

THE
PENNSYLVANIA
MAGAZINE
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOLUME CXXXIII

October 2009

NO. 4

A LOOKING-GLASS FOR PRESBYTERIANS: RECASTING A
PREJUDICE IN LATE COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin Bankhurst 317

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN PHILADELPHIA JUDICIAL
APPOINTMENTS: ABRAHAM L. FREEDMAN'S ACCOUNT

Isador Kranzel, with Eric Klinek 349

ELIZABETH KIRKBRIDE GURNEY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH
ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE QUAKER DILEMMA

Max L. Carter 389

A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OF GARY NASH'S
THE URBAN CRUCIBLE

*John M. Murrin, Benjamin L. Carp, Billy G. Smith,
Simon Middleton, Richard S. Newman, and Gary B. Nash* 397

BOOK REVIEWS 441

INDEX 457

BOOK REVIEWS

ROEBER, ed., <i>Ethnographies and Exchanges: Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America</i> , by Richard W. Pointer	441
LEMAY, <i>The Life of Benjamin Franklin</i> , Vol. 3, <i>Soldier, Scientist, and Politician, 1748–1757</i> , by Barbara Oberg	442
LOANE, <i>Following the Drum: Women at the Valley Forge Encampment</i> , by Holly A. Mayer	444
FALK, <i>Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America</i> , by Robert St. George	445
WENGER, <i>A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807</i> , by Paul G. E. Clemens	447
VARON, <i>Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859</i> , by Judith Giesberg	448
SILBER, <i>Gender and the Sectional Conflict</i> , by Susan Hanket Brandt	450
ARONSON, <i>Nickelodeon City: Pittsburgh at the Movies, 1905–1929</i> , by David Nasaw	451

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, from 2006 to the present, is now available online to members and subscribers at The History Cooperative, <http://www.historycooperative.org>. In order to access the full text of articles and reviews, subscribers will need to register for the first time using the identification number on their mailing label. To obtain your member identification number, you may also call the editor at 215-732-6200 x208, or e-mail pmhb@hsp.org. Back issues are freely available on the Penn State University Libraries Web site, at <http://publications.libraries.psu.edu/eresources/pmhb>. Back issues from 1877 through 2003 are also available on JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>). All three sites can also be accessed from the Historical Society's Web site, at <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=68>.

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Elizabeth Paul Kirkbride Gurney. Cox-Parrish-Wharton Papers. In recognition of Abraham Lincoln's two hundredth birthday, we reprint one of our most moving Lincoln documents, a letter from Abraham Lincoln to Quaker Eliza P. Gurney in 1864 that addresses the dilemma that Quakers faced during the Civil War in opposing both war and slavery. See Max L. Carter's discussion of the Lincoln-Gurney correspondence in this issue.

Editorial Advisory Committee

STEVEN CONN <i>Ohio State University</i>	JANE MERRITT <i>Old Dominion University</i>
MATTHEW COUNTRYMAN <i>University of Michigan</i>	CHARLENE MIRES <i>Villanova University</i>
THOMAS DUBLIN <i>Binghamton University</i>	CARLA MULFORD <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
ELIZABETH ARMSTRONG DUNBAR <i>University of Delaware</i>	MARK E. NEELY JR. <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
LORI GINZBERG <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>	LESLIE PATRICK <i>Bucknell University</i>
JOHN HEPP <i>Wilkes University</i>	DONNA J. RILLING <i>State University of New York, Stony Brook</i>
RICHARD N. JULIANI <i>Villanova University</i>	DAVID SCHUYLER <i>Franklin & Marshall College</i>
RUSSELL KAZAL <i>University of Toronto at Scarborough</i>	THOMAS J. SUGRUE <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>
HOLLY A. MAYER <i>Duquesne University</i>	ELIZABETH VARON <i>Temple University</i>

Editor

TAMARA GASKELL

Editorial Intern

ERIC KLINEK

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (ISSN 0031-4587) is published each quarter in January, April, July, and October by THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. Periodicals postage paid at Philadelphia, PA and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to PMHB, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. **Yearly subscriptions:** individual, \$35.00; institutional, \$75.00. **Back issues:** Selected issues and annual bound volumes are available. Query editor for availability and price. **Authorization for academic photocopying:** Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., Academic Permissions Service, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. **Submissions:** All communications should be addressed to the editor. E-mail may be sent to pmhb@hsp.org. Manuscripts should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Electronic submissions are welcome. Manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. For submission guidelines, visit the PMHB Web page (<http://www.hsp.org>). The editor does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by the contributors.

Contributors

BENJAMIN BANKHURST is a PhD candidate in history at King's College, London. He is currently writing a dissertation on American charity drives in Ireland during the French and Indian War (1754–63).

BENJAMIN L. CARP is an assistant professor of early American history at Tufts University. He is the author of *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (2007). He is currently working on a book about the Boston Tea Party.

MAX L. CARTER is the director of Friends Center and of Quaker studies at Guilford College in Greensboro, NC. His publications include *Minutiae of the Meeting* (1999), a look at Friends in popular culture, and *College Spirit* (2003), a collection of essays on Quaker campus ministry.

ISADOR KRANZEL was assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia from 1956–71, assistant district attorney from 1973–75, and an administrative law judge with the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission from 1978–2000. He has also taught at various universities and is Vice Chairman of the Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center at Temple University.

SIMON MIDDLETON teaches early American history at the University of Sheffield. He has published numerous articles and is the author of *From Privileges to Rights: Work and Politics in Colonial New York City* (2006) and co-editor of *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (2008).

JOHN M. MURRIN taught American colonial and revolutionary history at Princeton from 1973 until his retirement in 2003. He is a co-author of *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People* (1996) and has published numerous essays on the social, religious, political, and legal history of early America.

GARY B. NASH is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA where he is professor of history emeritus. His new book, *The Liberty Bell: An American Icon*, will be published by Yale University Press in 2010.

RICHARD S. NEWMAN is professor of history at Rochester Institute of Technology and the author of *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (2008), which won the ForeWord Magazine Gold Medal for Best Biography in 2009.

BILLY G. SMITH is professor of history at Montana State University. He is co-editor of *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (2008) and *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, An Indentured Servant* (1992). He is currently writing *Ship of Death: The Voyage that Changed the Atlantic World* as well as creating GIS maps of early national Philadelphia.



A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians: Recasting a Prejudice in Late Colonial Pennsylvania

THE CONESTOGA MASSACRES in the winter of 1763–64 and the Paxton Boys' subsequent march on Philadelphia have long been acknowledged as crucial events in the construction of race and the evolution of popular politics in late colonial Pennsylvania. As Peter Silver, Patrick Griffin, and Kevin Kenny have recently demonstrated, these incidents were flash points that encouraged the gradual development of a new discourse of race that competed with older, inherited, ethnic and religious categories.¹ This new paradigm slowly united competing European ethno-religious groups under the moniker of "white folk"—an exclusive grouping closed to all but Euro-Americans. But divisive Old World

The author would like to thank Ian McBride and Melvin Yazawa for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this article. He would also like to thank Peter Silver for sharing his valuable insights regarding anonymous authorship and the Paxton pamphlets, as well as Tamara Gaskell and the editorial staff of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

¹ Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, 2008), 177–90; Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York, 2007), 46–49, 64–68; Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York, 2009). For a brief examination of the Conestoga massacres in these works, as well as a broader contextualization of the events, see Patrick Spero, "Matters of Perspective: Interpreting the Revolutionary Frontier," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 132 (2008): 261–70.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
Vol. CXXXIII, No. 4 (October 2009)

models for collective identity, in which ethnicity, religion, and politics were intertwined, survived—even thrived—alongside emergent perceptions of racial difference in the tense atmosphere that engulfed Philadelphia after the Paxton march. The rioters threatened a cosmopolitan city ridden with religious tension and political faction. As Silver attests, the Paxton murders were not popularly understood by contemporaries in terms of the perpetrators' hatred for Indians because a "ready-made explanation" compelled many to arrive at a different conclusion: the Paxton Boys—commonly believed to be Scots-Irish Presbyterians—had behaved as people of their ethnicity and denomination always had.² The election debates that followed the march on Philadelphia might thus be examined in the context of widespread and long-established uneasiness over both the growth of Presbyterianism and continued Irish immigration. Indeed, it appeared to many Pennsylvanians, especially in the east, that the most pressing threats to the colony's stability came not from violent Indian incursions, but from within. That this should be the case after a decade of warfare on the frontier indicates how entrenched Old World factionalism and biases were in mid-eighteenth-century colonial society.

This article does not address the creation of white identity in opposition to non-European groups. Instead, it exposes the anxieties of a large proportion of the Pennsylvania electorate regarding shifting Euro-American ethnoreligious demographics by examining the phenomenon of anti-Presbyterianism as it was expressed in the pamphlet literature of 1764. Anti-Presbyterianism can be seen, to borrow a concept from the historiography of seventeenth-century English anti-Catholicism, as a "structure of prejudice" by which the members of one group attack those of another through a process of inversion, casting their opponents as binary negatives of themselves.³ These structures of prejudice, inherited from previous generations and influenced by developments in Europe, offered mid-eighteenth-century colonials a framework for making sense of political and religious change at home while simultaneously reinforcing their sense of interconnectedness with the English core of the empire through a belief in a common history. But the colonial anti-Presbyterian stereotype, while modelled on its British counterpart, reflected the unique con-

² Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 203.

³ Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London, 1989), 72–106.

cerns of the groups—in Pennsylvania, Quakers and Anglicans—that used it to attack a diverse community that was itself distinct from its European forebears. In other words, the anti-Presbyterian construct was responsive to colonial conditions. Those who employed it had to draw upon the anxieties of a local audience in order to rally support for their cause. Thus, because the growth of Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania was the result of continual Irish immigration, Philadelphian anti-Presbyterian diatribes commonly contained negative caricatures of the Irish. American writers fashioned demeaning depictions of the Scots-Irish, inspired by selective readings of Ulster Protestant history, the popular British trope of Irish Catholic barbarity, and—by extension—the discourse of antipopery, onto the stereotype. By welding new traits to a century-old ethnic caricature and merging different stereotypes, they demonstrated the adaptability—and primacy—of European conceptions of ethnicity in a period when ideas of racial difference were gaining gradual acceptance.

Anti-Presbyterianism in Assembly Pamphlets

In December 1763, a mob in Lancaster County, soon dubbed the “Paxton Boys,” brutally murdered two groups of innocent Conestoga Indians that it suspected of participating in attacks on western settlements during Pontiac’s Uprising. A few months later, anger over the government’s seemingly preferential concern for the Conestogas above the interests of western whites led the Paxton Boys, whose ranks had swollen in the meantime, to march on Philadelphia. Their leaders met a delegation from the city in Germantown and agreed to disband if their concerns were aired before the legislature. These events initiated a reconfiguration of ethnoreligious political allegiances on the eve of a general election.⁴

⁴The Paxton Boys have a large historiography. For a more detailed narrative of events, see Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*; Brooke Hindle, “The March of the Paxton Boys,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 3 (1946): 461–86; John R. Dunbar’s introduction to *The Paxton Papers* (The Hague, 1957), 3–51; and Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 177–90. Early studies focused on the political dimensions of the disturbances, viewing them as ugly incidents in a protodemocratic campaign for legislative reform among disenfranchised settlers. See Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Old West,” in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin . . . 1908* (Madison, WI, 1909), 221–23; and Hubertis M. Cummings, “The Paxton Killings,” *Journal of Presbyterian History* 44 (1966): 219–43. This view was challenged by James Kirby Martin, “The Return of the Paxton Boys and the Historical State of the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1764–1774,” *Pennsylvania History* 38 (1971): 117–33. For the massacres and march in a broader context, see Thomas P. Slaughter, “Crowds in Eighteenth-Century America: Reflections and New Directions,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115 (1991): 3–34; and Alden T. Vaughan, “Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton

The colony divided between those who, while perhaps not agreeing with the Paxton Boys' actions, sympathized with western grievances and those who believed that the march on the capital was tantamount to treason.

During the spring and summer of 1764, the quarrels that emerged over the Paxton Boys' activities were transformed into a pamphlet war over the fate of William Penn's proprietary charter.⁵ The Assembly, or antiproprietary, Party, headed by Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway, the speaker of the legislature, attempted to take advantage of the confused situation that arose in the aftermath of the march to drive out the proprietary interest. They proposed to appeal to Westminster for a royal charter that would replace Thomas Penn with a royal governor. Their Assembly Party was comprised of Quakers, Moravians, and Mennonites, among others. Meanwhile, an uneasy "New Ticket"—largely pro-Paxton—confederation of Presbyterians, reformed German churches, and Anglican elites emerged in opposition to a new charter and in favor of an equitable distribution of assembly seats between the eastern and the currently underrepresented western counties.⁶ Both sides hoped that their candidates' victory in the October election would inaugurate institutional change that would, in turn, reduce the other side to political insignificance.

These developments took place within a context of growing religious tension. In 1758, the Presbyterian synods of New York and Philadelphia reunited, making Presbyterianism the largest single denomination in

Boys' Legacy, 1763–1775," *Pennsylvania History* 51 (1984): 1–29. For the Paxton massacres as expressions of white masculinity, see Krista Camenzind, "Violence, Race, and the Paxton Boys," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Wood: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, ed. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, PA, 2004), 201–20. For the British identity of the Paxton Boys, see Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), 168–72. For their frontier preconditions, see George W. Franz, *Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry* (New York and London, 1989), 7; and Richard R. Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia, 2004), 241–42.

⁵ Alison Olson, "The Pamphlet War over the Paxton Boys," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123 (1999): 31. For the scale of pamphlet publication, see G. Thomas Tanselle, "Some Statistics on American Printing, 1764–1783," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Worcester, MA, 1980), 330–38.

⁶ The term "confederation," as opposed to "coalition," is used throughout this article because, as James Hutson has noted, the latter "implies a degree of cooperation which the suspicious and antagonistic opponents of royal government could never achieve." James H. Hutson, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1746–1770: The Movement for Royal Government and Its Consequences* (Princeton, NJ, 1972), 164.

Pennsylvania. This development, however artificial it may have been, discomfited outsiders who were concerned about the denomination's increasing strength in the colony and who had become accustomed to two distinct, bickering, Presbyterian blocs. From the 1750s onward, the continent-wide debate between Anglicans and nonconformists over the establishment of an American episcopate found local expression in the confrontation between Presbyterian and Anglican tutors regarding curriculum and administration at the nondenominational College of Philadelphia.⁷ Furthermore, the Paxton Boys were predominantly Presbyterian. Their later demands regarding equitable assembly representation for the five western counties with high Presbyterian populations intensified denominational friction by threatening Quaker hegemony. Widespread sympathy for these demands resulted in increased political awareness among disenfranchised westerners and reinforced popular resentment towards the assembly. This, in turn, facilitated an anti-Presbyterian backlash among those aligned with the legislature. Each side of the election debate perfected histrionic characterizations of the other in print during the spring and summer of 1764. The New Ticket mastered a bumbling Quaker while the assemblymen retorted with the image of a fanatical Presbyterian.⁸ Previous historians have rightly warned against overreliance on these rhetorical pantomimes, and it should be noted that these figures, and the threats posed by them, were often exaggerated.⁹ On the other hand, exaggerated as they were, these Quaker and Presbyterian caricatures did reflect the legitimate, if not paranoid, concerns of the groups that used them; they, therefore, merit serious, though sceptical, enquiry. The Presbyterian construct has received less scholarly attention than its Quaker counterpart, and it is this stereotype that is the subject of this paper.¹⁰

Throughout the spring and summer of 1764, Assembly authors

⁷ Ann D. Gordon, *The College of Philadelphia, 1749–1779: Impact of an Institution* (New York, 1989), 71–101; Edward Potts Cheney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740–1940* (Philadelphia, 1940), 105–11; Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York, 1976), 254–57.

⁸ Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 212.

⁹ Alan Tully, *Forming American Politics: Ideals, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1994), 185–86.

¹⁰ The exceptions are Peter A. Butzin, "Politics, Presbyterians and the Paxton Riots, 1763–64," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 51 (1973): 70–84, in which the New Ticket's anti-Presbyterianism receives attention, and J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660–1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge, 1994), 258–60.

attempted to drive Anglicans and moderates from the New Ticket by employing an established vocabulary of negative Dissenter characterizations. Secondary meanings of the words “Presbyterian” and “Dissenter” are important to understanding both antiproprietary anxiety about the growing influence of Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania and the characteristics they attributed to their constructed Presbyterian stereotype. Often they pejoratively denoted republicanism and roused the historical memory of seventeenth-century religious extremism. The secondary meaning of these terms is apparent in circumstances where they singled out unacceptable or dangerous forms of religious or political unorthodoxy. Thus, in *The Paxton Boys, A Farce*, a Quaker reprimanded a Presbyterian, claiming, “we are Governed by the best of Kings, and how dare thee say to the contrary, thou Disenter.” The Presbyterian observed that, as a non-Anglican, the Quaker was also a Dissenter, leading him to quip, “But my Disenting does not proceed from any dislike to the King, or the Government, . . . but thou art a Desenter from the Wickedness of thy Heart, like the fallen Angels.”¹¹

Assembly pamphleteers—a few of them nonconformists in their own right—were aware of the hypocrisy of criticizing Dissenter loyalty while defending a Quaker-dominated coalition. One pamphleteer went to ridiculous lengths to prove that Quakers had always been loyal—or at least not aggressively disloyal—subjects to the Crown despite their religious nonconformity. Non-Quaker authors overcame this stumbling block, and also avoided offending reformed Calvinist Germans, by attacking Presbyterianism—the most immediate threat at hand anyway—specifically rather than Dissent at large. For others, the fact that Quakers were technically Dissenters was irrelevant. Quakers throughout the empire had long since jettisoned the confrontational practices that had initially informed outside opinions of the sect. As a result, by the middle of the eighteenth century, Quakerism had largely shed the negative reputation acquired during the Commonwealth era and became incorporated into mainstream polite society. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, was even remembered by one pamphleteer, who might have been, admittedly, a member of the sect, as “worthy a Man as . . . the modern Ages hath produced.”¹²

¹¹ *The Paxton Boys, A Farce, Translated from the Original French, by a Native of Donegall*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1764), 15.

¹² *An Answer to the Pamphlet Entituled the Conduct of the Paxton-Men, impartially represented . . .* (Philadelphia, 1764), 13–19.

The wider British trope of anti-Presbyterianism evolved out of the religious turmoil of the seventeenth century and the consolidation of the English confessional state at the beginning of the eighteenth.¹³ Antiproprietary writers borrowed heavily from their British predecessors. Samuel Butler's anti-Dissenter poem *Hudibras* (1663–68), for example, was the model, in both style and content, for *The Paxtoniade. A Poem*.¹⁴ The early eighteenth century was a defining period for the Church of England and its sister institution, the Church of Ireland. Both churches strove to secure their authority in the state against the external menace of religious nonconformity by pressuring Queen Anne's sympathetic Tory ministers to revoke the limited toleration established in the reign of William through coercive measures such as the Penal Laws and the Test and Corporation Acts. These laws barred Catholics and Dissenters from government offices and were jealously protected by the Church of Ireland, which used them to secure domination over the vast majority of the island's population.

During the 1690s, Ireland received a massive influx of migrants from the western Lowland counties of Scotland. This panicked the Anglican elite (Protestant Ascendancy) who had secured a political monopoly at the expense of their Gaelic Catholic (native Irish) and Ulster Presbyterian (Scots-Irish) countrymen following the eventual ratification of the Treaty of Limerick in 1697. The treaty, signed in 1691, ended the Williamite War and originally guaranteed limited recognition of the property and religion of Irish Catholics. The Irish Parliament had these stipulations dropped before the document was ratified, signalling the establishment of Anglican control over the political life of the island during the eighteenth century. Scottish migration ensured that measures taken by the Church of Ireland and the Dublin parliament during the Test Act debates of the 1720s and 1730s were specifically crafted with the northern Presbyterian community in mind. The Test Act (1704) was one piece of legislation in a series of statutes known collectively as the penal laws. These laws were introduced in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries to counter the growth and influence of Catholicism and Protestant nonconformity. The Test Act required all those who wanted to hold public office to take a religious test to prove their adherence to Anglican doctrine. This

¹³ Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (London, 1993), 176–88.

¹⁴ Christopher Gymnast, *The Paxtoniade. A Poem* (Philadelphia, 1764).

meant that conscientious Dissenters were effectively barred from positions of political power in the kingdom. The established status of both the Church of England and Church of Ireland allowed them to dictate the terms of the debate and shielded them from the real or imagined threat posed by aggressive Dissent.¹⁵ Colonial Anglicans, however, lacked the security of establishment enjoyed by their European brethren. The warnings of past generations regarding Presbyterian fanaticism were therefore particularly harrowing to Pennsylvania Anglicans in the aftermath of the Paxton march.

Franklin's push for royal government, consequently, put many Anglicans in an awkward position. The Philadelphia clergy, under the influence of the provost of the College of Philadelphia, Rev. William Smith, sided with the New Ticket and endorsed the counter petition circulated in reaction to Franklin's appeal to Westminster.¹⁶ Others naturally sympathized with Franklin's campaign but feared reprisals from Philadelphia if they supported the move publicly. A western Anglican minister, Rev. Hugh Neill, described the difficulty of choosing between the two petitions. He noted, "if we signed the first we incurred the displeasure of our superiors in Philadelphia; if we signed the second, we affronted such as our parishioners as called themselves Loyal Patriots, and run the risk of being charged with disloyalty to the Crown of Great Britain."¹⁷ Historians have tended to gloss over the complicated loyalties of lay Anglicans during the 1764 election and have lumped them in the New Ticket camp along with their superiors. Neill's comments reveal that such a blanket assumption is problematic and that many Anglicans were not, unlike their clergy, wedded to the proprietary cause. The chosen affiliation of Anglicans largely reflected two factors: how closely they were

¹⁵ In Ireland, the test was largely successful in blocking Dissenters from entering political life, but it came under attack in the 1730s because it was blamed for driving Presbyterians to America and thereby weakening the Protestant interest on the island. David Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Suffolk, UK, 2004), 251–52.

¹⁶ The previous year Smith had returned from a fundraising venture to Britain and Ireland on behalf of the College of Philadelphia. While in England he had reaffirmed his relationship with Thomas Penn, making it unlikely that he would abandon a friend and benefactor (the Penns had not only secured his position as provost but had also donated five hundred pounds to the college in 1762). For Penn's donations, see Jasper Yeates Brinton and Neda M. Westlake, eds., *The Collection Books of Provost Smith*, (Philadelphia, 1964).

¹⁷ "The Rev. Hugh Neill to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Oxford, Oct. 18th, 1764," in *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, ed. William Stevens Perry (New York, 1871), 2:365.

aligned to their Philadelphia superiors and the Penns and how they believed the dream of an American bishopric could best be realized.¹⁸ A new charter could pave the way for a bishopric, but, as Rev. Thomas Barton believed, so could antagonizing the Quakers over the threat of Presbyterian ascendancy.¹⁹ It was important for the Anglican elite that the bishopric be attained without jeopardizing the authority of Thomas Penn, the font of Anglican influence in the colony. They could support a temporary alliance with the Presbyterians in order to protect the proprietary charter, but this did not mean that the Anglicans should cease to remind the Quakers at a later date that a bishopric would enable the American church to better counter the influence of a common foe.

The temporary alliance with Presbyterians and German reformed churches was a bitter pill to swallow for Philadelphia churchmen tied to the proprietary family. But for a minority of lay Anglicans unwilling to enter into such an unpalatable partnership, the lure of a new charter overcame the fear of ostracism from Penn's circle. It is therefore not surprising that the most outspoken pamphleteer on the Quaker side was a young Anglican, named Isaac Hunt. Hunt graduated from the College of Philadelphia with a bachelor's degree in 1763 and was set to begin his studies in law when the city was crippled by the Paxton march. He was the son of a Barbadian Anglican minister with known Tory sympathies whose congregation directly contributed to his son's education.²⁰ Thus, Hunt had a vested interest in the preservation of Anglican hegemony at the college due to familial attachment to the Church of England. This led to his resentment towards his Presbyterian tutors, especially the vice

¹⁸ For the struggle over the American bishopric, see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689–1775* (New York, 1962), 116–38, 207–30; Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902); John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit, 1984), 220–33; Ned C. Landsman, "Roots, Routes, and Rootedness: Diversity, Migration, and Toleration in Mid-Atlantic Pluralism," *Early American Studies* 2 (2004): 304–5; Tully, *Forming American Politics*, 174–76; Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, 241–42, 244–45.

¹⁹ For Barton's position see Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 2:368–69. For Barton's background, see Kerby A. Miller et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815* (New York, 2003), 487–99; William A. Hunter, "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1971): 431–83; and James P. Myers, "The Rev. Thomas Barton's Authorship of *The Conduct of the Paxton Men, Impartially Represented* (1764)," *Pennsylvania History* 61 (1994): 155–84.

²⁰ Leigh Hunt, *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt. A New Edition, Revised by the Author. With Further Revision, and an Introduction, by his Eldest Son* (London, 1860), 5; Gordon, *College of Philadelphia*, 110–11.

provost Francis Alison, against whom he later railed in a series of pamphlets.²¹ He was also relatively young and anonymous, making it unlikely that he was, like many of the city's Anglican elite, tied to the proprietary family through patronage. The electrified atmosphere produced by the march and the October election provided him with the opportunity to voice his resentment towards Presbyterians in several pamphlets.²²

Hunt had more of a hand in shaping the negative image of the Presbyterian republican than any other propagandist among the Assembly Party. His two-part history of Presbyterianism, *A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, was particularly popular and underwent multiple printings. It was greatly indebted to the Irish debate over the repeal of the Test Act in the 1730s. Earlier Ascendancy fears of an expansionist Kirk spurred by increased Scottish migration into the north of Ireland mirrored Quaker and Anglican concerns over Ulster immigration into Pennsylvania from the 1720s onward.²³ Both the pro-Test Act Anglicans and antiproprietary sympathizers worried about the growing influence of the same ethnic group: Ulster Presbyterians. Also, the historical references to Irish Presbyterian disloyalty common in earlier Anglo-Irish tracts were useful to antiproprietary writers in their attacks on the Scots-Irish Paxton Boys. Hunt was particularly influenced by Jonathan Swift, whose own life-long antagonism towards Presbyterianism in Ireland and pro-Test Act sympathies made him an ideal muse.²⁴ Swift's popularity throughout the British world brought what otherwise would have been a local Irish issue into the literary consciousnesses of metropolitan and, by

²¹ Throughout 1765, Hunt wrote the *Scurrillity Hall* series, in which he lampooned his former tutors, particularly Francis Alison. For more information on Hunt's life, see Cheney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, 113–14.

²² Peter Silver has made a strong claim that Hunt was more than likely paid by the Assembly Party for his services. See *Our Savage Neighbors*, 372n41.

²³ Ian McBride, "Ulster Presbyterians and the Confessional State, c. 1688–1733," in *Political Discourse in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. D. G. Boyce and R. R. Eccleshall (Basingstoke, UK, 2001), 169–70. In both Ireland and Pennsylvania, one Protestant denomination (in Ireland, Anglican; in Pennsylvania, Quaker) wielded, or perceived to wield, hegemonic control over other, disadvantaged denominations.

