The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 has been considered a conservative, indeed a counterrevolutionary document.1 Nevertheless, it contained liberal provisions regarding the exercise of the suffrage, a right conferred upon all adult freemen of two years' residence in the state who had paid a state or county tax six months prior to the election. Even in the requirement of tax payment, a concession was made to those young men between twenty-one and twenty-two who had arrived at voting age before becoming liable for tax assessment.

The incidence of taxation varied greatly from place to place, the legislature making numerous provisions and adjustments. It is therefore difficult to draw any uniform conclusion. In 1795, for example, the tax commissioners of Philadelphia were authorized to levy sums designated according to occupation; in the case of mechanics and tradesmen the sum might be as low as thirty cents, while one dollar was the minimum amount that was to be raised from each banker, merchant, lawyer and doctor (higher sums were permitted, at the discretion of the commissioners).2 Despite the fact that the collection, or remission, of unpaid taxes was a constant concern of the legislature,3 it does not appear that the population contained any definite segment exempt from taxation. Indeed, a small property tax, or a road tax levied by the counties, was enough to qualify most of the voters, and the effect was "almost universal manhood suffrage."4

Property qualifications were not required of elective officers. Representatives had to be twenty-one years of age, to have been citizens and inhabitants of the state for three years, and inhabitants for one year of the cities or counties they sought to represent. A senator

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1 Robert L. Brunhouse, Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790 (Harrisburg, 1942).
2 Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, XV (1794-1797), 324-325.
3 Ibid., XIII, XIV, XV passim.
4 Philip S. Klein, Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832 (Philadelphia, 1940), 34.
must be twenty-five, four years an inhabitant of the state and one year of his district. The governor must be at least thirty, a seven-years' citizen and resident of the state, and have spent three years in public office. The voting figures reflect the political excitement in Pennsylvania, where bitter feuds and rivalries rent the state from the time of the Revolution, through the Jeffersonian period, into that of Jackson. Domestic politics knew no "era of good feelings." As was usual, early elections to state office attracted more attention than federal elections, and it was only in 1828 that the presidential poll overtook the vote for governor. It is a striking feature of these figures that, although interest in the presidency began to run fairly high in 1828, attracting the vote of 58% of the electorate, interest in the governorship ran almost equally high in 1799 and 1805, attracting respectively 56% and 55% of the vote. The gubernatorial poll of 1808 was proportionally higher than any presidential poll until the great leap of 1840. Then, in Pennsylvania, as in Connecticut and elsewhere, the poll rose sharply after 1836. These statistics show clearly that popular participation in politics underwent no radical transformation in the Jackson period. One can see a wider interest in federal affairs emerging suddenly in 1828, but this merely meant the transference to the federal arena of an activity that had long-standing precedents in domestic issues.

In the accompanying table of available Pennsylvania election statistics, 1790–1840, Federal Census returns have been used for population. For the years falling between the census years, the population has been estimated by subtracting the earlier from the later total, dividing the difference by ten, and then adding one tenth of that difference for each of the intervening years. The estimates for the free adult male population have been arrived at by the use of a similar principle. For example, where the census breaks its returns at the age groups of sixteen and twenty-six, the total number in that age group has been divided by ten, and half the remainder (representing the total over twenty-one) has been added to the rest of the


6 See J. R. Pole, "Suffrage and Representation in Massachusetts: A Statistical Note," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, XIV (1957), 560–592; also, errata due for publication, April, 1958. The table accompanying this article includes statistics for Connecticut and New Hampshire as well as for Massachusetts.
total over twenty-six. This method has been varied slightly according to the information given in the census returns. Voting figures have been taken from The Pennsylvania Manual for 1949-1950.

University College London

J. R. Pole

Pennsylvania Election Statistics, 1790-1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Free Adult Males</th>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>% of Free Adult Males Voting</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>98,680</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>30,527</td>
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<td>1793</td>
<td>107,698</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>29,296</td>
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<td>1796</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>22,932</td>
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<td>1799</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>31,031</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>43,066</td>
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<td>1838</td>
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<tr>
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<td>382,973</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>288,026</td>
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</table>

7 I am much indebted to Mr. N. H. Carrier, Reader in Demography in the London School of Economics, for his guidance as to the use of statistical methods. He is not, of course, in any way responsible for my own arithmetic, or for my inferences from the tables.

8 See pp. 91 and 96. I received kindly aid in the Pennsylvania archives in Harrisburg from Mr. Henry J. Young and Mr. William A. Hunter.

