by 400 percent.

The Methodist congregations in western Pennsylvania were impressed enough with his work that, in 1913 at the age of thirty-three, he was appointed superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church Union in Pittsburgh. In that role, Marsh raised \$1 million for the denomination's work there and oversaw the construction of several new churches, a farm retreat for city youth, a children's home, a Goodwill Industries plant, and the launching of philanthropic and evangelistic missions to fourteen different ethnic communities in Pittsburgh. He took a position at the Smithfield Street Methodist congregation in the city and gained a reputation as a young clergyman with a special rapport with the public. At this downtown location, for instance, he also began to deliver radio addresses in the 1920s on the nation's first commercial radio station, KDKA, drawing the attention of the average churchgoer and the public at large.³¹

The mobilization effort for World War I in 1917 enjoyed widespread support among not only American Protestant denominations, but Jewish and Catholic bodies as well, and Daniel Marsh proved to be in step with the times by volunteering as a chaplain for the YMCA: he served on several transport voyages with troops across the Atlantic, on the Chateau-Thierry front and as director of lectures and religious activities at Chaumont, General Pershing's headquarters.³² Marsh accompanied five different divisions as a special lecturer and was awarded status as an honorary faculty of the French army interpreter's school, making him an exemplar of patriotic service for the war effort; the Great War in Europe was a cause that many Progressives believed was a holy crusade for righteousness and would make the world a more just and democratic place.³³

Aside from having these two public-minded clergymen with an acute sensitivity to their times, it also helped that they had a friendship borne of mutual respect. When Marsh left Pittsburgh in 1926 to begin a tenure as Boston University's fourth president, for instance, he brought his old friend Zahniser in 1929 to serve as professor of applied Christianity for the duration of his professional career. As president of Boston University, Marsh displayed his talent for getting things done as he had in Pittsburgh: by 1930 he had overseen the move to a new fifteen-acre campus in the Charles River, established the university's College of Music, raised \$4.3 million for its endowment, and oversaw an increase in student enrollment from 10,000 in 1926 to 15,445 in 1930, making Boston University the largest educational institution in New England. Marsh would retire in 1951 after this long and noteworthy period of service at this Methodist-affiliated institution with the satisfaction

that he had fulfilled many of his dreams for improving American public life. Much like his fellow Pittsburgh reformer Zahniser, Marsh saw true societal transformation as the outgrowth of putting into action the “two sides of Christianity”: the “devotional, worshiping spirit” that “links the individual to God,” and the “ethical” side that “links us socially to our fellows.”³⁴

The religious sensibilities and political skills of these two leaders would prove vital in keeping the Social Gospel alive in Pittsburgh as the Christian Social Service Union struggled in 1914 and 1915. The most common complaint about the CSSU was that its calls for moral government were pulling the churches into direct political advocacy, which many felt was not the role of the Christian church. Their belief was that the church ought to advocate for religious and spiritual principles, but steer clear of explicit political activism or endorsement of specific candidates.³⁵ Other things doomed the CSSU by 1916, one being the complaint that it did not speak for the congregations it claimed to represent. There was some truth to this criticism, as its policies and priorities were not subject to denominational approval, nor were there formal elective processes by which committee members achieved their posts. Furthermore, its funding—an annual budget of a meager \$5,000—came not from member churches or denominational bodies but rather from individuals interested in its specific reform undertakings who might easily appear to have a secret agenda.³⁶ The topic of labor reform, for instance, was a touchy one in Pittsburgh, and the CSSU’s efforts to advocate for industrial workers often drew fire. In its four years of operation the CSSU had found some support among the churches for investigative surveys, municipal reform, and anti-vice and anti-prostitution efforts. But its efforts to deal with controversial subjects such as labor reform met more pointed resistance from powerful factions within some Presbyterian congregations with direct ties to the steel mills.³⁷ This was most likely the “small coterie of Conservatives” that well-known Social Gospel labor advocate Charles Stelzle wrote about in his autobiography, a faction he felt was responsible for forcing his resignation from the Presbyterian Bureau of Social Service in 1913.³⁸

Theological differences also helped kill the Christian Social Service Union, as conservatives often complained that the Social Gospel prioritized reform at the expense of the Bible, spirituality, and historic doctrines. For example, conservative Presbyterian figures like the Reverend Maitland Alexander of First Presbyterian downtown and the Reverend George Montgomery, superintendent of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh, regularly

stated that the ultimate purpose of the church was “the teaching of the Bible” and the saving of souls.³⁹ Social betterment mattered to both these Presbyterian leaders, but the primary task of the church to them was a moral and spiritual one, to preserve timeless truths and to facilitate the encounter of people with the supernatural. Methodists in Pittsburgh were often as ambivalent to social service, exhibiting a “parochial selfishness” toward reform, in the words of Daniel Marsh in 1920, and contented as long as Sunday school attendance was high and congregational rolls rose as well.⁴⁰

In the end, though, apathy—and not active resistance—was probably the biggest obstacle to laity support of the CSSU; for instance, the Episcopalian Diocesan Social Service Commission complained in 1915 that its chief problem was trying to convince the average Episcopalian parishioner that “social service is indeed of paramount importance.”⁴¹ The Anti-Saloon League had long complained of the same problem, citing in 1904 that most congregations failed to elect representatives to serve on its governing body, even if they supported the ASLs goals in principle.⁴² Reform advocates in the conservative United Presbyterian denomination used their weekly publication to underscore that it was possible to retain an orthodox theology and still support social service, but it was an uphill fight. “It is incumbent on the good people of all our cities to unite their forces in the purification and upbuilding,” wrote the *United Presbyterian* in 1912, typical of its decades-long pleas for lay participation in Social Gospel causes.⁴³

Part of the reason that it was so easy for the middle- and upper-class Protestant population to turn a blind eye to social problems was due to Pittsburgh’s changing demographics in the late nineteenth century. In the 1880s and 1890s, middle-class residents of German, Irish, and English descent migrated from the central industrial district, where pollution and overcrowding was a growing problem, toward quieter streetcar suburbs. Industrialization of the old downtown nudged city-dwellers out and a fast-growing population made the greener communities of Oakland, Squirrel Hill, Shadyside, Wilkinsburg, Allegheny City (called the North Side or North Shore today) and Mt. Washington attractive alternatives. Other suburban neighborhoods catering to old elite families of Irish Protestant and German descent likewise flourished; evidence of the prosperity of these new suburbs was the fact that East Liberty (on the East End) housed two-thirds of the city’s wealthy population by 1915. Working-class neighborhoods also became more clearly defined, and easier to ignore, as crowded

hillsides or narrow strips of land beside rivers near the steel mills provided affordable housing for the recently arrived. By the 1880s these neighborhoods had high concentrations of African Americans, Russian Jews, Poles, Hungarians, Croatians, and Italians; the segregation of the city by class and ethnicity became solidified.⁴⁴ To the city's suburban middle class and elite families in Pittsburgh's greener suburbs, it was all the easier to perceive these neighborhoods as wholly other: dirtier, more raucous, Catholic or otherwise religiously alien, vice-ridden, subject to machine political influence, and beyond redemption.

One of the goals of the PCC was to rectify this disjoint between middle- and upper-class streetcar suburbs and the working-class neighborhoods in the city's industrial districts. By and large, they succeeded in using the CSSU's earlier efforts as a building block to bring together a much larger percentage of Pittsburgh's Protestant congregations to advocate for and volunteer in several service enterprises. Beginning its work on January 1, 1917, as a direct successor to the CSSU, the PCC also absorbed an older evangelistic organization and the City Missions Council, an outreach effort to immigrants formed in 1914.⁴⁵ A successful Billy Sunday revival crusade also that year had further stirred the churches and demonstrated that cooperation across denominational lines was possible and potentially fruitful.⁴⁶ The PCC's charter laid out clearly that executive officers and committee membership posts were to be filled by vote of member congregations; churches with more dues-paying members had a greater say than those with less.⁴⁷

By the end of its first year of operation in late 1917, the PCC claimed twelve member denominations and by the end of its second year of operation, fifteen; all told, 83 percent of Allegheny County's Protestant church members belonged.⁴⁸ After the first election, member congregations selected Charles Reed Zahniser as executive secretary, a position he held until 1929 when the Reverend W. I. Wishart of Eighth United Presbyterian Church was elected president.⁴⁹ Between the two of them, Marsh—as superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Union—and Zahniser—as one of the region's most visible Presbyterians or United Presbyterians—represented 137,023 of the city's 235,182 Protestant church members. This was nearly 60 percent of the city's total Protestant population and underscores the extent to which these two charismatic clergymen-reformers were in the right place at the right time, that their message was reaching an audience.⁵⁰ By many measures, the PCC was off to an auspicious start.

THE CHALLENGE OF PITTSBURGH AND THE CALL TO REPENTANCE

The success of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches in 1917 was the result of these factors, but its coincidental overlap with the American war mobilization effort could not have better timing, providing momentum for the PCC's ecumenical efforts in 1917, 1918, and into 1919. Support for American entry in the Great War in the spring of 1917 had much to do with anti-German sentiments, but it also drew on deep reserves of religious optimism: as William Leuchtenburg phrased it, "American moral idealism" and "Christian democratic ideals" converged in new ways and helped unify millions of Protestants behind the war effort.⁵¹ Even before American entry, English-derived denominations in the eastern United States like Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Episcopalians were already inclined to support the Allies.⁵²

Once Congress declared war in 1917, church leaders in the United States—like their counterparts in Europe—endorsed the war as nothing less than a holy crusade with rhetoric that was both militaristic as well as full of idealism. Congregational clergyman Lyman Abbott, for instance, was typical of liberal Social Gospelers in casting the Great War as an opportunity to mobilize American churches behind the antipoverty cause at home and democracy abroad.⁵³ The YMCA, through which Daniel Marsh volunteered, worked closely with the US War Department and became the greatest conduit for Protestant laity and clergy volunteers. All told, 11,000 civilian service personnel accompanied the armed forces to Europe, a greater number assisted the military at home, and the United Fund Drive of 1918 broke records as it raised \$200 million for the cause of victory—all of these were the result of this remarkable mobilizing of American Protestants.⁵⁴ This accomplishment was as much a local affair as it was something coordinated through agencies such as the Red Cross, the Federal Council of Churches (FCC), or the YMCA, as individual congregations served as neighborhood posts whereby millions of citizens could do their part. Church membership and attendance peaked in 1917 and 1918 and, as it turned out, the Great War in Europe probably did more to unify the Protestant churches than had previous ecumenical efforts such as the formation of the FCC in 1908.⁵⁵

At the war's end, furthermore, leaders like YMCA's John R. Mott and Presbyterian layman Robert E. Speer moved quickly to capitalize on the momentum of the wartime Protestant effort and established the Interchurch

World Movement (IWM) in December of 1918. Although doomed to a very brief life due to unrealistic fundraising goals and other problems, the IWM illustrates the soaring confidence and sense of unified mission that characterized American Protestantism from the spring of 1917 to late 1919, after which a series of events undercut these strong feelings of togetherness.⁵⁶ Therefore the coincidental timing of the launch of the PCC with the war itself could not have been better; in the end it helped propel the organization forward in its first two years.

In this atmosphere of war rhetoric and talk of holy crusades for social righteousness, the newly formed PCC conducted its first major undertaking in 1916, a survey of the city's demographic, religious, industrial, municipal, and vice-related conditions. Published as a book and broadly disseminated following its release in January of 1917, *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* was authored by Methodist Daniel Marsh, but in conjunction with representatives from Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregationalist bodies.⁵⁷ Repentance from sin was a strong theme in *The Challenge of Pittsburgh*, as Marsh scolded suburban dwellers who turned a blind eye to "wretched housing conditions" on their way to and from work in the city while retreating to "a good residential section" on the city's outskirts where they spent their evenings "buried in a newspaper." Echoing the 1907–8 *Pittsburgh Survey* findings, Marsh also chastised the ruling class of the city—from the rich industrialist to any one of his white-collared employees—for an "excessive devotion to money-making," perpetuating a "ruthless," "greedy," and "selfish" system. Shamelessly allying with municipal authorities, these individuals at the helm of the city's "predatory" financial interests allowed vice and poverty to fester while becoming wealthy, a situation that was, in Marsh's words, "utterly indefensible."

Careful not to alienate his own constituency with too much finger-pointing, Marsh also challenged the industrial worker to repent of his evident weakness for "drunkenness, improvidence, political corruption, ignorance, superstition, [and] the social evil [prostitution]." The vices of the immigrant worker, the self-satisfaction of the suburban middle class, and the greed of the industrial elite all, asserted Marsh, had "questions of [individual] character at root." Indeed, as he summarized this perspective, "every evil that disturbs the world today [was] reducible in the last analysis to a question of character" and remedies had to begin with a person's decision to change, accompanied by designs to improve social environment and institutions.⁵⁸ The blame for Pittsburgh's problems therefore lay everywhere—rich, poor,

and middle-class—and the solution was in a blend of spiritual repentance and practical service by all.

The tone of *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* drew on a tradition of rhetoric clearly laid out in a Social Gospel's manifesto, Josiah Strong's 1885 *Our Country*: bring Christianity and civilization to every corner of the continent, or face serious repercussions. As Strong wrote in this influential publication, "If a community [fails to] produce good citizens and able men," "their descendants [would eventually be] displaced by some other stock," who were "alien in blood, and religion, and in civilization."⁵⁹ Protestants in Pittsburgh expressed similar fears about their own tenuous status as a religious-ethnic Anglo-American establishment, especially as the foreign-born Catholic population continued to grow in the early twentieth century. Calls for repentance, a style of rhetoric originally from Puritan New England known as the Jeremiad, were ubiquitous in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era from voices as diverse as clergymen and social satirists.⁶⁰

Setting the stage for the Jeremiad tone in *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* were decades of scathing critiques by journalists and other observers appalled at the city's unsightliness and inefficiency. Baltimore journalist H. L. Mencken, for instance, once wrote that "no sane man would be a Pittsburgher if he could help it," that the "soil there is of a peculiar quality, being composed of almost equal parts of coal dust, grease and garbage."⁶¹ Historian Roy Lubove wrote that Pittsburgh was so infamous for its ugliness and the selfishness of its ruling class that it was an "old pastime" among journalists to compete over who could best capture the city's repulsiveness in words. As he writes, "Pittsburgh would have emerged as the envy of America if scabrous criticism alone could reconstruct a city."⁶² This growing chorus of mockery and disdain over the decades following the Civil War led to Jeremiad-styled warnings about the dire consequences facing Pittsburgh's prominent citizens if they failed to live up to the requirements of their custodial role. The Reverend George Hodges of Calvary Episcopal Church, for example, in 1892 described poverty as a pressing concern that Jesus called believers to confront, "or pay the fearful penalty."⁶³ In similar tones, Daniel Marsh framed *Challenge of Pittsburgh* as exactly that: a kind of last warning to step up and face poverty and corruption, to "destroy unchristian social conditions," or face divine consequences of disobedience.⁶⁴