²⁴ As a student at the College of Philadelphia, Hunt had access to the Logan Library, which housed a few pieces of Swift's work, including *A Tale of a Tub* (London, 1711) and the collected *Spectator*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1728), as well as many Irish histories including Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion of 1641* (London, 1646). See *Catalogus Bibliothecae Loganianae: Being A choice Collection of Books, as well in the Oriental, Greek and Latin, as in the English, Italian, Spanish, French and other Languages* (Philadelphia, 1760). For Swift's anti-Presbyterianism, see Joseph McMinn, "Swift's Life," 14–30, and Marcus Walsh, "Swift and Religion," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, ed. Christopher Fox (Cambridge, 2003), 161–76.

extension, imperial audiences. Hunt included selections of Swift's poetry in the front pieces of his three major anti-Presbyterian pamphlets of 1764.²⁵ These poems encapsulated themes employed ad nauseam by Assembly pamphleteers, including the dangers of Presbyterian fanaticism and the denomination's alleged hatred for monarchical government.

Swift's influence reached beyond Isaac Hunt. Assembly writers utilized Swiftian satire against their opponents by recalling a local incident that had heightened tensions between Anglicans and Presbyterians. The first Philadelphia convention of Anglican ministers met in April 1760 to discuss issues facing the American church, including the controversy surrounding a letter from the bishop of London that barred Rev. William McClenachan from accepting a position at Christ's Church. McClenachan was an Ulster-born former Presbyterian minister who had joined the Church of England in 1755 after leaving his post as a chaplain with the British army in Boston. Shortly thereafter he came to Philadelphia, probably at the behest of his brother, the wealthy city merchant Blair McClenachan. Upon arrival in town, he impressed many parishioners at Christ's Church with his emotive sermons, leading a portion of them to endorse his candidacy as an assistant to the aged Rev. Jenney. But these same sermons offended his colleagues at a time when Rev. William Smith was consolidating his influence among the clergy and pressing for greater Anglican cooperation and orthodoxy. Smith and others also doubted McClenachan's doctrinal stability because of his popularity among the city's New Side, or evangelical, Presbyterians.

The convention of 1760, chaired by Smith, was an attempt to consolidate Anglican unity at the expense of mavericks like McClenachan. The event ended in a physical confrontation between Smith and McClenachan in which the latter tore up the convention's dispatch to the archbishop of Canterbury before storming out in protest. Shortly thereafter, Gilbert Tennent and other Presbyterian ministers drafted a letter to the archbishop defending McClenachan and requesting that he be given a post in Philadelphia. This letter was written during the annual Presbyterian synod, giving it the appearance of an official church document. The Anglican establishment accused the Presbyterians of meddling

²⁵ See the collected printing of [Isaac Hunt], *A Looking-Glass, for Presbyterians* (Philadelphia, 1764), 2. Originally, Hunt's first instalment began with an anonymous quote. This quote and a new title page selection of Swift's poetry were included in the collected printing: *A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians, &c., Numb. I*, in *Paxton Papers*, ed. Dunbar, 243. See also [Isaac Hunt], *A Letter From a Gentleman in Transylvania* (New York [Philadelphia], 1764), 1.

in their affairs, forcing the synod to draft a minute during the following year's meeting disclaiming the accusation that the letter constituted a synodical act.²⁶ McClenachan, who had left Christ's Church with many of its parishioners to form St. Paul's, was thereafter accused of crypto-Presbyterianism and of being an agent of the united Presbyterian synod.²⁷

McClenachan was the focus of three pamphlets during the election debates of 1764. Two of these were satirical letters purportedly written by him, the second one being the "real" McClenachan's reaction to the first.²⁸ The earlier pamphlet, *A Letter, From a Clergyman in Town*, referred to Jack, one of the brothers representing the three major religions of Britain and Ireland in Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*. In Swift's work, Jack (Dissent) destroyed his coat (Christianity) by tearing away all its superfluous accoutrements.²⁹ The author of *A Letter*, the fictional McClenachan, claimed that Calvin had gone further than early Anglicans in creating a reformed church "by tearing off all the Lace at once, and denying the Power of Bishops."³⁰ The second false McClenachan replied, "What do they mean 'by tearing of all the Lace at once'? I am afraid they have been dabbling in some heathenish Writer for this Phrase—meer Stuff! a meer Tale of a Tub."³¹ Here the ignorance of the pseudonymous author, and thus his

²⁶ See Guy Soullard Klett, ed., *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1706–1788* (Philadelphia, 1976), 371–72. For more on the Anglican position during the debate, especially among the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) members, see Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 2:302–11, 319–24. The SPG was the missionary arm of the Church of England founded in 1701 in order to spread Anglicanism in Britain's colonial territories.

²⁷ For more information on the McClenachan affair, see Horace Wemyss Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1879); Guy Soullard Klett, *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1937), 231–32; Norris Stanley Barratt, *Outline of the History of Old St. Paul's Church Philadelphia, Together with Articles of Agreement, Abstract of Title, List of Rectors, Vestrymen, and Inscriptions of Tombstones and Vaults* (Philadelphia, 1917), 44–48, 66–78; Robert W. Shoemaker, "Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new ser., 43 (1953): 191–92; and Albert Frank Gegenheimer, *William Smith, Educator and Churchman, 1727–1803* (Philadelphia, 1943), 184–87. For a brief sketch of his life before arriving in Philadelphia, see Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of the Colonial Churches of New England* (Lancaster, MA, 1936), 131.

²⁸ McClenachan's affiliation with St. Paul's was established in a third Assembly pamphlet, allegedly written by a member of his congregation, that included a character assassination of the minister accusing him of giving preferential treatment towards Dissenters and possessing a hatred of bishops. See *True Copy of a Letter, from a Member of St. P[au]l's* (Philadelphia, 1764), 5.

²⁹ Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub: Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind* (Dublin, 1756), 15–16.

³⁰ *A Letter, From a Clergyman in Town* (Philadelphia, 1764), 3.

³¹ *The Cheat Unmask'd: Being a Refutation Of that Illegitimate Letter, Said to be Wrote by A Clergyman in Town* (Philadelphia, 1764), 4.

inadequacy in the role of a divine in the Church of England, is proven by his uncouth reference to Jonathan Swift, a champion of Anglican interests, as a “heathenish Writer.” By unwittingly employing the name of Swift’s polemic in his dismissal of the reference to lace coats, the character has apparently accepted Swift’s satire at face value. In Swift’s work the “tub” referred to an instrument thrown by whalers to their prey in order to distract it from the real threat. By misunderstanding warnings couched in Swiftian references the second “McClenachan” had mistaken the real threat for a harmless tub. All of this made a mockery of McClenachan and illustrated the folly in letting ignorant Irish Presbyterians into the Anglican fold.

These pamphlets mocked McClenachan’s commitment to Anglicanism while they simultaneously questioned the motives of New Ticket-aligned Presbyterians. It is unclear how involved McClenachan was in Pennsylvania politics by 1764, or if he was even aware of these pamphlets at all. In 1762 he had left the pulpit at St. Paul’s and moved to Maryland. It is also unclear if the intent of the authors of these writings was to force a reaction from a known firebrand in order to damage the New Ticket’s image. What is known is that McClenachan did not answer his attackers in print, thus avoiding a potentially embarrassing pamphlet war between myriad “McClenachans” bickering over the authenticity and meaning of one another’s statements. The pamphlets written in his name, however, reveal Swift’s legacy in Assembly pamphlets and a proficiency in satire among antiproprietary writers that has been ignored by scholars eager to show the effectiveness of New Ticket strategy.³²

Hunt presented one of his printed attacks in the form of a satirical letter, entitled *A Letter From a Gentleman in Transilvania*, written by a travelling English gentleman to his friend in America. A possible connection to Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* is suggested in that both were satirical travel narratives. More concrete evidence of Swift’s influence came in the form of Hunt’s inclusion of a front piece of Swift’s poetry and his claim that the letter was edited by Isaac Bickerstaff—Swift’s alias in his printed attacks against the astrologer and zealous nonconformist John Partridge.³³ The letter described the Balkan leg of an Englishman’s jour-

³² For a study of the role of satire in the Paxton debate and the effectiveness of the New Ticket argument, see Olson, “The Pamphlet War over the Paxton Boys,” 31–56. Olson applauded the author’s attempt to distinguish among Presbyterian ethnic groups but did not explain why he may have done so.

³³ David Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1985), 79–83.

ney through the Holy Roman Empire, particularly as it related to the province of Transylvania. Coincidentally, the region's history and current state of affairs were remarkably similar to those of contemporary Pennsylvania. The Englishman recounted how the province had fallen under Austrian control following the eastern retreat of the Ottoman Empire and that the emperor had offered the stewardship of the region to a wealthy nobleman and his progeny. This proprietor, or "Waymode," settled the province "with Persons of all Nations, and of every profession under Heaven" by promising them toleration under a charter of privileges and immunities. Eventually these settlers instigated a war with the natives (American Indians) who, allied with the Turks (French), pillaged the countryside and murdered its inhabitants. Some natives, however, did not rebel but instead pledged loyalty to the government and "deliver'd up their Wives and Children as a pledge of their future Fidelity." But the "Piss-Brute-tarians," "a bigoted, cruel and revengeful sect, sprung from the Turks; and Adorers of *Mahomet* as to absolute Fate, but nominal Christians in some other respects," murdered the loyal natives and marched on the capital.³⁴ In this selection, Hunt slandered his Presbyterian opponents by pairing them with two recognised threats to Protestantism and European civilisation. By claiming that the Piss-Brute-tarians originated as a Turkish sect and maintained an Islamic understanding of fate, Hunt invited an unflattering comparison to a religion and people considered barbaric by his readership. Because in his allegory the Turks also represented the French, Hunt linked Presbyterianism with Roman Catholicism and Britain's imperial archrival.

More common than comparisons to Catholicism was the association between Presbyterianism and republicanism. Allegations of republicanism and disloyalty rested upon two foundations: Calvinist church organization and seventeenth-century British history. Presbyterian Church infrastructure and hierarchy were based on the congregation model established by John Calvin in Geneva in the 1530s and adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland between 1645 and 1648. In this model, a congregation selected a minister through its representatives or elders. These elders assisted the minister in the everyday functions of the congregation. At presbytery meetings, they discussed matters pertaining

³⁴ [Hunt], *Letter From a Gentleman in Transylvania*, 2, 4, 5–6. Hunt again linked Presbyterianism with Islam when he asked, "From whence cou'd they have possibly learn'd but from *Mahomet* to propagate their Religion with the Sword." *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 6.

to neighbouring congregations within a particular region, while issues facing the church as a whole were dealt with at the annual convocation of ministers, or synod. Here, the entire assembly debated and voted on theological, financial, and other practical matters. This structure differed from the Episcopal system of the Church of England and seemed to many within the established church to challenge the prevailing social order. In their view, Calvinist organization and teaching had instilled too much independence in its adherents while the established church inspired loyalty and deference.

Hunt wrote that normality would have returned to Pennsylvania by the summer of 1764 “if the Doctrines of *Peace* and *Loyalty* had been sufficiently inculcated” in the Presbyterians by their clergy.³⁵ At one point he claimed that Presbyterians wanted to refashion Church and State after the “model of a *Geneva Republic*.”³⁶ The narrator, in his satire, also observed that “those of the *Emperors’ Religion*,” or Anglicans, were his most loyal subjects because “their principles in Religion and the maxims by which they and their Ancestors were govern’d for one Thousand Years, were peculiarly adapted to support the *Emperial Family*.” Piss-Brutitarian principles, in contrast, were “diametrically opposite to Monarchy.” They were “not only *sworn Enemies* to the *Emperial Family*, but murder’d one of the *Emperors* before his own palace; and have always been the foremost in all the Rebellions that have been rais’d against his Successors ever since.”³⁷ This obvious reference to the execution of Charles I is an example of the second foundation upon which questions of Presbyterian loyalty rested—seventeenth-century British history.

The Assembly Party turned to the definitive decades of Presbyterian doctrinal and organisational formation between the 1630s and 1660s in order to prove Presbyterian disloyalty. They claimed that during the chaos of the civil wars, the English Independents and Presbyterians took up arms against their monarch and supported Oliver Cromwell for ideolog-

³⁵ [Isaac Hunt], *The Scribler, Being a Letter from a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country* . . . (Philadelphia, 1764), 16. I, in agreement with Peter Silver in *Our Savage Neighbors*, have attributed the authorship of both *The Scribler* and *The Substance, of a Council Held at Lancaster, August the 28th 1764* to Isaac Hunt because, in part, of their stylistic similarity to Hunt’s other pamphlets.

³⁶ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 8.

³⁷ [Hunt], *Letter From a Gentleman in Transilvania*, 7. The link between Cromwell and Scottish Presbyterianism is ironic, given their mutual animosity towards one another. For Irish Presbyterian dissatisfaction with Cromwell’s regime, see Toby C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649–1660* (London, 1975), 122–23.

ical reasons. This alleged support for Cromwell underpinned anti-Dissenter rhetoric throughout the eighteenth-century British world. Thus, one antiproprietary tract opened with a Presbyterian prayer: "O! Do thou confound these cursed Quakers, that are endeavoring to bring us under a Kingly Yoke, which thou knowest that neither we nor our Fathers ever cou'd bear!"³⁸

Assembly authors claimed that Presbyterians everywhere flaunted authority and subverted government so as to prove that the body as a whole threatened the British state and, more immediately, the colony of Pennsylvania. In order to do this they ignored theological, historical, and regional distinctions within the denomination, thus presenting Presbyterians as a homogeneous bloc acting under the command of an organized clergy. More often than not, this resulted in a litany of past misdeeds, real or fictitious, that could be attributed to Dissenters from the seventeenth century onwards. The author of *An Answer to the Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Paxton Men* defended early Quakers by contrasting them unfavourably with other Dissenters. In so doing he laid the blame for recent Indian violence on the settling of the contested Wyoming Valley by families from Connecticut. He asked, "Did not a Colony from *New-England* settle on Lands, unpurchased of the *Indians*, in Contempt of Government and contrary to all Rules of Equity?" Here New Englanders, whose region had been a bastion of congregational Dissent from its inception, were linked with the Paxton Boys, for were they all "not *Presbyterians*?"³⁹ Another author cited the 1659 murder of Quakers in Boston, or "*Sodom*" as he put it, and the divine punishment that followed in the form of pestilence and crop failure as a reason to resist western pressure for greater representation in the Assembly. He warned that Pennsylvania could expect similar judgement and exclaimed, "beware, my Countrymen, keep the Reins of Government out of the Hands of *Presbyterians*."⁴⁰ Hunt claimed that the entire denomination—not just its radical fringes—was culpable for past crimes. He stated: "not only Covenanters, but the whole Body of Presbyterians are actuated by the same rebellious Principles since the *Revolution*, they were before; and

³⁸ [Isaac Hunt], *The Substance, of a Council Held at Lancaster, August the 28th 1764* (Philadelphia, 1764), 2.

³⁹ *An Answer to the Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Paxton Men* (Philadelphia, 1764), 9–10.

⁴⁰ *The Quakers Assisting, To preserve the Lives of the Indians, in the Barracks*, no. 2 (Philadelphia, 1764), 9–10, 8.

that not even the Establishment of their Profession in *Scotland* can make them in Love with *Monarchy*." Any crime or rebellion that took place in Scotland, or any other region or country dominated by nonconformists, could be pinned on Presbyterians. Thus, accountability for the Scottish Jacobite risings of 1715–16 and 1745–46 was, strangely though not surprisingly, foisted on Pennsylvania Presbyterians.⁴¹

Allegations of Presbyterian religious and political fanaticism were widespread in antiproprietary pamphlets. In a short farce depicting the march, two Paxton men discussed their intentions while waiting in Germantown for news from Philadelphia. The first claimed that the march was agreeable to his "Forefathers *Oliverian* Spirit" before declaring that he would gladly die for the cause "rather than those Misecrants [sic] of the Establish'd Church of *England*, or those R[asca]ls, the Q[ua]ke[rs], should continue longer at the head of Government." His comrade agreed and answered, "you know when the Arm of God is with us, and our Counsels, we need not fear what Man can do unto us."⁴² A Philadelphia minister allegedly told his friend that he was not "fearful to brandish the Sword in the Cause of CHRIST" and that this sword was ready "to push at all the Opposers of the true Word of GOD."⁴³ The antiproprietary faction feared that Presbyterian belief in predestined infallibility lay behind the march on Philadelphia and that if the mob had reached the city, it would have "destroyed the Constitution of Government, and settled a Republick, agreeable to their own darling Principles."⁴⁴

It may perhaps be surprising to find that the common view of the fanatical, republican Presbyterian existed alongside depictions of a scheming, hierarchical, and crypto-Catholic Presbyterian ministry. Eighteenth-century British Atlantic patriotism was founded upon the dialectic between the liberty ensured to Britons by their Protestant religion on one hand and the slavery of Catholic superstition on the other.⁴⁵ It may be tempting, then, to consider as nothing more than empty, anti-Catholic rhetoric Hunt's accusations that the New Side leader Gilbert Tennent was "the Presbyterian Pope of *Philadelphia*" and that Francis Alison and John Ewing were his "two *Cardinals*."⁴⁶ But there was more

⁴¹ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 22, 8.

⁴² *Paxton Boys, A Farce*, 7–8.

⁴³ *Letter, From a Clergyman in Town*, 5.

⁴⁴ *Answer to the Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Paxton Men*, 3.

⁴⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd ed. (London, 1994), 4–6.

⁴⁶ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 20.

to antiproprietary accusations of Presbyterian crypto-Catholicism than mere mudslinging. Since the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, High Church Anglicans had argued that a tangible link between the two existed. The Pope's claim to depose Protestant princes, enshrined in *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570)—the order for the excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth I—and Dissent's endorsement of the right of resistance were seen as affronts to the civil authority. Both Catholics and Dissenters were united in their hostility towards legitimate monarchs, as was evident in their mutual, and allegedly cooperative, opposition to Charles I. It was popularly believed that monks had fought with the Parliamentarians during the civil wars, that priests had been on the scaffold during the regicide, and that both the latitudinarian Bishop Hoadley and George Whitefield had connections within the Jesuit order.⁴⁷

There was also cause for concern in Pennsylvania about a resident Catholic community, adding immediacy to the Assembly Party's accusations. A Jesuit, Father Joseph Greaton, opened the first Catholic chapel in Philadelphia in 1734, and by 1763 six other churches had been built in the province. Lancaster emerged as a center of Jesuit activity in the West, attracting a former Rector Magnificus from the University of Heidelberg to attend to its growing German Catholic community.⁴⁸ Pennsylvania even experienced its own "Popish Plot" in 1756, in which Philadelphia Catholics were accused of colluding with the French in order to force their religion on the colony.⁴⁹ A fear of popery was clearly very much alive in Pennsylvania during the middle decades of the century, and it could be exploited by comparing Catholic priests to Presbyterian ministers. But how could ministers of the Kirk control their flocks if "[t]o be govern'd [was] absolutely repugnant to the avowed principles of the *Pr[esby]teria[ns]*" and "*Opposition Sentiments*" had "almost become a Criterion of *Orthodoxy*" among them?⁵⁰ The answer lay in Presbyterian confidence in their infallibility and righteousness. It was the self-assuredness of the laity

⁴⁷ Andrew Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy, 1716–1721* (Woodbridge, UK, 2007), 119–21; Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester, UK, 1993), 94.

⁴⁸ Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, vol. 2 (New York, 1917), 500–501.

⁴⁹ Thomas Hughes, "An Alleged Popish Plot in Pennsylvania: 1756–7," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 10 (1899): 208–21.

⁵⁰ *Remarks on The Quaker Unmask'd; Or Plain Truth found to be Plain Falshood* [sic] (Philadelphia, 1764), 7; [Hunt], *Scribler*, 16.

that made them susceptible to ministers who, by manipulating their vanity, bent them to the will of the synod.

Antipopery discourse evolved throughout the eighteenth century, adapting to suit changing social conditions and in reaction to new threats, most notably the spread of evangelicalism. By midcentury, the aspiring middling orders had subsumed aspects of antipopery within the larger social framework of gentility and “politeness.”⁵¹ Here, politeness is understood as a framework for social interaction, in which the behavior of participants is defined against negative traits, such as individual excess, haughtiness, and, most importantly in the context of this article, “enthusiasm.” Enthusiasm meant a lack of self-control or rational thought and was thus used interchangeably with that common insult applied to both evangelicals and Catholics—superstition. Both lay Catholics’ and New Side Presbyterians’ lack of rational cultivation left them susceptible to the machinations of designing clergy. As George Lavington, the bishop of Exeter, pointed out in the first instalment of his wildly successful pamphlet series, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*, both ministers and priests lured the unsuspecting away from true religion with “something *novel*, or *uncommon*; what the wandering Sheep have not been used to in their *Churches*.” Both also captivated the vulgar with “their affected phrases, fantastical and unintelligible notions, whimsical strictnesses, [and] loud exclamations against some trifling and indifferent things.”⁵² An observation of an emissary to the Carolinas from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the missionary arm of the Church of England, noted that “in the Shape of New Light Preachers, I’ve met with many Jesuits.” Hunt’s accusation that the Presbyterians at the College of Philadelphia had sent a “treacherous Jesuitical Presbyterian *Bull*” to western congregations instructing them to oppose a royal charter take on deeper significance when considering the contemporary association between popish and evangelical enthusiasts and

⁵¹ For more on politeness, see Paul Langford, “The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002): 311–31.

⁵² George Lavington, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*, 2nd ed. (London, 1749), 17. For more on the link between enthusiasm and Catholicism in the American context, see Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham, NC, 1994), 18–19. The New Ticket countered accusations of Presbyterian “enthusiasm” by hurling the same insult at the Quakers through a short selection from John Shebbare’s letters, first published in London. See *A Letter, From Batista Angeloni* (Philadelphia, 1764), 2–3.

the enduring fear of Catholic infiltration of dissenting sects.⁵³ Presbyterian support, especially from the New Side, for the preaching tours of George Whitefield and the atrocities committed by the Paxton Boys made it easy to tar both groups with the brush of “enthusiasm” and thus to accuse their clergy of fomenting disorder through the “Catholic” manipulation of their flocks. So far the Anglican establishment’s hierarchical structure—founded on “true” religion and not popish superstition—had guarded against infiltration by designing demagogues like McClenachan. This changed, it was alleged, when the Philadelphia ministry entered into the Presbyterian alliance, thereby becoming puppets of the synod.⁵⁴

Alarmingly, a large portion of the colony’s population seemed to be falling into the trap laid out by these “Ghostly Statesmen” partially because Presbyterian ascendancy was not confined solely to the realm of politics.⁵⁵ Dissenters dominated the colonies’ institutions of learning, allowing them to manipulate the minds of the young. Indeed, it seemed as though they held a virtual monopoly over education; Harvard, Yale, and the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) were all nonconforming academies and seminaries.⁵⁶ The new college at Princeton, unsettlingly located in a neighbouring province and not in faraway New England, posed an immediate threat to the stability of the province and stood as a testament to the increasing influence of Presbyterianism in the middle colonies. Isaac Hunt, having recently borne witness to the destabilizing presence of Presbyterianism while a student at the College of Philadelphia, was suspicious about the institution across the Delaware River:

Prince-Town was chosen for the Seat of their College, because it was situated in such a manner that no Place of *Worship* was within many Miles of it, by which means, the Students would be oblig’d to attend *Presbyterian*

⁵³ Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution; The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, NC, 1953), 42; [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 22; Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 9–11.

⁵⁴ [Hunt], *Substance of a Council*, 6–8.

⁵⁵ [Hunt], *Scribler*, 15.

⁵⁶ Ministers claimed that many colonials sent their children to Dissenting academies due to the lack of local Anglican institutions and the “inconvenience of passing & repassing the dangerous Atlantic.” See Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts records in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 2:318.

Preaching. This was an Artifice to erect *Presbyterianism* on the Ruins of all other Societies, and to instill their Mode of Worship, and Principles of Calvinism into the tender Minds of the Youth, who by the Time, they had taken their Degrees, would either be Converts to *Presbyterianism*, or at least go away with favorable Ideas of it.⁵⁷

This observation pointed to a plot to mislead colonial youth in an effort to propagate Calvinism. Worse yet, the foundation of the College of New Jersey was not the most recent victory for the Presbyterians on the education front. Francis Alison and his fellow tutors at the College of Philadelphia had seemingly overcome the Anglican administration by incorporating the provost of the college, William Smith, earlier one of their most ardent critics, into the proprietary confederation.⁵⁸

The Assembly Party became increasingly nervous about the strength of the proprietary confederation as the October elections approached. Their pamphleteers hoped to sway Philadelphia Anglicans and Germans by showing that the confederation was advancing a secret Presbyterian plot to force their Kirk on the rest of the province. The depth of antiproprietary fear about Presbyterian scheming is illustrated in their depictions of a council of ministers held in Lancaster on August 28, 1764. One author described the province's possible future overlords: "Some in *black*, some in *grey*, and some in no Coats; but all in a *rueful Uniform* of Face." The killjoy appearance of these "reptiles" foretold the fate of the province if a new Puritan commonwealth were founded, which, as it turned out, was the main topic of discussion at the meeting.⁵⁹ Another pamphlet, purporting to be the minutes of the synod, began with a prayer from the moderator, Rev. John Ewing: "Enable us thy Servants at this Time so to settle Matters that *Presbyterianism* may be establish'd among us, and all other Professions crumble before it!" Ewing's prayer revealed that the Germans were also pawns in this Presbyterian plot. He beseeched God: "Do thou turn the Hearts of the ignorant Dutch from *King George* to serve the P[ropriete]r in such a manner as will enable us to establish our Religion upon the Necks of both [the Germans and the Quakers]!" The most useful people to the Presbyterians, however, were the city's

⁵⁷ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 19.

⁵⁸ In actuality, Smith was involved in the proprietary campaign in 1764, and his pamphlets of the 1750s greatly informed New Ticket pamphlets. See Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 192–99, 217–18.

⁵⁹ [Hunt], *Scribler*, 17.

Anglicans. But how could the remaining members of the Church of England, whose principles were “all for Monarchy,” be lured into an alliance with nonconformists? Again, the answer lay in the temporary alliance with Smith, who would use his influence to “make them as good Republicans” as the Presbyterians.⁶⁰

The minutes concluded with a list of laws to be enacted following the New Ticket victory in the October elections. These included new tithes that would be levied on non-Presbyterians because, as it stood, many ministers could “scarce afford a Dram of Whisky in the Morning.” Thus, the nonconformist argument that an American episcopate would result in their paying tithes to a church they did not support was used against Presbyterians who, it was accused, would use their electoral victory to establish *their* church above all others. Other resolutions included a declaration that Thomas Penn be made “*King* in the place of *George*, as *Oliver* had been formerly in the Room of *Charles*,” that the “sole right of civil and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction” in Pennsylvania be given to Presbyterian ministers, and that congregants who voted against their ministers be “excommunicatd [sic] from all Privileges in the *Kirk*, especially the Sacraments.”⁶¹ These imagined laws illustrate, perhaps overdramatically, Assembly fears about the future of Pennsylvania if Presbyterian influence were to go unchecked.