9 G = Governor; P = President.

10 Klein, 409.
11 Ibid., 210 (note).
The Poe-Kennedy Friendship

EDGAR ALLAN POE'S friendship with the Baltimore novelist and politician John Pendleton Kennedy is a well-documented chapter in American literary history. At Poe's death in 1849, Kennedy noted in his journal: "It is many years ago—I think perhaps as early as 1833 or 4 that I found him [Poe] in Baltimore in a state of starvation. I gave him clothing, free access to my table and the use of a horse for exercise whenever he chose—in fact brought him up from the very verge of despair. I then got him employment with Mr. [Thomas W.] White in one department of the editorship of the Southern Literary Messenger at Richmond."\(^1\)

Kennedy's memory was accurate, and his services have been generously acknowledged by Poe's biographers. Kennedy was an early friend, a steadfast one, and among the few men who were loyal to Poe until the end. "Mr. Kennedy," Poe wrote, "has been at all times a true friend to me—he was the first true friend I ever had—I am indebted to him for life itself."\(^2\)

The history of the friendship rests largely on the extant correspondence that passed between the two men. These letters reveal Kennedy in the role of counselor and patron, offering both advice and material assistance to Poe at critical moments in his career. However, Kennedy's personal opinion of his famous friend has been a matter of conjecture. Among the Kennedy papers in the Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, is a copy of a letter, hitherto overlooked, written by Kennedy to George W. Fahnestock of Philadelphia. The letter contains a candid assessment of Poe the writer and Poe the man.

George Fahnestock was a philanthropist and gentleman of leisure whose dilettante enthusiasms included American literature. On February 1, 1867, while visiting St. Paul, Minnesota, he noted in his diary: "I obtained from Whitney, proofs of copies of a daguerreotype of Edgar Poe, kindly loaned me for the purpose by General LeDuc."


I ordered several dozen copies. . . .” During the following months he sent copies of the daguerreotype to friends, among them Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and on March 4, 1867, he sent one to Kennedy.

The two men had never met. In 1864 while visiting Baltimore, Fahnestock had been taken to meet Kennedy by Dr. John G. Morris, librarian of the Peabody Institute, but as Fahnestock recorded in his diary, “we were met by his wife, and informed that Mr. K[ennedy] had gone out to ride.”

Kennedy was traveling in Europe when the letter arrived in Baltimore, and upon his return wrote the following reply. Fahnestock never received it, for in December, 1868, he was killed when the steamer United States, on which he was a passenger, was destroyed by fire.

Baltimore 90 Madison St.
April 13, 1869

My dear Sir

I hope you will not think this letter too late in bringing to you my acknowledgement of your kind favor of the 4th of March 1867, written by you at St. Paul in Minnesota and enclosing a photograph of Edgar Poe. I was at that date in Europe, whence I returned towards the close of the past year, after an absence of nearly three years; and since my return I have been so much occupied with the arrears of my correspondence and other matters, that I have been compelled to throw myself upon the kind indulgence of my friends, for what I have had reason to fear they might regard as an uncivil neglect, in the tardiness with which I have come up to the duty I owed them. I hope you will exonerate me from this charge when I tell you that I have taken the first moment at my disposal to thank you, which I do very heartily, for your remembrance of me in your letter.

I was very intimate with Poe, during the period of his residence in this city, and followed the story of his unhappy career with great interest after he left us. I have never known, nor read of any one, whose life so curiously illustrated that twofold existence of the spiritual and the carnal disputing the control of the man, which has

4 Ibid., Apr. 31, 1864.
often been made the theme of fiction. His was debauched by the
most grovelling appetites and exalted by the richest conception of
genius. In his special department of thought, our country has pro-
duced no poet or prose writer superior to him—indeed, I think, none
equal to him. This Photograph is very good, though it does not
belong to his best days. You may see in it that sensualism which,
in the later stages of his life, became conspicuous in his physiognomy.
But still, the likeness is very true and perhaps the best now extant.

It would give me great pleasure to make an acquaintance which
was frustrated by my absence when you favored me with a call with
Dr. Morris, and I should be glad if upon any visit to our City you
would be so kind as to let me know of your arrival.

With the highest respect
very truly
yours
John P. Kennedy

G. W. Fahnestock

The Poe daguerreotype might be one of several taken during the
“later stages of his life.” Others besides Kennedy have observed the
duality of Poe’s nature reflected in his countenance. Professor
Arthur Hobson Quinn, for example, wrote in his biography of Poe:
“Take a full face daguerreotype of Poe, lay a card upon it, so that
first one side and then the other will be concealed. On one side you
will see a high forehead, an eye large and full, a firm mouth and a
well shaped chin. On the other will appear a lower brow, a less
lustrous eye, a mouth painfully drawn, and a chin less certain. That
is why an artist like Sully chose to paint Poe’s three-quarter face.”5

Kennedy praised Poe’s writing during his lifetime and believed
him to be the finest author America had yet produced. Kennedy’s
letter to Fahnestock reveals that twenty years after Poe’s death, and
only sixteen months before his own, his estimate of Poe’s work
remained unchanged. And as an estimate of Poe’s character, the
letter offers testimony of an objective but sympathetic observer who
could speak with the knowledge gained from a friendship of fifteen
years.

5 Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), 693.