Despite the longstanding pattern of apathy among the city's average churchgoers when faced with calls for voluntary social service, the response to *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* was enthusiastic as the first printing

of 5,000 copies sold out immediately and another printing was ordered a few months later in October of 1917. Congregational bulletin boards and denominational periodicals likewise advertised its agenda and many civic leaders praised its message.⁶⁵ *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* called churchgoers to attack the centers of corruption and greed in financial-industrial sectors, municipal government, and the vice trade associated with saloons, gambling, and prostitution. Careful to avoid advocating directly in the political realm and stir ill feelings, as had the CSSU, *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* encouraged the laity to join existing reform organizations such as those within public schools, the city's libraries, the Allied Boards of Trade consisting of thirty-six civic organizations and 10,000 members, the Civic Club of Allegheny County, the Associated Charities and its auxiliaries, the YMCA and YWCA, the Hungry Club, and the Allegheny County Sabbath Association.⁶⁶ A backhanded compliment to *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* came in the form of a denouncement by none other than the *National Liquor Dealers' Journal*, which stated that its readers needed to fight the "Rev. Daniel Marshes of the country."⁶⁷

In line with its aim of rousing the Protestant church members of the city, many ministers discussed its findings in their sermons and its content was the subject of hundreds of Bible studies, young people's societies, and women's groups. North Presbyterian Church, for instance, drew an average of seventy-five people in successive Wednesday night prayer meetings and the Perrysville Avenue Community Class enrolled 156 people for four classes taught by the Reverend Charles Zahniser.⁶⁸

To follow through on *The Challenge of Pittsburgh's* call to arms in the name of social Christianity, Zahniser, Marsh, and other PCC leaders spoke to Allegheny County congregations, seminaries, and civic and reform organizations to improve Pittsburgh's industrial, housing, and political conditions. To encourage stricter enforcement of existing vice and crime laws and improvement of political practices, the PCC maintained close ties in subsequent years with the Ministerial Union, the Civic Club of Allegheny County, and the Voters' League. The Council's Social Service Commission channeled citizen complaints to city officials, assisted in investigations about city council activities, and published articles in various periodicals on issues of law enforcement. Although it never specifically endorsed a political party or specific candidate, the PCC did consistently encourage its members to "vote intelligently" and especially advocated the enforcement of Prohibition laws in the early 1920s, which they associated with the eradication of gambling, worker

inefficiency and endangerment, spousal abuse and neglect, immigrant poverty, and political corruption. Its members were encouraged to vote from a Christian conscience on legislation concerning “dependency, delinquency, sex-control, industrial relations and public health.”⁶⁹

In the estimation of Zahniser, the PCC’s “most significant constructive project” was persuading the city to establish a Morals Court in 1918. When reformer-attorney George R. Wallace approached him in 1914 about corruption and incompetence in Allegheny County’s police courts (calling them “the rottenest thing in the city”), Zahniser traveled to Chicago to study William Healy’s reform efforts there in the juvenile criminal courts. Thereafter, Zahniser and other Social Gospel leaders lobbied the mayor and city council members until, in the face of public outcry, they created a centralized court in 1918 taking all cases of a “moral” nature: those involving women, minors, crimes of a sexual nature, families, and gambling.⁷⁰ The mayor appointed an experienced social worker, former head of the Voters League, and Calvary Episcopal Church parishioner named Tensard De Wolf as a special magistrate whose tough-minded idealism made him well suited for the job. The primary concern of reformers like De Wolf was that the city’s police courts had been sending thousands of adolescent boys and girls to jail for minor offenses where they “were being taught how to be professional criminals” by the other inmates.⁷¹ If not incarcerated, juvenile offenders were instead being sent back to the same neighborhoods where they had first learned their criminal ways; both options, reformers believed, left impressionable young people in the kinds of environments that enabled law-breaking and immorality. In contrast, Tensard De Wolf would use the Morals Court to determine what influences were encouraging these 5,000-plus boys and girls appearing before his court every year to rebel, prescribe a well-conceived corrective course, and in doing so would be uprooting the problem closer to its source. De Wolf also aimed to influence the peers of these young people—many of whom were in gangs—to change the social culture of street kids toward “useful social ends.”⁷²

In addition to helping reform Pittsburgh’s criminal justice system, the Morals Court was also a conduit for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish citizens to volunteer their time as mentors to the youths appearing before Judge De Wolf. After thorough examination of the juvenile offender’s mental health, De Wolf assigned a small percentage of them deemed suitable to adult mentors in a “Big Brothers” program. Mentors were drawn from existing agencies with connections to religious communities such as the Jewish Big

Brothers, the YMCA, the Urban League, and the Catholic Big Brothers and drew some of the city's most wealthy and prominent citizens. Big Brother and Big Sister mentors were expected to maintain communication with their charges, hold them accountable for school attendance and work, and were also expected to serve as "a friend, counselor, and to some degree, an associate" in the spirit of religious idealism and charity.⁷³ In 1925 one *Literary Digest* journalist praised the Morals Court as "a masterpiece of social coordination" and noted that many of the city's "richest and most influential business and professional men of Pittsburgh" had befriended these youngsters, encouraging them to join churches, taking them to the movies, to the swimming pool, to a baseball or football game, and eventually helping them find gainful employment.⁷⁴ The president of the Pittsburgh city council commented, similarly, that the Morals Court would never have come into existence "had it not been for the Council of Churches" and would not have lasted "three months" had the churches not been "back of it!"⁷⁵ One observer speaking for the *National Municipal Review* praised the "regenerative work of the court" and described it as the outgrowth of the "social conscience and energy of the city."⁷⁶ The Morals Court only ended up assigning between 5 and 10 percent of offenders who appeared before Judge De Wolf with personal mentors from these religious communities.⁷⁷ Regular PCC reports, furthermore, revealed that a high percentage of these juvenile offenders were unredeemable and ended up as repeat offenders, in various reformatories, or in prison. Nonetheless, the presence and success of the Morals Court in turning at least some lives in the right direction were enough that it became a tremendous symbolic achievement for social Christianity advocates and reformers in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area.

OBSTACLE TO UNITY: THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE OF 1919

The backdrop to the achievements of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches were two highly divisive controversies that easily could have derailed its energetic start in 1917 through the next two years: the 1919 steel strike and the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the early twenties. The first of these lasted from September 22, 1919, to January 7, 1920, involved more than 300,000 steelworkers—the bulk of whom resided in Pittsburgh—and was the largest in American history.⁷⁸ This major labor event had its roots in the economic and political atmosphere of the United States following the war's

end in 1918. Congress had dismantled wartime agencies and unemployment shot up to 7 percent, a circumstance complicated by the fact that veterans were pouring into the labor market and competing for available jobs. The sense of chaos was exacerbated by the spread of the “Spanish influenza,” a flu pandemic taking the lives of a half million Americans in 1918, and sickening 20 million others.⁷⁹

With worker frustration growing in this tenuous economic climate, a massive confrontation between organized labor and management ensued in 1919 as the year witnessed 3,600 strikes involving 4 million American workers.⁸⁰ Seattle shipyard workers walked off their jobs in January, sparking a general strike involving 60,000 in that city and lasting several days. The mayor of Seattle and other city leaders lashed out at the Central Labor Council of Seattle and claimed the strike was the work of Bolshevik revolutionaries. Later that year, Boston policemen went on strike and, with no law enforcement personnel in place, looting and vandalism quickly ensued and an atmosphere of pandemonium prevailed. Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge responded to the situation swiftly and harshly, declaring that “there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time.” As with these two major instances in 1919, strikers would usually find themselves portrayed as villains; the situation was little different in Pittsburgh.⁸¹

On September 22 William Z. Foster of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) rallied 250,000 steelworkers located in Midwestern and eastern cities in protest of unjust working conditions.⁸² The steel industry, led by the massive United States Steel Corporation based in Pittsburgh, was infamous for widespread use of the twelve-hour day and seven-day week, low pay, and refusal to acknowledge labor unions. Most of the Pittsburgh strikers were foreign-born, unskilled, or semi-skilled. Steel mill employers hired armed guards to disperse picket lines and protect strikebreakers crossing them; police were so brutal in mill towns along the Monongahela River south of Pittsburgh that they garnered the name “Cossacks” as they disrupted meetings, brutalized strikers, and arrested workers without cause.⁸³ Judge Elbert Gary, head of US Steel, had the benefit of sympathetic newspapers in Pittsburgh and kept his mills running with nonunion labor. The public, by and large, took newspaper accounts as credible, sympathized with US Steel, and viewed the strikers as violent foreign agitators with little regard for law. The hostility of public opinion was significant enough in Pittsburgh and other cities that the AFL backed off of its demands and the strike ended January 7, 1920, having

gained none of its aims. The twelve-hour-day remained, as did the low wages; the entire labor movement in the United States was badly hurt and would not recover from the setback for over a decade.⁸⁴

Two and a half years after its promising start, the PCC found itself in the middle of a labor crisis that was attracting international attention. The PCC faced a test of whether it could face the high standards of labor advocacy set in *The Challenge of Pittsburgh*, and that there could be “no peace in industry without justice.”⁸⁵ In short, the PCC did not overwhelmingly rally the region’s congregations to the side of striking steelworkers and was not able to facilitate tangible gains for labor. Critics from across the country lambasted the PCC for not doing enough to counter the claims of US Steel or Pittsburgh’s several English-speaking newspapers, all of which sided with the employers against the strikers. Even more damning, by first appearances, is the fact that early in the strike, PCC executive secretary Charles Reed Zahniser specifically asked clergymen in the region “not to comment on the strike,” an act of cowardice in the eyes of some outside pro-labor critics.⁸⁶

Despite appearances, however, the facts are more complicated and demonstrate that the PCC made honest efforts to give the steelworkers a fair hearing with the public. In September 1919, just days after the strike began, the PCC immediately formed a committee to investigate the competing claims between labor and US Steel for the purposes of bringing the findings before their churchgoing constituents. By November, however, they transferred this work to the Interchurch World Movement (IWM, formed in 1918 by the Federal Council of Churches) to investigate the steel strike in sympathy with the oft-maligned immigrant steelworkers. Representing Methodist, United Evangelical, Baptist, Disciples, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, United Brethren, and Episcopal national denominations, the IWM ran a field investigation in Pittsburgh beginning in October 1919 and sent its findings to Woodrow Wilson the following June. “Unless vital changes are brought to pass,” this report stated to the president, “renewal of the conflict in this industry seems inevitable.”⁸⁷

Methodist bishop Francis J. McConnell, chairman of the IWM, defended the PCC’s decision to dissolve its steel strike committee and hand that work off to the IWM. He responded to the “considerable criticism” directed at the PCC with the explanation that an outside organization like the IWM would be more objective, less subject to local sympathies and pressures, and could consider the strike not only in Pittsburgh, but in other affected cities far from western Pennsylvania. The PCC, furthermore, already was

controversial in Pittsburgh because some of its constituents viewed it as “too progressive from the beginning,” making the investigation of a highly controversial labor strike even more of a potential problem for the fledgling organization.⁸⁸ McConnell highlighted that the PCC leadership and members actively facilitated its research, welcomed its field researchers arriving into town, and provided them “a place for their meetings.” He also noted that they did their best to open “channels for interviews with steel manufacturers and labor leaders.”⁸⁹ On December 14, 1919, in response to the Palmer raids and the general atmosphere of panic in the Red Scare after World War I, the PCC issued a statement calling for calm. It was to be read from every pulpit in PCC congregations and was sent to all Pittsburgh newspapers to be published the following Monday. It pleaded for sympathy, asking churchgoers to express a “real Christian attitude” to “neighbors of foreign birth,” and for an end to segregated housing, “civic neglect,” and “bad industrial policies.”⁹⁰ Charles Zahniser corresponded with the AFL’s William Z. Foster one month into the strike, asking him to clarify if he was, in fact, an advocate of violent revolution as an earlier pamphlet of his indicated. Foster clarified in a cordial response letter that this was “a number of years ago” and “my ideas have changed so radically” that there was no reason for alarm. Foster signed his letter “Fraternally yours” to Reverend Zahniser, and the two seemed to have an understanding that they were generally both seeking the same ends: justice for the steelworker.⁹¹

The Interchurch World Movement’s investigation also revealed that the caricature of Pittsburgh-area Protestant clergymen turning a blind eye to industrial injustices was inaccurate. To the contrary, many clergy in Allegheny County were suspect of the newspapers’ anti-steelworker claims and resented attempts on the part of town officials to shut down union meetings or manipulate public opinion. Ambrose Hering of the Lutheran Inner Mission Society, for instance, wrote in November 1919 that the strike was “but the symptom of a wide-spread social and economic unrest,” lambasting the “poor misguided officials” who were “suppressing free speech and the right of assembly” and US Steel Corporation for making it seem that all foreigners were “Bolshevists [*sic*]” and “Reds, etc.”⁹² Clergymen, furthermore, were not unaware of attempts on the part of industry officials to pressure religious organizations to take their side. The Employers Association of Pittsburgh, for instance, encouraged its constituents “*to discontinue financial support of their respective churches*” if they were found to be cooperating with the labor-sympathetic FCC, with which the PCC

was closely allied. Six months later in a January 1921 missive from the Employers Association, the Pittsburgh Ministerial Association resolved that such efforts were little more than an attempt to intimidate the churches. Its resolution bluntly stood by the churches' "historic right and duty" to take ethical stands in opposition to big business and lambasted William Frew Long of the Employers' Association as a mouthpiece for the city's "high-type Christian employers."⁹³

In the steel-mill community of McKeesport just south of Pittsburgh on the Monongahela River, ministers and priests had an open confrontation with its mayor, George A. Lysle, a lieutenant of the State Constabulary, the president of National Tube Mills, and the secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce in the early days of the strike. Mayor Lysle called the Ministerial Association of McKeesport together to persuade them to get the word out that strikebreakers would be protected and that William Z. Foster, a known subversive and public enemy, was behind this strike. One minister present at this meeting stated, for the record, that he was not going to comply with the mayor's wishes and that he was "in favor of the right of labor to organize." The Reverend Robert Kirk of Central Presbyterian, Mayor Lysle's own pastor, preached a sermon called "Disturbers of the Peace" defending the strikers the next Sunday. Following the service, Lysle confronted the minister and threatened him with prosecution if he did not keep quiet. Another clergyman confided with IWM investigators his belief that "fully three-fourths of the ministers in attendance were not in sympathy with the way the conference was called, nor with the Mayor's [anti-labor] attitude."⁹⁴

These voices of sympathy for strikers and the efforts on the part of the PCC are noteworthy for they balance the perception of inaction many had at the time. Even if the PCC had no measurable effect on aiding the failing strike, there was no guarantee that taking a controversial public stand on behalf of them would have necessarily changed its outcome. Nonetheless, many felt that this was a missed opportunity for the PCC to use its resources to help the industrial worker. The IWM's own investigation, as sympathetic as it was to the PCC, cited that its leadership did not show extraordinary resolve to fight the steel employers or the newspapers in their antilabor campaign.⁹⁵ The PCC's strategy in this combustible atmosphere was pragmatic, however: facilitate the IWM's efforts and continue to reiterate the pro-labor views of the FCC's "Social Creed of the Churches" that were central to Marsh's *The Challenge of Pittsburgh*, but refrain from more direct or controversial actions that might lead to a breakup of the fragile coalition.