The archetypal Presbyterian created by Hunt and other Assembly writers was not without its contradictions. As much as they publicized the similarities between all Presbyterians and the dangers of a monolithic Kirk, antiproprietary polemicists did allow for one crucial ethnic distinction within the denomination: that between the Irish and all other Presbyterians. This distinction emerged in reaction to their opponents’ successful deployment of the image of a loyal, and self-consciously Irish, Paxton volunteer. Hunt and his comrades contended that Presbyterians from Ulster, common in Pennsylvania after fifty years of sporadic immigration, were to be feared more than all others of the denomination. They were Presbyterian fanatics par excellence, products of a European frontier that, through contact with the British Empire’s first savage subjects, had driven them beyond the pale of civilization.⁶²

⁶⁰ [Hunt], *Substance of a Council*, 2, 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5, 16–18.

⁶² For early eighteenth-century anti-Irish stereotypes regarding the “wild” or “popish” Irish, see Claus-Ulrich Viol, *Eighteenth-Century (Sub)Versions of Stage Irishness: Prevalent Anti-Irish Stereotypes and Their Dramatic Functionalism* (Trier, Ger., 1998), 38–44. For how British imperial

Anti-Irish Rhetoric in Assembly Pamphlets

Early in the election debate, when discussion was centred on the murder of the Conestogas and the questionable legitimacy of the march on Philadelphia, pro-western sympathizers were eager to prove the Paxton Boys' loyalty and peaceable intentions. The marchers themselves were careful to assert their loyalty to the Crown, even after openly defying the authority of the Pennsylvania assembly. In the initial *Declaration and Remonstrance* sent to the assembly and widely printed in Philadelphia, the Paxton Boys' representatives disguised their "sedition" in a declaration of loyalty "to the best of Kings, . . . GEORGE the THIRD." They employed submissive language by asking permission of the legislature to "humbly beg Leave to remonstrate and to lay before you, the following Grievances, which we submit to your Wisdom for Redress."⁶³ When the pamphlet debate intensified in the spring, Paxton sympathizers relied on a technique, one commonly used in Ireland before the United Irishmen Rebellion of 1798, to stress the attachment of Irish Presbyterians to the government. They referred to northern loyalty to William of Orange during the Williamite War at the end of the seventeenth-century in order to counter their opponents' references to mid-seventeenth-century Presbyterian fanaticism.⁶⁴ One writer described the meeting between Franklin's delegation and the Paxton leaders. He observed, "they were found a selected Band of Gentlemen, Descendants of the Noble *Eniskillers*, who were the great Means of setting that great and never to be forgotten Prince King *William* on the Throne." Far from being violent fanatics, as characterized by the Quaker Party, the Paxton leaders were

policy towards Native Americans was influenced by previous colonial ventures in Ireland, see James Muldoon, "The Indian as Irishman," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 3 (1975): 267–89; and Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville, FL, 2003). Both Gaelic Irish and Native American societies were conceptualized as barbarous foils to English society. See Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550–1650," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650*, ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool, UK, 1978), 32–34.

⁶³ Matthew Smith et al., *A Declaration and Remonstrance Of the distressed and bleeding Frontier Inhabitants Of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1764), 3–4, 10.

⁶⁴ Kerby Miller has shown that late eighteenth-century Irish migrants, Catholic and Protestant alike, often championed their Irish background because neither group claimed exclusive right to it. See Kerby A. Miller, "Scotch-Irish' Ethnicity in Early America: Its Regional and Political Origins," in *Ireland and Irish America: Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration* (Dublin, 2008), 133–34.

stoic negotiators. "Their Demands were too reasonable to be rejected, they were Gentle and easy, not farther then Pointing out to the Government such of these Savages as had been guilty of Murder."⁶⁵

The author of the poem *A Battle! A Battle!* also referred to the garrison at Enniskillen: "THESE, these are they, who always chose / T'engage their King's and Country's Foes / Whose Grandsires too were bravely willing / To fight or die at *Ineskillin*."⁶⁶ The Paxtonians and their supporters distanced themselves from Jacobitism and the memory of Cromwell by citing events in Irish Protestant history.⁶⁷ By asserting the Irish ancestry of the majority of the Paxton Boys, Irish American Presbyterians and their supporters avoided the questions of loyalty that dogged their Scottish coreligionists and countered the argument made by their opponents regarding past Presbyterian treachery.

Hunt and others countered the New Ticket's image of the loyal Irishman in two ways. First, they appealed to popular fears regarding Irish immigration into the colony by suggesting that these foreigners' loyalty lay elsewhere. Second, they combined unflattering representations of the two constituent elements of Irish Presbyterian ethnicity (Scottish and Irish) in the expectation that a messy amalgamation of negative characterizations would overpower the image of the "Noble Eniskiller." A dim view of Presbyterianism based upon a selective reading of Scottish history was complemented by similar conclusions drawn from the Irish past.

The scale and effects of Irish immigration were underlying themes that were often hinted at but rarely addressed directly in anti-Paxton Assembly literature. Assembly writers used words such as "swarm" to describe the Irish of the province and the growth of mid-Atlantic Presbyterianism that resulted from continuing immigration from Ulster. Philadelphians had little doubt as to why the Irish were drawn to Pennsylvania. Its famed tolerance was a beacon to disenfranchised immigrants, and its "delightful Plains" far surpassed "the barren Mountains of

⁶⁵ *An Historical Account, of the late Disturbance, between the Inhabitants of the Back Settlements; of Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphians, &c.*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1764), 5.

⁶⁶ *A Battle! A Battle! A Battle of Squirt; Where no Man is kill'd, And no Man is Hurt!* (Philadelphia, 1764), 8.

⁶⁷ In this way proprietary writers followed the example of an earlier generation of Scottish Whig authors who defended Presbyterianism in the wake of the Act of Union by jettisoning Scotland's radical Covenanting tradition. See Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689–c. 1830* (Cambridge, 1993), 66–69.

*Carentaugh, Slemish, or Slevgallion.*⁶⁸ Debates over Irish immigration were not new to the colony, but the Paxton riots did, once again, raise concerns over whether or not Irish Presbyterians made suitable neighbours.⁶⁹ One author framed his argument against greater representation for the western counties in terms of the number of Presbyterians in the colony, “for unhappy for it,” he remarked, “it swarms with them.”⁷⁰ Continued immigration, Presbyterian fundraising in Europe, the establishment of Irish American fraternal societies, and pro-Paxton emphasis on the Irish ancestry of the Lancaster marchers led many Pennsylvanians to question where these immigrants’ loyalty lay.⁷¹ Hunt claimed political impartiality by stating that he never had been awarded government pensions and, unlike the “Foreigners” in the other party, he was “an *American* born.”⁷² In contrast, a false McClenachan slipped when explaining how the Paxton Boys had acted: “For the Honour of our Country, for King GEORGE, and *Old Ireland—Old England* I mean.”⁷³ Another anonymous author reacting to Thomas Barton’s *The Conduct of the Paxton Men* concluded his pamphlet with a plea that “*Bur---on [Barton] and his Ulceration [Ulster] Presbyterians, desiring [that on] the next Day, they dedicate to Liberty and St. Patrick*” should ask the Lancaster murderers to surrender to the authorities.⁷⁴ This was as much of an attack on Barton who, like McClenachan, was an Ulster-born Anglican minister, as it was against Irish Presbyterians. Misplaced loyalty was apparently an Irish disease as much as it was a Presbyterian one.

⁶⁸ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 6. Carntogher, Slieve Gullion, and the Slemish mountains are in the counties of Armagh and Down on the Ulster/Leinster border, an area of conflict between Protestant planters and native Irish residents. The assertion that Ulster Presbyterian immigrants were mountain people from this area may have been inspired by chauvinistic depictions of the Catholic Irish. See Raymond Gillespie and Harold O’Sullivan, eds., *The Borderlands: Essays on the History of the Ulster-Leinster Border* (Belfast, 1989); see esp. P. J. Duffy, “Geographic Perspectives on the Borderlands,” 5–22, and W. H. Crawford, “The Reshaping of the Borderlands c. 1700–1840,” 93–105.

⁶⁹ For earlier examples of anti-Irish xenophobia, see Griffin, *People with No Name*, 103–5.

⁷⁰ *Remarks on The Quaker Unmask’d*, 5–6.

⁷¹ For more on Philadelphia’s Irish American clubs, see Maurice J. Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America, 1760–1800* (Dublin, 2008), 156–61.

⁷² [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 8, 14.

⁷³ *Cheat Unmask’d*, 5.

⁷⁴ *Answer to the Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Paxton Men*, 28. The author’s remarks regarding St. Patrick’s Day were lifted from Barton. He ended his pamphlet with the inscription “Dated from my Farm-House, March 17th, 1764.—A Day dedicated to LIBERTY and ST. PATRICK.” Barton expressed his sympathy for western whites as an Irishman, indicating that the Paxton episodes strengthened an Irish Protestant identity. See Thomas Barton, *The Conduct of the Paxton-Men, Impartially Represented* (Philadelphia, 1764), 34.

The politicization of lay Presbyterians, and the knowledge that this group was overwhelmingly hostile to the Assembly platform, led to a rare compliment for the colony's immigrants in the hope of further fragmenting the proprietary confederation. Hunt placed the only voice of opposition to the Presbyterian clergy in the mouth of an immigrant. This man, who was identified as an elder in John Ewing's Philadelphia congregation, interrupted his minister in the middle of a long defense of the colony's proprietors and a tirade outlining his proposals for Presbyterian tithes. The immigrant said, "I confess the reason of my leaving my native Country was to get clear of oppressive Landlords, and paying of Tithes." He further declared, "I love my Profession very well, but I love my Liberty better, and think it much more to the Advantage of the Laity to have the Clergy under their Thumb, than the Clergy to have us under theirs."⁷⁵ The author used the guise of an immigrant to illustrate the hypocrisy of Presbyterian ministers whose memory of Presbyterian suffering under the penal laws in Ireland was now clouded by avarice.

Some anti-Paxton authors directly attacked the New Ticket's use of the memory of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in their references to Presbyterian participation during the Williamite Wars in Ireland, which guaranteed that the revolution succeeded.⁷⁶ Others turned to shameful episodes in Irish Protestant history to counter the Whiggish narrative celebrated by the New Ticket, mining the turbulent decade of the 1640s for references to Presbyterian brutality. Hunt took a strange angle on a controversial episode in Irish history: the Irish Catholic rising of 1641. The rising began as a protest by displaced Catholic landowners but quickly spread beyond their control among a bitter underclass of dispossessed Catholics, many of whom used it as an excuse to expel Protestants from lands confiscated during the British colonization of Ulster at the beginning of the century. Hunt alleged that Scottish resistance to Charles I's religious policies that tried to force the Anglican liturgy and prayer book onto the Scottish Kirk encouraged the Irish Catholics to rebel in 1641. Presbyterians, therefore, were to blame for starting both conflicts. He pointed out that Ulster Scots were also guilty of brutal acts in 1641:

⁷⁵ [Hunt], *Substance of a Council*, 14–15.

⁷⁶ *The Quaker unmask'd; or, Plain Truth: Humbly address'd to the Consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1764), 6–7, was countered in *The Quaker Vindicated; or, Observations on A late Pamphlet, entituled, The Quaker Unmask'd* (Philadelphia, 1764), 6–7.

For if the *Catholicks* committed many outrages in defending their country against the inroads and depredations of those foreign interlopers who swarm'd like locusts from the barren hills of *Loughaber* in search of a better country, the *Scotch-Presbyterians* were no way behind hand with them, when without the least remorse, they murder'd 4,000 of the native *Irish*, men, women and children in the *Isle Mc'Gee*, much in the same manner their offspring murder'd the *Indians* at *Lancaster*.⁷⁷

The claim that Scots had “swarm'd like locusts” into seventeenth-century Ulster was meant to resonate with a Philadelphia audience concerned about the plague of Irish “interlopers” entering their province. Hunt moulded the massacre to fit his needs in the service of a cause far detached from contemporary Irish historiographical debates, allowing him to reimagine the incident in ways impossible for his coreligionists in Ireland. The plight of Catholics was sentimentalized in order to highlight Presbyterian savagery. Hunt asserted that the root cause of the rebellion was not Catholic treachery and opportunism, as was popularly believed by Protestants throughout the empire. Rather, the brutality of the Scottish planters provoked the Irish to the point of rebellion. His mention of the massacre at Islandmagee is significant because the episode had become a flash point in the historical debate over the nature of the rising. Protestants traditionally held October 23, 1641, as the beginning of the revolt, with the widespread murder of Protestants following in its wake. Catholic sympathizers, however, claimed that the incident at Islandmagee—which occurred between one and three months later—was the first massacre of the rebellion and thus set off the retaliatory mass murder of Protestants.

Hunt did not question who actually initiated the bloodletting—although he seems to imply that violence accompanied Scottish migration across the Irish Sea—because it was irrelevant to his argument. He was out to demonstrate that both Catholics and Presbyterians were equally as bad. His tally of victims at Islandmagee was four thousand, greater than the three thousand commonly listed by previous Irish apologists.⁷⁸ Hunt

⁷⁷ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 7.

⁷⁸ R. S., *A Collection of Some of the Murthers and Massacres committed on the Irish in Ireland Since the 23d of October 1641* (London, 1662), 2; John Curry, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion in the Year, 1641* (London, 1758), 145–53. The number killed at Islandmagee, like the number of Protestants killed during the conflict, was grossly overestimated and was probably between sixty and seventy. See, Raymond Gillespie, “Destabilizing Ulster,” in *Ulster 1641, Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian Mac Cuarta (Belfast, 1993), 113.

therefore sensationalized Scottish violence while he simultaneously erased English involvement in the massacre. It is also important to note that Hunt did not excuse the Catholics for the “outrages” that they committed, for he claimed “the Natives of both kingdoms seem’d to vie with each other in acts of cruelty.”⁷⁹ The native Irish remained savage, their status hardly raised, but their actions were at least understandable given the brutality of their enemies. The celebrated Presbyterian patriots, however, were brought down to the level of the native Irish. In Hunt’s view, both the Gaelic Irish and the Conestogas remained barbaric, but so then were their assailants.

Alleged Irish Catholic atrocities formed an integral part of the genre of British atrocity narrative. Generations of Protestant authors memorialized the events of 1641 in highly formalized victimization narratives based upon depositions taken from survivors. Like many stories depicting Indian brutality, these vignettes dwelt on the torture of captives, the mutilation of bodies, the murder of women and children, and even incidences of cannibalism. The most famous collection of victims’ narratives was Sir John Temple’s often-reprinted *The Irish Rebellion* (1646). It spawned numerous cheaper tracts, including an American edition, which was titled *Popish Cruelty displayed: being a full and true Account Of the Bloody and Hellish Massacre in Ireland . . . in 1641* and was printed in Boston on the eve of the French and Indian War. The long history and popularity of Irish violence narratives calls into question the originality of the literary genre spawned by frontier violence in mid-eighteenth-century America.⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that the Indian and Irish perpetrators of these acts in both the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature were believed to possess common ancestors—the cannibalistic Scythians. Swift played upon the association between the two groups in his notorious *A Modest Proposal* when his narrator declared that he had received advice from “a very knowing *American*” on how best to cook Irish babies.⁸¹ The Scythian myth might explain how a genre recently domi-

⁷⁹ [Hunt], *Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 7.

⁸⁰ The latest American edition of the atrocities of the Irish rebellion, published before the war, was *Popish Cruelty displayed: being a full and true Account Of the Bloody and Hellish Massacre in Ireland . . . in 1641* (Boston, 1753). Much of the material from this collection seems to be taken from John Temple’s popular history, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641* (London, 1646). For the longevity of Protestant myths surrounding 1641, see Jacqueline Hill, “1641 and the Quest for Catholic Emancipation, 1691–1829,” in *Ulster 1641*, ed. Mac Cuarta, 159–72.

⁸¹ Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal For Preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to their Parents and Country, &c.* (London, 1730), 10.

nated by stories of Celtic barbarism could be so easily employed against Native Americans.⁸²

A pamphlet depicting *A Dialogue, Between Andrew Trueman, And Thomas Zealot* showed that frontier Europeans also possessed the capability to commit acts of remorseless brutality. This lack of compassion, being a mark of savagery, was therefore used to mark frontier Europeans—as well as Native Americans—as “others.” What Peter Silver has called the “anti-Indian sublime,” so often used throughout the Seven Years’ War to rally support for frontier whites, was now used against Irish Presbyterians, ironically to inspire sympathy for the murdered Conestogas:

A. How mony did you kill at *Cannestogoe*.

T. Ane and Twunty.

A. Hoot Man, there were but twunty awthegether, and fourteen of them were in Goal [sic].

T. I tell you, we shot six and a wee ane, that was in the Squaw’a Belly; we sculped three; we tomahawked three; we roasted three and a wee ane; and three and a wee ane we gave to the Hogs; and is not that ane and twunty you Fool.⁸³

Irish Presbyterians were now the savages. By focusing on the Irishness of the Paxton Boys, here displayed in the character’s dialects, Hunt and other Assembly authors aligned Pennsylvanian Presbyterians with older, though obviously still pertinent, conceptions of white savagery.

Furthermore, Andrew and Thomas insinuated that the confessional composition of the crowd at Lancaster was diverse and included Catholics. This diversity was evident in Thomas’s response to the question of whether he murdered the Indians in the name of Christ: “Aye, to be sure. We were aw *Presbyterians*. But that wild Chiel, *Charly Breulluchan* shot an Indian’s Doug” during grace. “I doubt he has the Pope, or the Heegh-Kirk in his Guts.”⁸⁴ Charly’s Gaelic surname, as well as his questionable religious affiliation, hinted at a native Irish element within the Lancaster mob. A similar surname was used for a character in

⁸² Claude Julien Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492–1945* (New York, 2001), 79–91.

⁸³ *A Dialogue, Between Andrew Trueman, And Thomas Zealot; About the killing the Indians at Cannestogoe and Lancaster* (Philadelphia, 1764), 3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

another printed dialogue, this time between two self-confessed Irish Jacobites named Tim and Charly.⁸⁵ Both characters maintained that a Catholic named Bakerum had led the “*Scotch-Irish*” Paxton Boys. Bakerum was the son-in-law of a drunken bawdyhouse keeper in Omagh, County Tyrone. Upon arrival in Pennsylvania he somehow obtained the office of a justice of the peace and convinced his peers to kill the Conestogas by telling them, falsely, that he was one of their own because his mother was a “*Phipsiterian*.”

Tim was horrified by the Conestoga massacres and exclaimed, “Devil split me, if a recht *Irishman* could ha’ whoud in his Heart to murder dthe poor Devils, when dthey could not do whor dthemselves.” The brutality of the Lancaster massacre was so horrendous that even Irish Jacobites attempted to distance themselves from it by claiming that those responsible were not “recht” Irishmen. Tim explained, “dthey were only dthe Offscourings of dthe *Scotch-Irish* dthat showld dtheir King (our good King *Charlies*) for a Groat.” Yet, the instigator had been a Catholic, thereby tying the incident to familiar stories of past native Irish violence. Charly concluded the farce with the toast, “Och Hone! . . . Here’s old *Ireland* whor ever,” further establishing that many among this ill-defined mass of immigrants, whether they supported the Paxton Boys or not, owed their loyalty somewhere other than the colony of Pennsylvania.⁸⁶ The alleged presence of convicts, Jacobites, Catholics and/or native Irish Presbyterian converts among the Paxton Boys made it easier to place the colony’s Irish population within a familiar dialectic between English civilization and Irish barbarity while at the same time blending traditional anti-Presbyterian rhetoric into the mix. The result was a new image of frontier Irish Presbyterians; they were at once bloodthirsty savages and reformed Protestant republicans.

Some writers questioned if there was an ethnic difference between Irish Presbyterians and Catholics at all. The author of *The Paxtoniade, A Poem* made no such distinction. He satirized the Paxton march and claimed that two Irish elders, O’Haro and O’Rigan, organized it. The author explained that “on Account of some unhappy flaws / In their outward behaviour, the hard-hearted Laws / Had sentenc’d, to see in these western Plantations / A better reception and kind habitations.”⁸⁷ In other

⁸⁵ *A Scene in the First Act of the New Farce. Published as a Specimen* (Philadelphia, 1764), 7–8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 7–8.

⁸⁷ *Paxtoniade*, 5.

words, the two men were transported convicts who, despite their “cruel rejection,” remained loyal to the Kirk. Convicts were transported to the colonies from across Ireland, making their numbers more representative of the Irish population as a whole than voluntary migrants who came from the largely Protestant northern counties.⁸⁸ The “O” prefix further clarified these characters’ ethnic background. And yet they were both identified as Presbyterians, a fact clearly established by their adoration of John Knox.⁸⁹ They may have been Protestants, but they remained Irish. Many Assembly writers claimed Irish American Presbyterians were not “British” to the same degree as other Pennsylvanians. They were either native Irish converts whose Protestantism did not redeem them, or they were the progeny of Scottish migrants whose ancestors’ time in Ulster had cursed them with the taint of Ireland.

Assembly writers ridiculed pro-Paxton efforts to distinguish between Irish ethnicities. One author imagined Rev. McClenachan’s attempt to rank Pennsylvania’s Irish based on their ancestry and religion:

The *Macs* you know are a noble dignified Race in the *Irish Annals*, famed for their intire Renunciation of Popery; while the *O’s* are rank Roman-Catholicks, and Native *Irish* that trot in our Bogs. It is immaterial whether the Letters of a Name is used in spelling it, whether the *O’Haras* are called *O’Haras*, or the *O* left out, and they are called *Haras*; or whether the *O’Rielys*, are called only *Rielys*, yet they are all the same Family, and always attended Mass in *Ireland*, whatever they may do in *Pennsylvania*.⁹⁰

Here the character sounds his resentment towards Anglican conformists of Irish Catholic background because it upset Protestants’ traditional social dominance over Irish Catholics.⁹¹ This was also an obvious attack on McClenachan, who had “abandoned” Presbyterianism in favor of the Church of England and therefore was also guilty of opportunistic con-

⁸⁸ For more information on Irish penal emigration, see Audrey Lockhart, *Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775* (New York, 1976), 80–115; David Noel Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America, 1760–1820* (Dublin, 1991), 64–65; A. Roger Ekrich, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (Oxford, 1987), 24–25, 46–47, 83–85; and Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America*, 9–12, 31–32, 39. The link between the Paxton marchers and convicts was also made in the *Belfast News-Letter*, Mar. 2, 1764.

⁸⁹ *Paxtoniade*, 6. O’Hara is depicted riding an ass descended from Hudibras’s horse.

⁹⁰ *Letter, From a Clergyman in Town*, 3–4.

⁹¹ For Catholics changing their names in America, see Grahme Kirkham’s introduction to R. J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718–1775*, 2nd ed. (Belfast, 1996), xvii–xviii.

formity. McClenachan's close affiliation with Philadelphia Presbyterians, antiproprietary writers accused, proved that this conversion was skin deep. New Ticket attempts to differentiate Irish ethnicities were further mocked in an subsequent antiproprietary tract from the "real" McClenachan: "As to the paragraph about the *Macs*, and so forth, it is pretty passable; for there certainly is as much Difference between the *Macs* and *O's*, as there is between *Teague* and *St. Patrick*."⁹² The differences between the two groups are here trivialized and mocked, as they were in the earlier McClenachan letter and the *Paxtoniade*, in an attempt to link them in the minds of readers.

Conclusion

Those Presbyterians who accepted Isaac Hunt's invitation to gaze into his looking glass found an unrecognizable reflection cast back at them. Certainly they would not have seen themselves in a figure that they could agree was despicable. Looking closer, they would have made out Hunt's fiendish negative—an inverted image of how the author imagined himself and, by extension, all loyal Britons to appear and behave. By using imagery gleaned from British history to discredit their adversaries, antiproprietary authors made clear declarations about how they viewed themselves. While the Assembly Party championed loyalty, rationality, Protestantism, and liberty, the wild Irish Presbyterians of the New Ticket represented treachery, fanatical enthusiasm, superstition, and religious slavery. Conceptions of British ethnicity remained central to the identity of a large portion of the Pennsylvania electorate at midcentury. It should not be surprising then that antiproprietary authors used European models of difference to attack their New Ticket opponents. Indeed, such models, increasingly unwieldy and difficult to apply to American society, suited members of a group so uncomfortable with shifting ethnoreligious demographics that it advocated scrapping traditional systems of government in order to bring the colony closer to the protective bosom of the Mother Country. As seemingly awkward as older models were, they remained the prime expression of collective identity for many Pennsylvanians as late as 1764.

King's College London

BENJAMIN BANKHURST

⁹² *Cheat Unmask'd*, 4.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Political Influence in Philadelphia Judicial Appointments: Abraham L. Freedman's Account

ABRAHAM L. FREEDMAN'S VOLUMINOUS unpublished papers include an account of his failure to receive an appointment as judge to the Philadelphia Common Pleas Court in 1957. Though this era is usually thought of as the high water mark of modern Philadelphia's good government movement, Freedman was defeated in his aspirations by the opposition U.S. Congressman William J. Green, chairman of the Democratic City Committee and a traditional machine powerbroker whose politics and power continued to hold sway even as Philadelphia seemed to embrace civic and political reform. The excerpt that follows is drawn from the eight thousand-word account Freedman recorded in a small address book that is part of his extensive personal papers held by the Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center. Freedman's account provides a personal glimpse of the role of politics and patronage in Pennsylvania's judiciary and of how patronage politics thwarted one candidate's attempt to receive a position on the Court of Common Pleas.

Abraham Freedman's story can only be fully appreciated within the context of Philadelphia's long history of party politics and political reform. During the five decades preceding World War II, a powerful Republican Party machine, in an alliance with local business interests, controlled Philadelphia's municipal government. The only Republican

The author would like to thank Tamara Gaskell, Eric Klinek, Amy Rogovin, and David Randall for their comments and input on this article. Morris Vogel was extremely helpful during the early stages of this project. The author would like to extend a special thank you to David Pinsky, Murray Shusterman, Gordon Cavanaugh, and Daniel Murphy. Former Governor George Leader and his brother Henry Leader were kind enough to speak with the author about the events described in this diary. Robert and Marjorie Freedman were extremely helpful and encouraging throughout the process, and the author thanks them for making Freedman's diary available. Carole Le Faivre-Rochester, president of the Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center, was also of great assistance. Last, but certainly not least, the author would especially like to thank his wife, Myra Kranzel.

setback occurred during the Progressive Era, when Rudolph Blankenburg won the 1911 mayoral race on the Independent-Democratic fusion ticket. It was not until the post-World War II years, however, that a dramatic shift in the city's politics led to a gradual decline in Republican control. A Democratic coalition that sought to end political corruption and fraud began earning victories at the polls and was able to consolidate its gains. These changes were not instantaneous. Democrats began preparing for their eventual victory in the early 1930s, when Richardson Dilworth and Joseph Clark formed an alliance that resulted in the two of them leading a reform movement for several decades.¹ They were important components of a Democratic Party that emerged in the 1930s under the leadership of brick supplier John B. Kelly and contractor Matthew McCloskey. Kelly nearly won the 1935 mayoral election, but it seems that the Republican-controlled boards of election counted him out in numerous wards.²

In 1947, the Democratic City Committee selected Dilworth, a lawyer and World War II veteran, to run for mayor. Dilworth, along with attorneys Abraham L. Freedman and Walter M. Philips, Joseph S. Clark, and activist and businessman John Patterson, formed "an independent group of politically discontented younger people."³ The group was active in Americans for Democratic Action, which Democrats formed at war's end in an attempt to perpetuate Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal vision. These reformers promised to attack the Republican machine, corruption, and fraud and to change the landscape of Philadelphia politics. Despite their best efforts, though, Republican mayor Bernard Samuel defeated Dilworth and won his reelection bid in 1947. Defeated, but not entirely dismayed, the Democrats regrouped and prepared for the next election.

Committee chairman Jim Finnegan realized that the Democratic Party had to choose "good-government men" as candidates for the 1949 election. He selected Dilworth for treasurer and Clark for city controller. The "boys" from the party organization were not happy with the choice of these two "reformers." Congressman Bill Green also resented men like Finnegan who had started their careers from the top. Green, on the other

¹ Lloyd M. Abernethy, "Progressivism, 1919–1919," and Joseph S. Clark Jr. and Dennis J. Clark, "Rally and Relapse, 1946–1968," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York, 1982), 524–65, 649–703.

² James Reichley, *The Art of Government: Reform Organization Politics in Philadelphia* (New York, 1959), 6. It is the author's opinion that Reichley's work has an unjustified, cynical tone.

³ Clark and Clark, "Rally and Relapse, 1946–1968," 651.

hand, worked his way up from his northeast Philadelphia precinct. Before giving his seal of approval, Green and his associates asked Dilworth and Clark about their attitudes toward patronage.⁴ The two responded that they would go along with the party organization, and, initially, they did. But once they consolidated power, these reformers attacked the Democratic organization's patronage politics.

Over the next two years, Dilworth and Clark exposed numerous Republican scandals and removed many Republican officeholders from city hall.⁵ In addition, with a drafting committee led by three lawyers, Abraham L. Freedman, William Schnader, and Robert McCracken, and with Lewis Stevens serving as secretary of the commission, they wrote a new city charter. Once approved, the charter created various boards and commissions—such as the City Planning Commission, the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia General Hospital, and the Commission on Human Relations—to streamline and decentralize city administration. The charter also established various directorships for the city government's branches and focused heavily on protecting minority rights.⁶

In the 1951 elections, Dilworth won the district attorney race, and Joe Clark became mayor. The election marked the first time in generations that Philadelphia had a Democratic mayor and administration. At the DA's office, Dilworth eliminated political control and sought to establish a set of reliable criminal case records.⁷ To the dismay of the Democratic Party organization, Clark, the reformer, abided by the new city charter and sharply reduced patronage appointments. Most city jobs "were to be filled on the basis of competitive civil-service examinations, and no committeeman could be a city employee."⁸ The top positions went to reformers and not necessarily to party members. Then, in 1954, the Democrats earned another huge victory when George M. Leader won the gubernatorial race.

With Leader as governor, and despite significant reforms, patronage appointments increased once again. In certain instances, the Democrats imitated the "machine" tactics of their Republican predecessors. Green became the firm "boss" of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party. Though

⁴ Reichley, *Art of Government*, 12.

⁵ Clark and Clark, "Rally and Relapse, 1946–1968," 654.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 655.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 657.

⁸ Reichley, *Art of Government*, 16.

an “astute and energetic leader who represented effectively the interests of the city’s blue-collar population,” he also used “the Democratic City Hall government for patronage and political favors to contributors.”⁹

When Dilworth succeeded Clark and became mayor in 1955, Green, at times, was able to wield more power.¹⁰ He secured, over Dilworth’s objection, the renomination and election of Victor H. Blanc as district attorney in 1957. Blanc was not opposed to awarding city jobs to party regulars, which proved to be a great annoyance to the reform-minded Dilworth.¹¹ Green determined to control the many gubernatorial appointments that came with statewide victory as a way of maintaining the organization’s power in the city in the face of the challenge represented by the reformers. Those patronage appointments included judgeships and court personnel.

Thus, a split occurred between reformers and the Democratic Party, and by 1957 Dilworth was at odds with the party organization. In August 1953, the state legislature passed the City-County Consolidation Act, which mandated that the mayoral and district attorney elections would no longer occur during the same year. The DA election would occur at the midway point of a mayor’s term, meaning that Blanc had to stand for reelection only two years into his term. It was widely known that Dilworth hated Blanc, but the party renominated Blanc anyway. After Blanc’s reelection, Dilworth sought reconciliation with the party organization because he needed Green’s support for his projected gubernatorial run in 1958. When this failed and Green thwarted his bid for governor, Dilworth turned against the machine.

An understudied aspect of the Philadelphia patronage system was the impact that it had on the courts. In fact, the judges were at the core of the patronage system. Pennsylvania’s Constitution of 1874 stipulated that judges would be elected by the electors for a ten-year term. Though designed to insulate judges from politics, such long terms often resulted in vacancies as judges resigned or died in office. Those unexpired terms were filled by appointment by the governor. Many judges, therefore, first

⁹ Clark and Clark, “Rally and Relapse, 1946–1968,” 660–61.

¹⁰ During the last year of the Clark administration, the Leader administration largely determined patronage appointments; thus, Green did not have a free hand, nor did he exert total control over Leader. This attempted balance between the reform administration and providing patronage positions was not a Clark initiative but rather an initiative of the Leader administration.

¹¹ Reichley, *Art of Government*, 19.

made their way to the bench through appointment. In addition, common pleas constituted Philadelphia's Board of Judges, which, in turn—and as the result of earlier reforms meant to shield government from patronage politics—appointed members of the School Board, the Board of Revision of Taxes, and the Board of City Trusts. Theoretically apolitical judges thus controlled the patronage army that staffed the city's schools, worked in such nonprofit institutions as Girard College, and assessed the city's properties for taxes.

Republicans would continue to control the Board of Judges until Governor Leader appointed sufficient Democrats to the bench to constitute a majority. Every judicial appointment was thus vital to the aspirations of the Democratic Party organization. Challenging politics-as-usual were the leaders of the Philadelphia Bar Association, who came mainly from the large law firms. Their ranks, which included Bernard M. Segal, were anxious to reduce the role of political parties in judicial appointments at the state and federal levels. Reform-minded Democrats and the city's business leaders, as well as the daily newspapers, sided with the Bar Association in its attempt to limit the influence of the political parties in the selection of judges.

It was against this backdrop that Abraham Freedman sought a gubernatorial appointment to a vacancy on Philadelphia's Court of Common Pleas. An important figure in the Clark-Dilworth political reform movement, Freedman was an outstanding lawyer, legal scholar, and Jewish community leader. He was associated with Philadelphia's prestigious Jewish law firm, Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen, he was active in legal reform and legal education, he served as president of the Federation of Jewish Agencies, and he was a leader in the Greater Philadelphia Movement. In 1951 he had served on the Home Rule Charter Commission, and he was the first city solicitor under the new charter. His credentials and his background made him an obvious choice for the position.

Freedman's supporters included such important business leaders as Albert M. Greenfield, who controlled Philadelphia's main hotels, several department stores, and extensive real estate interests in the city; Greenfield was also a substantial longtime contributor to the Democratic Party. Most of the University of Pennsylvania Law School faculty also endorsed Freedman. Even Congressman Green had promised Freedman support for a judgeship after Freedman had chaired Citizens for Joseph S.

Clark in Clark's successful 1956 campaign for the U.S. Senate.

But Governor Leader did not have an entirely free hand in making this appointment. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1874 did not allow the governor to run for reelection to a consecutive second term. Anxious to run for the U.S. Senate in 1958—which promised to be a good year for Democrats—Leader needed the support of the commonwealth's Democratic political bosses. He would also need strong support from such Democratic constituencies as black voters, and there had never been a black judge on Philadelphia's Common Pleas Court. Many interests were thus arrayed in the battle to determine how Leader would fill the four vacancies looming in Philadelphia's Common Pleas Court in 1957.¹²

What is clear is that the ideal model of a judiciary independent of political influence came to naught. After he resigned as city solicitor, the Democratic organization stymied Freedman's attempts to be appointed to the Common Pleas Court. Freedman and the Americans for Democratic Action had worked hard to put the Democrats in power, but the party organization undermined his efforts to attain a judgeship. The concept of an impartial judiciary continued to be violated even during the reform period of the 1950s.

Important People Mentioned in the Freedman Diary

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER was a Philadelphia councilman from 1952 to 1959. He was a close friend of Abraham Freedman and led the battle to integrate Girard College. Alexander was the first African American judge appointed and elected to Common Pleas Court No. 4 of Philadelphia, and he served on the bench from 1959 to 1974.

WALTER ANNENBERG was a philanthropist, publishing magnate, and head of Triangle Publications. He was publisher of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, created the magazine *Seventeen*, and made *TV Guide* a national publication; in the 1940s and 1950s, he purchased several radio and TV stations. He bought the *Philadelphia Daily News* in 1957, but in 1969 he

¹² In a telephone conversation with the author on August 13, 2009, former governor of Pennsylvania George Leader explained that he was under great pressure to make political appointments in Philadelphia. He had to walk a fine line between the reformers and the machine. Though he does not specifically remember the Freedman issue, Leader was generally pleased with his appointments.

sold it along with the *Inquirer*. He was also a philanthropist and U.S. ambassador to Great Britain from 1969 to 1974. Though a Republican, he was not extremely conservative.

DAVID BERGER was appointed city solicitor by Richardson Dilworth after Abraham Freedman resigned. He ran an office that was staffed with mostly merit-based appointees, and he held this position until 1962. He lost the district attorney race to Arlen Specter in 1969 after having returned to private practice. He subsequently became a nationally known litigator and developed his own firm.

VICTOR H. BLANC was a lawyer and councilman-at-large during the first reform administration, 1952–55. Blanc ran for district attorney in 1955 over Dilworth's objection after Dilworth resigned from the position to run for mayor. He served as the district attorney from 1956 to 1961, and he served on Common Pleas Court No. 6 from 1962 to 1968. Freedman pointed to Blanc as an example of someone supported by Green even though, like Freedman, he was Jewish.

BERNARD BORISH was a close friend of Freedman and younger partner at the Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen law firm.

MIKE BYRNE, a former Democratic ward leader, was chief assistant to Senator Joseph S. Clark. He was from Philadelphia's "river wards" (Kensington and Fishtown), and he had a deep knowledge and understanding of the Philadelphia political system.

JOHN CALPIN was the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin's* city hall reporter.

VINCENT A. CARROLL was a Republican judge on Common Pleas Court No. 2. He was assistant district attorney of the United States from 1920 to 1926 and assistant district attorney of Philadelphia from 1926 to 1946. He was a candidate for lieutenant governor in 1934. He lost against the sitting Democratic Party judges in the 1937 election for Common Pleas Court No. 7. He was very conservative and acerbic and extremely intelligent. He later became president of the Board of Judges.

JAMES P. CLARK was a businessman and treasurer of the Democratic City Committee. He was a trucking magnate, promoter of the Liberty Bell Racetrack, and the chief financier of the Philadelphia Democratic Party under William Green.

JOSEPH S. CLARK was a lawyer and mayor of Philadelphia from 1952 to 1956. He was also a U.S. senator from 1957 to 1969. He was a member of Americans for Democratic Action, which consisted of liberals and independents. The Democratic machine leadership considered him hostile, particularly for his attempts to cut down on patronage.

HERBERT COHEN was a justice on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He initially served as attorney general under Governor George M. Leader. He was a Democratic leader from York County and served in the legislature in the 1930s.

RICHARDSON DILWORTH was elected Philadelphia district attorney in 1951. He served as Democratic mayor of Philadelphia from 1956 to 1962, when he resigned to run for governor for the second time (the first being in 1950). He was defeated by William Scranton. He also served as the president of the Philadelphia School Board.

ETHAN A. DOTY, a Chestnut Hill Democrat and member of the Philadelphia Zoning Board under Mayor Clark, was defeated for Congress by Hugh D. Scott. Governor Leader appointed him as a judge to Common Pleas Court No. 2 over Abraham Freedman. He became an administrative judge of the Philadelphia court system.

JIM FINNEGAN was the chairman of the Democratic City Committee in the 1940s and a Democratic leader during the Clark-Dilworth campaign. He was councilman-at-large and president of the city council from 1951 to 1955. Finnegan was secretary of commonwealth under Governor Leader in 1955. He resigned to become campaign chair for Adlai Stevenson, but he was reappointed secretary of commonwealth the following year. He served as a bridge between the Democratic Party organization and reformers. These two groups had quite different views, particularly with regard to race. Reformers like Freedman and Lewis M. Stevens sought to improve race relations, while many of William Green's

supporters opposed Green's attempts to improve race relations.

LOIS FORER was the deputy attorney general under Attorney General Thomas McBride. Her husband, Morris Forer, was a partner in the Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen law firm. In 1971, she received an appointment to the Common Pleas Court, and she served as a judge for many years thereafter.

ABRAHAM L. FREEDMAN was an important figure in the city's political reform movement. Freedman, the son of Russian Jewish immigrants, was born on November 19, 1904, in Trenton, New Jersey. He was very shy and private, though also extremely prideful. He came from a working-class background, but he rose rapidly as a result of his brilliance and was greatly admired by his colleagues. Freedman married Jane Sunstein, whose family were part of the civically minded German Jewish elite. He was an outstanding lawyer, legal scholar, and Jewish community leader. He was a lawyer at Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen and eventually became chairman of the firm. He served on the drafting committee of the 1951 Home Rule Charter Commission and was the first city solicitor under the new charter. He worked on the 1954 Girard College case, and he was also president of the Federation of Jewish Agencies. Freedman angered Dilworth when he resigned as city solicitor over the charter amendment issue. Freedman did not really desire to seek a judgeship at first, but Freddy Mann persuaded him. He later became a district court, and then appellate court, judge with the help of Senator Joe Clark. Freedman died in Philadelphia on March 13, 1971.

BERNARD FREEDMAN was a lawyer and Abraham Freedman's older brother. The Freedman Papers contain extensive correspondence between Bernard and Abraham.

JANE SUNSTEIN FREEDMAN was Abraham Freedman's wife and a very important civic leader. She was involved in the League of Women Voters and the local Americans for Democratic Action.

MAURICE FREEDMAN was Abraham Freedman's beloved older bachelor brother and coauthored with his brother a classic treatise on marriage and divorce in Pennsylvania.

GERALD A. GLEESON, a former U.S. attorney during the Truman administration, was the secretary of revenue under Governor George M. Leader. Leader appointed him to Common Pleas Court No. 6, where he was a kind, genuine, fair, and impartial judge. Freedman sometimes spelled his name "Gleason."

LOUIS GOFFMAN was a partner at the Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen law firm.

JOSEPH GOLD was the Democratic organization attorney. He was very intelligent and loyal to the Democratic Party machine. At times, he acted as legal counsel to the party organization. Governor Leader appointed him to Common Pleas Court No. 6 to the dismay of the reformers.

WILLIAM GOLDMAN was a Jewish businessman and politically active Democrat. He was a philanthropist, a leader in establishing public television in Philadelphia, and a theater owner.

WILLIAM J. GREEN, U.S. Congressman, 1949–63, was chairman of the Democratic City Committee. Green was angry with Clark in 1956 for winning the Senate nomination because he coveted the Senate seat himself. He was a traditional machine powerbroker in Philadelphia and acted as Democratic Party "boss." He was often at odds with reformers like Clark, particularly over Clark's attempts to cut down on patronage. Though Green was largely responsible for the political maneuvering that ensured that Freedman did not receive a judgeship, he did not have any personal anger toward Freedman.

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD was a business leader who controlled Philadelphia's main hotels, several department stores, and extensive real estate interests in the city. He was a major longtime contributor to the Democratic Party and a staunch supporter of FDR. As a real estate entrepreneur, he was involved in all aspects of economic and political issues, which earned him the moniker "Mr. Philadelphia."

JACK HAYES was deputy to William Green on the Democratic City Committee.

J. SYDNEY HOFFMAN was appointed municipal court judge by Governor George M. Leader. He was active in the Jewish community, his legal office was in Green's ward, and was later elected to the Pennsylvania Superior Court.

CHARLES ALVIN JONES served as a judge on the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals from 1939 to 1944. He was defeated as the Democratic candidate for governor in 1938. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1944 and served as chief justice from 1956 to 1966.

EDWARD KALLICK was a Jewish appointee to the county court and a former U.S. attorney under Truman.

JOHN B. "JACK" KELLY, an Irish Catholic Democratic chairman and major leader in the revival of the Democratic Party, lost the mayoral race in 1935. Many believe that the Republican machine counted him out in the river wards of Kensington and Fishtown. He was a successful contractor and major building supplier. He opposed working-class members of the party like Jim Clark and William Green.

DAVID L. LAWRENCE was the Democratic mayor of Pittsburgh from 1945 to 1958. He served on the Democratic National Committee from 1935 to 1938 and from 1940 to 1962. He was governor of Pennsylvania from 1959 to 1963.

EDWIN O. LEWIS was president judge of Common Pleas Court No. 2. He was an early reform movement leader in Philadelphia in the first decades of the twentieth century. He served as an independent city councilman, joined the Fusion Party in 1909, and lost the sheriff's election in 1911. He became executive secretary of the Philadelphia Party and the William Penn Party, was assistant city solicitor in 1914, and became a judge in 1924. He was a very independent-minded judge. He was subsequently president of the Independence Hall Association. Upon his retirement in late 1957, Lewis was sincere in his efforts to encourage Freedman to seek a judgeship.

GEORGE M. LEADER served as Democratic governor of Pennsylvania from 1955 to 1959. He oversaw numerous reforms and tried, albeit

unsuccessfully, to bridge the gap between the Democratic Party and the reformers.

HERBERT LEVIN was a brilliant Democratic organization attorney. He was active in city politics and often served as cocounsel with Joseph Gold. He was appointed to the Common Pleas Court in 1965 and was a very independent judge despite his political background.

LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL was the son of a leading rabbi and a judge on Common Pleas Court No. 6. He was a renowned, outstanding judge. He was one of six Democratic judges elected by the party and independents in the 1937 election. His victory was a surprise to the Republican machine. He served on the bench until 1959, when he left to join the firm of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish and Levy.

RAYMOND MACNEILLE was a longtime Republican judge. He served on the Municipal Court of Philadelphia from 1914 to 1928 and on Common Pleas Court No. 3 from 1928 to 1959.

FREDERIC R. MANN was a businessman and Jewish community leader. He was a dominant figure and fundraiser. He was friendly with Freedman and tried to convince him not to resign as city solicitor. He was commissioner of the Department of Recreation under Mayor Joseph S. Clark and director of commerce and city representative under Mayor Richardson Dilworth.

LEONARD MATT was a politically connected Jewish lawyer.

THOMAS D. MCBRIDE was chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association from 1955 to 1957. He was a reformer and was appointed attorney general by Governor Leader in 1955. He led the effort to ensure proper representation for alleged Communist defendants. Leader appointed McBride to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1959, but he was defeated in the primary because Green would not oppose the state Democratic leadership.

MATTHEW MCCLOSKEY was a contractor and important Democratic contributor and party leader. He was chief financial adviser to the

Democratic National Committee. In 1955, he made a thirty-five million dollar deal with the Pennsylvania Railroad for a high-rise complex to replace the old Broad Street Station.

JOE MILLER was a very acerbic political reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

JOHN PATTERSON was Abraham Freedman's friend and a Philadelphia reform leader. Dilworth appointed him as a member of the board of the Philadelphia General Hospital.

DAVID RANDALL lost the 1952 Sixteenth District congressional election in central Pennsylvania as the Democratic candidate. He was an attorney and the secretary to the governor from 1955 to 1958.

HUGH D. SCOTT was the assistant district attorney for Philadelphia from 1926 to 1941. He was a Republican representative from Pennsylvania from 1941 to 1944 and from 1947 to 1958. He was chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1948 to 1949. Scott favored Freedman's appointment. He defeated George Leader in the 1958 senatorial election and served as a U.S. senator from 1959 to 1976. He was the minority leader of the Republican Party from 1969 to 1976.

BERNARD G. SEGAL, Freedman's friend, was a prominent Philadelphia lawyer and the first Jewish lawyer elected chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association in 1952. He became president of the American Bar Association in 1969. He was a supporter of merit-based selection of federal judges. Segal had been president of the Allied Jewish Appeal, which merged with the Federation of Jewish Charities in 1956 to form the Federation of Jewish Agencies.

JOHN SHERIDAN was a former Democratic U.S. congressman and friend of John B. Kelly. He served in Congress from 1939 to 1946, was deputy attorney general under Governor Earle (1934–37), and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944.

LOUIS SILVERSTEIN was a businessman and supporter of the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania. He was friends with William Green and

friendly with Freedman.

NATE SILVERSTEIN was Freedman's friend and partner at Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen.

JOSEPH SLOANE was a Democratic judge on Common Pleas Court No. 7 who was elected as sitting judge in the closely contested 1937 election. In the 1930s, he was Freedman's associate at Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen.

FRANCIS R. SMITH was a U.S. congressman from 1941 to 1942. He was collector of internal revenue for Philadelphia from 1945 to 1952 and a Democratic politician and ward leader. Leader appointed Smith insurance commissioner (1955–63), and he succeeded Green as city chairman in 1964.

MAURICE W. SPORKIN was a Republican judge and Vincent A. Carroll's colleague on Common Pleas Court No. 2. His 1953 election was a surprise Republican victory.

FRANK M. STEINBERG was a politically well-connected real estate developer and Jewish community leader. He was also friendly with Freedman.

HORACE STERN, a member of the German Jewish elite, was the former chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court (1952–56). He was the first Jewish judge on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He served on the court from 1935 until 1956 after winning a close nomination in the Republican primary. He earlier served on Common Pleas Court No. 2 from 1920 to 1932 and was only the second Jewish judge elected to the court. He was a founder of Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen and tried very hard to help Freedman obtain a judgeship.

LEWIS M. STEVENS was a Democratic lawyer and a reform leader in the 1930s. He was a cofounder of the Greater Philadelphia Movement and served as secretary of the Home Rule Charter Commission and as at-large councilman from 1952 to 1955. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1956. Lewis was Abraham Freedman's close friend. Governor George M. Leader appointed him sec-

retary of highways, 1955–59. He was a member of the Committee on City Policy, which met roughly thirty times a year at lunch meetings. Freedman delivered numerous talks at these gatherings.

HARRY SYLK was a Republican businessman (Sun Ray Drugs) and Jewish community leader.

WILLIAM SYLK, brother of Harry, was president of Sun Ray Drugs and owner of radio station WPEN.

JAMES H. J. TATE was a Democratic state legislator in the 1930s and president of the Philadelphia City Council from 1955 to 1962. He served as mayor of Philadelphia from 1962 to 1972.

Abraham L. Freedman's Account

Story of C. P. Ct., 1957–8¹³

[no date]

A few weeks ago, at lunch . . . at Midday Club . . .

[Judge Edwin O.] Lewis called me aside, & pulled his chair away from the table. He said he was resigning, but has not told anyone about it except Mayor Dilworth, to whom he owed it as a courtesy. He would make it effective, he said, after the Judges had acted on the investigative report on Mead[e] and the Board of Revision of Taxes.¹⁴

Then he said that he knew about Joe [Senator Joseph S. Clark] getting me an appointment to the [U.S.] District Court; but he would like me to be his successor and hoped I would consider it.

When he finished [Judge Vincent A.] Carroll, who obviously knew what he was discussing with me, said he needed me because he needed someone to do the work, and how good I would be at it.

I did nothing on the subject, feeling it undesirable because of Joe's D.

¹³ Freedman's account has been transcribed literally, maintaining format, spelling, and punctuation (including this text from the first page). Editorial insertions for clarity have been added within square brackets. The few strikeouts have not been recorded. Later underlining of dates and names of people in a red pen are also not represented.

¹⁴ William F. Meade was a powerful Republican Party ward leader in Philadelphia's "tenderloin district." He was city chairman and a member of the Board of Revision of Taxes.

Ct. proposal, and also because D. Ct obviously so much more important in its type of work.

Friday, Nov 1, 1957,

had Freddy Mann in at my office.

He told me his view that I had made a bad mistake not following his advice when I resigned; that I should not have returned to the firm unless my name was in the firm name.

As the first City Sol. [Solicitor] under the new charter, Joe Clark's lawyer, & Joe's great prestige, you should have opened your own office, in your own name. . . .

Thirdly, I gave him a quick summary of the pros & cons on Dist. vs. C.P. [Common Pleas Court]. He vigorously urged C.P., because part of the governmental life of the community.¹⁵

Sat, Nov. 2.

Went to office to work. Call from Lew Stevens.

There had been an article in that morning's Inquirer that [Judge] Lewis would resign the following Thurs., after a meeting of the Board of Judges, & [Secretary of Revenue Gerald A.] Gleason would be appointed.

Lew said he usually sees the Gov. at lunch on Mondays, and it would be the right time to talk to him about it [the vacancy] if I was interested.

I told him I would be. . . .

He said impt. to get back into public office, just as I had pointed out to him when he was considering Secy. of Highways.

Earlier Sat. A.M. I called Joe Clark. He said he was flying to Europe on Tues, but would get busy on it—

I covered successfully, I think, any idea of dropping of his interest re Dist. Ct. I sd my real ambition is appellate court, and CP [Common Pleas] as good for this as D. Ct., etc. . . .

Sat night,

Harvest Ball. Saw AMG [Albert M. Greenfield] there. He mentioned the Lewis matter to me, & suggested I see him Sunday at his home.

¹⁵ Freedman resigned in April 1956 as city solicitor as a result of a disagreement with Richardson Dilworth over Dilworth's support of a charter amendment, which would increase patronage jobs in the city. Freedman's resignation angered Dilworth. Freedman's law firm was Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen. Freedman did not want a judgeship at first, but Mann pushed him to seek one. Mann's "advice" to Freedman was that he should not resign over such a minor matter.

[Judge J. Sidney] Hoffman & Frank Steinberg spoke to me about it.

Sunday, Nov. 3

At AMG's [Greenfield's]. . . . He will talk with Gov. [Leader] & [William J.] Green.

I sd would be decided very soon because Lewis resigning Thursday. . . .

Tues, Nov 5th

AMG called. Said would be helpful in his navigating if Lewis would postpone for 1 week his resign. He suggested I ask him.

. . . Call came in from Joe [Clark].

Joe said he had talked to George [Leader]. G. said Abe undoubtedly the best man on the merits. But what does Green say! Thinks Green for Gleason. Afraid, said Joe, he's [Leader is] in Green's toils. Then Joe went on about how doesn't seem to be able to get anything done for me, etc. Finally, he said I should get Green & Jim Clark to withdraw their opposition to new Dist Ct bill [for additional judges]. . . . [U.S. Congressman Hugh] Scott for it; & Scott says for Abe as good man. . . .

Since all this in [Horace] Stern's office I told him briefly the story.

He said he knows Green, altho not politically, and would like to talk to him as a citizen. Perhaps he would see him with AMG; but better alone. . . .

From Stern, went off to Fed. Cabinet meeting.¹⁶ Called Harry Sylk aside & asked if he would talk to Green. His brother Bill knows him much better; & he'll talk to him. . . .

From Cabinet, saw Judge Lewis. Wonderful to me. Eager I succeed him, & will do all he can to help.

I told him about AMG's request about postponing his resignation. He said gladly, but must talk to his first client. Has his check & can't deposit it until he resigns. But thinks client won't mind.

Then he told me Vince [Carroll] had been talking to [Chief Justice Charles] Jones about [Ethan A.] Doty. Go up now to see him & kill that off right now, he said.¹⁷

¹⁶ The Federation of Jewish Agencies was formed in 1956 with the merger of the Federation of Jewish Charities, established in 1901, and the Allied Jewish Appeal. The Federation is a fundraising organization that uses donations from Philadelphia Jews to fund various charitable Jewish organizations in the city.