OBSTACLE TO UNITY: THE FUNDAMENTALIST-MODERNIST CONTROVERSY

Soon after the Great Steel Strike of 1919 and the criticism that the PCC experienced, a second major controversy would test the PCC's bonds. In this instance, however, it was more successful in setting aside distractions and maintaining a positive message. Since roughly the turn of the century, a theological difference of opinion had appeared in Protestant seminaries and at denominational meetings in the Midwest and northeast United States. The culmination was the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, lasting from the early to late 1920s. In many ways, it was indicative of the culture wars that would divide Americans thereafter: traditionalists with a small-town ethos versus progressives with a more cosmopolitan, big-city outlook, each competing for influence over the future of the nation.⁹⁶ Theological liberals, also known as modernists, sought to introduce the Christian faith to new scientific trends such as evolutionary theory and geological discoveries, downplaying the Genesis creation account and traditional doctrines tied closely to the Bible. These theological liberals often contended that the ethical imperatives of the Christian faith had come to be overshadowed by an overemphasis on personal morality and the afterlife and wanted the latter to take a secondary role to the here-and-now. Most Social Gospel advocates also operated from a liberal theological perspective, even if not all theological liberals were necessarily vested in it and its strident calls for reform. Fundamentalists were those Protestants who, in increasingly militant fashion, rejected the rise of liberal theology and also rejected—to varying degrees—aspects of modernity such as urbanization, immigration, and secularization. They believed that they were preserving foundational and essential parts of the Christian faith and viewed liberalism as too accommodating to modernity, threatening the very essence of their religion.⁹⁷

Around the time of World War I, the Social Gospel became a point of contention as fundamentalists came to view it as an insidious outgrowth of liberal theology and therefore a threat. After the Civil War, evangelical Protestants had embraced social service efforts like charitable work and philanthropy as valid complements to evangelistic outreach; the idea was that good deeds—both public and private—should naturally flow from the sincere Christian believer. By the early twenties, however, there were few, if any, voices in conservative evangelical and fundamental circles who spoke in positive terms about social service as a natural complement to soul-saving.⁹⁸

Although the Disciples of Christ denomination experienced turmoil over theological differences at this time, the worst fallout from the fundamentalist-modernist controversy occurred in two denominations: Presbyterians and Baptists located in the Midwest and northeast US.⁹⁹ The 1922 comments of liberal Baptist clergyman Harry Emerson Fosdick, at the pulpit of New York City's First Presbyterian, caused a major uproar among Presbyterians. Nearby Princeton Theological Seminary also was the site of bitter disagreements as the famous New Testament professor J. Gresham Machen departed in 1929 to found Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. Northern Baptists had strong factions of vocal liberals as well as vocal fundamentalists, and the latter began leaving the denomination to form their own self-identified Bible institutes, seminaries, missions boards, and denominational bodies in the early twenties.¹⁰⁰ Northern Baptists also claimed liberal luminaries such as Shailer Mathews, Walter Rauschenbusch, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and many modernist seminaries such as the divinity school at the University of Chicago.¹⁰¹ The most celebrated, and damaging, single event for the fundamentalist cause was the July 1925 Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee. Although biology teacher John Scopes was found guilty of illegally teaching evolution in his high school class, the real losers were the fundamentalist creationists, who came off looking foolish during the cross examination by experienced trial lawyer Clarence Darrow.¹⁰²

Pittsburgh was not unaffected by the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, but it was muted in comparison to the rancor and bitterness of other regions of the United States. There certainly was potential for major conflict, however, as stated earlier, as the city was home to a sizable contingent of both northern Baptists and northern Presbyterians together totaling nearly a third of the PCC's overall membership.¹⁰³ Further adding to the potential for division was the fact that the various Protestant denominations in western Pennsylvania had tended to take their traditions and theology quite seriously. In the words of Charles Zahniser, the churches of Pittsburgh had always exhibited an "intensity of theological convictions [that ran] in separate channels," a reality that had always made interdenominational cooperation a challenge.¹⁰⁴

Western Theological Seminary was one of two Presbyterian-affiliated seminaries in the city and overt in its modernist leanings, even if it avoided the schisms that roiled Princeton, the nation's foremost Presbyterian seminary. Two downtown Presbyterian congregations, the conservative First Presbyterian and the more liberal Second Presbyterian, disagreed openly over

how to evangelize the nearby immigrant population.¹⁰⁵ First Presbyterian was a well-to-do congregation led by the Reverend Maitland Alexander from 1899 to 1927; Alexander had served as the moderator of the 1915 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and was a major player for the fundamentalist cause during this time. He helped foster an active congregation and encouraged charitable gestures, but was an outspoken critic of liberal theology and voiced suspicions of the Social Gospel on many occasions. In a 1911 piece in the region's Presbyterian periodical, for instance, he asked if his fellow believers were becoming too caught up in social betterment and labor causes, losing sight of the heart of Christianity, "the oracles of God, the sacraments, [and] the knowledge, faith and power of Jesus Christ."¹⁰⁶ In 1917, when Daniel Marsh released the widely disseminated *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* calling for laity involvement in reform, Alexander took up a very public evangelistic preaching campaign, reflecting his belief that the primary task of the church was not social service, but the saving of souls.¹⁰⁷

Evolution theory affected Pittsburgh when New York attorney Clarence Darrow visited in 1915 for a celebrated public debate; in that same year, Pittsburgh's antiprostitution coalition broke apart over differences regarding the church's right to enforce morality, revealing how fragile such ties between Protestant-affiliated groups could be. New fundamentalist denominations made inroads into Pittsburgh, too, as members of the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the Nazarenes, the Assemblies of God, and Holiness groups each established new congregations in the region.¹⁰⁸

In comparison to the sore feelings associated with the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in other parts of the Midwest and northeast United States, Pittsburgh was mild. Part of the reason was simply that the most adamant and outspoken figures in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy lived elsewhere. Warring liberals and fundamentalists were abundant in cities like Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Princeton, New Jersey; the Scopes Trial drama unfolded in a small Tennessee town, and there were pillars of both sides in cities such as Baltimore, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Rochester and Hamilton in upstate New York, and Cincinnati. Following Maitland Alexander, Pittsburgh's most visible fundamentalist was Presbyterian clergyman Clarence Edward Macartney, who assumed the post at First Presbyterian with Alexander's retirement in 1927. Macartney had presided over the 1924 Presbyterian General Assembly as moderator and leader of the fundamentalist coalition; his credentials had been unquestioned ever since he responded to Harry Emerson Fosdick's confrontational "Shall the

Fundamentalists Win?” opinion piece in the *Christian Century* in 1922.¹⁰⁹ But even if his theological ideas aligned with fundamentalists, Macartney did not share their separatism and opted, instead, to cooperate with liberals within his denomination. Macartney’s diplomatic sensibilities were evident during his tenure as moderator of the 1924 General Assembly when, to the surprise of many, he did very little to drive liberals from key posts.¹¹⁰

That Clarence Macartney—and not a more combative candidate that First Presbyterian could have hired—replaced Maitland Alexander certainly helped the PCC cause. This church was arguably the flagship Protestant congregation of the city, representing the region’s most populous and influential denomination and was located in a bustling financial and industrial district just blocks from where the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers converge. If Maitland Alexander had openly called into question liberal theology and the Social Gospel during his almost-three decades at First Presbyterian, Macartney preached an orthodox message without finger-pointing. Macartney had grown up in a small Scottish-descended Reformed Presbyterian Church that taught, in his own words, that “schism and sectarianism” were “sinful” and “inimical to true religion.”¹¹¹ When J. Gresham Machen left Princeton in 1927 to form a new seminary, his friend and fellow Princeton graduate Clarence Macartney protested because he believed the fallout would hurt both Princeton Theological Seminary and a new seminary fundamentalists aimed to establish in Philadelphia. Machen was furious at the seeming betrayal and their differences led to a falling out; despite the toll it took on a friendship, however, the decision was consistent with Macartney’s belief in cooperation and unity, a conviction that certainly did not hurt the interdenominational mission of the PCC.¹¹²

A final reason why the fundamentalist-modernist controversy did not diminish the efforts of the PCC to advance its social service agenda was that the city’s churches had more pressing local concerns. As a de facto ruling class that had long drawn criticism for their apparent neglect and indifference, the region’s Protestants knew their legitimacy was in question and inaction might lead to disestablishment on some level. Compared to the looming threat of losing power to labor unions, Catholic voters, immigrants, or the Democratic Party, the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was a relatively minor concern. The weight of a potential disestablishment was evident in Daniel Marsh’s *The Challenge of Pittsburgh*, which prodded its readers to envision Pittsburgh as a “Holy City” led by the faithful. Would the churches of Pittsburgh fulfill the task of transforming the Steel City into a “city of

God” in the “way of righteousness,” Marsh asked in the preface. Or would they fall into “sin and selfishness” and reject the challenge that Pittsburgh, with all of its civic dysfunction and workplace injustice, presented them with?¹¹³ This sense of looming judgment, and the Jeremiad call to repentance in one’s custodial role, pervaded the Protestant rhetoric in the churches and periodicals of Pittsburgh at the time. The *United Presbyterian*, for instance, editorialized that Pittsburgh and other industrial cities needed “Christianized officials” in order to achieve “Civic righteousness.” Quoting Scripture, they reminded their readers that “When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice.”¹¹⁴

Fears of disestablishment were not just a concern in Pittsburgh, but affected all American Protestants in the twenties: church membership and attendance began slipping as secular values took root, the Ku Klux Klan attracted millions in the first half of the decade with its nativist rhetoric and calls for a return to traditional values, and the writings of social commentators like H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis unsettled many as they mocked the clergy and the average believer as silly and irrelevant. The widespread support for Prohibition throughout the twenties among American churchgoers, even as the policy backfired badly, illustrates the extent to which the old Protestant establishment in the United States sensed that its position was slipping and that it had to fight for even a dying cause.¹¹⁵

Charles Reed Zahniser reflected that the churches had come to a collective “realization” that the “unmet needs” of Pittsburgh were a first priority and that this sense of custodianship for the city was strong enough to overcome theological differences, even as the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was raging. The slogan Zahniser felt best summarized this pragmatic resolve to stay with the volunteer agenda of the PCC was “Church Union; Not around Creeds But in Deeds.”¹¹⁶ It is likely that the fear of failing in this protector role—with the city, a national audience, and especially God, watching—motivated the member churches of the PCC to look past long-standing denominational rivalries and focus instead on public betterment.

ADVANCING SOCIAL SERVICE: OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Even with the distractions of the 1919 steel strike and the fundamentalist-modernist controversy that unfolded soon after, the PCC managed to win acclaim on other issues. PCC leaders boasted, after ten years in operation,

that their Morals Court program aiding troubled youths could “hardly be overestimated.”¹¹⁷ A *Harper's Magazine* writer predicted this success just three years in, noting that presiding judge Tensard De Wolf had “deeply stirred the life of the city” and that the Morals Court is what “all cities may be doing to-morrow.”¹¹⁸ There was evidence that such optimism was more than wishful thinking as the *Literary Digest* reported that the number of male offenders under age twenty-one appearing before the court dropped from 6,000 to 2,500 after its first six years of operation.¹¹⁹

The *Challenge of Pittsburgh* campaign and the Morals Court were some of the PCC's most noteworthy successes in marshalling religious forces behind social service and reform. Yet there were many smaller-scale achievements that, irrespective of the degree to which they did or did not substantively alter Pittsburgh's civic state of affairs, stirred the city's Protestant churchgoers to enthusiasm for the idea of public service. For instance, in addition to the *Challenge of Pittsburgh* city-wide survey, the PCC sponsored four other surveys, two focusing on specific neighborhoods: “The Uptown” in 1917 and “Rankin” in 1920, and two focusing on specific themes: “The New Negro Population” in 1918 and “Crime and Its Treatment” in 1924. The PCC established a room registry program so that visitors to the city, and particularly young women recently migrated in search of employment, could know where to find “respectable and reliable” housing and not unwittingly find themselves snared in prostitution and other vice trades.¹²⁰

In the area of prisoner welfare, the PCC persuaded Pennsylvania reform governor Gifford Pinchot in 1923 to remove the old “political” board of trustees of the Western Penitentiary and replace it with “a new one of exceptionally high character.” Similar to the Morals Court agitation, PCC activists wanted Allegheny County's prisons to truly be reformatories, to transform criminals into productive citizens, and believed that a board consisting of people with “Christian ideals” and “humanitarian impulses” was the means to such an end. Governor Pinchot appointed one United Presbyterian (Judge James Gray), two Presbyterians (Harry H. Willock and Mrs. Rae Muirhead), two Methodists (William Sankey and Harry Samson), Roman Catholic Lee Griffith, and Calvary Episcopal Church reformer H. D. W. English, to the board of trustees of Western Penitentiary in response.¹²¹

In 1920 the PCC established a Department of Women's Work to better coordinate the many congregation- and denomination-based volunteer women's organizations already active, but more specifically to coordinate

mentoring efforts in support of the Morals Court's Big Sister program.¹²² For example, its Education Committee in 1921 listed such aims as publicizing the efforts of the Morals Court, developing cooperative relationships with secular social service agencies, encouraging Protestant laywomen to engage in social Christianity efforts, responsible voting, and personal evangelism. It sent speakers to churches, missionary meetings, nonreligious women's clubs, and Bible classes, issuing press releases with special attention paid to the "rehabilitating work among delinquent girls and delinquent families."¹²³

The influx of African Americans in search of industrial jobs from the South to northern cities like Pittsburgh during the years of World War I was the topic of much discussion in the PCC and resulted in the creation of a special investigative committee. Formed in January 1917, as one of the council's inaugural initiatives along with *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* survey, the resulting report entitled "The New Negro Population" was released in 1918. In addition to rousing empathy for the struggles of African Americans living in Pittsburgh, this study challenged labor unions to end their longstanding practice of excluding black workers, expressed fears about machine politicians who might exploit these newly arrived migrants, and called for the creation of wholesome social outlets to undercut the influence of seedy pool halls and saloons.¹²⁴ In response to this report, the city's black congregations—some of which were members of the PCC—formed the Alliance of Negro Churches in 1918 and created committees on evangelism, social service, comity, and Christian education, and focused special attention on improving housing conditions for the city's 38,000 African Americans.¹²⁵

One of the purposes of the PCC was to facilitate comity, a term referring to the streamlining of separate denominational efforts so as to eliminate overlap and increase cooperation regarding evangelism and social service. Inevitably, however, there were denominational projects that could not be replicated by a PCC project and remained in action. The Methodist Church, for example, had early on been a leader in social Christianity activities and formed the Methodist Episcopal Church Union in 1880 toward this end. Daniel Marsh supervised this body from 1913 until 1926 when he left to assume the presidency of Boston University. Noteworthy among the Methodist Episcopal Church Union's achievements was establishing the Pittsburgh branch of the Goodwill Industries in 1926 and renovation of the Trinity Temple in the Strip District that offered club rooms, classrooms, a laundry, roof garden, with a "church of all nations" chapel open all hours to nearby residents in this industrial sector.¹²⁶

Members of the Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh did not embrace social Christianity with quite the same vigor of their Methodist counterparts because they tended to consider spirituality and evangelism a greater priority. Nonetheless, Presbyterians had missions to Italian and French communities. To meet the influx of Slavic peoples after the turn of the century, they hired Vaclav Losa, a Moravian-born clergyman-evangelist who opened a mission in McKees Rocks and thereafter served as a leader in outreach to Allegheny County's eastern European population.¹²⁷

Maitland Alexander's tenure at First Presbyterian downtown demonstrates how a minister vocally committed to conservative theological orthodoxy could nonetheless advance social outreach. Under Alexander's direction, for instance, First Presbyterian's congregation initiated programs for young people: a Boys' Club that provided industrial skills, a sewing and millinery school for girls, a nursery, outreach to street boys who sold newspapers, a club for adolescent girls employed at nearby retail outlets, a well-used gymnasium, a program for relief and job placement for unemployed men, a clothing, coal, and supplies program for the poor, and the Central Chapel mission at Seneca and Forbes avenues.¹²⁸ By the time he retired in 1927 after nearly three decades of ministry, Alexander's First Presbyterian had a membership of almost 3,000 and was a clear presence in the downtown business district.¹²⁹

The United Presbyterian Church of North America, rooted in seventeenth-century Scotland and eventually merging in 1958 with its larger sibling, the Presbyterian Church, was a vocal supporter of social Christianity. Certainly this denomination's strong antebellum abolitionist tradition was a harbinger of the service and reform activities its clergy and laypeople would undertake during the Progressive Era. The *United Presbyterian* religious weekly, for example, devoted regular stories to Christian ethics, temperance, poverty, citizenship and voting, municipal corruption, workplace conditions, labor unions, and the duties of the wealthy businessman to the church and society.¹³⁰ Its editor, H. H. Marlin of the Fourth United Presbyterian congregation, was a driving force for Social Gospel there for the two and a half decades following his assumption of the post of editor in 1913. All measures indicate that he was expressing a consensus on the value of reform among many in his denomination.