¹⁷ Lewis was being loyal to Freedman. He supported Freedman for the position and advised him to "kill" off Carroll's attempts to suggest a different candidate.

So I called on Jones. He said he knew what I wanted, because [Horace] Stern had called him. He got Herb Cohen to get him an appt with Gov. [Leader]. Stern wanted to know if I thought OK to rely on Cohen. I said sure. Deeply touched at int. of both Stern & Jones. Stern didn't want Jones to let Cohen do it instead of himself.

In the evening, I called Lou Silverstein. He had already mentioned me to Jim Clark a day before! Green in hospital—as AMG & Joe both told me—and his wife had called Lou within an hour after he was taken to Graduate [Hospital] from Rolling Green. . . . [Silverstein] Will see Green probably on Friday & will talk to him about me. Will also talk to Jim Clark again.¹⁸

Wed. Nov. 6

Jones called. Spoke to Herb Cohen, who said wonderful that Abe would do it. He [Cohen] arranged so Gov. called Jones and invited him to come advise with him [Leader] about it. Jones delighted. . . .

At GPM Ex Com.—[a meeting of the Greater Philadelphia Movement executive committee]¹⁹ Dick [Dilworth] said hadn't been able to make the call. Will do it.

Thurs. Nov. 7

Spoke to Bill Sylk. Harry already spoke to him. Will see Green by the end of the week & let me know. . . .

Called John Calpin. He wants to write to Gov. Had heard from Mike Byrne about Joe's call to Leader.

He will see Lewis in A.M. to get a statement that favors me. . . .

Inserts

(1) Lunch with [Matthew] McCloskey. He told me Vince Carroll wanted him to arrange an appt with Gov. for Carroll & Jones; & that Vince wants me on the court.

I sd in view of D. Ct. situation I couldn't try for it; let them ask me. He sd no chance of that, rather amused at idea.

¹⁸ Green was very ill. Though it is difficult to determine why he was in the hospital at this time, he later died of cancer.

¹⁹ City business leaders created the Greater Philadelphia Movement in 1948. This urban reform movement drew support from professionals, educators, and labor unions. It sought to address and improve various urban inequalities and social ills, such as violence, crime, drug abuse, and juvenile delinquency.

(2) AMG sd. Green had just been sewn up. He had been kept open until now. . . .

(3) Jones said he felt Gov. should consult with him about judicial appts. I agreed

He said it was a shame I wasn't on his [Supreme] Court, & that I would be if Joe [Clark] had fought harder.

We talked about it, & I defended Joe [Clark]. Idea was: Green opposing Joe for Senator, & Green yielded on promise of 1 spot he could name on state ticket, & he named [Francis R.] Smith for Auditor General [for the 1958 election]. Smith from Phila. But if Joe hadn't been afraid about himself, & had insisted for me [for the Supreme Court], I'd have gotten it. He (Jones) worked hard on it, & I could have gotten it!

When I got home I called Dick [Dilworth]. . . . Very friendly. Dick knew from Joe. He will be glad to talk to Leader.

Friday—Nov. 8

Joe Miller story in this A.M.'s Inquirer that [Judge] Lewis sent in his resign. to the Gov. after meeting of Board of Judges yesterday, effective 11/18. That Lewis said that he hoped Gov. would appoint a man of caliber of me or Gleeson!

(Nothing of postp. it [resignation] or of me alone!) Story also said I would prefer C.P. to D. Ct.; & my principal backer, Joe, is in Europe.

Dick [Dilworth] called. Had spoken to Gov., who was very frank with him in saying he wanted to get rid of Gleeson for a long time. [Attorney General Thomas] McBride told him the Bar Assoc. would OK Gleeson & he would make a competent judge, altho Abe much better.²⁰

Gov. said he has not yet made an absolute commitment to Green; and that Joe & others had spoken to him about me. Gov. will make no final decision until Green is better & they can discuss it.²¹

[Judge Vince] Carroll called. He asked if it would help me if delayed a while. I said yes. He said could get it done by writing Gov. to do so because of alterations, etc., and no place.

Vince on "perfect" terms, he said, with Green. He will talk to Green & Jim Clark and let me know.

He said Inquirer story of [Judge] Lewis saying me or Gleeson is

²⁰ Gleeson and McBride were very friendly, but McBride was not Freedman's personal friend.

²¹ Green wielded significant influence over Governor Leader and would actually be the one to determine the court appointees.

wrong. At Board of Judges meeting Lewis made a speech about me & sd wanted me as his successor. . . .

Stern walked in. . . .

. . . reiterated that he will see Green as soon as AMG tells him he can do so.

Later in day saw [Walter] Annenberg at his office. We talked about Fed. [Federation of Jewish Agencies] & Medical College.²² Then he, on his own, asked me if I was still interested in public service. I then mentioned the C.P.2 matter. . . .

I noticed that he seemed disappointed when he replied to his question by saying court. He mused aloud: "Oh, judicial service." After I left I greatly regretted I had not let him tell me what he had in mind, as a result, I had no idea what he meant.

He brought up statement he had made to me after I resigned [as city solicitor]. . . .

He said he would think about what he could do to be of help. . . .

Sat.—Nov. 9

[Chief Justice Charles A.] Jones called. Lunch yesterday in Harrisburg with Governor. Herb [Cohen] went with him.

Jones said, Frankly don't believe chance is good.

Gov. said he can't flaunt the organization here [in Philadelphia], & if they give him a name that's satisfactory, like Gleeson, he will have to go ahead with him.

Green hasn't given him any name yet. Gov. said: I'll be Gov. for more than a year yet. Then Jones to me about [Judge Raymond] MacNeille sick.

Some mention about getting Green to postpone Gleeson this time.

Gov. said Gleeson had good, clean record as U.S. Atty, & worked hard; & ∴ [therefore] no reason to turn him down. Gleeson had been endorsed by Bar Assoc. before, & McBride told him Bar Assoc. would approve.

Jones pleased that Gov. agreed that [he] would consult him on judicial vacancies. This, he said, is good for future; he can pick up the phone in future cases & talk to Gov.

²² Leaders in the Jewish community were considering a new medical school because of discrimination against Jewish students.

Later in day

Mike Byrne called. [Senator] Joe [Clark] had talked to him after I spoke to him. Mike told Joe he must beat Leader on the head. Joe called Leader: extolled me to the sky, & sd: never asked you before for a favor, it will give a real lift to you in Phila.²³ Up to Leader how he will work matter out with Green.

Calpin will say in Sunday Bulletin Leader had not made good appts. in Phila.

You have 2 hurdles: (1) Dick [Dilworth] told Joe he thinks Green made commitment to Gov. [for U.S. Senate nomination] & (2) might want a white, protestant, because of Carroll [Catholic] & Sporkin [Jewish].

Joe also spoke to [Jim] Finnegan. Thinks will talk to Finnegan about O.C. [Orphans Court].

Revenue Dept is patronage for Green in a fight next spring on governorship.

Mon.—Nov. 11

Stevens called. Lunched with Gov. Very warm and personal. Thinks I'll get it. But didn't seem to realize that Gov. had really said nothing to him that justified such a conclusion.

In evening in N.Y at World Brotherhood at Waldorf. Awards to AMG & Dr. Compton.²⁴

After the dinner at Al's [Greenfield's] request, at his suite, where Gov. also present.

At reception in Bun's²⁵ hearing, Gov. said, as I shook hands with him, that you certainly have many good friends.

After the dinner back at Al's suite at his request. People about, Gov. sd hello, but nothing else, & I felt not much friendliness.

When we were leaving, Al came out & asked Jane to wait, so we could be with Gov. & him, after rest left. This occurred. Gov. expounded at length, about how must bring the party up to the level of leadership.

²³ Leader wanted to run for U.S. Senate in 1958.

²⁴ The dinner was a meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Greenfield received the organization's Pioneer in Brotherhood Medal. Dr. Arthur H. Compton, a Nobel Prize-winning atomic scientist, also received an award. George Dugan, "Stevenson Sees Call to 'Decision'; Says Soviet Satellite Poses Choice between Extinction and Human Brotherhood," *New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1957, p. 31.

²⁵ "Bun," or "Bunny," is Jane Sunstein Freedman, Abe's wife.

Openly talked as if he didn't have power of appt but rested with Green. I made my views clear about Phila 49th state in some ways & ∴ [therefore] unusual about county leader's approval as in other counties. Here Home Rule, independent leaders, Clark & Dilworth. No impact on him [Leader]. Al's pitch was that I was a great guy; but main point, in view of Gov.'s reaction, was that he shouldn't act until Al could talk with Green and felt he could persuade Green to party's advantage.

After Gov. left, as we were leaving I said I hoped all went well with him (Al) and now I had a personal reason of my own. Bun said to him: I hope for once you'll be responsible for the appt. of a good judge.

Wed.—Nov. 13

Inquirer editorial that Leader should not let Green dictate appt. to CP2.

In evening went to Lawyer's Club reception. . . . [Judge Maurice] Sporkin got hold of me & said he, Carroll & Lewis were "praying" I was appointed. He told me how Lewis spoke about me at Board of Judges meeting; & sd he didn't mention Carroll, regardless of what Joe Miller said.

Joe Sloane spoke to me also of what Lewis said.

Thurs.—Nov. 14

McCloskey called. Spoke to Gov., & altho Gov. didn't say so, no question he is committed to Gleeson.

Matt sd Joe has got you fixed up for the Dist. Ct., hasn't he; so what difference does it make.²⁶

Friday—Nov. 15

. . . Fred Mann said he had taken care of Gov, & all that was left was to take care of Green, & Albert [Greenfield] was doing that!

Thurs.—Nov. 21

Argued Girard Coll. case in Pa. Supreme Ct.²⁷ While there [David] Berger showed me a note [Thomas] McBride had received of death of

²⁶ Democratic Senator Joe Clark could thwart the nomination of any individual to the federal district court from his state.

²⁷ Philadelphia's Home Rule Charter of 1951 established a Commission on Human Relations that would, in part, focus on the problem of racial discrimination. When Girard College, a historically white institution, denied admittance to six black students in 1954, Raymond Pace Alexander, a

Crumlish. Berger asked if I wanted him to talk to McBride. I sd. I would appreciate it. As we went out for recess for lunch, McBride, before Berger could speak to him, called me aside and said: I think you can go on the bench now, if you want to; I told the Gov. I was for Gleason, and now I can tell him I am for you. I thanked him. I told him I would prefer #7 because my old friendship for Joe [Sloane].²⁸

Sat.—Nov. 23

[Lewis] Stevens called. Asked if there was truth in what a friend (whom he couldn't name) had confidentially told him:—that [Judge Louis] Levinthal would resign. I told him the facts of some years ago; & of recent newspaper story about pension; but had heard nothing else.

Stevens repeated view that in final analysis Gov. will do like we would. Stevens sd he is making speeches, exhausting work at times, but well satisfied with his decision. Also mentioned re Protestant and that friend who spoke to him about Levinthal meant it for him; but he will play out the Governorship string.²⁹

[John] Patterson called. Seeing AMG tonight & wanted to be

prominent black civil rights lawyer, took on the case. That September, Mayor Joseph Clark and the Commission on Human Relations petitioned the Orphans' Court for a ruling; the court ruled that black students could be excluded. From there the case went to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (Case 386 PA 548). Abraham Freedman served as special counsel for the City of Philadelphia and David Berger served as city solicitor for City of Philadelphia, appellant. Chief Justice Horace Stern upheld the Orphans' Court's ruling. However, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Pennsylvania v. Board of Trusts*, 353 US 230 (1957), ruled that the "refusal to admit Negro boys to the college solely because of their race violates the Fourteenth Amendment." The case returned to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in January 1958 (391 PA 438), with Freedman and Berger reprising their roles from the original case. Thomas McBride was the attorney general. In response to the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling, the state Supreme Court vacated the Orphans' Court's previous decision. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court explained that it initially allowed exclusion of blacks because Stephen Girard's will created an institute for "poor male white orphans." However, the Board of Directors of City Trusts of Philadelphia had administered the college since the late 1860s. Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the board was an agency of the state, and state discrimination based on race was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. But instead of consenting to integration, the Orphans' Court merely removed the Board of Directors of City Trusts as trustee. Though appeals followed, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Orphans' Court's course of action and decided not to rehear the case. After several more court cases between 1966 and 1968, Judge Joseph Lord of the U.S. District Court finally ruled that Girard College was violating the Fourteenth Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court's refusal to review the case in May 1968 paved the way for integration at Girard College.

²⁸ There were potential openings on Common Pleas Courts Nos. 2 and 7. James C. Crumlish, a Democratic judge, was elected in 1937. He served on Common Pleas Court No. 7 from his election until his death in 1957. His death resulted in the vacancy. Edwin O. Lewis's retirement had left an opening on Common Pleas Court No. 2. McBride and Berger were involved in the political maneuvering behind the scenes.

²⁹ Some believed that a Protestant should be appointed to balance the Jewish appointments.

brought down to date. Will let me know.

Sun.—Nov. 24

Patterson called. AMG told him yesterday that is seeing Green at his home today. Some talk of Joe: AMG saying: If I were U.S. Sen. I wouldn't have any trouble getting a judgeship for my friend.

Also:—We'll see if I have any power in the Dem. party.

I decided I'd call AMG; & Pat. [Patterson] will call Jim Clark.

I called Lou Silverstein. He's talked with [party treasurer Jim] Clark but not yet with Green.

[Bernard] Segal called re Fed. [Federation of Jewish Agencies] Will see Clark Wed.

Mon.—Nov. 25

At Fed. Annual Dinner. Frank Steinberg. Jim [Clark] for me & I should call Bill [Green].

Tues—Nov. 26

Inquirer story: McBride backs Lois Forer. Called Bill Green's home. Spoke to [his wife] Mary. She seemed either distraught or unfriendly. Said he needs a third operation.

I told her I didn't want to have him disturbed; that when she thought it appropriate to tell him I called. I told her of the subject matter. She sd she didn't get into those affairs.

[John] Patterson called. Spoke Clark (Jim). He advised Pat [Patterson] on how to approach Green—to write Green a letter, & say Jim suggested it.

Pat's point was Abe an independent Democrat, & you'd be passing him up. Jim sd, I wonder if you know the amt of pressure on Bill & source—Negro. Also: Abe can get Dist. Ct. Pat said point is now.

We decided I'd call AMG, since I had heard from him. If he saw Bill [Green] & it was OK, we would have heard.

I called AMG. He sd he'd call me back. Seemed he had someone with him.

Didn't hear from him. So, further sign not going well.

Wed—Nov. 27

Inquirer: Judiciary Com. [of the Philadelphia Bar Association]

approved a batch of names, incl. Forer, Gleason & Doty.

Later [Bernard] Borish. . . I mentioned newspaper story to him. He sd he led fight not to be bound by prior approvals. This knocked out [Joseph] Gold, et al.

Also: You will be gratified to know—confidentially—that you received the highest vote [by the Judiciary Committee].

AMG called. I'm to breakfast with him tomorrow (Thanksgiving Day).

Called [Louis] Goffman at home in the evening. He will talk to Jim Clark.

Thurs. Nov. 28 (Thanksgiving Day)

Most of morning at AMG's home.

He told me he has not seen Green—: didn't see him Sunday as Pat [Patterson] sd he planned—but expected to see him in the next few days.

He did see Green in the hospital for a few minutes. Didn't answer my question of what Green sd, but immediately . . . spoke of fact I'm identified with the [Joseph] Clark group, so why should they [the Democratic organization] do anything.

[Governor] Leader had said to him, with a wink, which he considered very impt., that he [Freedman] should talk to Jim Clark. I sd I would. He wanted me to tell Jim Clark how friendly I feel to the party, etc. I suppose to overcome the Joe Clark tag.

He [Greenfield] saw Dick [Dilworth] & asked him to call Leader on the second vacancy, but he sd he did not want to do so. (This he sd very confidentially.

I sd, well, he already had called him for the first vacancy. To my surprise, he [Greenfield] sd: Were you there when he called him. I sd no, but he told me he had. (Must be something Dick sd made him doubtful he had called at all. Al talked about Bar Assn's Judiciary Com. He was incensed that I was listed with so many nobodies. In fact, he came back to this when I was leaving, and at the door, said: Maybe I've idealized you, but you in the same place as those others!

He also made good point, which I summarized, of it being bad to be a perennial candidate.

I told him of Green's promise to me of last yr, & sd if he doesn't keep it now he will be doing to me what he did with him—break his word!³⁰

³⁰ We do not know what this "promise" to Freedman, or to Greenfield, was. In this instance, Freedman refers to an earlier personal conversation and does not elaborate.

Al also spoke of the Jewish point, & how there's none of that in Dick [Dilworth];—came about because Dick told him that that's what some of the party people are saying. . . .

Fri.—Nov. 29

Called Jim Clark. He said he was going to call me. He spoke to "Willie"—meaning Green—because he knew I'd be on his neck. There are a number of people on his neck; and the "heat" is terrific. I asked who? [Joseph] Gold. He's not been approved by Bar Assn, I thought. He was surprised. Gold & [Herbert] Levin had withdrawn from the ticket & a promise had been made to them.

Then Jim mentioned the Jewish Q[uestion]. So many Jewish appts. Last time in policy com. [committee] same thing. I sd, but that didn't stop you, did it? (Meaning Vic Blanc)³¹ He sd, no. Then why start with me? Why start with Pres of Fed. [Federation of Jewish Agencies].³² (He was impressed).

Bill [Green] sd let it rest & give him a chance to clear his mind more. Give him a week or 2 before he makes up his mind—He [Jim Clark] saw Bill on Wed.

I sd, did you remind Bill of his commitment to me a year ago. Jim sd, yes, he didn't deny it.

I then sd, now, Jim, I want to know about you. Are you for me yourself—aside from Bill. I want to know. A. [Answer] Yes. I've always been for you.

Something also earlier about I thought you wanted Dist. Ct. I dismissed it.

Called AMG & told him of my talk with Jim Clark. He was friendly & jovial. Sd: Green called him yesterday; & he will see him tomorrow.

Stevens called. In town for the day. Gov. will be back Mon, & then gone for about 10 days.

Lew [Stevens] will see McBride on other business in next few days & talk with him. I told him of McB's talk with me & then of the Inquirer story of Forer, which Lew also had seen.

[Bernard] Segal. Talked with Jim Clark at lunch on Wed. Talked about

³¹ Over serious opposition, Green supported Victor H. Blanc, a councilman, for the district attorney vacancy after Dilworth resigned to run for mayor in 1955 even though Dilworth objected strongly to having Blanc as a running mate. The party subsequently succeeded in having Blanc appointed as a judge.

³² Freedman was president of the Federation of Jewish Agencies from 1956 to 1959.

both Fed. Ct. & C.P. Jim personally is favorably disposed.

Big question is appointment of any Jew, & whether they shouldn't now appt. Gleason & the only Protestant they have. Who? Doty. . . .

[Segal] Told Jim Fed. is no consideration at all,—and then gave same reasoning that he sd was very convincing to Jim, but which I didn't quite understand.

Bill [Green] feels very good about Abe.

Overall impression: Jim himself wouldn't appt. a Jew at this time. But Bill, says Bernie [Segal], probably will feel like they do in N.Y. —that these minorities are our supporters.

Told Jim if Jewish apptd at all, it would be to M.C. [Municipal Court]—but silly re C.P. Could apply it to Super. Ct. [Superior Court]—where no Jew.

[Louis] Goffman said he spoke to Jim Clark. Big this is the Jewish question.

Sun—Dec 1

Call from [Bernard] Segal. He received word today from "Harrisburg" on the subject. Personal visit at 10:30 A.M., as well as phone calls. Didn't say who, & I therefore, didn't ask. He made it clear it was the very top,—someone very close to the Gov., or the Gov himself!

He was asked what he would do. A: I'd appoint Gleason & Abe.

That is positively the Gov's thinking. You know I wouldn't say that unless I had good reason to say it—I'm positive it is the Gov's. thinking.

Jones' and Cohen's visit to the Gov. made a big impression on the Gov. Gov's brother sd. Jones must have done it at [Horace] Stern's request.³³

Only thing that can stop it is if Green is definitely opposed to it.

So, I'll call Jim [Clark] to make it clear that if you are not appted, then it will be known that it is due solely to Green.

Gov. is completely unimpressed with the argument about too many Jews & Catholics. Agrees on being like Harriman in N.Y., who feels they are his supporters & no reason not to recognize them.³⁴

Gov. feels Doty is nice fellow, but not impressed with him as a lawyer, as result of inquiries made by Gov's brother.

Jewish point probably raised by party people to get them out of prom-

³³ The governor's brother was Henry Leader, a lawyer from York County and a member of Leaders' cabinet.

³⁴ This is a reference to W. Averell Harriman, the Democratic governor of New York from 1955 to 1959. Harriman was unconcerned about making too many Jewish appointments.

ises to Gold & Levin.

Gov. has message from Green to wait for a week or 10 days. Will probably wait.

Bernie [Segal] gathers Green wants the time to smooth out source of his commitments.

Tues—Dec. 3

[Former chief justice Horace] Stern looked in on me. Had been asked by “someone” to write a letter to Gov. on behalf of Lois Forer. Said he wouldn’t do it unless I was out of the picture as a candidate. I told him I was still in it.

He will not write the letter.

Talked about Herb Cohen. Thinks he would be helpful with Gov. Is lunching with Jones & will ask him if Cohen went with Jones when he saw Gov. & will let me know.

Stern added he had not heard from AMG about Stern seeing Green.

I told him Al was supposed to see him & suggested I call and say he asked. He agreed, called Al, but he was out.

Saw Len Shaffer. . . .³⁵ He volunteered that 2 Justices are supposed to resign and that [Justice Herbert] Cohen is very much for me. Cohen’s attitude not on basis of personal friendship, because not personal friends, but because thinks your top man in Pa. First vacancy [on Pennsylvania Supreme Court] will go to McBride, & Cohen for you for second.

AMG called back. Is seeing Green tonight at 8 o’clock. . . .

Mike Byrne called in afternoon. Joe Clark back today & on to Portland. Asked him to tell me received my cable and wrote to Leader.

Borish in, on something else, & said letter from Negro lawyer’s group protesting against discrimination because no Negro approved by Judiciary Com.

Wed—Dec. 4

[Horace] Stern told me had spoken to [Chief Justice Charles A.] Jones yesterday, & he told him that Herb Cohen had gone with him to the Gov’s. I therefore called Cohen, in York, to thank him. I said I was delayed in expressing my thanks because I had only just learned of it, and had previously thought Jones had gone alone.

³⁵ Shaffer was one of Freedman’s clients.

He said Leader is on the coast now, and won't be back until Monday.

Leader is a little bit concerned at overdoing Jewish appts. 75% of his judicial appts in the state have been Jewish, & in Phila, all. . . .

He mentioned helpful that two vacancies. I noted that he did not specifically say he was for me, yet it was implicit in the conversation. Couldn't help feeling a politician might well consider that an art.

When I thanked him he did say doing it for good of the Commonwealth. . . .

Cohen said he will speak to Leader when he gets back & will let me know "if anything startling." I was contemplating calling Mike Byrne to push help from Joe, when the phone rang.

Joe Clark called. Just back from Sicily; & going to Portland, Me. . . .

He said he had written Leader, & asked for a bring down.

Told him [about] Jones visit and its impt. He agreed. Also of Jim Clark saying personally for me. Also, briefly of Leader at AMG's N.Y. party asking for Green's OK. Also of Annenberg being for me for public service, but my not knowing what help he could be on this. Also told him of McBride.

I then sd that with 2 openings, I thought it would be a great blow to me if I couldn't get a C.P. I sd I frankly felt it would be desirable if he spoke to Leader. He sd Leader was in San Francisco and would not be back until Monday and he will speak to him on Monday.

I called Matt McClosky. Asked if he had spoken to Leader. Sd he hadn't seen him. I sd I felt it would be helpful if he spoke to him. He sd. he is in Calif & will be back Monday and he will speak to him then.

Thurs—Dec. 5

In evening . . . decided to call AMG who had date with Green for Tues night, and from whom I had not yet heard.

He said he had seen Green Tues. . . . He'll pick me up & drive in to work with me in the morning.

Fri—Dec. 6

. . . [During the drive] he hesitated about talking because of chauffeur. I wondered when he expected he could talk. So I plunged in. I said I was anxious to hear.

He said spent half an hour talking about Green's health, because he was interested in him as a friend, then on other matters, (I assume

Governorship) and an hour about me.

Green likes me very much, and admires me. There was a great deal of talk about the independents. Al sd they were good for about 50,000 votes; Green sd no more than 25,000. Green said Joe [Clark] & Dick [Dilworth] don't realize need for an organization. Even he—Green—can't do whatever he would like; has to respect the wishes of leaders in the districts, & by recognizing them, make them respected in their districts.

Joe—& Dick—want to have everything their way. Bill thinks a good primary fight would be a good thing, because it would show how impt. organization is.

Bill fears criticism because of appt. of another Jew. Al [Greenfield] was full of praise about Green's stature & leadership abilities. In context, I felt annoyed, esp. when he turned to him & Green re Dist. Ct. & how Green friendly to me & has not opposed Dist. Ct. bill [to add a number of district court judges], & I'll probably get on.

I sd. that I can get [a district court judgeship] from Joe [Clark], & don't need Green. But friends thought me foolish to allow my name to be used for C.P., & I did it [sought the common pleas judgeship] only because, with Jones as C.J. [chief justice of Pennsylvania Supreme Court], I felt I would be promoted to appellate court. It would in my view be a serious blow if it came to be known that I couldn't get one of 2 C.P. positions from my party. As to Jewish—I sd that's a rationalization you could use whenever you wanted the excuse. I thought it was brought up to help Green regarding Gold & Levin. Al agreed. I sd, but he doesn't need that rationalization because they were not approved by the [Philadelphia Bar Association] Judiciary Com. Al was surprised; sd he didn't know that. Otherwise, he wished he had said it with Green. Clear Green wants Doty, as Protestant, for 2d job, & 1st. already goes to Gleason.

Then the real point came out: Joe [Clark] should see Green & tell him he will feel obligated to him if he's for me. I sd I felt sure Joe would speak to Green if I asked, but would not agree to any favor or obligation to Green. Al [Greenfield] sd OK. I'm to tell him as soon as Joe has talked with Green, and then Al will see Green immediately and "button it up."

Green has agreed that he will keep the matter open until he & Al meet again in about 10 days on some other matters—I assume Governorship.

Al sd no doubt Gov. will not appt. except with Green's OK, he needs Green for Senate fight. This when I suggested, let Green not be for me, but say he's not against me.

I called Bill Goldman and asked if he had spoken to Jim Clark or Green.

He sd Green just out of hospital, & very few could see him. . . .

Then Goldman sd: Tell me what you've done! (I decided then & there to tell him nothing & write him off)

He then sd nothing can be done until somebody sees Bill Green. He wants to see Bill Green. Will keep me advised. I let it go at that.

I called Frank Steinberg. Nothing new that he knows. Expects to see Jim Clark & will call me Monday.

Since Greenfield had suggested I call Green, I called his house & spoke to Mary. We left it that she will let me know when Green can talk to me.