Another outspoken Social Gospel advocate in this denomination was the Reverend J. Alvin Orr of the First United Presbyterian Church on the North Side; he was not only president of the Citizens League but also oversaw a congregation active in social work and opened a full-service settlement house

in 1917. Its stated aim was encouraging “a personal acceptance of Christ” as well as addressing “the social and physical welfare of its neighborhood.” This community house boasted a gymnasium, bowling alley, swimming pool, a large kitchen and dining room, club rooms, a roof garden, and offered classes in Bible study, “domestic science, sewing, [and] business efficiency.”¹³¹

Baptists also sustained efforts similar to these, such as multiple missions to and night schools for the immigrant populations of the city and Allegheny County, with special focus on Italians, Swedes, Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, and Poles. They also operated a home for the elderly and a Children’s Home in Mt. Lebanon Township, sixteen different Daily Vacation Bible Schools that offered venues of wholesome recreation to neighborhood children, and many other similar offerings. Baptists employed four women who directed settlement-house activities in industrial communities such as Rankin, McKeesport, Braddock, Homestead, Lawrenceville, and downtown; at these locations, nearby residents could participate in Baptist-run sewing schools, Bible studies, temperance meetings, family-related meetings, and classes for practical homemaking skills.¹³² Episcopalian contributions to the city’s Social Gospel movement came primarily through socially prominent activists, judges, and elected officials who were members of Calvary Episcopal Church, men such as H. D. W. English, George Guthrie, Joseph Buffington, and Tensard De Wolf. Rector George Hodges had been the pioneer at Calvary for this Social Gospel influence, but his successors, such as W. D. Maxon and James McIlvaine, also spoke out on behalf of honest government and church leadership on public morality issues.¹³³ Episcopalians also sustained several service and outreach institutions such as the Church Home, the Saint Margaret Memorial Hospital, the Saint Barnabas Free Home for convalescent or incurable men, the Woman’s Auxiliary to the Board of Missions, and many others focusing on fostering a sense of fellowship and spiritual nurture.¹³⁴

Lutherans did not belong to the PCC but they nonetheless contributed to the larger Social Gospel movement through several ventures. With a total of roughly 22,000 members coming from more than a hundred congregations, Lutherans of different synods made their presence felt through the Passavant Hospital in the Hill District, four homes for orphaned children, three homes for the elderly, one for epileptics, missions to German, Swedish, Slavic, and Jewish immigrants, settlement houses in the Spring Garden district and the Soho district, and parish outreach to mothers and children on the North Side. After 1907 Lutherans ran a program to guide their fellow

members migrating to Pittsburgh on where to find employment, education, or the better neighborhoods to reside, ran a program to inform “rural and small town communities” about the necessity of service to hard-hit urban immigrants and workers. They also cooperated with police, the courts, and probation officers on guiding criminals to a better life and in 1916 opened the Lutheran Inner Mission Institute “for the study and discussion of Pittsburgh social and religious problems.” During the summer of 1916, seven Lutheran churches held Vacation Bible Schools, enrolling 1,134 children and utilizing the volunteer efforts of 100 workers toward the end of “socialized Christianity and militant Christian citizenship.”¹³⁵

CONCLUSION: A PROTESTANT RULING CLASS CLEANS UP ITS ACT

The history of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches from the years of World War I to the end of the 1920s illustrates the anxieties and hopes of American Protestants at this time: long viewing themselves as caretakers of the Steel City, they found themselves out of step with social changes accompanying the spread of industry and urbanization in the decades following the Civil War. But beginning in 1910, they began to turn their establishment anxiety into practical action intended to address some of the longstanding civic problems plaguing Pittsburgh. Even if their efforts, like those of most Progressive Era reformers, did not lead to sweeping and sudden improvements, those efforts did establish patterns and precedents that came to fruition in later generations. The years following World War I were a time when Americans were reactive and divided, sounding alarm over foreign-born anarchists and the creep of insidious theological ideas into the churches, among other concerns. By many measures, the PCC should not have survived the steel strike or the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. But it weathered both and showed how genuine religious and moral sentiment, fears of losing power, and the lingering momentum of Progressive Era calls for citizen activism converged to create a noteworthy service record.

The Great Depression curtailed the activity of the PCC because financial contributions slowed greatly, requiring its board of directors to cut the executive secretary position for the better part of the decade. Presbyterian clergyman J. W. Claudy had served in this position from 1929 when Charles Zahniser left for his post at Boston University, but he stepped down in 1931 due to the lack of funds.¹³⁶ Despite the fact that many cities experienced a

sharp dropoff in their local Council of Church activities during the thirties, this was not the case in Pittsburgh. As Zahniser recalled in a 1944 retrospective, its strong period of activism from 1917 to 1925 provided a “strength and stability” that carried through the rough Depression years when its work “went steadily on.” The Morals Court, for instance, remained the centerpiece of the PCC’s social outreach and continued to pair up denominational laypersons and clergy with juvenile offenders in a mentoring relationship. The ecumenical spirit among participating churches was also strong in the thirties, evidenced in the fact that many would reach out to members of other denominations they had met through the PCC for various tasks and appointments.¹³⁷ In the early forties, with the war effort sparking an economic recovery, the PCC hired the Reverend O. M. Walton as its executive secretary and he served until the late fifties when Rev. Robert L. Kincheloe took over. In 1958 the PCC’s budget was a substantial \$95,125 and one Presbyterian historian described it as an organization that continued to be an “aggressive and well-supported” interdenominational force in Pittsburgh.¹³⁸

During the sixties, several new organizations emerged that, like the PCC, had close ties to the city’s denominations, but now were taking the lead in both drawing the churches together and working to reach out to those who were not raised in a Protestant tradition. The Pittsburgh Experiment, for instance, began as a businessman’s small group association in the postwar era, founded by the Reverend Sam Shoemaker, a clergyman serving at the same Calvary Episcopal Church congregation that had launched the Social Gospel movement over a half century earlier. Another Episcopalian clergyman associated with Calvary Episcopal, Don James, assumed the executive director position at the Pittsburgh Experiment in 1960, but he opted against merging with the PCC because he felt it was old and stodgy. Other new evangelical-leaning organizations like Young Life Pittsburgh—outreach in the high schools, and the Coalition for Christian Outreach—outreach on college and university campuses, attracted thousands in the sixties and seventies and were supplanting the work the PCC had once done.¹³⁹ Records indicate that the PCC declined and dissolved by the end of this decade, a relic of an earlier era when denominational bodies held more sway. Yet, despite its dissolution, the PCC’s dual mission of spiritual invigoration and Social Gospel activism has lived on in these new interdenominational organizations and they remain a force for Protestant Christianity in the Steel City today.

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NOTES

I would like to thank Gary S. Smith for his generous help in directing me to relevant sources and sharing his knowledge of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches. Another indispensable overview of Pittsburgh's Social Gospel that has aided my study is Keith A. Zahniser's *Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity and Reform in Progressive-Era Pittsburgh* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

1. Charles Reed Zahniser, *Pittsburgh Council of Churches: A Historical Interpretation* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Council of Churches, 1943), 11, 15.
2. The Federal Council of Churches' *Social Creed of the Churches* quoted in Daniel L. Marsh, *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1917), 76.
3. Contemporary observers and recent historians have consistently linked the city's ruling elite in the early twentieth century with the Protestant churches; for the contemporary account, see Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957; originally published by McClure, Phillips and Co., 1904), 102; Edward T. Divine, "Pittsburgh the Year of the Survey," *The Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage: Russell Sage Foundation* (New York: Survey Associates, 1914), 3, 4, 10, 11, 223. In a 1958 publication, George Swetnam made the claim that "almost three-fourths of Pittsburgh's industry was controlled by Presbyterian money" at the end of the nineteenth century; see Swetnam, "All Ye That Labor," in *The Presbyterian Valley*, ed. William W. McKinney (Pittsburgh: Davis and Warde, 1958); Joseph F. Rishel, *Founding Families of Pittsburgh: The Evolution of a Regional Elite* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 166–70; Michael Fitzgibbon Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848–1860* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 27, 28, 79, 133; Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*, vol. 1, *Government, Business, and Environmental Change* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995; originally published by John Wiley and Sons, 1969), 12, 59, 60, 61.
4. Marsh, *Challenge of Pittsburgh*, 71.
5. *Ibid.*, 227.
6. For the percentage of Allegheny County Protestants belonging to the Pittsburgh Council of Churches, see Keith A. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity*

- and Reform in Progressive-Era Pittsburgh* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 191; for denominational participation, see Marsh, *Challenge of Pittsburgh*, 13, 27, 227. For the population of Allegheny County, that is, Pittsburgh and suburbs, the US Census in 1910 counted a population of 1,018,463; Bureau of the Census, *Population of Minor Civil Divisions: 1910, 1900, and 1890*, prepared by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, DC, 1913), 533, 571. For Pittsburgh's metropolitan population in comparison to other American cities, see John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900–1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 20.
7. A most helpful secondary source on the Pittsburgh Council of Church's service and reform advocacy record are a paper delivered by Gary Scott Smith entitled "Pittsburgh and the Social Gospel," read at the Duquesne History Forum, October 21, 1994, and William M. McKinney, "Many Streams, One River," in *Presbyterian Valley*, ed. McKinney, 550–53; this article deals with PCC activism in detail, but the most helpful primary sources come from the *Pittsburgh Christian Outlook* from 1916 to 1925, Daniel Marsh's *The Challenge of Pittsburgh* (1917), Charles Reed Zahniser's *Pittsburgh Council of Churches* (1943), and Charles Zahniser's *In Glorious Tradition: A Brief Review of the Beginnings and Organizational Backgrounds of the Council of Churches of Allegheny County* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Council of Churches, September 25, 1953).
 8. Keith Zahniser's *Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity and Reform in Progressive-Era Pittsburgh* (New York: Routledge, 2005) is the most exhaustive study of the Social Gospel in Pittsburgh, but deals primarily with the twenty-five years preceding the formation of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches. William McKinney's edited *Presbyterian Valley* is a helpful 1958 account that does touch on some of the council's efforts; another helpful essay is Linda K. Pritchard's "The Soul of the City: A Social History of Religion in Pittsburgh," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 327–60.
 9. By and large, Protestantism in Pittsburgh is under-studied and often dismissed as a subset of the city's marked class and ethnic divisions. See Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877–1919* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 34–35, 96; Solon J. Buck and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979), 120–24; John N. Ingham, "Steel City Aristocrats," in *City at the Point*, ed. Hays, 267, 268, 271, 280–82; John N. Ingham, *Making Iron and Steel: Independent Mills in Pittsburgh, 1820–1920* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 171–73; Holt, *Forging a Majority*, 28; Rishel, *Founding Families*, 166; Philip Klein et al., *A Social Study of Pittsburgh: Community Problems and Social Services of Allegheny*

- County (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 290, 400, 912–13; Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*, 59; John Bodnar, *Steelton: Immigration and Industrialization, 1870–1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 76; Kenneth J. Heineman, *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 35–38; David Cannadine, *Mellon: An American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 403, 604.
10. Sydney E. Ahlstrom describes the Gilded Age and Progressive Era as times when the “Protestant Establishment in America” was living in “the last troubled decades of its hegemony” and turned to nativism, anti-Catholicism, missions, temperance, and multiple reform ventures to preserve its custodial status; *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 856. See also Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 2–5; Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), x, xi; Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 257, 273–75, 292, 296–303, 311, 321, 326.
 11. George Hodges, “The New Forces,” in *Faith and Social Service* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1896), 8, 9; second quote from George Hodges, *The Heresy of Cain* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894), 34.
 12. Henry May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1949), 181, 207.
 13. Hodges, *Heresy of Cain*, 167, 168; Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 38, 42.
 14. Edwin Bjorkman, “What Industrial Civilization May Do to Men,” *World’s Work* 17 (April 1909): 11479–98; Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 35; Ingham, *Making Iron and Steel*, 169–70, 174; Rishel, *Founding Families*, 115.
 15. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 39–40, 44, 49; “McClintock, Oliver,” *The History of Pittsburgh and Environs* (New York: American Historical Society, 1922), 5.
 16. Divine, “Pittsburgh the Year of the Survey,” 21; Ingham, *Making Iron and Steel*, 168; Rishel, *Founding Families*, 116, 117.
 17. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 144, 147, 148, 163, 164, 165, 173, 177, 182, 184, 192.
 18. Steffens, *Shame of the Cities*, 102–4, 118.
 19. Bjorkman, “What Industrial Civilization May Do to Men,” 11479–98.
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33. Philip Jenkins, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade* (New York: HarperOne, 2014), 92.
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35. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 184.
36. "Church Federation in Pittsburgh," *United Presbyterian* (July 15, 1915): 5; "Church Federation in Pittsburgh," *Pennsylvania Outlook* (November 1915): 1; Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 191; Smith, "Pittsburgh and the Social Gospel," 15–16.
37. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 188.
38. Charles Stelzle, *A Son of the Bowery: The Life Story of an East Side American* (New York: George Doren Co., 1926), 168. One historian has estimated, for instance, that three-fourths of the city's industry was controlled by individuals of a Presbyterian affiliation, helping to explain why labor was such an explosive topic among the region's churches; see Swetnam, "All Ye that Labor," 464.