I called Sydney Hoffman.

He knew AMG was going to see Green. Sydney was at Green's home Sunday night (when AGM was supposed to be asked up.) Sydney told Green how qualified I am etc. Knows Bill well. Bad to overdo it with him. Surprising to some, but Bill makes up his own mind, & usually just listens.

Problem is so many Jewish appts.

He expects to be at Bill's over the weekend, & will let me know if there's anything interesting.

Sat.—Dec 7

Called [Senator Joe Clark]. Told him Gov won't appt. anyone without Green's OK. I understand Green hurt Joe hasn't asked him for his approval. I sd we know why; he wants to show his power, and in this case he has it.

I sd I'd appreciate it if he'd call Green. He sd certainly. Asked me for Green's number. A few minutes later Joe called back. Spoke to Mary [Green]; arranged when Joe home, so Green could call him, either this afternoon or tomorrow.

Called AMG in N.Y. Told him of my talk with Joe, & Joe's with Mary. I'm to let him know as soon as I hear from Joe, & he will then get in touch with Green.

Sat—Dec. 7

[Lewis] Stevens called. Is seeing Jim Clark today about himself.³⁶ Is see-

³⁶ Stevens was seeking an appellate court judgeship.

ing McBride Thurs. . . . & in view of Inquirer story this week again that McB. is for Lois Forer, he will talk with him.

I sd Joe Miller has been pushing Lois in his stories, & ∴ [therefore] don't pay any heed to them.

Cocktails at Nate Silverstein, [U.S. Appellate Judge Harry] Kalodner there: You don't want C.P., I've had both, Dist. Ct. so much more interesting.³⁷

[At another cocktail party later that evening, I learned] McBride said he was for Lois Forer. . . . Al [Greenfield] sd: you haven't heard from Joe? I sd no, & I presume he & Bill Green haven't made contact with each other yet.

Mon.—Dec 9

Call from Barney [Freedman]. Cooperstein called him this morning and said he heard on TV last night that I had been appted. a judge.³⁸ I said I hadn't heard about it, & I rather imagined I would know. I asked when he said he heard it. He said 11:30 P.M. I said it must have been some radio columnist.

Later Borish came in on something else. He said Brookhouser said positively last night that I & Gleeson would be appointed. So that explained Cooperstein.³⁹

Vince Carroll called. Heard that Gleeson & I would be appted. Awfully good news; delighted. Brookhouser said it, and it's now being discussed all around the Hall [City Hall]. I sd. nothing to it, & all based on Brookhouser.

Vince said he talked to Jim Clark the other day. I mentioned, he said, the other day to Jim Clark, Gleeson & Doty, & you.

Jim sd: the Gov. might want to balance one independent with one political appointment. (This I considered significant.

Joe Clark called, Green never called him. Reluctant to call again, in view of what Mary said about his 2 operations & needing a third.

I said I didn't think he should call Green again, since he knows he

³⁷ Kolodner was a federal judge. Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him to the district court, and Truman appointed him to the court of appeals. He was appointed to Common Pleas Court No. 2 by Governor George Howard Earle III (1935–39), but he lost the 1937 election to a Republican. He lost in a close race to Theodore Rosen and was the only sitting Democratic judge to be defeated.

³⁸ It is difficult to determine who "Cooperstein" was, as Freedman made no other mention of him.

³⁹ Frank Brookhouser was a columnist for the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* and also did a weekly television program.

called & can reach him.

I sd there was something he could do. I asked if he had spoken to Leader since the 2d vacancy. He said no! I said it would be helpful if he would call the Gov. He sd would call him today.

Leonard Matt called. I picked a winner, he said. I sd it was all based on Brookhouser, & no facts.

He said he had been in Harrisburg & attended Gov's press conference on Thursday. Duke Kaminski of Bulletin asked, & Gov. sd no comment now.⁴⁰

Later, "off record" discussion with Dave Randall, Gov's Secy [secretary], & he sd. unless somebody upsets apple cart, Abe will be appted.

Jim Clark sd it will get Gov. off the hook— 1 indep. & 1 party.

Matt sd: Gleeson to C.P. 7 & me to C.P. 2.

Wed—Dec. 11

Frank Steinberg called. Heard from an impt. source, reliable, that Leader submitted three names to Green & Jim Clark and asked if all were OK with Bill & Jim. Bill sd yes. I am among the three. Doesn't know who the others are.

So now up to Gov. so far as Bill is concerned.

I asked him to tell who told him this. He sd (confidentially) it was Jim Clark. Jim told him, saying he knew how impt. he felt it was to him.

Thurs.—Dec. 12

Anne Selby called.⁴¹ Hear you are in. I sd I haven't heard about it.

She heard Jim Clark had no objection.

We then talked of how much she would like to see it,—how Gov. ought to pick best men, etc.

Friday—Dec. 13

Mike Byrne called. Joe [Clark] asked him to call me. Joe tried to reach Bill Green. On Mike's advice, Joe then called Jack Hayes, as the only man who sees Bill. Told Jack what he wanted to see him about. Jack said Mary wouldn't let the call go through because he was going to the hospital for his third operation very soon.

Bill asked Jack to tell Joe that he "has Abe very much in mind".

⁴⁰ Duke Kaminski reported on state politics for the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*.

⁴¹ Selby was an enterprising investigative reporter for the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*.

Joe will be home over the week-end.

Jim Clark, whom I had left word to call for 2 days, returned my call today. I asked him what was new on the courts. He said the bottom had dropped out of the freight business, & he has been doing nothing for last 2 weeks but work on his business affairs.

He knows nothing of what is in the news now.

Called AMG. Told him reporter's story of 3 names. He very obviously knew nothing about it. Told of Jack Hayes.

Also, apparently knows nothing new now.

Asked if Joe [Clark] spoke to Leader. Said hadn't heard, but will call Joe & find out. He asked I let him know, so he will perhaps see Green over week-end.

Sat—Dec. 14

Called Joe [Clark]. Thanked him re Hayes. He wasn't quite sure what he said, indicating Mike Byrne would have it exactly.

I asked if he had spoken to Leader. He said read Leader was in Florida! I said he had been in Fla, but had come back & then spoke on West Coast, & back now since Monday. (I thought for a moment, maybe Leader sick & ∴ [therefore] back in Fla.) Joe said he'd try to get hold of him.

(I was oppressed as I thought about it later, with apparent lack of energy on his part. And prior call also had been disappointing because he hadn't thought on his own of calling after a second vacancy).

Sun.—Dec. 15

Called Joe Clark at home. Not in. Left word with Noel.⁴² Didn't call back.

Mon.—Dec. 16

Joe called. . . .

Told him since my name thrown in, harmful with partners [at Wolf-Block] & generally not to get C.P., especially when 2 vacancies. Also sd. urgent, because may be decided any day, that he talk with Governor.

He sd Leader is appearing at Senate Com. hearing on housing he is conducting today at 2 P.M. & ∴ [therefore] didn't call him because thinks better to speak to him in person.

⁴² Noel Hall Clark, Joseph Clark's wife.

Frank Steinberg called. Dave Randall called him re Del. Riv. [Delaware River] Port Authority, to see old man Cox,⁴³ whose term is expiring.

Frank asked him about me. He sd. situation unchanged. Looks good. Won't be decided until after first of year.

Called Bill Sylk. He saw Green last week end. Green won't talk about politics until he's over his 3d operation. Was to go in Friday for operation today, so could get home by Xmas; now postponed till after Xmas. May see him this week end.

Didn't talk of me;—couldn't. Will see this time. Painted picture of Green as country squire, enjoying freedom from work & political cares, who has decided will not be bothered until finished with final operation.

[William] Goldman called. Hasn't forgotten about me. Very few people have seen Green; maybe more serious than it is said. He saw Jack Kelly. Jack said Gleeson will get one. Wants [John] Sheridan for other. Who is your #2 man. None. How about Abe. Abe is OK. . . .

Wed—Dec. 18

Inquirer story from Harrisburg that Gov. will appoint Gleeson and Doty, definitely.

Spoke to [John] Calpin on phone. He said story had been checked with Gov. and it was true. Now that it was over, Calpin said could tell me, that he wrote to Gov. about me & said it looked like here in Phila. as if he has no time for the independents, only appt. was Stevens, and that was after a lot of arm twisting, and Abe was outstanding etc. John sd nothing to Doty. I said he was a nice fellow.

Heard nothing from Joe [Clark], although Leader appeared before his committee on housing on Monday. Jane sd to me this morning, or last night, it wasn't a good sign. So, it was correct.

Thurs—Dec. 19

Called Bill Sylk. He spoke to Green a few days ago (I noted the lag) & Doty & Gleeson;—Jewish question. Thinks they had a problem. I cut him short. Thanked him briefly.

Called Mike Byrne. Said I had asked Joe [Clark] to call Leader a few weeks ago & he didn't; and he was to talk to him Monday at Senate hear-

⁴³ Edwin R. Cox, age eighty-seven, was a former City Council president, former chair of the Republican City Committee, and a commissioner at this time of the Delaware River Port Authority.

ing but hadn't heard anything. Mike sd Joe lunched with Leader on Monday just for this purpose. I sd I assumed bad news or I'd have heard from Joe.

I was very blunt & angry about Leader. I said it was impt. to know when he ran for Senate [in 1958], if we were voting for Green for Senator. I sd people in Jewish community will be incensed & question in my mind whether I shouldn't feed the flames. Indignant, 2! vacancies, measly CP! & couldn't get it after Jones, Dick, Joe, Al, etc. Jewish! Didn't stand in the way with Blanc, [Edward] Kallick, et al. Excuses!

Hold your shirt on, sd Mike.

Also sd Joe terribly busy, sitting from 9³⁰ to 6¹⁵ at hearings. (Bunk! I thought to myself) & that's why hadn't had time to make even a telephone call to me, sd Mike.

In evening, Lou Silverstein called me. He had talked to Jim Clark around 9th of Dec. & knew from Jim. Protested. Maybe, he sd, its really in wrong hands. Sd he asked Jim, Is it because Abe was Joe [Clark]'s "secretary" (sic)⁴⁴

Friday—Dec. 20

Called Frank Steinberg, who told me yesterday at Fed. [Federation of Jewish Agencies] meeting that he upbraided Green on phone & sd, Isn't Jewish money just as good as any other;—(he's a fund raiser)⁴⁵ He said—confidentially—today they were afraid they couldn't rely on me. I sd what do you mean. He said they want to get a majority in C.P. & control jobs in Fairmount Park Com [Commission], Board of Education, etc., & now have been able to get a part only by deals. I sd on that basis, they are short—we counted—of a majority by about 3 more, so I'd never get it.

Called Al [Greenfield]. Spoke to Green, who said "Next time." Al said why not the other fellow for next time. Very disappointing, he sd; things getting harder every day.

What did Joe say. I sd. Joe called this A.M. but missed me & will call again this A.M. I sd I'd like to know the details of what Green sd. Wants to see if what Joe was told coincides with what he was told, so will talk after I hear from Joe.

Joe [Clark] called. Said he was sorry didn't get a chance to call sooner.

⁴⁴ Freedman served as chairman of Citizens for Joseph S. Clark for U.S. Senator in 1956, a job that included writing speeches for Clark.

⁴⁵ Freedman was an important fundraiser for the Democratic Party, as was Steinberg.

He had spoken to Leader. Leader made light of his urging me. Was very noncommittal. Appreciates that you are by far the most outstanding candidate.⁴⁶ There's not a damned thing that you or I can do. Told Leader I've never asked you for anything before, etc.

Fearful that if you make any further, desperate efforts, will do you harm. Case has been plead by leading people.

Hate to say this to you, my good friend.

I've played out the string with him.

Stone wall from Leader. . . .

Finnegan had said they felt they needed a Protestant. Suppose that's why Doty.

Sorry, don't think there is another thing I can do. I sd, how can you, when you just spoke to him Monday.

Called Al [Greenfield]. Told him of my talk with Joe.

Doesn't look good, he said. Coincides with the way Leader spoke to me.

May see Green over week-end, & try again.

Sat.—Jan. 25

Gov's appts. made a week ago to CP 2 & 7.— Gleeson & Doty nothing said by either Leader or Green to me.

Maurice [Freedman] showed me an editorial in *Inquirer* deploring "politics as usual" in Gov's action, & his subservience to Green.

Haven't heard from Joe or Dick, although have heard from others of Joe's activities re Dick as a candidate for governor & the Tate problem.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In a telephone conversation with the author on August 13, 2009, Henry Leader, Governor George Leader's brother, suggested that Freedman was the favored candidate at the time.

⁴⁷ Dilworth would have to resign as mayor if he ran for the governorship. James H. J. Tate, as president of the city council, would, in all likelihood, become mayor if Dilworth resigned. But Tate would have supported Pittsburgh mayor David Lawrence for governor. This put Tate in an odd position: he opposed Dilworth becoming governor for political reasons, but Dilworth's run for governor would have made Tate mayor. Dilworth, in turn, did not want Tate to be mayor. It became a moot point, however, when Dilworth decided not to run for governor. Tate became upset that his path to City Hall was thus blocked by Dilworth's decision not to resign.

Postscript

Abraham Freedman was not the only Philadelphian who was dismayed by the Democratic machine's politicization of judgeships. On January 16, 1958, John M. Cummings, in an *Inquirer* editorial, lambasted William Green and Governor Leader. He referred to a large and politically potent group of "Greenies" and how, "in the name of Bill Green and the Democratic organization," Governor Leader had appointed Ethan Allen Doty and Gerald A. Gleeson to the Court of Common Pleas. Cummings explained that, "It had been the hope of the Philadelphia Chapter, Americans for Democratic Action, that one of the judgeships would go to Abraham L. Freedman, city solicitor in the reign of Mayor Clark. . . . But he and others were nudged aside by Bill Green and, after some delay, the robes were passed to Ethan Allen Doty and Mr. Gleeson." Jim Clark and Green controlled the Philadelphia machine, and, along with the appointment of Vincent G. Panati as secretary of revenue, "three Greenies were picked by the Governor."⁴⁸

In the aftermath of the judgeship "controversy," George Leader ran as Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate in 1958; he was defeated by Congressman Hugh D. Scott. Congressman William Green consolidated his power over patronage appointments. Before Leader's term as governor ended, he filled three additional vacancies in the Court of Common Pleas. He appointed Joseph Gold to replace Judge Levinthal; David L. Ullman, a Leader administration attorney and a long-term Democrat and Jewish community leader, to the vacancy caused by the resignation of Protestant Raymond MacNeille; and Raymond Pace Alexander, the first black appointee to the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia and an independent Democrat, to replace Judge John Morgan Davis, who resigned to run successfully for lieutenant governor.⁴⁹

Abraham Freedman continued to be active in such organizations as the Fellowship Commission, the Jewish Community Relations Council, and the Federation of Jewish Agencies, which he served as president. In his professional life, he became chairman of the elite Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen law firm. Politically, he supported Richardson Dilworth

⁴⁸ John M. Cummings, "How Green Mt. Boys Have a Parallel Here," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 16, 1953, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Leader remained involved in public life after leaving office. He participated in the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention in the late 1960s, which revised the Constitution, but his one disappointment was that he was unable to institute a merit-based appointment system for judges.

in his successful 1959 campaign for reelection as mayor of Philadelphia. He cochaired Citizens for Kennedy in southeastern Pennsylvania. Senator Clark supported Kennedy's 1961 appointment of Freedman to the U.S. District Court. President Lyndon Johnson elevated Freedman to the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1964, where he served until his death on March 13, 1971.

Philadelphia, PA

ISADOR KRANZEL,
with ERIC KLINEK

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney's Correspondence with Abraham Lincoln: The Quaker Dilemma

IN OCTOBER 1862, ELIZA GURNEY traveled to the White House with three fellow Quakers to meet with Abraham Lincoln in order to offer the president spiritual comfort and support. Gurney's address to the president expressed deep empathy for the heavy weight of responsibility that he bore, and Lincoln was deeply moved by the sentiments she expressed. Several months after the visit, Lincoln initiated a correspondence with Gurney that continued for more than a year. This exchange reflects Gurney's—and the broader Quaker community's—commitment to addressing society's wrongs and the dilemma faced by the Religious Society of Friends when confronted by a war fought to end human slavery. This interchange between Lincoln and Gurney has been preserved in Gurney's memoir.¹ This memoir and the original of one of Lincoln's letters to Gurney are in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A facsimile and transcript of that letter are printed below.

Background to the Meeting

Elizabeth (Eliza) Paul Kirkbride (1801–81) was born into a well-connected Philadelphia family of Quakers that associated with the evangelical Christian interpretation of the faith when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting separated into Hicksite and Orthodox branches in 1827. A recorded (recognized) Friends minister, Eliza was acquainted with other like-minded Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic, and through these associations she was introduced to Joseph John Gurney (1788–1847). Eliza Kirkbride married Gurney in 1841.

¹ Eliza P. Gurney, *Memoir and Correspondence of Eliza P. Gurney*, ed. Richard F. Mott (Philadelphia, 1884), 307–22.

Joseph John Gurney was a noted leader among evangelical (Orthodox) Friends. He emphasized a closer study of the Bible, association with other evangelical Christians, and engagement of the Christian gospel with the great social issues of the day. Highly educated, sophisticated, and articulate, he made a great impression on Orthodox Quakers during an 1837–40 visit to the United States, which led to a subsequent second separation among American Quakers into Wilburite (after the conservative Rhode Island farmer John Wilbur) and Gurneyite branches. During his travels in America, Gurney encouraged higher education among Friends, ecumenical cooperation with other Christians in peace, Bible and anti-slavery organizations, and a deeper evangelical faith. Gurney's opposition to slavery was further bolstered by witnessing slavery first hand when he journeyed into the American South in 1837 to visit among southern Friends who, themselves, had suffered greatly for their antislavery stand. His popularity was such that he preached to crowds of thousands and in 1838 preached in the House of Representatives to congressmen, senators, President Van Buren and members of his cabinet, and their families. Later he met privately with Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren to share his concerns about slavery and the treatment of Native Americans.²

The Meeting and Correspondence

When Eliza Gurney met with Abraham Lincoln in October 1862, her purpose, consistent with her evangelical faith, was simply to offer spiritual support and comfort. "I come in the love of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," she assured him. She told the president that her spirit had "been introduced into near sympathy with our Chief Magistrate in the heavy weight of responsibility that rests upon him," acknowledging a sense of spiritual connection, of empathy, of harmony and unity with him. The text of her address to the president is replete with references to Quaker concerns and sources of religious inspiration. Her confidence that Lincoln endeavored to "preserve a conscience void of offence toward God and man" was no mere statement of respect for his natural abilities. It obliquely referred to the belief of Friends that our natural reason and conscience are culturally influenced, but the *Light* in our consciences is pure, proceeds from God, and will lead into truth. Her acknowledgement of Lincoln's "true fast" to "loose the bands of wickedness" and sources of

² David E. Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker* (Middletown, CT, 1962).

oppression reflects the traditional Quaker opposition to “profession without possession,” to outward expression of religious ritual and observance without a true, inward transformation into the substance of the thing, and her belief that Lincoln’s actions were in keeping with God’s will. Gurney’s address is packed with biblical language that Lincoln would readily recognize and that provided a spiritual shorthand for communicating deep feelings.³

In his response to Gurney, Lincoln acknowledged a desire that would strike a chord with any Quaker: the earnest hope that his own will would harmonize with the divine will. And he even gave a tip of his stovepipe hat to a favorite theological premise of Friends (the Inward Light) in his statement that “if, after endeavoring to do my best with the light which He affords me, I find my efforts fail, then I must believe that, for some purpose unknown to me, He wills it otherwise.” Lincoln noted, again in sympathy with Friends’ principles, that he wished this war would never have begun and that it might have ended before this time.⁴

About a year after their meeting, Lincoln sent word to Gurney that he would like her to write to him, and she did so in August 1863. In her letter, Gurney continued to embed Quaker sensitivities, including addressing the president in the Quaker plain speech of “thee” and “thy”—a language of equality. She made veiled reference to the peace testimony, referred to the Quaker nonobservance of “holy days” in her expression of approval of Lincoln’s declaration of a day of thanksgiving, and alluded to Quaker confidence in the Inward Light in “Holy Spirit” language.⁵

Lincoln replied to Eliza Gurney a year later, on September 4, 1864. In his letter, he eloquently reiterated his faith that God had a purpose in bringing on and prolonging “this terrible long war,” even if mortals such as he and Gurney could not perceive that purpose. “Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us,” he told her. He acknowledged the dilemma that Quakers such as Gurney faced in these times: “On principle, and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they [Quakers] can only practically oppose oppression by war.” Lincoln assured Gurney that he understood that dilemma even while he could not allow Quakers and other pacifists to be absolved from the responsibilities this war imposed, “For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I

³ Gurney, *Memoir*, 309–12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁵ Eliza P. Gurney to Abraham Lincoln, Aug. 18, 1863, in *ibid.*, 314–16.

have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law.”⁶

Eliza Gurney responded on September 8. She continued to offer spiritual support and encouragement but would not let the president’s gentle jibe at the peace testimony go without comment. She acknowledged the dilemma Friends were in but reaffirmed both the biblical basis for opposing slavery and the Quaker opposition to redeeming one life by taking another: “The weapons of their [Quakers] warfare are not carnal. The Saviour has commanded them to love their enemies; therefore they dare not fight them.” Gurney thus invoked the early Quaker concept of “the Lamb’s War,” a nonviolent struggle against sin and evil within and without and the 1660 Declaration of Friends to King Charles II of England that forms the basis of the official Quaker peace testimony. Eliza Gurney concluded her letter with a paean to the Quaker propensity nevertheless for supporting Lincoln politically because of “the leniency with which their honest convictions had been treated” and because of their belief that Lincoln was “conscientiously endeavoring, according to his own convictions of right, to fulfil the important trust committed to him” by God. Her prophecy proved to be accurate as many Quakers expressed loyalty to the “Party of Lincoln” for decades to come.⁷

Lincoln’s Sympathies with Quakers

Abraham Lincoln’s expressed fondness for Eliza Gurney, and his assurance in his correspondence that he had sought to do all he could under the law to respond to Quaker appeals of conscience is indicative of an openness to Friends that went beyond a personal affection and the “Light” in his conscience. Lincoln claimed to be descended from Quakers on his father’s side, and local lore along the border between the Virginia and North Carolina foothills holds that his mother, Nancy Hanks, had Quaker connections.⁸ More directly, Lincoln had a deep admiration for the British Quaker parliamentarian John Bright, a plain Friend his whole life who served in William Gladstone’s cabinet and was revered for his eloquence and integrity. Lincoln’s respect for Quaker principles and

⁶ Abraham Lincoln to Eliza P. Gurney, Sept. 4, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Collection, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; printed in *Memoir*, 316–17.

⁷ Eliza P. Gurney to Abraham Lincoln, Sept. 8, 1864, in *Memoir*, 318–21.

⁸ Seth B. Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665–1975: An Interpretation* (Greensboro, NC, 1984), 21.

beliefs may have helped him turn the war for the Union into a war to end slavery. In June 1862, six Progressive Friends (Hicksite Quakers who supported more direct engagement with issues such as woman's rights, abolition, and Indian rights than did their more conservative, isolationist colleagues) visited the White House to urge immediate emancipation. The visit helped Lincoln find the language he needed to craft the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation presented to his cabinet the next month.⁹

And, indeed, Lincoln did go far in honoring the conscientious objection of Quakers to war. One Friend who benefited from Lincoln's sympathy was Francis T. King, a wealthy businessman from Baltimore who, with a signed pass from Lincoln, headed a committee that directed aid to the suffering Quaker community in the South during (and after) the Civil War. King's pass enabled him and colleagues to carry funds and supplies to the remnant settlements of Friends in North Carolina devastated by the war.¹⁰ Lincoln also personally signed the release of Southern Quakers forced to march by the Confederate army into Northern battles and later imprisoned in Union jails. One such beneficiary of Lincoln's signature was Thomas Hinshaw, a North Carolina Quaker forced along with the troops to Gettysburg, although he refused to bear arms. When he was taken in by local Friends after Lee's defeat, other residents of the town intervened and jailed him and other Southern Quakers. Quaker appeals to Lincoln resulted in their release.¹¹

"The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance," Lincoln wrote Gurney. "Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay."¹² Abraham Lincoln and Eliza Gurney may have disagreed on whether or not a war to end oppression was justifiable, but they believed that each was true to his or her own conscience and convictions, and for that they greatly respected one another.

Friends Center, Guilford College

MAX L. CARTER

⁹ Abraham Lincoln, "Remarks to a Delegation of Progressive Friends," June 20, 1862, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953–55), 5:278–79; D. Elton Trueblood, *Abraham Lincoln: Theologian of American Anguish* (New York, 1973), chap. 2.

¹⁰ Francis T. King's pass, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, NC.

¹¹ Hinshaw, *Carolina Quaker Experience*, 150.

¹² Abraham Lincoln to Eliza P. Gurney, Sept. 4, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Collection, Society Collection; and Gurney, *Memoir*, 316–17.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 4, 1864.

Eliza P. Gurney.

My esteemed friend,

I have not forgotten—probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all, it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God, I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations; and to none of them, more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still condu-

Autographed Letter Signed, on Executive Mansion letterhead. Abraham Lincoln Collection, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.

Your people - the Friends - have had, and are having, a very great trial.

On principle, and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war.

In this hard dilemma, some have chosen one horn and some the other.

For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not, and believing it, I shall still receive, for our country and myself, your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven.

Your sincere friend

A. Lincoln.

Lincoln Box

Washington, September 4, 1864.

Eliza P. Gurney.
My esteemed friend.

I have not forgotten—probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all, it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God. I am much indebted to the good christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations; and to no one of them, more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.

Your people—the Friends—have had, and are having, a very great trial. On principle, and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma, some have chosen one horn and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not; and believing it, I shall still receive, for our country and myself, your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven.

Your sincere friend,
A. Lincoln.

A Roundtable Discussion of Gary Nash's The Urban Crucible

The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution. By GARY B. NASH. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979. xix, 548 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical references, index.)

ANYONE WITH AN INTEREST in early American or Philadelphia history is in Gary Nash's debt. With this issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, we attempt to repay some of that debt by recognizing his tremendous contribution to our understanding of our port cities' colonial past with his publication thirty years ago of *The Urban Crucible*, a study of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston in the years leading up to the American Revolution.

Gary Nash was one of the early practitioners of what was the "new social history," and he taught us that history was not just about the founders and what happened at Independence Hall, but that it was about ordinary people, everyday life, and about power and class and race. For those of us who were in college and graduate school in the early 1980s, Gary's work was an inspiration. He was a true archival researcher. He breathed life into individuals long forgotten and buried in the dusty documents of city archives and local historical societies. And he gave life, too, to the places those individuals lived and worked, to the urban centers that had too long been neglected in colonial historiography.

To examine how *The Urban Crucible*, so fresh thirty years ago, has fared with time, we have invited five scholars who have taught or built upon Nash's book in their own work to revisit this important book.

TAMARA GASKELL

Still Irreplaceable after Thirty Years

GARY NASH'S *THE URBAN CRUCIBLE* is still almost as impressive as it was when first published in 1979. Nash's range is awesome, the depth of his research remains amazing, his principal arguments are still compelling, and his prose is graceful: New York artisans, he declares, "were tired of hearing the advice of aristocrats and their allies among the clergy that in hard times the proper remedy for a bare cupboard was prayer" (144). "Never in Pennsylvania history had the few needed the many so much" (286). Or, to give one more example, the Pennsylvania assembly "decided to send to England the only man they knew who could persuade a sphinx, Benjamin Franklin" (282).