39. Montgomery's comments appear in Marsh, *Challenge of Pittsburgh*, 261. Maitland Alexander once said that the church needed to reject "self-centered policy" and embrace the dual aims of "practical, missionary" work as well as "sociological effort," meaning social service. Quote appears in J. M. Duff, *A Record of Twenty-five Years of the Pastorate of Maitland Alexander, D.D., L.L.D., in the First Presbyterian Church in the City of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: First Presbyterian Church, 1924), 28–29.
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46. "Mr. Sunday Marching On," *Presbyterian Banner* (May 7, 1914): 6.
47. "Pittsburgh Council of Churches of Christ," *Pennsylvania Outlook* (April 1916): n.p.
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EXHIBIT REVIEW

THE PENNSYLVANIA TURNPIKE, THE NATION'S FIRST SUPERHIGHWAY AT THE STATE MUSEUM OF PENNSYLVANIA

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The Pennsylvania Turnpike is one of the most significant highways of the twentieth century. It proved so popular it was expanded across the state after World War II. Its design was both audacious and revolutionary: the nation's first high-speed, long distance highway completely free of any at-grade crossings for its entire 160-mile length, with long entrance and exit ramps, super-elevated curves meant to be taken at high speeds, and a low grade despite crossing through the steepest part of Pennsylvania. And yet, the Pennsylvania Turnpike receives comparatively little attention in histories of infrastructure improvements made in the United States to accommodate the automobile and enhance the age of personal high-speed transportation that the auto initiated. Much scholarly work focuses on the development of the Interstate Highway System, inaugurated by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1950s. But the Pennsylvania Turnpike played a key role in the ultimate development of that system, demonstrating that long-distance, high-speed, limited-access automobile traffic was both possible and desirable and igniting a debate about whether such highways should be free to users or paid by tolls. Until recently, even the Hall of Transportation at the State Museum of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg, meant to celebrate Pennsylvania's role in transportation, gave the turnpike only perfunctory coverage.

That changed October 1, 2015, when the State Museum opened a new permanent exhibit, *The Pennsylvania Turnpike, the Nation's First Superhighway*, exactly seventy-five years to the day the turnpike opened in 1940. The bright, welcoming exhibit provides a very good overview on the turnpike, its construction, and the engineering challenges the superhighway had to

overcome, as well as its continued role as a major east-west transportation artery across Pennsylvania.

Scholars of transportation history may have been slow to grasp the historical significance of the turnpike, but the same was not the case with the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, the quasi-governmental organization that conceived of, planned, and built the superhighway. The commission seems to have been consciously aware of the groundbreaking nature of what it was building from the very beginning and, as a result, they documented and celebrated their amazing new highway in breathtaking detail. This greatly benefits the State Museum's exhibit, which apparently had a nearly inexhaustible cache of turnpike-related materials from which to choose—photographs, booklets, pamphlets, and magazines; restaurant menus, highway maps, postcards, and souvenirs of all kinds; road signs, construction paraphernalia, electronic maps and other equipment from command centers and regional offices; and videos, videos, videos, taken during construction, shortly after the road opened, on major anniversaries, and just because. The State Museum and its sister agency, the State Archives, received this material from the Turnpike Commission itself in the late 1990s.

A fraction of this material has been imaginatively and accessibly arranged by Curator Curt Miner and his staff to tell the turnpike's story in a way that will engage visitors of all ages. Children will find many buttons to push and videos to watch, while the most discriminating collector of turnpike memorabilia may discover some hidden treasure he or she didn't know existed. Along the way, a visitor will learn a great deal about the turnpike and its important role in transportation history. A visitor can easily go through the exhibit in twenty minutes or stay for a longer period of time to absorb more of the information.

The exhibit begins with a very concise opening panel that succinctly explains the reasons for the turnpike's existence: a better east-west route across the rugged central section of Pennsylvania in a bid to speed travel time between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia (although it initially went to neither of those places). Visitors can then move at their own pace through the compact exhibit. For those wanting details, there are easy-to-read interpretive labels with a good mix of text and images. For those so inclined, there's a great deal of information to be had, without ever feeling overwhelmed by dense, wordy panels. The same is true of the artifact and photograph labels—the material

is presented succinctly—with enough information for casual visitors when something has caught their eye, but with more detail for those wanting to dig a little deeper.

One fascinating aspect of the exhibit is the plethora of turnpike material culture presented. The commission produced a wide array of things emblazoned with the words “Pennsylvania Turnpike” and the commission logo: pennants, plates, matchbooks, postcards, decks of cards, flatware, cups and saucers, glasses, and all sorts of bric-a-brac. Much of it is here, artfully laid out. There’s even a song, “Pennsylvania Turnpike, I Love You,” by Dick Todd and the Appalachian Wildcats. It’s a reminder that the turnpike was not just a transportation artery; during its formative years it was also a tourist attraction that captivated the imagination of the traveling public by its very newness and innovative design. The artifacts and song present this part of the turnpike’s story in a way that words and labels can’t.

The exhibit just as artfully uses much larger artifacts to tell other portions of the turnpike’s story. There’s an electronic map used by the commission between 1973 and 1988 to locate trouble on the turnpike and alert the public. There’s an enlargement of a travel map that shows the turnpike and its proximity to major Pennsylvania tourist attractions. Also displayed is a personal favorite, a large road sign with a menacing pointed index finger and the words “YOU Slow Down.” The sign sat for years outside of Breezewood in Bedford County and was seen by everyone traveling between the western section of the turnpike and the Baltimore and Washington areas.

The crown jewel of artifacts, though, is probably the original turnpike tollbooth. The turnpike continues to serve as a major, heavily traveled East Coast highway and, as a consequence, it is constantly being updated and renewed, to increase safety and to improve operating efficiency. The toll-booths at the turnpike’s interchanges have been replaced at least twice during the turnpike’s seventy-five-year history, so it’s extremely difficult to find an original one. The State Museum did, however. And it’s not just an original tollbooth, it is specifically the one from the Irwin interchange, the original western terminus of the turnpike. The narrow, glass and steel panel booth nicely shows the simplicity of the early design and also the human element of the superhighway: the booth features a statue of a smiling, uniformed toll-taker leaning out to accept payment from a turnpike patron. Outside of the booth is a period Packard automobile facing a screen showing one of

the many videos available in the exhibit. This one is a commission-produced film taken from a car passing through a tollbooth and beginning a trip on the turnpike. It's a particularly nice touch.

When the turnpike was constructed, the commission garnered a great deal of publicity by using the never-finished South Pennsylvania Railroad and its seven uncompleted tunnels for much of the right-of-way. One of the earliest nicknames of the turnpike, in fact, was "The Tunnel Highway," and this aspect of its engineering captured the public's fancy. The exhibit acknowledges this part of the turnpike's origin story through large images and a box of faux dynamite, mute testimony to one of the major difficulties encountered. But what makes this exhibit noteworthy is that it tells the rest of the turnpike story; not just its construction but also its use.

There are only a few small things that could be done a little better. The exhibit tries to set the turnpike's construction in a larger context of national defense preparedness and addresses the turnpike's role as a catalyst for the eventual development of the Interstate Highway System. These explanations are, however, a little too brief. For example, in discussing the Interstate Highway System, a label reads, "After World War II, the success of the Pennsylvania Turnpike convinced President Dwight D. Eisenhower and other leaders of the need for coast-to-coast system of superhighways. In 1956, Eisenhower approved the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act, the enabling legislation for the nation's 47,000-mile interstate highway network. The Pennsylvania Turnpike was the blueprint." The label attempts to distill a complex, decades-long policy debate into a single paragraph and while doing so it assigns the turnpike a larger role than it deserves. The exhibit correctly points out that the turnpike developed engineering standards for long-distance, high-speed, grade-separated limited-access highway that were largely replicated when building the Interstate Highway System, but other roads inside and outside of the country also served as part of the blueprint. A more nuanced discussion would have given the turnpike its due while providing a more background.

A few small things could have perhaps been done differently. Overall, the exhibit does an excellent job in presenting the importance of America's First Superhighway. The exhibit is a must for anyone interested in Pennsylvania and transportation history.

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FIGURE I Courtesy of The State Museum of Pennsylvania.



FIGURE 2 Courtesy of The State Museum of Pennsylvania.



FIGURE 3 Courtesy of The State Museum of Pennsylvania.



FIGURE 4 Courtesy of The State Museum of Pennsylvania.

BOOK REVIEWS

John Craig. *The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921–1929* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2015). Pp. xviii, 224. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth. \$84.00.

Popular memory of the 1920s as the “prosperity decade” obscures troubles on the farm, traditionalists’ anger about moral decline, and growing anxiety in Protestant America about a loss of its traditional cultural and political dominance. Perhaps no organization in the 1920s better exemplified the rejection of social ferment than the Ku Klux Klan. In this largely persuasive if occasionally disorganized account of the Klan’s growth and influence in western Pennsylvania during its heyday, 1922–1925, John Craig reinforces elements of recent Klan scholarship, notably in highlighting the broad base of its membership, while showing how in key respects the rise and fall of Pennsylvania’s “hooded empire” stemmed from its internal blunders and factionalism.

Pennsylvania Klansmen, Craig argues, lived primarily in areas where agriculture was in decline, industry was increasingly driving the economy, and non-native population was growing. Each of these trends was problematic for the material prospects of men (and later women) who joined the Klan. In this telling the Klan’s prime *bête noire* was not blacks, but Catholics. Aside from posing a perceived threat to Klansmen’s livelihoods, Roman Catholics, some of whom were new immigrants, represented in Klansmen’s minds a dangerous un-Americanism both in their allegiance to the pope and their propensity for intemperance.

Launched in 1922 with a shrewd marketing campaign promising both male camaraderie and an opportunity to intimidate (and if circumstances

warranted, physically abuse) “immoral” elements in the community, the Klan thrived in small towns throughout western Pennsylvania. Craig asserts that the Pennsylvania Klan gained adherents less for its expressed commitment to moral reform than its advocacy of white Protestant supremacy and willingness to use force to impose it. In this sense the Pennsylvania Klan had more in common with the original, Southern-based KKK than has usually been posited.

The Pennsylvania Klan portrayed itself as a patriotic organization, devoted to traditional American values, including law and order. In fact, it grew quickly in western counties (its membership peaked in 1924 at perhaps 100,000 members statewide) primarily through militant behavior—bursting bombs and burning crosses on private property, invading homes to deliver threats, and delivering vigilante justice. As Craig notes, the Klan in western Pennsylvania “promoted disorder and mayhem” aimed at Catholics, Jews, and African Americans. Far from being law abiding, it was “disdainful” of the law (xvi, 104). One key leader, Sam Rich, the Pennsylvania Klan’s King Kleagle, readily admitted to associates that provoking riots was essential to the order’s prosperity.

What program did the Klan advocate? Klansmen had substantive ideas about public policy, including support for strong federal action supporting farmers, taxing unused land, and funding bonuses for all veterans, but there was no Klan “program” beyond raking in dues and other fees. Klan inspired riots sparked arrests of its members (including several key leaders), which generated a raft of negative press attention and put the organization on the defensive. Perhaps most significant, Craig recounts a disastrous decision to establish “charter” Klan organizations, as opposed to those “provisionally” chartered. This meant substantially increased individual dues, some of which would kickback to Klan leaders. These fees dissuaded many would-be Klansmen from joining and led others to drop out because the cost was seen as too much to bear. The “house of cards” (211) that was the Pennsylvania Klan was soon to collapse.

The Klan’s political influence in the 1920s has been a common theme in studies focused on the Klan in particular locales. Klansmen controlled state governments in Colorado and Indiana and elected mayors and legislators in communities across the North, from Portland, Oregon, to Portland, Maine. But in Pennsylvania, as Craig sees it, the Klan’s political influence was never great. Perhaps because its leaders were either focused

on self-enrichment, distracted by legal troubles, or engaged in factional intrigue, the Klan played little role in backing statewide candidates or influencing party platforms. When it did back candidates for local and state offices, it had modest success at best. As scandals ensnared such national leaders as Hiram Evans and D. C. Stephenson, and the Pennsylvania Klan lost its allure as a militant organization, membership declined precipitously beginning in 1925. Any hope that the Klan might reshape Pennsylvania politics disappeared.

So what are readers to make of the KKK in Pennsylvania and John Craig's workmanlike effort to take its measure? Craig's study serves as a reminder that definitive generalizations about the Klan's membership, *modus operandi*, and influence will continue to be elusive, because there were so many variants of an order that represented some of the darker impulses in American political culture, and so many different contexts in which the Klan emerged. There was no "key" to the Klan as avatar of "twentieth-century Americanism," or its rapid flameout.

It is a virtue of Craig's approach to the Western Pennsylvania Klan that he does not draw rigid lines within the state or beyond it, and that he has consulted a large, disparate, and growing body of scholarship on the second Ku Klux Klan. This reader would have appreciated more reflection and comparative analysis, drawing connections between Pennsylvania Klansmen's outlook and those in other states—for example, by taking note of Ronald Edsforth's discussion of the Klan in Flint, Michigan. Edsforth observes that:

the Klan sought moral influence, not real power. . . . Flint's Klansmen had no clear vision of an alternative institutional structure for local society. Nor did they try to create a party of their own capable of challenging the hegemony of the GOP. . . . In this sense, the Ku Klux Klan's brand of discontent in Flint mostly amplified political trends that had been initiated already by the dominant business-class elite, especially superpatriotism and the demand for the Americanization of foreigners, for a stricter enforcement of Prohibition, and for a crack-down on local vice.¹

Edsforth's observations resonate with Craig's and would have provided a natural basis for comparison. Further examples could be drawn from the work of Shawn Lay, Nancy McLean, Leonard Moore, Thomas Pegram,

William D. Jenkins, and others. That said, Craig is to be commended for having dug as thoroughly as he did in previously unexploited newspapers and court records, among other primary sources, and making good sense of what he found. This book makes a valuable contribution to Klan studies.

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NOTE

1. Ronald Edsforth, *Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 112.

Gilbert W. Fairholm. *Exceptional Leadership: Lessons from the Founding Leaders* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013). Pp. viii, 325, bibliography, index. Hardbound, \$85.00.

In the early years of the United States, John Jay reputedly stated: “those who own the country ought to govern it.” Gilbert Fairholm has a take on this dictum in *Exceptional Leadership: Lessons from the Founding Leaders*. On one hand, he does not think that structural inequality exists in America. On the other hand, he supports the notion of authoritarian leadership.

Fairholm validates his theories of organizational management and his views on the proper relationship between the workplace and political participation. His general argument is that America’s “founding leaders” instituted the principles of American exceptionalism that thrive in modern-day work settings (3). But, he argues, the core values of natural rights, equality, opportunity, happiness, freedom, and fairness must be reinforced. Fairholm examines “founding documents” produced between 1754 and 1831 (8). Each chapter is composed of a particular primary document and an analysis of its managerial significance. Among them, the federal Constitution incorporated both fundamental core principles and many provisions of the Albany Plan of Union and the Virginia Bill of Rights. The lesson posed by the doctrine of judicial review, as introduced in *Marbury v. Madison*, is that bosses should be just in their dealings with employees. Fairholm declares that multiculturalism undermines a community’s cohesion, but

that successful managers adopt democratic principles, giving workers some freedom of action as long as it does not hurt the bottom line. Fairholm includes three songs in his inventory of founding documents. He argues that “The Star Spangled Banner,” in particular, contains “beautiful and insightful ideas” (218).

Other than treatment of Benjamin Franklin and the Constitutional Convention, *Exceptional Leadership* does not deal with Pennsylvania history. However, the author’s biographical sketch claims that he was a consultant in Philadelphia. But this and his experience advising public and private agencies at the state and local levels in the United States and Nigeria begs an observation: Fairholm must be aware that life is not as simplistic as he portrays it in this book.

What about those 900-pound gorillas in US history, namely slavery and imperialism? In his discussion of the 1807 Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves, Fairholm argues that slavery troubled the founding leaders. However, the preservation of this institution (i.e., compromise with Southern elites) was essential to securing the new United States. Imperialism does not seem to exist. The United States was created out of a “vast and largely unknown wilderness” and was a matter of “eventual expansion to encompass everything between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts” (45, 109). He does concede that the treatment of indigenous people was “checkered at best” (262).