I last read the unabridged version just over twenty years ago and had forgotten how lengthy that volume is—nearly two hundred thousand words by my calculation, not including the 111 pages of notes and the 32-page appendix. Hardly anybody still reads what had been the standard earlier books on Nash's topic, Carl Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness* and *Cities in Revolt*.¹ As soon as *The Urban Crucible* appeared, I stopped recommending Bridenbaugh's volumes to my graduate students. I also assigned Nash to my undergraduates through the mid-1980s. At first the response was quite positive, but after Ronald Reagan's overwhelming victory in the 1984 election, Princetonians turned against the book and twice ranked it near or at the bottom of the list of works that I had put on my syllabus.

In my thirty-six years at Princeton, I disliked only one cohort of students—most of the undergraduates I taught between 1984 and 1987. Too many of them believed that with a Princeton degree they could sally forth and conquer the world, and they found Nash exasperating. As one of them complained in a course evaluation (I paraphrase from memory), how many times do we have to endure Nash's contempt for merchants or lawyers who rumbled through the streets of Boston, New York, or

¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (1938; repr., New York, 1971); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955; repr., New York, 1971).

Philadelphia in a coach and six? For these students, merely having been admitted to Princeton was, they assumed, their ticket to unlimited affluence. While teaching the U.S. survey in those years, I had great difficulty getting underclassmen to do the reading and sometimes dismissed my precept because, evidently, nobody had.

Then the stock market crashed in the fall of 1987, and the undergraduates sobered up. Although I have gotten along well with my students ever since, by then I had ceased assigning *The Urban Crucible* in my Revolution course and replaced it with Nash's essay in Alfred Young's *The American Revolution*, a piece that introduced readers to many of the themes in his forthcoming book.² But my graduate students continued to read *The Urban Crucible*, always with appreciation.

What did *The Urban Crucible* teach us? In my judgment, it was the most impressive contribution that the emerging "Neo-Progressive School" made to our understanding of the coming of the American Revolution. With great subtlety, Nash addressed the issue of class. In Boston, he showed, those who toiled for their livelihood engaged in more street violence than their counterparts in New York or Philadelphia, but they created no formal organizations of mechanics or artisans, and seldom did anyone claiming to be an artisan issue broadsides or public statements in any of the city's numerous newspapers. Laboring Bostonians, he affirmed, were "profoundly conservative in a cultural sense" (134). Longer than their fellows in New York and Philadelphia, they clung to the Puritan affirmation of the common good, a conviction that incipient class tensions were beginning to undermine in other ports. Yet, as Nash demonstrated more fully than anyone else ever had, Boston's economy had been experiencing serious difficulties since the early eighteenth century and was in deep trouble by the 1740s. The most conspicuous cause of the city's decline—its prerevolutionary population peaked in the early 1740s and then began to fall—was the disproportionate burden it had to bear in the Anglo-French wars from 1689 to 1763. Unlike others who had been studying population trends in colonial New England, Nash recognized that war became a major contributor to the pattern, creating perhaps a thousand Boston widows by midcentury, many of whom were impoverished. The wars sharply depleted the number of taxpaying citi-

² Gary B. Nash, "Social Change and the Growth of Prerevolutionary Urban Radicalism," in *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, ed. Alfred F. Young (DeKalb, IL, 1976), 3–36.

zens and created a huge problem of poverty that the city could not cope with successfully. "Never since John Winthrop had landed in Boston in 1630 at the head of a dedicated band of Puritan immigrants had the expectations of life in America seemed so sickeningly unrealizable," he insisted, "as in Boston in 1753" (184). By 1763, he declared, Boston had become the most heavily taxed community in the entire British Empire.

After this trenchant analysis, the only thing that surprised me in his account was that he never drew the most obvious conclusion. Why, we may ask, did Boston set the pace in violent response to British policies in each of the three imperial crises after 1763? Townsmen were enraged by condescending suggestions from Britain that no one in the colonies had made significant contributions to George II's imperial victories.

Nash's most interesting discovery about New York involves suffrage. A higher percentage of free residents could vote there than in Boston or Philadelphia. For Philadelphia, he developed a major paradox. Prior to 1765, the city's mechanics had been less political than their counterparts in New York and Boston. During the Stamp Act crisis, the artisans were almost evenly divided, which spared the city from serious rioting. But by 1775, mechanics had settled their internal differences, created their own institutions, and had become a potent force in overthrowing the proprietary governor, the Quaker assembly, and—finally—George III. And the rhetoric of class resentment had become quite bitter. Artisans, complained one spokesman, were to the elite only "two-legged pack horses . . . created solely to contribute to the ease and affluence of a few importers" and "a kind of beast of burden, who . . . may be seen in a state but should not be heard" (365).

In rereading *The Urban Crucible* for the first time in more than twenty years, a new thought occurred to me. I am struck by how Palmerian the book is, even though I knew that Gary had studied with R. R. Palmer while at Princeton, where he earned both his bachelor's degree and his doctorate. Between 1959 and 1964, Palmer published his two-volume *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*. He argued—quite convincingly, in my opinion—that the Revolution, especially in France, was a clash of two *rising* forces: the aristocratic reaction that saw nobles attempt to amass ever more power and privileges, and the growing egalitarianism of people in the middling and lower segments of society. Nash's three cities were quite similar. Many of those at the top of society prospered in wartime—

through war contracts in Boston, through privateering in New York, and though growing commercial opportunities in Philadelphia. They invested their new wealth in mansions that seemed to get ever more elegant, found ways to entertain themselves in more exclusive settings, such as Philadelphia's City Tavern, and enjoyed displaying their affluence through coaches and liveried servants. As Nash pointed out, the grandest public buildings that they erected after 1763 were either prisons or institutions to house the rapidly growing population of the urban poor. In response, the language of resistance among the poor and modestly prosperous mechanics became angrier, more egalitarian, and, in New York and Philadelphia, more class conscious.

What made North America's situation different from that of France was Britain's intervention in the economy and politics of the colonies. The Stamp Act infuriated nearly all artisans and mariners, most lawyers, and most merchants, especially those who lacked close ties with the British government. Other than Martin Howard Jr. in Newport, Rhode Island, hardly anyone was willing to defend the measure in public. Of the principal colonial pamphleteers who wrote against the Stamp Act, James Otis Jr. in Massachusetts never did repudiate the crown (by the early 1770s even his friends thought he was probably mad); Pennsylvania's John Dickinson supported the colonial cause, often eloquently, but would not sign the Declaration of Independence; and Daniel Dulany refused to take an oath repudiating George III and supporting Maryland's war effort. Resistance to the Stamp Act was, in short, a poor predictor of what someone's position would be by 1776.

By contrast, the Townshend crisis came close to establishing how merchants would behave during the crisis of 1773–76. Merchants who made their living through direct trade with Britain, especially if they belonged to the Anglican Church, resisted nonimportation after 1767 and went disproportionately loyalist by 1776. By the early 1760s, merchants in the West Indian trade had thirty years of experience smuggling French molasses in defiance of the Molasses Act of 1733, had nurtured strong resentments against the Royal Navy, were much less likely to be Anglicans, and went disproportionately patriot. Nash could have been somewhat more explicit about this pattern, but clearly he understands it. Wealthy merchants, in short, faced the painful choice of supporting the Sons of Liberty at the price of alienating the British government or siding with Britain at the price of alienating most of their neighbors. Once

the fighting started in 1775, this option often meant deciding whether they preferred to be plundered ashore or on the high seas.

Nash's accomplishments have made *The Urban Crucible* indispensable to our understanding of why the colonists repudiated Great Britain only thirteen years after Britain's great victory over France. Does the book have any weaknesses? Not many, but let me cite one missed opportunity. Nash noted that the volume of shipping clearing the three northern ports did not drop significantly during the first two crises (366). But if we examine trade patterns, New York's imports from Britain fell almost 85 percent by 1769, a far greater drop than occurred anywhere else and made possible because the colony lacked alternative ports and because the Sons of Liberty could impose their will within New York City. This decline explains the greater eagerness of New York merchants than their Boston counterparts to abandon nonimportation as soon as possible after Parliament repealed all of the Townshend duties except that on tea in March 1770.

Are there any errors in *The Urban Crucible*? Very few for a narrative of two hundred thousand words. Nash reported that in 1721 James Franklin's *New England Courant* became Boston's second newspaper (456–57n41). The *Boston Gazette* had become the second paper in late 1719. He claimed that the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts was “promptly shot” in 1713 when he tried to stop rioters from preventing Andrew Belcher from exporting grain during a food shortage. Samuel Sewall's diary, almost the only source for the incident, merely claims that the man was “wounded” (77). The use of firearms almost never occurred in public protests, no matter how angry the crowd. The Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713, not 1714 (62). The Massachusetts legislature did not “publish its debates” after 1715, only its journals, which contained no debates (140). Anglo-French hostilities did not resume in 1748 (234). That happened in 1754, as Nash made clear elsewhere. Benjamin Franklin was not in England in 1753 (328); he went there in 1757, as Nash also declared on another page. John Adams was not “caught between Whig and Evangelical modes of thinking” (349). He was never an evangelical and became a lawyer, in large part, because he doubted the divinity of Jesus.

These are minor slips and in no way undermine any of Nash's central arguments. Even after thirty years, the book remains a triumph. But, in closing, I do wonder whether Nash accepts Benjamin Carp's judgment

that, beginning with the Revolutionary War, during which all three cities suffered occupation by the British army, these cities lost much of their political influence and never regained all of it after the peace. If so, the twelve years from 1763 to 1775, for all of their dislocations and upheavals, marked the summit of the political power of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia in all of American history, an irony still worth pondering.

Princeton University

JOHN M. MURRIN

The Urban Crucible as *Urban History*

IT ALMOST SEEMS QUIXOTIC TO STUDY early American urban history—to spend your precious days in the archives pondering a handful of slightly outsize preindustrial towns, each one smaller than the current student population of the University of California at Los Angeles. Yet UCLA's Gary B. Nash recognized, as Carl Bridenbaugh had before him, that the cities were densely packed, dynamic places where a wide range of peoples congregated, and, more importantly, that these cities had an influence on colonial America (and on the American Revolution) that outweighed their meager size.¹

While any advanced graduate student can do an intensive study of a single locality (especially now that they have Nash's example to follow), Nash aggregated and compared research on the three largest and most complex population centers in the thirteen colonies, covered an eighty-five-year span of history, and zeroed in on the people who wrote the least about their own lives. His extensive archival work and ambitious quantifications are evident from the bounty of tables that grace the book's appendix, as well as the generous (and often discursive) endnotes. Nash's book doesn't just help us to understand the specific social, economic, and political developments of each city, but it binds together a narrative that helps us to understand the colonial American urban experience as a whole.

As he shuttled between a discussion of the cities' changing economic conditions and his own take on urban politics, Nash illuminated the lives and actions of a broad spectrum of city dwellers, and not just those of the elite. He revealed widening socioeconomic inequalities that clearly put strains on the American cities (and on the thesis that a "consensus" existed among the colonists). He showed us Leisler's Rebellion, the Land Bank controversy, the Keithian schism, the Knowles riot, and new dimensions of the Stamp Act crisis all as part of a wider story with a new twist. He

¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (1938; repr., New York, 1971); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955; repr., New York, 1971).

investigated the peaks and troughs of economic cycles (looking at wages and employment levels, credit and currency, commerce and prices), the effects of war, changes in poor relief, and demographic shifts. Nash cracked open a world of urban poverty, urban workers, popular political movements, and crowd action that most eighteenth-century elites had scorned to acknowledge. Most historians prior to the late 1960s, following the paper trail of those elites, had also largely dismissed these important subjects.

Nash wrote that “urban people” did two things: first, they “upset the equilibrium of an older system of social relations”; secondly, they “turned the seaport towns into crucibles of revolutionary agitation” (viii). Few scholars would disagree with the latter half of this statement—indeed, the metaphor that Nash used for his title still has extraordinarily powerful resonance. Yet the snag comes with the first part of the sentence: Nash’s Neo-Progressive focus on social processes and transformations. This interpretative angle made Nash the enduring target of anti-leftist historians and raised the eyebrows of moderate scholars as well.

For instance, at the end of a Festschrift for Nash, Richard S. Dunn recalled some of the reservations he had voiced when he first read *The Urban Crucible* in manuscript form: that the focus on class struggle was “overdrawn,” that the author was a little too gleeful about the destruction of Thomas Hutchinson’s home and papers (the man was a *historian*! those were his *research notes*!), that Nash’s interpretation left too little room for religion and ideology, that poverty was perhaps not so deep in the 1760s and 1770s, and that Nash did not quite explain why the oppressed poor signed on with Harvard graduates like Samuel Adams and John Hancock. In particular, Dunn wrote, “I found him too much of an economic determinist,” a comment that Jon Butler refuted, however, in his review in this journal.²

While Dunn was a friendly private critic, too many of Nash’s public detractors went on to question *The Urban Crucible* (or even his entire oeuvre) on the basis of his affiliation with leftist ideas.³ This was irresponsible. Yes, class categories were slippery enough in the eighteenth

² Richard S. Dunn, “Reminiscences of Gary B. Nash,” in *Inequality in Early America*, ed. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Hanover, NH, 1999), 301–2; Jon Butler, review, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (1980): 385–86.

³ See John Patrick Diggins, “The National History Standards,” *American Scholar* 65 (1996): 495–522.

century that any invocation of a nineteenth-century “working class” makes for a poor fit (although the differences between ruler and ruled, wealthy and impoverished were often quite clear). Yes, there is less evidence than Nash hoped to reveal of people “who in terms of economic interest had a natural affinity for each other” (307) (though Nash is usually careful to qualify statements like this). And yes, the Revolution was a complex event with many factors in play (which Nash also admits). Yet Nash did so much laboring in the archives, crunched so much useful data, and crafted such an elegant, complex interpretation of urban history that his work cannot be simply dismissed or ignored.

Debates over class too often descend into semantic sniping over the definition of the term, accusations of reductionism and presentism, or pointless squabbles over how much emphasis class ought to receive compared to other historical factors like kinship, race, ethnicity, gender, ideology, institutions, religion, geography, contingency, or (in the traditional view) the triumphant march of progress and democracy.⁴ Besides, Nash acknowledged that nineteenth-century class stratification does not apply neatly to preindustrial cities; he refused to ascribe unity or uniformity to his broad and flexible definition of the “laboring classes”; and he did not see class as a rigid, “objective,” or ahistorical category (xi). Still, Nash tried to have it both ways: he introduced the caveat that not “all ship captains or all caulkers thought alike,” but also argued that the people in colonial port towns “arrived at certain common understandings of their social situations” and that “ideological principles and economic interests are . . . intimately conjoined” (x, xiii, 339). This is tricky ground, and it is no wonder that unsympathetic reviewers accused him of stretching his evidence or making unwarranted assumptions about the motives of city dwellers.⁵

But in any discussion of the Revolution, someone needs to flirt with economic determinism. Someone needs to set the elites aside (at least as a temporary measure) so as to focus on the inarticulate. Someone needs to suggest that working people did not just blindly follow their leaders and those leaders’ political principles. Someone needs to look at the level

⁴ For a vibrant set of essays that rely on class-based interpretations, see Simon Middleton and Billy G. Smith, eds., *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2008); for further historiography, see the book’s introduction and its citations.

⁵ Gerald Gunderson, review, *Journal of Economic History* 40 (1980): 425–26; Marc Egnal, review, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 37 (1980): 655–58.

of economic suffering and test whether those hardships contributed to imperial unrest in the 1760s and 1770s. That person may not be able to answer every question about eighteenth-century American history or the coming of the American Revolution—we would want to know more about culture, institutions, and the exercise of power—but the perspective is still a useful one. As Jacob M. Price wrote, “One must begin somewhere.”⁶

The critical wars over Nash’s book have therefore done a disservice to the subsequent historiography of the Revolution, forcing scholars to take political positions on Nash as a controversialist where they should be paying attention to Nash as a researcher by following either the example of *The Urban Crucible* or its leads. Ultimately, scholars owe Nash their gratitude: he highlighted the ways in which a broad spectrum of city dwellers lived and acted in the eighteenth century. History happened not just in the halls of power, but in church pews, alleyways, taverns, workshops, markets, residences, public spaces, and on the waterfront. Given the sometimes flexible and often unstable nature of city life, urban Whig leaders faced significant challenges besides those posed by the British parliament (327).

Bridenbaugh and Nash each illustrated the texture of the cities, but where Bridenbaugh tended to focus on the wealthy and articulate, Nash gave us “laboring” peoples, from artisans and day laborers to apprentices and indentured servants. In the years that followed, historians (many of them Nash’s students) widened this picture even further in their exploration of urban slavery and other forms of unfree labor, women of all ranks, children, mariners, and other skilled and unskilled workers, as well as poverty, crowd action, parades, and taverns.

But given this expansive definition of the “laboring classes,” although we can grant a widespread political consciousness, we might find it harder to locate a class consciousness spurring the revolutionary movement of 1763–76. Nash ably demonstrated that economic hardship and a growing awareness of inequality contributed to the revolutionary ferment, but this perception of conflicting class interests was not the only basis for political mobilization. Rich folk and poor folk forged temporary political

⁶ Jacob M. Price, “Economic Function and the Growth of American Port Towns in the Eighteenth Century,” *Perspectives in American History* 8 (1974): 123–86, quote 124. Nash (vii) was rightly dissatisfied with using Bridenbaugh’s books as the sole starting point; see also Benjamin L. Carp, “Cities in Review,” *Common-place* 3 (2003), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol-03/no-04/reviews/carp.shtml>.

alliances during the prewar period that were (at times) more important than class antagonism.⁷ What does seem clear is that the political views of working people were, for at least a moment, harder for the new American elite to ignore. Gouverneur Morris admitted as much: "These sheep, simple as they are, cannot be gulled as heretofore."⁸

The later chapters of *The Urban Crucible*, particularly the last chapter, "Revolution," present nagging problems. Nash sometimes relied too heavily on evidence from Loyalists, "friends of government," and conservatives, who (like Morris) often lashed out at city dwellers with venomous labels like "rabble" or "reptiles"—but whose political enmities muddled their perceptions of social conflict. Nash's discussion of ideology, while suggestive of new directions, is also a bit hazy—an attempt to burst beyond older rigid categories by creating newer rigid categories. In his foray into religion, Nash's reach ultimately exceeded his grasp. Nash argued that the Great Awakening advanced a "shattering of the habit of obedience" (384), yet recent work on the role of religion and the Revolution has been much more nuanced, while still paying attention to social changes.⁹

Now that he is being feted on the thirtieth anniversary of *The Urban Crucible*, Nash might take up a new challenge: to put down his arms (nicked after plenty of fights with his critics) and reflect on where early American urban history might go. The first step would be for scholars to take the core of Nash's arguments as a given: we should capture the lives of as broad a spectrum of historical actors as possible; we should study conflicts and not just stultifying myths and consensus; and we should pay attention to radical, alternative movements where they unfold—even those that failed—and preferably integrate those movements into the larger story.

With these shared goals, historians could take advantage of this particularly promising moment to revisit the early American city. New technology, methodology, and evidence will allow for new revelations amid the economic and demographic data. The fields of Atlantic and global history encourage us to link the American cities—nodes in the global net-

⁷ Seth Rockman, "Review Essay: Work in the Cities of Colonial British America," *Journal of Urban History* 33 (July 2007): 1021–32, esp. 1027–28.

⁸ Gouverneur Morris to Thomas Penn, May 20, 1774, in Jared Sparks, *The Life of Gouverneur Morris, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers . . . In Three Volumes* (Boston, 1832), 1:24.

⁹ Charles W. Akers, review, *New England Quarterly* 53 (1980): 259–61.

works of trade, migration, and ideas—with developments abroad. Cultural studies (especially work on consumption, language, memory, and identity) provide us with new vectors for evaluating city dwellers, their modes of thought, and their daily activity. The cities will continue to provide valuable perspectives on the issue of inequality, as places where power differentials and diversity (ethnic, religious, cultural, ideological, and socioeconomic) made themselves most apparent. The cities were also aggregations of buildings and material objects, and so environmental history, material culture, geography, cartography, archaeology, and art and architectural history have given us new ways of thinking about the physicality of urban places. Finally, then as now, the cities were engines of change; advances in the study of institutions, political power struggles, political culture, and popular religion would surely give new dimensions to the themes Nash tapped thirty years ago.

All this scholarship would potentially be grist for Nash's mill if he were to take up the study of the city today. Scholars on the trail of this subject have always appreciated Nash for the evidence he compiled and the argument he articulated. Early American urban history—and the broader study of early America—will continue to flourish so long as we keep in mind the key insights that were first fired in *The Urban Crucible*.

Tufts University

BENJAMIN L. CARP

It's the Economy and Class, Stupid: A Retrospective on The Urban Crucible

GARY NASH'S *THE URBAN CRUCIBLE* is, sans doubt, the best book ever written about class in early America. It is likewise, without a doubt, the best book ever written about cities in early America. It is among the best books ever written about why the colonies fought a War for Independence—not only to gain their sovereignty but also to transform North America radically. It is among the best-documented, most thoroughly researched books ever written about early America. The book epitomized and brought to fruition the promise of the “new social history,” which emerged in the 1960s and still shapes the way that scholars and students understand the past today. The book was relevant in 1979. In our own times of increasing material inequality and, at least until the depression of the last year, of intensifying and expanding capitalism, *The Urban Crucible* is even more germane. Other than all of that, it is a relatively ordinary book about ordinary people. However, “all of that” is reason enough to make me pleased to rethink the meaning, importance, and legacy of its publication three decades ago.

There is no need, of course, merely to trust the evaluation (faultless, though it may be) of an empiricist, structuralist, pre-postmodernist, pre-“linguistic turn” human like myself, but I am far from the only person to make these sorts of outrageous claims verging on hagiography for Gary Nash. In their reviews, historians at the time recognized the significance and achievements of *The Urban Crucible*. Nash provides a “historical interpretation with uncommon clarity, subtlety, and intelligence,” Douglas Greenberg glowed. “It is one of that rare breed of scholarly books whose importance lies not only in its substantive conclusions, but also in its sensitivity to nuance and the standard it sets for subsequent studies in a wide range of specialties.” Ira Berlin praised the volume as the “fullest and best account of life in the major colonial seaports.” An “excellent book,” Christopher Clark wrote, “one of the most important contributions to colonial history in recent years.” It constituted, according to urban historian Raymond Mohl, “a major reinterpretation of urban life in

eighteenth-century America.” J. R. Pole, in a long and thoughtful review, characterized it as a “distinguished book” and “one of the finest works on colonial America” ever written. Even scholars who questioned the book’s arguments or conclusions acknowledged its import. A “major volume of social history” and “superb as a narrative of the struggle of laboring men,” commented Charles Akers. “A work of the first importance,” admired Marc Egnal. No other historian “until Nash approached early American urban history in a similarly comprehensive way,” Pauline Maier noted. Even Jack Greene, in a petulant review, grudgingly admitted that *The Urban Crucible* “makes a highly significant contribution to the reconstruction of early American social history and demands the serious attention of all scholars in the field.”¹

As an old quantitative historian, I cannot resist complimenting Nash on the sheer enormity of the work involved in his statistical research in primary documents. The twelve tables and nine graphs represent, literally, thousands of hours spent reading, recording, and crunching numbers from tax lists, inventories of estates, wills, portledge bills, ship arrival registries, almshouse dockets, and a host of official reports. Measuring *either* the distribution of wealth or a lengthy series of wages and prices would have been sufficient research for many other impressive books. Virtually every contemporary reviewer praised the richness of the quantitative and qualitative evidence alike. Raymond Mohl, another practitioner of this kind of research, called it “remarkable.” *The Urban Crucible* is “fully informed by quantitative analyses,” claimed Pauline Maier. Jack Greene grumbled that the tables should have been in the text rather than in the appendices.²

The Urban Crucible entered into a vigorous, sometimes heated debate among historians about how best to understand early America and the American Revolution, with clear implications about what those interpretations meant to the authors’ own turbulent times in the 1960s and early 1970s. Along with notables Jesse Lemisch and Alfred Young, Nash pre-

¹ Quotes from the following reviews: Douglas Greenberg, *Business History Review* 54 (1980): 274; Ira Berlin, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11 (1981): 737; Christopher Clark, *Journal of Social History* 15 (1981): 121; Raymond A. Mohl, *Journal of American History* 67 (1980): 390; J. R. Pole, “Citizen against Citizen,” *Times Literary Supplement*, Apr. 11, 1980; Charles W. Akers, *New England Quarterly* 53 (1980): 259–60; Marc Egnal, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 37 (1980): 657; Pauline Maier, “Poverty, Mobility, and the Problem of Class in Colonial Cities,” *Reviews in American History* 8 (1980): 471; Jack Greene, *American Historical Review* 86 (1981): 200.

² Mohl, 391; Maier, “Poverty, Mobility, and the Problem of Class in Colonial Cities,” 472; Greene, 201.

sented a powerful New Left perspective. *The Urban Crucible* provided the most eloquent explanation, identifying the evolution of class, class conflict, and, at least in fragmentary terms, class consciousness in colonial cities during the eighteenth century. E. P. Thompson, the British sage of class studies, located the emergence of class in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century industrializing Britain. Nash found that class materialized on American soil thirty years earlier. This insight remains, I believe, one of Nash's best contributions to the historiography and one of the most important legacies of his analysis.³

Although slighting *The Urban Crucible* with brevity, let me summarize a few of the major arguments. While recognizing that urban dwellers accounted for only about 5 percent of the colonial population, Nash postulated that the towns-cum-cities carved the way to the future between the late seventeenth century and the American Revolution. Understanding the dynamics of the three major port cities was thus crucial to comprehending what happened in and what would happen to British North America. These cities "predicted the future" (vii). To use Nash's metaphor, they served as the crucible for refining the economic, social, and political raw materials into a new alloy, a new society, and a new country. The book analyzes the changing "social morphology" (viii) of urban America, in part, by focusing on class. The reordering of the "web of seaport life" (3) transformed the cities in innumerable ways. The emergence of a new market economy was among the most important factors. By stimulating the growth of poverty among working people, limiting the material opportunities for some aspiring artisans, and encouraging the accumulation of vast wealth by an urban elite, these economic developments exacerbated class tensions and stirred the creation of class identity. Traditional notions of a "moral economy" and a political commonwealth gave way to a social order based on competition and individual interest. Politics changed accordingly, as "a hierarchical and deferential polity yielded to participatory and contentious civic life" (vii). Indeed, for a major representative of the new social history, *The Urban Crucible*, as Jack Greene still grumbled, dealt a great deal with the nuts-and-bolts of

³ See, for example, Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 25 (1968): 373–407; Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up," in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (New York, 1967), 3–45; Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, IL, 1976); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963).

everyday politics. Like many new social historians, Nash envisioned politics, ideology, economics, and material conditions as intertwined in a “web” of life. By “painstakingly connecting structure and ideological changes to the course of urban life,” applauded Ira Berlin in his review, “Nash enriches scholarly understanding of urban attachments to republicanism before the creation of the Republic.”⁴

Wars, according to Nash, were a major engine of change, reshaping the economic and social landscape of the cities. A series of colonial wars created both wealth and poverty in the three cities. The differential impact on the cities accounted in large part for variations in their development, and Nash’s sensitivity to those local distinctions are a strength of his book. Boston, for example, suffered the most, losing numerous male citizens to the conflicts, needing to care for their widows and children after the fighting, and enduring long decades of economic despair and population stagnation. It thus should have been little surprise (although apparently it was to many narrowly ideological historians in 1979) that Boston was the most radical resistor of British imperial measures.⁵ The depression following the Seven Years’ War affected all of the port cities in a similar fashion by polarizing classes and energizing many urban residents both to defy Britain and transform their own society.