Exceptional Leadership reads like a Cold War civics text. Its author portrays the United States as a color-blind and classless “success story”; “meritocratic fairness” is its guiding theme (11, 26). However, Fairholm makes whopping generalizations. He claims that a feature of American exceptionalism is a “leadership philosophy of caring for workers” (35). But if managers and workers are “coworkers,” what does Fairholm mean when he holds that labor unions run the risk of challenging the “authority of the nominal leader” (36, 148)? He asserts that Americans should strive for perfection, but he also feels that some things in society should not be changed. Nor does Fairholm devote enough energy to convincing the reader *why* his core values are essential to the smooth working of an organization. He does not substantiate his interpretations in depth.

To his credit, Fairholm includes documents that receive comparatively less attention, such as the 1787 Northwest Ordinance and the 1789 Judiciary Act. But his analysis is not comprehensive. For instance, he passes over the reference to “merciless Indian Savages” in the “magnificent” Declaration

of Independence without comment (70, 73). There is no coverage of the Three-fifths and Slave Trade Clauses, or of the Electoral College, in the Constitution. Fairholm devotes a chapter to *Federalist No. 10*, but deeper perspective on James Madison would have been afforded by adding a selection from Robert Yates's minutes of the Constitutional Convention ("Our government . . . ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority"). Other useful additions could have been policy statements by the New York Workingman's Party (1829) and the Women's Rights Convention (1848) as well as public notices of slave auctions (Progressive Era legislation regulating money in politics and President Franklin Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights are also relevant). Fairholm ignores questions about US society recognized in many historical studies, notable recent examples being Edward E. Baptist's *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), Sophia Z. Lee's *The Workplace Constitution from the New Deal to the New Right* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), and William O. Walker's *National Security and Core Values in American History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

There are a few editorial problems. Brief discussions of Madison's War Message and the Hartford Resolutions are left out of the introduction to part 3. The former is not fully cited in the index; the latter is not cited at all (the takeaway about the Hartford Resolutions is that leaders must always be open to compromise with national groups, even those committed to states' rights). In terms of copyediting, some of Fairholm's phrases are awkward ("A distinguishing pattern of the great civilizations anciently is that they have risen, prospered, and then failed," 10).

In Fairholm's defense, he makes it clear at the outset that he did not intend to write a work of critical history. While the target audience of *Exceptional Leadership* is not clearly identified, frequent references to management theory—to say nothing of the book's cursory nature—suggest that Fairholm intended to write a guide for service-sector managers. There is one other matter to consider. If anyone harbors doubts about the weight of Fairholm's ideas, the current US political scene need only be taken into account.

ANTHONY B. NEWKIRK
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Daniel Krebs. *A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). Pp. 376. Bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$34.95; paper, \$24.95.

Johann Conrad Döhla. *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution*. Translated and edited by Bruce E. Burgoyne (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). Pp. 276. Bibliography, index. Paper, \$19.95.

Georg Pausch. *Georg Pausch's Journal and Reports of the Campaign in America*. Translated and edited by Bruce E. Burgoyne (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007). Pp. 148. Index. Paper, \$19.50.

These three volumes have one thing in common: they all explore aspects of Hessian participation in the American Revolution. Johann Conrad Döhla was a private from Ansbach-Bayreuth, while Captain (later Major) Georg Pausch was commander of the Princely Hesse-Hanau Artillery Corps. Both became prisoners after battle, Döhla following the Battle of Yorktown, while Pausch was part of the Convention Army captured at Saratoga. Their experiences, among others, are the focal point of Daniel Krebs's monograph on German prisoners of war during the War for Independence.

Krebs divides his analysis into three parts: an introduction of the troops and their service for the British Crown, how they became prisoners of war, and the common soldiers' daily life while in captivity and after the war, as some prisoners stayed in North America while others returned to Europe. From the start, Krebs argues that these "German subsidy soldiers"—troops hired out by princes in the Holy Roman Empire to serve in the British Army—had a variety of experiences following their capture, depending on when they became prisoners. Six principalities sent "subsidy soldiers" to North America: Anhalt-Zerbst, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Hessen-Hanau, Hessen-Kassel, and Waldeck. In the United States, however, these "foreign mercenaries" were viewed as representatives of the standing army they abhorred and as people who had been enslaved to military service by European despots. Consequently, these soldiers, by being hired to fight for the British Army, were caught between the practice of mandatory military service with professional soldiers and fighting against citizen-soldiers who volunteered for the cause.

Because of limited records, more information is available on soldiers from Ansbach-Bayreuth (like Döhla), Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and

Hessen-Kassel. Statistical analysis reveals that the troops included veterans, conscripts, and men recruited to meet the subsidy agreements. The largest contingent was from Hessen-Kassel; some were Washington's prizes after the Battle of Trenton. Soldiers from Ansbach-Bayreuth fought in Philadelphia, New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia. Troops from Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Hessen-Hanau fell along with Burgoyne's troops at Saratoga. Waldeck troops fought with the British in West Florida and Louisiana, and they were captured by the Spanish.

The process of surrender, according to Krebs, varied depending on the battle. Saratoga was more peaceful and orderly, probably because of the numbers (over 2,000 German soldiers captured). Similar pageantry followed the surrender at Yorktown. For prisoners captured at Trenton, though, they relocated to Lancaster and Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Remnants of Burgoyne's army stayed in Reading. Continental Army military leaders arranged for German prisoners to see American prosperity as they marched through the countryside to the prison camps, and they used German immigrants to help with conversion. By the end of the war, German prisoners were given the opportunity to join the Continental Army, hire themselves out as indentured servants (to reimburse for the cost of their imprisonment), or pay a ransom and return to Europe. Quite a few chose one of the first two options. Some of the prisoners who remained stayed in the United States, while a few settled in Canada.

A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution was one of the sources Krebs consulted when researching his book. Döhla's diary covers from February 1777, when 600 soldiers from Ansbach-Bayreuth began their "employment in another part of the world" (3), to his return home and discharge in December 1783. His experiences differ from most "Hessian" soldiers in that he and his units served with the British Army from their arrival in September 1777 until the Battle of Yorktown, after which they became prisoners. He intersperses comments about the people of the United States, particularly reflecting on religious diversity in the new nation and the major cities of Philadelphia and New York. Döhla's descriptions of the prisoner-of-war camps at Winchester and Frederick reflect the dire situation of these captives, especially regarding food and shelter. He also identifies Hessian troops who died either in service or in prison camps, deserted and enlisted in the Continental Army, or became indentured servants to pay off the cost of their imprisonment.

In contrast to Döhla's account, which provides the perspective of a common soldier, Pausch's *Journal and Reports of the Campaign in America* is

a compilation of letters and reports written by Captain (later Major) Georg Pausch to the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel from May 1776 to October 1783. Pausch commanded the Princely Hesse-Hanau Artillery Company, and his journal is one of the few that reflect on the contributions of artilleryists who fought with the British in the Revolution. The company left Hanau in May 1776 and arrived in Canada, joining General Guy Carleton's forces and later accompanying General John Burgoyne to Saratoga. Captured at Saratoga, Pausch and the remaining soldiers in the regiment marched to Massachusetts after capitulation, then to Virginia. Pausch was exchanged in late 1779 and went to Quebec, returning to Hesse-Hanau in October 1783. Pausch's journal is an engaging account of an officer in an artillery regiment and, because of his exchange and limited time in a prisoner-of-war camp, he does not provide as vivid a description of captivity as Döhla does.

Krebs concludes his monograph with a brief examination of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Prussia in 1785. The treaty not only discussed commerce but also defined treatment of captured enemy soldiers. Prior to this treaty, there was no formal agreement or understanding on how combatants should treat captives—and, according to Krebs, Congress's treatment of German prisoners during the Revolution directly led to this treaty.

Overall, all three books provide different perspectives of "Hessian" soldiers during the Revolution—Döhla with the view of the common soldier, Pausch with the perspective of a loyal officer, and Krebs with the "big picture" of how imprisonment affected all auxiliary troops captured during the conflict. *A Generous and Merciful Enemy* is a welcome addition to the history of the American Revolution, one that effectively examines conditions in the "Hessian Camps" in Pennsylvania and explains why some of these prisoners remained in the state after the war ended.

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Carla J. Mulford. *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Pp. xv, 426, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$65.00.

This incisive literary biography depicts Franklin's mental world in light of salient economic and sociopolitical matters within the British Empire.

In nine chronologically and topically arranged chapters, Mulford, who is a professor of English at Pennsylvania State University and edited *The Cambridge Companion of Benjamin Franklin* (2009), makes two major arguments: First, she maintains that Franklin accentuated the natural liberties of British colonists as being paramount for the successful functioning of the British Empire. Second, Mulford convincingly demonstrates that the reason Franklin, along with other vocal Americans, ardently embraced the revolutionary cause against the British Empire was because parliamentary leaders during the late 1760s abrogated the tax rights and other liberties of American colonists.

The introduction comprehensively describes the evolution of Franklin's liberal thought and offers his perceptions of the British Empire. Mulford shows that Franklin's liberal views could be traced to the seventeenth-century English Civil Wars and that he especially endorsed the doctrines of John Locke and Algernon Sidney about constitutional rights and civil society. Franklin's writings during the early eighteenth century reveal his admiration for "Country" ideologies (6). Likewise, Franklin believed that the ends of empire could be achieved by colonists who were endowed with natural liberties and who worked as farmers, tradesmen, and merchants to foster commerce and trade throughout this vast empire.

The first two chapters illustrate Franklin's endorsement of liberal tenets; there are detailed explanations about how Franklin's family in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire supported the cause of Parliament against the Cavaliers. Uncle Benjamin Franklin had written about the accomplishments of the family in Britain. His nephew in Boston later consulted the family records: he was impressed with his family's contributions during the English Civil Wars and especially became an advocate of the freedoms of speech and religion. Mulford vividly demonstrates how Franklin, while a printer's apprentice in Boston under his brother James, effectively revealed his liberal views in writings about Silence Dogood.

Chapters 3 and 4 concern Franklin's economic views about the colonies and the British Empire. To increase commerce and trade in Pennsylvania and other colonies, British leaders had to expand the money supply and had to promote the interests of merchants and tradesmen; moreover, Mulford impressively shows how Franklin emphasized the importance of colonial agriculture and attributed the economic success of Pennsylvania and other colonies to the laboring efforts of farmers. Franklin also called for

expanding both intercolonial and imperial agrarian markets. In recognizing the significance of colonial farmers, Mulford argues, Franklin emerged as a strong proponent of the labor theory of value. His interests in farming are revealed in articles that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the late 1720s and in his speeches delivered to the members of the Pennsylvania Assembly during the 1740s and the early years of the 1750s.

Chapter 5 explains Franklin's liberal and imperial thinking during the middle years of the eighteenth century. Having acquired a reputation as a Philadelphia booster between 1730 and 1754 and having established the American Philosophical Society, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the Junto or Library Company, Franklin as well continued to bolster the status of merchants, craftsmen, and other commercial groups—especially through the Junto. Likewise, he espoused physiocratic tenets, believing that agricultural growth in Pennsylvania and other colonies was the key ingredient for productivity in the British Empire. To justify his economic beliefs, he issued in 1750 "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind," maintaining that diverse ethnic groups in Pennsylvania should be endowed with the freedoms of speech and press and should be encouraged to engage in agricultural pursuits. In short, the imaginative Franklin believed that liberal tenets and agrarian activities would be conducive for increasing wealth in the British Empire. Agreeing with members of the Pennsylvania Assembly that the growth of this colony depended on terminating the tax-exempt status of the Penn family, Franklin in 1757 went to London to meet with leaders concerning this issue.

Chapter 6 offers explanations about Franklin's imperial thinking and career in London between 1757 and 1775. Mulford extensively treats his life in the empire's capital: Franklin spent much time in performing his electrical experiments and became associated with the Club of Honest Whigs. Likewise, he also met with Pennsylvania's proprietors; he unfortunately was unable to convince the Penns to cede their tax-exempt privileges on lands in this colony. Franklin also became involved with another significant issue: he vehemently argued that as a result of the colonies lacking adequate representation, Parliament should repeal the harsh terms of the Stamp Act, for imperial trade was being severely damaged. After that body repealed this act in 1766 and implemented the Townshend Acts in 1767, Franklin's views toward Parliament and the empire began to change. Thereafter, he developed into a stern critic of Parliament.

Chapter 7 centers on Franklin's last years in Britain; Mulford cogently describes Franklin's belief that farming was essential for accruing wealth in the British Empire and that agrarian pursuits and innovations would advance the cause of imperial free trade. However, as a result of the seditious activities in Massachusetts during the early 1770s, Franklin was summoned before the Privy Council. Appearing in this council's cockpit, Franklin in January of 1774 encountered humiliating comments during his hearing with Alexander Wedderburn and was discredited. Advocating the sovereignty of colonial assemblies, the frustrated Franklin in 1775 left England and returned to America.

Chapters 8, 9, and the conclusion well contextualize Franklin's achievements during the American Revolutionary and subsequent eras. He played a prominent role in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence: he supported Jefferson and other committee members for emphasizing the significance of natural liberties for American citizens. Impressive sections describe his Parisian diplomatic mission. By negotiating the 1778 Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, the shrewd Franklin secured French financial and military aid until America defeated Great Britain. There also are fine accounts about Franklin's part in achieving American independence in light of the 1783 Paris Treaty. Mulford, too, well explains that upon his return to America in 1785, Franklin participated actively in the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery and in the 1787 Philadelphia Constitutional Convention. Last, Mulford envisions Franklin as a transatlantic leader and writer and lauds him both for his imperial thinking and for his insightful republican ideologies.

Mulford has written a splendid biography and has greatly enhanced our understanding of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Extending well beyond such major biographers as Van Doren, Wright, Wood, Brands, and Lemay, she has demonstrated that Franklin could have been an "Empire Man" but, for plausible motives, became an American republican revolutionary. Moreover, Mulford's definitive and elegantly written study contains extensive endnotes and a massive bibliography. This work has broken new ground and will become a classic biography. It will appeal to both students and scholars interested in Franklin's many contributions to Atlantic history.

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Marie A. Conn and Thérèse McGuire, eds. *Sisterly Love: Women of Note in Pennsylvania History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015). Pp. vii, 194, notes. Paper, \$32.99.

This volume is a collection of biographical sketches of seventeen Pennsylvania women who were professionally active from the mid-eighteenth century to the late twentieth century. The variety of their work concerned education, reform, religion, medicine, journalism, business, and the arts. These women range from a Moravian eldress, a Civil War nurse and medical missionary in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to a computer programmer, social activist, and human resource expert during the twentieth century. While the anthology includes well-known women, such as Fanny Kemble, Ida Tarbell, and Rachel Carson, it aims to include women who have “escaped the analytical gaze of historians” (viii), such as artists (Cecilia Beaux, Violet Oakley), educators (Assisium McEvoy, SSJ, Mary Brooks Picken), and entrepreneurs and activists (Gertrude Hawk and Adrian Barrett, IHM). This book is a product of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Consortium of Higher Education (SEPCHE), a collaborative effort of eight small colleges and universities in the Philadelphia area, most of them Catholic. The editors’ intent is to “evoke amazement, wonder, and pride in women who were anything but ordinary,” with the hope that these women’s stories will serve as “as inspiration for the reader to reach beyond the routine” (viii). The majority of the authors are faculty members at SEPCHE institutions.

The most successful articles are those that combine solid research with a persuasive narrative, such as the one on Rachel Carson, which details her personal and professional life, including her loving relationship with Dorothy Freeman, as well as her writing career and environmental activism. Similarly, the piece on Sister Assisium demonstrates her crucial role in developing curriculum for Catholic public schools as well as her leadership in advocating higher education for Catholic nuns. Her publications on education as well as her role in founding Mount Saint Joseph (Chestnut Hill) College reveal the extensive range of her influence not only in the Philadelphia region but across the nation.

The essays, unfortunately, are disparate. Some of the articles are scholarly and analytical in focus, utilizing up-to-date scholarship, while others lack scholarly rigor or are merely personal reminiscences. Some of the articles read more like encyclopedia entries than in-depth studies and contextual histories of particular women. Some are spiritual in orientation rather than historical.

The unevenness of this publication is further hampered by the lack of a standard citation format; some articles use the *Chicago Manual of Style*, others the Modern Language Association, and still others utilize the American Psychological Association system. This volume will be of interest to general readers who want to know about the contributions of Pennsylvania women.

JANET MOORE LINDMAN
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Peter Osborne. *No Spot in This Far Land Is More Immortalized: A History of Pennsylvania's Washington Crossing Historic Park* (Yardley, PA: Yardley Press, 2014). Pp. 731. Paper, \$39.99.

This book is the magnum Opus of the Peter Osborne literature on State Parks, primarily because it is an encyclopedia of Mid-Atlantic regional history. This regional historian has written a number of books on state parks and the various battles that have taken place throughout the Mid-Atlantic region, yet, this one clearly best illustrates all of Osborne's writing and research skill.

Osborne was asked to write this book by William Farkas, a resident of Pennsylvania whose love for this park emanates from hiking its trails and enjoying its vistas. Farkas identified the need for a book about the starting point of Washington's journey across the Delaware River. Osborne had previously published a similar work titled *Where Washington Once Led: A History of New Jersey's Washington Crossing State Park*, as well as other park studies such as *Images of America: Promised Land State Park* and *Images of America: Hacklebarney & Voorhees State Parks*. This made him the ideal person to write this book.

Washington crossed the Delaware River from Pennsylvania to New Jersey on his way to Trenton and we now have books describing the development of parks on either side of the Delaware River journey. Even though there are two books describing these parks, the publication on the Pennsylvania park is the later study and it includes the rivalry and spirit of cooperation that exists between these parks. The author included historical sources and research from the New Jersey park in this later work.

General Washington's crossing of the Delaware River into New Jersey on Christmas night 1776 provides the historical significance of the park.

As every student of American history learned about the Revolutionary War, Washington's army surprised and defeated the British and Hessian forces at Trenton, New Jersey, while they celebrated the Christmas holiday. It was an important historical event and maybe the most important event of the Revolutionary War. Yet, this book is not about that victory; it is about the development of a park celebrating that victory.

It's about how the idea for a park came about and how the idea became a reality in 1927 with a dedication of the park. The author tells the reader that the dedication was just a beginning and he details the numerous project delays, political battles with state and national government, land acquisitions and national events like the Great Depression, and a world war that impeded local efforts to make this park what it is today. The book is about how various individuals stepped up and kept the idea of what the park could become in the forefront of everyone's thoughts and then worked tirelessly to make the dream for the park a reality.

The strengths of this book is in its detail and Osborne's research that goes back to the beginning and traces land acquisition, rivalry, political intrigue on the national, state and local levels, and the battles won up to the present time that made the dream of many come true.

Osborne added a bibliographic essay at the back of this volume because he wanted a detailed paper trail that would serve future researchers in this field. The bibliography is the most extensive ever created for both parks and combines the bibliographic material used for both Crossing Park histories as well as material on the regional history of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey.

Osborne ensured that those who are interested in this area of study will find reading this book an adventure. While someone interested in researching the actual battle that took place at Trenton will not find a lot of data, the journey that Washington and his men made to Trenton through Pennsylvania and New Jersey is well documented. Those who go to the park to enjoy its scenic landscape and hiking trails will enjoy this book because it captures the history of the land at the time of the crossing.

Washington's troops were on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River for about a month before the crossing and while some sites have been lost to development there are preserved buildings that were actually used by Washington and his army; Osborne provides not only the history but also the efforts to preserve these sites. Osborne is enthusiastic in describing the final version of this park with its excellent visitor center that houses many

historically significant books and publications describing the Mid-Atlantic region.

Osborne did more than tell the story of the park in this book. He wished to encapsulate in this volume references from his life's work researching the rich history of the Mid-Atlantic region. The thoroughness of Osborne's research and his meticulous attention to detail will make this book indispensable to researchers; they will find the bibliography alone a treasure trove of data that they can apply to studies of the entire region.

WILLIAM STANLEY TRESS
University of Baltimore

W. Clark Gilpin. *Religion Around Emily Dickinson* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014). Pp. 201. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95; Paper, \$29.64.

This is the second volume in an ambitious series from Pennsylvania State University Press entitled "Religion Around." The series applies the New Historicism to literary and cultural figures of various times, places, and genres. The first effort by series editor Peter Iver Kaufman explored religious ideas, writers, and debates revolving around Shakespeare. Future proposed additions to the series may focus on various cultural figures such as Dante, Edward Gibbon, and Walter Scott, or Langston Hughes, Billie Holliday, Allen Ginsberg, and Sting. The series aspires to shed light on the religious ideas that shaped the selected iconic life and creative work while also considering ways that individual subjects contributed to and resisted, perhaps in previously unrecognized ways, the religious movements and debates swirling around them. The works carve out a new genre, resisting the forms of more traditional biographies, religious histories, literary histories, and literary criticisms at the same time they mine those secondary sources to analyze "religion around."

Gilpin's long and productive career has been firmly situated in the religious history of Christianity in the United States, with special focus on religious literature. His contribution to this series tackles three subjects that most Americans today, even the literate and the scholarly, often find dense and difficult to access—theology, poetry, and, specifically, the life and work of the poet Emily Dickinson. Gilpin traces the relationship between these

subjects by inviting the reader into his personal intellectual exploration of the religious milieu in which Dickinson lived and worked and her use of religious themes and metaphors in her poems as well as in her letters. Dickinson's life and works span the middle decades of the nineteenth century, a period of social, economic, political, religious, and cultural transformation in her native New England and beyond. Her most prolific years of writing poetry coincided with the traumatic years of the Civil War. According to Gilpin, Dickinson was by no means a mere product of her time and place, however. She resisted the ambient Protestant culture as often as she mirrored it; she was an incisive cultural critic.

Gilpin situates Dickinson's religious motifs and criticisms within this broader context of religious, intellectual, and cultural history. His primary sources reach back to the Puritan Jonathan Edwards in colonial New England but focus on nineteenth-century Protestant evangelicals such as the Beechers, Horace Bushnell, and Phoebe Palmer, the Romantic writers Emerson and Thoreau, the abolitionist Frederick Douglass, the novelists Susan Warner and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and many others. Dickinson and her family subscribed to many periodicals of the time, listened to the preachers and lecturers who came through her hometown of Amherst, Massachusetts, sang the hymns, read the King James Bible, and engaged in political debate. Gilpin cannot identify exact connections between Dickinson and other writers beyond her correspondence with mentor Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the noted Unitarian clergyman, author, abolitionist, and women's rights advocate. Instead, within that broader context, Gilpin identifies a long-standing imaginary conversation among American religious and intellectual thinkers about the relationships between the interior self and soul, the exterior world of nature and society, and the transcendent realm of God, immortality, and eternity.

Religion around the poet Emily Dickinson, then, is not just doctrines or beliefs, practices or affiliation. Indeed, Dickinson never joined her family's church and rarely attended in adulthood. Religion around her is, however, metaphors and tropes, ideas and ideals, ways of thinking, debates or dialogues, correspondence, literary and other artful expression and experience. In a chapter entitled "Society and Solitude," Gilpin situates Dickinson's legendary reclusiveness into a long religious tradition of retreat and self-examination, whether in the closet or the woods, in prayer or in writing. This tradition helps explain Dickinson's choice for solitude, though her place of withdrawal was the domestic and gendered space of house and garden and her writing a

very distinctive style of poetry. The chapter, “Domesticity and the Divine,” explores ways that Dickinson and her contemporaries constructed the home as a religious sphere. In the chapter “An Intimate Absence” Gilpin describes the circumstances of nineteenth-century mourning rituals and the nation in deep mourning during and after the Civil War, comparing them to the religious language of mourning over the distance between parted and departed friends and loved ones that infuses Dickinson’s letters and poetry. Likewise, Dickinson’s preoccupation with marking time—between past, present, and future—draws on metaphors of days and seasons just as religious calendars and theology draw on events such as birth, death, and resurrection to demarcate lives and biblical narratives. Dickinson’s poetry probes the pain and mystery of death and the efforts of the living to part the veil that separates them from the dead while largely avoiding explicit mention of the Civil War and spiritualism, cultural contexts that surely informed her poetic imagination.

Though Gilpin situates himself in a postmodernist critical stance that values pluralism over consensus, he might have considered at greater length the social and cultural consequences of New England Protestantism and literary culture on a white, middle-class, educated, intellectually vibrant, and unmarried woman. As Gilpin notes, Dickinson confined herself to a domestic sphere dictated by that culture. He also describes how other women writers and the evangelist Phoebe Palmer employed the parlor as a literary forum and a religious pulpit. But Dickinson largely rejected even these modestly public female spaces. She also resisted much of the traditional responsibility of that domestic sphere. Many of her contemporaries—women writers such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lydia Maria Childs—wrote while saddled with husbands and children; they published in part to support those families. Gilpin might have probed more deeply the resonant religious rhetoric about woman’s place that Dickinson both accepts and resists in her life, her correspondence, and her poems. Dickinson did leave poems and letters that shed light on love, marriage, and women’s place even as she retreated more deeply into her family’s domestic sphere, remained unmarried, rejected publication, and, for the last decades of her adult life, became less productive as a writer. Similarly, Gilpin’s look at religion around Dickinson does not stray far from New England Protestantism, yet even that strong tradition was challenged by growing diversity during the poet’s lifetime. Instead, Gilpin mirrors what he calls Dickinson’s “self-aware provincialism.” Finally, more attention to Dickinson’s justification for her vocation, to her identity as a poet, might also illuminate the religion in and around her.

In sum, Gilpin does an excellent job of organizing the most important religious traditions and trends to provide a religious context for understanding the poet's critical, skeptical, singular eye on religion. Yet, it is not an exhaustive portrait of religion in her time or in her writing. Instead, it is the senior scholar's "roundabout" and intriguing exploration of the two with selected instances of their intersection.

KARIN E. GEDGE
West Chester University

Patrick Griffin, Robert G. Ingram, Peter S. Onuf, and Brian Schoen, eds. *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy: The Politics of Violence in the American Revolutionary Era* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015). Pp. 328, index. Cloth, \$45.00.

In the 2004 publication of *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic* a group of young historians sought to reinvigorate the study of political history by introducing what they proposed as a more encompassing approach to investigating circumstances during the early republic. Their method encourages scholars to go beyond merely partisan influences and assess the broader political culture of the era. The goal is to understand more fully the political impact of ordinary Americans who are typically relegated to the shadows of historical analysis. Whether a new paradigm was achieved remains a source of scholarly discussion, though clearly since its publication the anthology has influenced the study of the early republic. *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy* is an extension of those interpretative techniques introduced in *Beyond the Founders*.

The goal of *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy* is to begin constructing a synthesis of the ideological interpretation of the early republic introduced by Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood and the behaviorist interpretation proposed by Alfred Young and Gary Nash among others. To do this the anthology's eleven authors examine the effects that average citizens had on the evolution of the new nation. Several themes link the essays. One involves the methods used by Americans to adapt their understanding of sovereignty to the changing circumstances in British America. Another theme explores how violence, both as a concept and as a behavior, was used to mobilize populations. As the title implies, the thread that runs through all eleven

essays is violence. A third theme describes how expanded democracy became a justification for the suppression of potentially violent challenges similar to those earlier challenges that characterized the march to independence.

In two early pieces Andrew Clayton and Patrick Griffin argue that colonial Americans in the eighteenth century reflected a contradictory attitude about violence. On one hand Americans embraced a British commitment to the use of liberty and law instead of violence. However, in leading the world to a higher level of civilization the British justified selective use of violence against those countrymen who posed a threat to British civilization. In this they meant specifically Irish Catholics and later Highland Scotsmen. Colonial Americans rationalized the use of similar methods against Native Americans and slaves. Griffin contends that the American frontier and plantations were part of a continuum that began in Ireland during the seventeenth century, was carried to Scotland, and then on to the colonial backwoods. It was this application of the British perspective applied to the circumstances in colonial America that provided the spark of revolution that followed.

In two of the more engaging essays Jessica Chapin Roney and Peter Moser describe how the threat of violence and efforts to avoid that threat served as a source of popular mobilization and the creation of state governments. Roney expands to the province as a whole Richard Ryerson's discussion of mobilization in Philadelphia. She demonstrates how mobilization during the Seven Years' War fostered the creation throughout Pennsylvania of local militia that after independence replaced traditional leadership. She concludes that "Pennsylvania's was America's first—and for as long as half a century *only*—democratic revolution" (106). Messer uses mobs in Massachusetts and their potential for violence much as Roney describes the violent potential of Pennsylvania's militia. In both cases the threat of violence and the periodical limited use of violence facilitates the establishment of popular governmental authority. Messer's explanation also previews some of the tensions in Massachusetts that Pauline Maier describes in *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788* during the state's struggles over ratification.

Several of the concluding essays explore the transition from British subject to American citizen that followed independence and new forms of acceptable political challenge and protest that accompanied the transition. Using several events in Pennsylvania as his focus Kenneth Owen assesses the use of violence as a justifiable post-independence action. He concludes that while violence generally remained an acceptable option when redressing grievances, increasingly it was only acceptable when protesting extreme

circumstances. (One wonders how Owen would assess Fries Rebellion—a popular confrontation that traveled a path different from those he uses to support his conclusions.) Jeffrey Pasley takes Owen's conclusion a bit further when discussing the Whiskey Rebellion. Pasley's description of the "democratic violence" associated with the Whiskey Rebellion can be seen as a precursor to the evolving "popular constitutionalism" that Larry Kramer has described in *The People Themselves*. Violent opposition came to be seen as a threat to democratic government and therefore was deemed unacceptable. Sanctioned protest increasingly came through newspapers, civic organization, and the rise of democratic societies rather than through mob action.

While *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy* is beset with several minor flaws, it is an exceptional collection of thought-provoking essays that will unquestionably influence the way we understand the process of revolution in colonial America and the evolution of the early American republic. Though it purports to produce analysis that encompasses social, political, and economic circumstances and thus identify a "political culture," in fact the essays focus almost exclusively on political conditions. For instance, there is no mention of the colonial consumerism that Timothy Breen has argued laid the moral foundation for independence. Likewise, the absence of fundamental statistical data undermines some of the conclusions. Nor do the essays provide the synthesis that they set out to create. Nevertheless, the anthology should be considered a notable step in that direction. Each of the essays offers a well-conceived interpretation and often insightful analysis that adds a great deal to our understanding of the period. As such the essays will certainly generate much scholarly discussion and will be required reading in college classrooms for years to come.

PAUL E. DOUTRICH
York College of Pennsylvania

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AUTHORS NEEDED: *ONLINE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE US*

Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600–2000, is compiling a state-by-state database of women involved in the National American Woman Suffrage Association for its *Online Encyclopedia of Women's Suffrage in the U.S.* So far, the encyclopedia includes National Woman's Party activists and Black women activists. WASM hopes to add NAWSA members by mid-2018.

In Pennsylvania, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is organizing this effort. We seek graduate students, independent scholars, and academics to research and write 500-word biographical sketches of seventy-five Pennsylvania activists. We are particularly interested in college and university instructors who wish to assign biographical sketches to classes of advanced undergraduate students. HSP's collections include information on almost all of the women involved, and we are happy to direct authors to these resources. However, additional research will be required in many cases.

For questions or to volunteer, please contact Pennsylvania co-coordinators Christina Larocco, editor and scholarly programs manager (clarocco@hsp.org or 215-732-6200 x208), or Alicia Parks, education manager (aparks@hsp.org or 215-732-6200 x269).

NEW PUBLICATION: *RIVER CHRONICLES*

The Waterfront Heritage and Archaeology Museum has launched an annual publication, *River Chronicles: The Journal of Philadelphia Waterfront*

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Heritage and Archaeology. Content relates to the history of the Philadelphia waterfront. The Museum came about as a direct result of ongoing I-95 corridor excavations. The journal is available in print and online at <http://www.riverchronicles.com>.

SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS 2017 ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Society of Architectural Historians will host its 70th Annual International Conference in Glasgow, Scotland, June 7–11, 2017. Meeting in Glasgow reflects the increasingly international focus of the Society and its conference, and we hope SAH members from all over the world will join us in Scotland's largest city, world renowned for its outstanding architectural heritage. This is the first time that SAH has met outside North America since 1973, when it planned a joint meeting in Cambridge with the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain. The Glasgow conference will include thirty-seven sessions and draw architectural historians, art historians, architects, museum professionals, and preservationists from around the world together to present new research on the history of the built environment. More info: <http://www.sah.org/2017>.

THE FEMININE MYSTIC: AMERICAN PROPHETESSES AND THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE JUNE 9-11, 2017, BARD COLLEGE AND THE SHAKER MUSEUM MOUNT LEBANON

Marking the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage in New York State in 1917, The Feminine Mystic is an interdisciplinary conference exploring the significance of women's religious authority in American political and cultural contexts from the early republic through the long nineteenth century. Special consideration will be given to the Shakers' celibacy and gender separation in relation to their efforts to establish women's authority from their landing in New York from Manchester in 1774. The Shaker experience illuminates the troubled, contingent, and fundamentally disunified idea of an American union in contour and counterpoint, and in prologue to the nineteenth-century heterodoxies of Mary Baker Eddy, Ellen White, Helena Blavatsky, and other women whose political agency took forms of ecstatic prophecy,

alternative theology, and visionary epistemology. Diverse in doctrine, these women align in their similar relation to structures of power and strategies for critiquing those structures. For more information contact kboswell@simons-rock.edu.

ONGOING CALL FOR PAPERS: *JOURNAL OF HOMOSEXUALITY*

Now in its 63rd volume year, the *Journal of Homosexuality* (*JH*), a landmark international peer-reviewed scholarly journal in sexuality studies, welcomes submissions from a variety of disciplinary and methodological perspectives. While the majority of articles published in the *JH* have traditionally focused on empirically based social scientific topics, *JH* welcomes on an ongoing basis submissions from such fields as art, art history, performing arts, visual arts, classics, cultural studies, education, ethnic studies, geography, history, international relations, journalism, language and literature, philosophy, political science, queer studies, and women and gender studies. For more information contact caitlin.sheeder-borrelli@taylorandfrancis.com.

BATTLE OF HOMESTEAD FOUNDATION

From their website: The Battle of Homestead Foundation (BHF) is a diverse organization of citizens, workers, educators, and historians. Its purpose is to preserve, interpret, and promote a people's history focused on the significance of the dramatic labor conflict at Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1892.

While the many consequences of that tragic event persist in society, the sole existing structure of the 1892 Homestead Steel Works is the site of the battle itself, Pump House No. 1, located in Munhall, Pennsylvania. Many people interested in the battle, as well as the history of the working class and the labor movement, are dedicated to preserving the pump house as a labor monument to working people that will attract tourism, labor groups, students, and anyone in any way interested in Western Pennsylvania's fascinating industrial and labor heritage. The BHF strives to assist and abet these interests and efforts.

Toward those goals and objectives, BHF was incorporated in 1997 as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit corporation for charitable and educational purposes.

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BHF evolved from the Homestead Strike Centennial Commemorative Committee, founded in 1990. After the dismantling of the historic Homestead Steel Works in the 1980s, then-owner Park Corporation performed restorative work on the pump house. In 1996 BHF was formed in response to Park Corporation's efforts, developing plans for a minimalist interpretive program for the site. Park welcomed the initiatives, and subsequent owners and developers, Continental Real Estate, also proved hospitable. Today the site is owned and benevolently operated by Rivers of Steel National Heritage Corporation, who also offers many educational programs, tours, and events related to Pump House No. 1 as well as other local points of interest. Check out their newly revised website at <http://battleofhomestead.org>.

STATE ARCHIVES COMPLETES PROCESSING OF LATE TWENTIETH-CENTURY GOVERNORS' PAPERS

In October 2014 the Pennsylvania Heritage Foundation® (PHF), a fiduciary of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, received a \$60,456 grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) "Documenting Democracy: Access to Historical Records" program. The grant enabled the Pennsylvania State Archives to expand public accessibility, ensure long-term preservation, and further increase intellectual control over records of the Office of the Governor, specifically those related to the administrations of late twentieth-century governors Milton Shapp, Richard Thornburgh, and Robert P. Casey. Collectively these records, many pertaining to the civil rights era, provide valuable insight into the workings of Pennsylvania's chief executive and how critical decisions affecting the Commonwealth and the nation were made.

The project, completed March 31, 2016, involved the detailed processing of 251.5 cubic feet of documents and the digital conversion of 406 videotapes (the latter was part of the required cost sharing by PHMC). The records were reappraised, arranged, and rehoused in acid-free folders and containers for long-term preservation. Folder-level finding aids were produced and are available on the Archives website (or click on series names): four series from the Pennsylvania Commission for Women, 1962–2012 (77 cubic feet); two series from the Bureau of Affirmative Action, 1970–1994; the Governor's Review

of Government Management Committee Records, 1971–1974 (43 cubic feet); and the Records of the Chief Clerk’s Office, 1874–1979. Inventories of these records are available at the State Archives website for Record Group 10, the Office of the Governor: <https://archon.klnpa.org/psa/?p=collections/classifications&cid=939>.

The State Archives and the PHF again wish to thank the NHPRC for providing the funding to enable detailed processing and digital conversion of these records from the Office of the Governor, which allow for the critical study of how the Commonwealth has responded to seminal events in US history and its relationship with the federal government. These important records truly document democracy in action.

THE MCNEIL CENTER FOR EARLY AMERICAN STUDIES ANNOUNCES ITS 2016–2017 FELLOWSHIP APPOINTMENTS

Each of the McNeil Center’s three postdoctoral fellows for this year leads—or is it follows?—a cluster of like-minded dissertation scholars. The book project of Sabbatical Fellow **Emma Hart**, senior lecturer in the School of History at the University of St. Andrews, “Trading Spaces: The Early Modern Market Place and the Creation of the American Economy,” clears room for a subdivision of laborers in various aspects of spatial history. Advisory Council Dissertation Fellow **Lauren Duval**, a historian from American University, lays out “Landscapes of Allegiance: Space, Gender, and Military Occupation in the American Revolution.” Historical Archaeologist **Megan Bailey** of the University of Maryland, a Consortium and Friends of the MCEAS Fellow, and historian **Whitney Stewart** of Rice University, Barra Fellow in Art and Material Culture, share explorations of racialized spaces, in, respectively, “Landscapes of Tension: Negotiation of Everyday Life on a Maryland Plantation”; and “The Racialized Politics of Home in Slavery and Freedom.” Megan and Whitney’s close conceptual neighbor is Richard S. Dunn Fellow **Melissa Morris** of the History Department at Columbia University, with her interest in “Cultivating Colonies: Tobacco and the Upstart Empires, 1580–1660.” Meantime, around the corner, University of Pittsburgh historian and Barra Dissertation Fellow **Yevan Terrien** and University of Pennsylvania historian and Marguerite Bartlett Hamer Dissertation Fellow **Alexander Ponsen**, expand temporal and cultural boundaries with “Exiles and Fugitives: Mobility, Labor, and Power in French Louisiana, ca. 1700–1780”

and “Conflict and Coexistence on the Edge of Empire: The Limits of Sovereignty in the Iberian Imperial World, 1570–1650.”

Space is not our final 2016 frontier, and Alex is not our only scholar of the Iberian Atlantic. First-year Barra Dissertation Fellow **Christopher Heaney**, newly minted University of Texas Ph.D. and newly appointed assistant professor of history at Penn State, works on “The Pre-Columbian Exchange: The Circulation and Study of the Ancient Peruvian Dead in the Atlantic World and America.” The slightly morbid cluster of dissertators gathering around Chris and his mummies includes Consortium Fellow **Rebecca Rosen** of the English Department at Princeton, whose effort is “Making the Body Speak: Anatomy, Autopsy and Testimony in Early America, 1639–1790.” Rebecca’s bodies may or may not find their voiced blocked by “Unspeakable Loss, Distempered Awakenings: North America’s Invisible Throat Distemper Epidemic of 1735–1765,” the project of Notre Dame Historian **Nicholas Bonneau**, who is our Carpenter Fellow in Early American Religious Studies and a Friends of the MCEAS Fellow. Whatever the case, Rebecca and Nick both will have much to discuss with the different body of evidence explored by Friends Fellow **Eric Herschthal**, whose dissertation is entitled “The Science of Antislavery: The Role of Science in the Early Antislavery Movement, 1770–1830.”

As second-year Barra Postdoctoral Fellow **Elizabeth Ellis** continues her book project, “The Many Ties of the Petites Nations: Relationships, Power, and Diplomacy in the Lower Mississippi Valley 1685–1785,” she will develop many connections with Advisory Council Fellow **Jane Dinwoodie** of Oxford University, whose history dissertation is called “Beyond Removal: Indians, States, and Sovereignities in the American South, c.1812–1860.” And the many ties of Liz’s scholarly interest stretch to the other clusters as well, from Yevan’s work on Louisiana to Megan’s and Chris’s expertise in archaeological matters, as well as to a fourth cluster of scholars, who make up for their lack of a Ph.D.-holder with their ability to communicate across time, space, and race.

That network includes our three Andrew W. Mellon Dissertation Fellows in Early American Literature and Material Texts. Historian **Alyssa Zuercher Reichardt** of Yale University speaks to a “War for the Interior: Imperial Conflict and the Formation of North American and Transatlantic Communications Infrastructure, 1730–1774.” Literary Scholar **Christy Pottroff** of Fordham University posts “The Mail Gaze: Early American

Literature, Letters, and the Post Office.” and historian **Nora Slonimsky**, of the CUNY Graduate Center fires up “‘The Engine of Free Expression’?: The Political Development of Copyright in the Colonial British Atlantic and Early National United States.” Joining these scholarly communications, or at least purporting to, is “Circulating Counterfeits: Making Money and Its Meanings in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic,” the dissertation project of Consortium Fellow **Katherine Smoak** of the History Department at Johns Hopkins University.

Please join Social Media Coordinator **Alexandra Montgomery**, Brownbag Coordinator **Don James McLaughlin**, and all of us at the McNeil Center in spreading the news about this wonderful cohort of scholars across space and among the living and the dead, as we welcome them into the Center community.

For more information about the McNeil Center, its fellows, and its activities, please visit: <http://www.mceas.org>

INAUGURAL MEETING AND CALL FOR PAPERS OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICANISTS

Theme: “Milestones, Markers, and Moments: Turning Points in American Experience and Tradition”

Date: March 31–April 1, 2017

Venue: Harrisburg Hilton, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Partner Organizations: Middle Atlantic Folklife Association (MAFA) and Eastern American Studies Association (EASA).

In the upcoming year, the anniversary of classic publications and addresses, of the election of the first African American president of the ASA, and the foundation of many prominent programs in American Studies throughout the United States, Americanists might reflect on any number of critical moments in the formation of the field that call upon us to consider both how the field has come to be constructed in the present moment, and what turning points may lie ahead. As part of our history of framing and reframing American Studies as a field in dialogue with contemporary events and trends, institutional developments, and disciplinary formations, the inaugural meeting of a new professional organization, the Society of Americanists (SOA), will offer yet another point of departure to interrogate American Studies as a scholarly venture.

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The SOA was conceived of as “a coalition of persons, organizations, and academic programs devoted to the study of the United States” and its purpose is to foster integrated studies of American history, society, arts, and culture in all their aspects, and to promote the profession of scholars and professionals devoted to the study of the United States in a global context. This year the SOA, in partnership with the Middle Atlantic Folklife Association and the Eastern American Studies Association, invites proposals for papers, panels, forums, and workshops related to the broad theme of markers, moments, and turning points in American history, folklife, education, cultural conservation, heritage, and society. *As part of specially designated SOA-sponsored sessions, the program committee is particularly interested in works that offer perspectives on both past moments and future directions in the American Studies movement, especially in a global context.* The SOA, MAFA, and EASA hope for presentations suggested by the conference theme, but we also welcome panels on topics of significance to scholars engaged in the practice of American Studies that the conference theme otherwise might exclude.

Submission guidelines: Individual presenters should send a short abstract (no more than 200 words) and a brief CV or resume (no more than two pages), with presenter’s name and email address on both documents. For preformed panels, send a cover sheet with the title of the panel, the name of each participant, and the titles of their presentations. Include a short abstract of each paper (no more than 200 words each) as well as a CV or resume for each panel participant (no longer than two pages).

SOA designation: Those submitting proposals are free to do so without designation for the general joint conference. However, if you would like your paper, panel, or workshop to be considered for inclusion in the inaugural meeting of the Society of Americanists, please indicate this on your proposal materials. These sessions will receive special designation in the conference program as SOA-sponsored events.

How to submit: All materials should be sent to Jennifer Drissel (jzd5551@psu.edu) before Monday, January 16, 2017. Graduate students whose proposals are accepted will be encouraged to submit their final papers electronically several weeks prior to the conference to be considered for the Simon J. Bronner Award for the outstanding graduate paper in American Studies.

The conference will also host an undergraduate roundtable. Faculty members interested in having their undergraduate students present research at the conference should contact Dr. Francis Ryan of La Salle University

(ryan@lasalle.edu). Roundtable participants will compete for the Francis Ryan Award, awarded annually to the outstanding undergraduate paper.

Any general questions can be directed to John Haddad of Penn State Harrisburg (jrh36@psu.edu). For more information, including our downloadable newsletter, see the EASA website: <http://harrisburg.psu.edu/eastern-american-studies-association>.