Had Nash been a fortuneteller in the 1970s, anticipating the intense interest in both global and Atlantic World history of the past fifteen years, he might have connected the wars in colonial America and the related growth of poverty in its urban centers more tightly to the early stages of European imperialism and capitalist expansion during the eighteenth century. Thomas Paine made a somewhat similar point in *Common Sense*. America fought so many wars, he claimed, because the British Empire entangled it in conflicts growing out of the dynastic ambition of kings. Paine associated wars with monarchs and peace with republics. In our own times, we have learned, tragically, that regardless of the claims of neoconservatives like George Bush, republics and democracies, especially when supported by global capitalism, wage wars to control markets and labor as often as do dictators and monarchs. One of the promises of the new global and Atlantic World history is to place Nash’s

⁴ Greene, 200; Berlin, 737.

⁵ Bernard Bailyn wrote the history of the American Revolution as if social and economic factors mattered not a whit; *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1967); Gordon S. Wood continued that tradition in *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1991), 4.

findings in a considerably larger framework, to make connections, for instance, between local conditions in colonial cities and violent conflicts over markets and resources that transcend national boundaries.⁶

When *The Urban Crucible* initially appeared, many reviewers and readers, I believe, misread the importance of wars in the book's explanation of change. The liabilities and benefits, distributed primarily according to class, of the slow transition to capitalism in colonial urban centers were at the heart of the thesis. The differential impact of wars (both on the various cities and on the various classes) is important, but best understood as occurring within the context of new, commercial market relationships. The measured shift from bound to free labor—one of the most important points of the book—meant that urban residents were differently situated either to take advantage of or to suffer from economic changes wrought by wars. During postwar busts, for example, employers could minimize their costs and maximize their profits by firing their laborers. Wage workers, meanwhile, lost their security, their jobs, and sometimes even their freedom if they fell into poverty and were confined to the almshouses that sprouted in the port cities. In these and other matters, the urban lower classes paid by far the largest price in the transition to capitalism.

A few of my students, overwhelmed both by the weighty arguments and the physical weight of *The Urban Crucible*, found it difficult reading. "Once I put it down," one undergraduate remarked facetiously, "I couldn't pick it up again." In that regard, the abridged version helped greatly to make the book more accessible to a wider audience. Consequently, it seems *small* to criticize the unabridged book for not being even longer, but I often am a small person. Besides, this unfair comment will at least partly balance the earlier hagiography.

Where is the other half of the residents of urban centers: women? One of the justifiable criticisms leveled at labor history by feminist scholars has been the neglect of the lives, roles, and accomplishments of women. To his credit, Nash expressed his regret in the preface that *The Urban Crucible* did not consider gender more extensively; he realized that "our understanding of the American cities before the Revolution" will "remain imperfect" until that task is accomplished (xiii). To his even greater credit, he subsequently wrote about women in the colonies and in the American

⁶ As just one example, see Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400–the Present* (Armonk, NY, 1999).

revolutionary era. However, *The Urban Crucible*, judged on its own merits, fails in this regard. Written at the beginning of a new wave of early American women's history, Nash's volume would have been greatly enriched not merely by including women but also by incorporating them into and modifying the larger class analysis. Still, and as a reflection of the myopia among many historians at that time, not one contemporary reviewer grumbled about the absence of gender considerations in *The Urban Crucible*.

The Urban Crucible is a marvelous book, one that holds up well three decades later; if anything, its concerns have become even more relevant to the crucial issues of our own times. It continues to be read, used, and admired. At both a recent major conference and in an anthology about class in early America and the Atlantic World, *The Urban Crucible* received more references than any other book, including *The Making of the English Working Class*, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, the writings of Karl Marx, and even the Bible! Many of the newer histories focus on the evolution of the middle and upper classes as well as that of laboring people, but it is an inclusiveness that I know that Nash applauds. *The Urban Crucible* will continue to appear on syllabi for undergraduate and graduate courses not only as a classic in the field but also as a book from which we can still learn a great deal about America and its past.⁷

Montana State University

BILLY G. SMITH

⁷ The conference was "Class and Class Struggle in North America and the Atlantic World, 1500–1820," Big Sky, Montana, September, 2003; the book is Simon Middleton and Billy G. Smith, eds., *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2008). Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (New York, 2002).

“Artisans” and the “Middling Sort” in Gary Nash’s *Eighteenth-Century Urban America*?

I FIRST ENCOUNTERED *THE URBAN CRUCIBLE* in 1992 while studying as a foreign (English) student at the City University of New York Graduate Center. I was already a fan of the British Marxist historians when I arrived in the United States, and Nash’s book soon loomed large in what I came to know as the “new social history.” Reading for general examinations, I learned that Nash worked within the tradition of the Progressive historians and later scholars of early American labor and radicalism, such as Jesse Lemisch, Staughton Lynd, and Alfred Young. While others had focused on the era of the American Revolution and early republic, Nash provided the back story—or, for moviegoers, the prequel for the late eighteenth-century imperial crisis. Marrying a painstaking analysis of sparse sources—tax rolls, poor relief returns, wills, and shipping records—to a political narrative of the growth of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, *The Urban Crucible* went beyond the sometimes antiquarian approach of earlier scholars such as Carl Bridenbaugh and Richard Morris.¹ Describing a classic *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft* transformation, Nash traced the evolution of popular politics and class consciousness that developed in the wake of economic and political turbulence and the narrowing of opportunities for working people: at the dawn of the eighteenth century, urban artisans worked at their own pace in face-to-face towns, aiming to stay off the bottom rather than climb to the top of the social ladder; on the eve of the Revolution, they were struggling to keep pace with the vicissitudes of a market-driven and an increasingly and egregiously unequal urban society. By the summer of my graduate exams, I considered *The Urban Crucible* foundational to the then dominant interpretation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American history: a Marxian narrative that ran from the Glorious

¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (1938; repr., New York, 1971); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955; repr., New York, 1971); and Richard Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1965)

Revolution through the late nineteenth century and described the fracturing of Old World corporatism and the transition to capitalism. The American Revolution was a revolution of democratic and egalitarian possibilities that were stifled by the rise of possessive individualism and a market society. This set up a final reckoning between the still emerging culture of “free labor” and the slave system of plantation production during the era of Civil War and Reconstruction.²

Several contemporary reviewers were less convinced than I regarding the connections Nash drew between economic inequalities and radical artisanal consciousness, and we might start by asking how well his findings have held up in light of subsequent work.³ Limitations of space make it sensible to focus on one of Nash’s three chosen towns; the limitations of this contributor dictate that that town is New York, arguably the weakest of *The Urban Crucible*’s three case studies. Work undertaken in the last twenty years locates New Amsterdam and early New York at the heart of a burgeoning Dutch, and later English, Atlantic trade, challenging Nash’s characterization of the late seventeenth-century community as sleepy colonial backwater. His sketch of Leisler’s Rebellion as part-ethnic and part-economic struggle between city artisans and merchant grandees also has to be reconsidered in light of studies of confessional loyalties and the city’s civic culture.⁴ *The Urban Crucible*’s account of the rising tide of

² Since I passed my general exams, I have always assumed that there must have been at least some merit in my positioning of Nash’s study in relation to other studies I read that academic year, including David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862–1872* (New York, 1967); Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1975), and his *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York, 1976); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York, 1984); and Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1991).

³ The reviews are reviewed in Shane White’s witty appreciation of *The Urban Crucible* on the *Common-place* Web site at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol-03/no-04/reviews/white.shtml>.

⁴ Debate concerning ethnic tensions and the endurance of Dutch influences continues, in large part because of the work of Nash’s graduate student Joyce D. Goodfriend. See her *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730* (Princeton, NJ, 1994). Some of the best work on early New York commerce and Leisler’s Rebellion is unpublished. For example, see Dennis J. Maika’s “Commerce and Community: Manhattan Merchants in the Seventeenth Century” (PhD diss., New York University, 1995), and David William Voorhees’s “In Behalf of the One True Religion: Leisler’s Rebellion in Colonial New York” (PhD diss., New York University, 1988). Also essential is Donna Merwick’s work on Dutch and civic culture; see “Being Dutch: An Interpretation of Why Jacob Leisler Died,” *New York History* 70 (1989): 373–404, and *Possessing Albany, 1630–1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (Cambridge, 1990), chap. 6. Merwick’s doctoral student Adriaen Howe wrote an excellent dissertation on the Dutch influence in eighteenth-century

later eighteenth-century artisanal radicalism fared better in contemporary and subsequent studies that worked with a similar conception of the material foundations of political culture and consciousness.⁵

However, there have also been challenges, particularly to the binary social division of patrician and plebeian adapted from E. P. Thompson's studies of eighteenth-century English society whose inspiration Nash acknowledged early on in the book. Studies of colonial slavery—arguably and ironically following Nash's own pathbreaking work in the field—have stressed the ways in which developing racial prejudice and notions of whiteness served imperial interests by binding together culturally diverse New Yorkers of different social status.⁶ In a reassessment of middle-colony politics, Alan Tully has challenged the emphasis on conflict between plebeians and patricians, arguing instead for the evolution of self-interested, voluntaristic, and pragmatic politics leading not to class struggle but to an emerging American liberalism. In her deeply researched study of eighteenth-century merchant trade, Cathy Matson recruited many of Nash's artisans to the ranks of her individualistic petty dealers who shared an intermittent commitment to free trade. These

New York that challenged Nash's evolutionary take on city politics; see "Accommodation and Retreat: Politics and Anglo-Dutch New York City, 1700–1760" (PhD diss., Melbourne, 1982). For another view of the rebellion as a class struggle, see Simon Middleton, "Leisler's Rebellion: Class Struggle in New York?" in *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World*, ed. Simon Middleton and Billy G. Smith (Philadelphia, 2008), 88–99.

⁵ For example, Howard B. Rock's interpretation, in *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York, 1979), sounded with Nash's and appeared as part of the developing field of "artisan studies"—after reviewed in Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Gilje, Robert Asher, eds., *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850* (Baltimore, 1995). Also see Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*; Paul Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987); Graham Russell Hodges, *New York City Cartmen, 1667–1850* (New York, 1987), which was distinguished by its chronological reach into the late seventeenth century. Also important were Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760–1790* (Baltimore, 1981), and, more recently, Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (New York, 2000). They have traced dissatisfactions with material and social inequalities and a form of class consciousness back into the seventeenth century.

⁶ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA, 1998); Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999); Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago, 2004); Thelma Wills Foot, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City* (New York, 2004); Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York, 2005).

apparent reinstatements of the long-established liberal claims concerning the evolution of trade and interest politics—arguably the impression that *The Urban Crucible* partly set out to critique—appeared in the wake of Gordon Wood’s prominent reorientation of our view of eighteenth-century political culture away from anxiety-ridden republican paranoia and towards an insurgent and, in his terms, radical middle class who were intent on debunking aristocratic social mores and pursuing individual commercial ambitions.⁷

In this way subsequent studies chipped away at the connection drawn between economic immiseration, class formation, and the evolution of a radical political consciousness that was central to *The Urban Crucible*. Without this claim, headlined in its subtitle, the book is still richly sourced and crafted urban history, but it lacks the animation and controversy that prompted so much debate. In his preface Nash was careful to set out his notion of class, decrying earlier, deterministic conceptions and, again following Thompson, emphasizing the culture and agency of ordinary subjects and the manner in which their historical experience gave rise to collective social consciousness. He was also alert to the risks in using a term more often applied to industrial or wage-earning proletarians than eighteenth-century artisans and the laboring sort. Indeed his tentativeness on the “maturity” of class identities in the late eighteenth century, especially in the closing chapters, demonstrated his commitment to the distinctions between a class “in” and “for” itself and rather detracted from the confident tone elsewhere in the book.

By the early 1990s, however, such subtleties were swept aside by an insurgent scepticism regarding the interpretive weight historians placed on documentary texts and the language recorded therein as evidence of their subjects’ experiences and intentions. Critics argued that rather than reflecting prior material causes or motives, historical texts and languages had histories and import of their own and, as such, operated as contexts that inflected construed meaning for both contemporaries and later historians. For social historians this “linguistic turn” severely undermined the view of their subjects as meaning-giving agents whose intentions and

⁷ Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992); Alan Tully, *Forming American Politics: Ideas, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1994), esp. 358–65; Cathy D. Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore, 1997).

experiences could be read from the archival records.⁸ The effects of this turn towards language and culture were felt throughout Anglo-American early modern studies, not least via the “contextualist” approach to political language and its unpicking of the hegemonic liberal tradition and recovery of alternatives such as classical republicanism and the Scottish Enlightenment.⁹ The historicizing of notions of interest, virtue, rights, and manners fed into new inquiries into urban society, consumption, gender relations, and material culture, which collectively generated a novel and increasingly pervasive subject: the “middling sort.”¹⁰ Seemingly insulated from the icy blasts of ontological critiques that had done for the Marxian working class—perhaps owing to extra linguistic and cultural lagging—the middling sort quickly colonised the broad social space between the extremes of the gentry and the laboring poor previously occupied by Nash’s artisans.

In retrospect we might have seen the imminence of the middling sort in the uncertainties regarding the social and economic status and outlook of the “artisan.”¹¹ Bypassing this lengthy and ultimately unsatisfying debate, studies of the middling sort provided a more layered and richer picture of eighteenth-century society: attention shifted from journeymen and apprentices in the workshop to male and female family members and dependents in the household; from moral economies, craft mysteries, and deskilling to the expansion of the market, consumption, and the use of

⁸ A good introduction to this large and complex literature is Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

⁹ For example, see Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983); Anthony Pagden, ed., *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1987); Richard B. Sher and Jeffery R. Smitten, eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ, 1990); Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner, eds., *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2002), see esp. Donald Winch, “Commercial Realities, Republican Principles,” 2:293–311.

¹⁰ Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke, UK, 1994), introduction. Major contributions in British history include Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, CA, 1996), and, more recently, Shani D’Cruze, *A Pleasing Prospect: Society and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Colchester* (Hatfield, UK, 2008). Although Richard L. Bushman’s *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992) clearly anticipated the emerging historiography, the middling sort came relatively late to colonial America, according to C. Dallet Hemphill, in “Manners and Class in the Revolutionary Era: A Transatlantic Comparison,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 63 (2006): 345–72.

¹¹ For example, in 1976, Eric Foner pointed out that “Historians have been unable to agree about the economic and political status of the artisans, or even the correct terminology to describe them.”

household and luxury goods. Scholars continued to stress the momentous economic and political change that accompanied the growth of an increasingly mobile and literate colonial population. For some the experience of the middling sort offered a new and more compelling origin for the advent of liberal America: consumer goods brought the colonists not only comfort, pleasure, and status but also the power to free minds and even level inequalities spawning a liberal society premised on “a process of ever more egalitarian self-fashioning.”¹² For others the same experience offered evidence of inequalities and new conceptions of social power: even as public consumption and the pursuit of gentility symbolised the social superiority of some, it deepened social divisions and added a moral dimension by awarding different sensibilities and emotional range to rich and poor.¹³ It is this moral and emotional dimension that has engaged recent and forthcoming studies that look beyond the social unrest and republican-versus-liberal ideologies that concerned an earlier generation to consider the importance of civility, sensibility, and changing notions of masculinity in the development of the egalitarian discourse of natural rights. In this respect the history of the Revolution, and its familiar narrative of imperial reforms and colonial protest, has become secondary to a structural, and presumably fundamental, cultural transformation.¹⁴

These developments take us a long way from the emerging class-conscious indignation that fired revolutionary artisanal protests in Nash’s

In 1983, Gary Nash, Billy Smith, and Dick Hoerder observed that “Artisans (also called tradesmen, craftsmen, and artificers) . . . were spread along nearly the entire spectrum of wealth in all cities . . . [and] ranged from the impecunious apprentice shoemakers to the wealthy master builders.” In 1995, Paul Gilje observed that historians continued to debate “exactly what social position mechanics occupied in the colonial period. Some scholars described artisans as would-be entrepreneurs; others saw them as more akin to common laborers and as the makings of an American working class.” Foner, *Tom Paine*, 28; Hermann Wellenreuther, “Rejoinder” to Gary B. Nash, Billy G. Smith, and Dirk Hoerder, “Labor in the Era of the American Revolution: An Exchange,” *Labor History* 24 (1983): 415–39; Rock, Gilje, and Asher, *American Artisans*, introduction.

¹² See Alan Taylor’s review of T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York, 2004), in *New Republic*, Feb. 26, 2004.

¹³ Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 183.

¹⁴ Nicole Eustace, *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008); Sarah M. S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (New York, 2009); Sarah Knott, “Sensibility and the American War for Independence,” *American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 19–41, and her *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009); Konstantin Dierks, “Middle-Class Formation in Eighteenth-Century North America,” in *Class Matters*, ed. Middleton and Smith, 99–108, and his *In My Power: Letter Writing and Communications in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2009).

account and for his generation of social historians. Does this mean that *The Urban Crucible* has little left to teach us? If the example of recent writing on New York and, more broadly, on the future of cultural history are any indication, then it would seem not. Returning to our earlier theme, recent studies of eighteenth-century New York are content to invoke Nash's view of the structure and development of urban political economy.¹⁵ Moreover, one notable recent synthesis of eighteenth-century Anglo-American cultural history rehabilitates Thompson's characterization of prerevolutionary social relations as a "field of force" between patrician and plebeian poles that provided such a clear inspiration for Nash's own work. Locating the origins of the modern notion of selfhood, Dror Wahrman argues that it was only during the 1780s and later that the interiority and psychological depth that became essential features of the individualistic self displaced an earlier, more fluid and community-derived identity. In this earlier period, Wahrman further contends, there was no prior expectation of a correlation between social and political configurations of the kind that developed later in class politics.¹⁶

Nash and his generation may have been hasty in locating the dynamic of this transition in economic immiseration and struggles over material resources. Yet the generation of cultural historians who followed—and who grappled with other and related ethnic, gendered, and racial contexts—find themselves returning to similar questions. As Michael Meranze has argued, while there can be no turning back from the recognition that historical experience is mediated through linguistic and symbolic forms, cultural history needs to reflect on its conceptual roots and think about the ways in which culture figures as an agent in the construction and deployment of power as well as a less dynamic realm of value and resource. Commenting on recent and ongoing research, Meranze, like Wahrman, revisits problems raised by Thompson and investigated in the eighteenth-century American context by Nash—problems relating to distinctions between what is and what is not culture, to its particular historical forms,

¹⁵ Freed from this responsibility, recent studies have been able to focus on political language, tavern culture, gender, and consumption. See Simon Middleton, *From Privileges to Rights: Work and Politics in Colonial New York City* (Philadelphia, 2006), 229, 264, 267, 284–85; Benjamin Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (New York, 2007), 9–10, 235; Serena R. Zabin, *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York* (Philadelphia, 2009).

¹⁶ Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2004), 128, 146–52.

and to the processes through which it acts and is acted upon and history is made.¹⁷

University of Sheffield

SIMON MIDDLETON

¹⁷ That Meranze makes these comments in an article summing up papers presented by mid-career and senior scholars at a seminar convened by the house journal of early American history to ponder whether the future of cultural history merely underscores their import; Michael Meranze, “Culture and Governance: Reflections on the Cultural History of Eighteenth-Century British America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 65 (2008): 713–44. E. P. Thompson argued in his review of Raymond Williams’s *Long Revolution* in 1961, “Any theory of culture must include a concept of the dialectical interaction between culture and something which is not culture. We must suppose the raw material of life-experience to be at one pole, and all the infinitely-complex human disciplines and systems, articulate and inarticulate, formalized in institutions or dispersed in the least formal ways, which ‘handle,’ transmit, or distort this raw material to be at the other. It is the active process—which is at the same time the process through which men make their history—that I am insisting upon.” In *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (1978; London, 1995), 289. The review first appeared in the *New Left Review* 9 and 10 (1961), emphasis in the original. Also see his “Folklore, Anthropology and Social History,” *Indian Historical Review* 3 (1978): 247–66, reprinted in E. P. Thompson, *Persons and Polemics: Historical Essays by E. P. Thompson* (London, 1976). For a critique of social historians’ use of the culture concept that anticipates some of Meranze’s concerns, see Gerald M. Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration* (New York, 1986), preface; also William H. Sewell Jr., “The Concepts of Culture,” in *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn*, ed. Gabrielle M. Spiegel (London, 2005), 76–97.

Another Urban Crucible: Gary Nash and the New Black Urbanism

ALTHOUGH THE OPENING LINES of *The Urban Crucible* did not directly address urban slavery and freedom, they predicted the wave of studies that would soon revolutionize African American historiography—including Gary Nash’s own pathbreaking book *Forging Freedom*.¹ Noting that colonial British North America was “predominantly rural,” Nash nevertheless argued that “cities were the cutting edge of economic, social and political change.” “The cities predicted the future,” he explained. “It is surprising that historians have studied them so little” (vii).

When he wrote these words in 1979, slavery and racial studies focused primarily on the plantation South. Very few scholars delved deeply into the black urban experience above the Mason-Dixon Line. Yet, as *The Urban Crucible* showed, enslaved people formed a critical part of the northern urban mosaic. “The common view that slavery in colonial America was overwhelmingly a Southern plantation phenomenon must be modified,” Nash observed, “for slavery took root in the northern port towns and persisted there throughout the colonial period” (13). Indeed, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston—the focal points of his acclaimed study—accrued significant black populations between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Boston and Philadelphia, blacks accounted for between 8 and 10 percent of the urban population by the 1740s. In New York City, nearly a fifth of the population was enslaved. Moreover, Nash surmised that northerners’ reliance on slaveholding fostered deeply imbedded notions of white supremacy. “Slavery,” he wrote, “was far more than a labor system” (14).

With slavery entrenched in the urban sphere, northern black freedom struggles would take shape within the emerging city grid. Planned racial rebellions scared New York City in 1712 and 1741, and Nash noted that “a wave of black unrest swept the seaboard” by then (108). Cities also

¹ Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia’s Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

shaped early emancipation trends, and Nash illustrated that emerging market sensibilities, not humanitarianism, prevented slavery's expansion in the colonial north. "In uncertain times," he explained, "those who still possessed the resources to command the labor of others learned that they were better off hiring labor when they needed it while remaining free of the obligation to maintain unremunerative workers during dull periods." Unsurprisingly, "the importation of slaves dropped off sharply at the end of the Seven Years War in all three northern towns" (320–21). In other words, there was no antislavery North that rejected bondage. Agreeing with David Brion Davis, Nash asserted that northern slavery was a labor system whose rise and fall remained tied to urban economics.

Despite integrating slavery into his work on northern city life, *The Urban Crucible* was neither a study of race relations nor of enslaved people's lives. Nash remained concerned with class, particularly the way it framed the development of social identity and dissenting political ideologies. *The Urban Crucible* examined slavery episodically and then primarily as a subset of shifting colonial class relations. In Nash's story, African Americans were not distinct actors whose identity revolved around race; rather, they existed at the bottom of an urban underclass that was slowly creating its own political ideology.

In this sense, *The Urban Crucible* is a snapshot of the historiographic world just before the explosion of work on northern blacks. African Americans were there in the urban North, but their experiences had still to be delineated. Happily, Nash turned to that story in *Forging Freedom*, his wonderfully researched and deeply ramifying study of African American life in Philadelphia during the colonial and antebellum eras. Published less than a decade after *The Urban Crucible*, Nash's work built on new scholarship by Emma Lapsansky, Leonard Curry, Julie Winch, James Horton, and Lois Horton.² Yet it was a cutting-edge book. Even then, the black North barely registered in grand narratives of African American history. Writing in the *New American History* (1990), Thomas Holt argued that "there has been a veritable explosion of histories . . . on

² See Emma Lapsansky, "Since They Got Those Separate Churches': Afro-Americans and Racism in Jacksonian Philadelphia," *American Quarterly* 32 (1980): 54–78; Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream* (Chicago, 1981); Julie Winch, *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787–1848* (Philadelphia, 1988); James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North* (New York, 1979).

almost every conceivable facet of black life.”³ But, Holt continued, three areas remained central to African American history writing: southern slavery, postbellum emancipation, and the modern (read: southern) civil rights movement. Today, scholarship on northern slavery, northern freedom, and twentieth-century northern civil rights movements has reframed that narrative, making slavery and racial justice national story lines from the colonial era onward.⁴ Nash helped drive this scholarly shift, and he is still identified as one of the leading scholarly authorities on slavery and race in the urban North. Not only has the book remained in print for over twenty years, it still appears on a variety of course syllabi (including classes on urban history, early America, and multiculturalism as well as slavery and African American history). *Forging Freedom* may be Nash’s enduring work.

Like *The Urban Crucible*, *Forging Freedom* combined new social history techniques and old-fashioned narrative analysis. In doing so, the book offered a sophisticated yet imminently readable portrait of Afro-Philadelphians from the ground up and inside out. As Nash observed, “the traditional approach to black urban history has been to see the cities as venues of discrimination and impoverishment,” with scholars interested in “what happened *to* black communities, not what transpired *within* them.” *Forging Freedom* created a portrait of a “community with feeling and consciousness.”⁵ According to James Horton, *Forging Freedom* offered one of “the most complete picture[s]” of northern black society ever produced, deploying a “multilevel perspective, [that extended] from the family to the major institutions of black society.” No one could deny that black urban dwellers were a critical part of the early national “historical drama”; neither could anyone dispute Nash’s contention that northern emancipation foretold the promises and perils of southern Reconstruction.⁶

³ Thomas C. Holt, “African American History,” in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1997), 312.

⁴ Still, few scholars are connecting antebellum and postwar northern urban freedom movements. Three of the best northern civil rights studies make no connections to early black urban struggles. See Matthew Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2006); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ, 2003); and Thomas Sugrue, “Sweet Land of Liberty”: *The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York, 2008).

⁵ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 7.

⁶ See James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington, DC, 1993), 11–12.

Again, like *The Urban Crucible*, *Forging Freedom* tells a story of urban transformation. Nash meticulously recreated Afro-Philadelphians' transition from slavery to freedom, particularly the way blacks "seize[d] control of their destiny" by escaping during the Revolution, vying for freedom in court, and bargaining slavery down to indenture contracts.⁷ Always conscious of the oppressive forces framing black life in Philadelphia, Nash nevertheless made "agency" a key part of black liberation.

Nash also detailed Philadelphia's transformation into a free black capital. By the 1790s, southern blacks accounted for well over a third of the city's free population. Looking at the birthplaces of Philadelphia mariners, Nash found that the largest contingent came not from Pennsylvania (20–29 percent between 1803 and 1821) but from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina (36–40 percent); still others came from New England. "Philadelphia," Nash wonderfully observed, "was a city of refuge, not the place of birth of most of its free black populace."⁸

What did city life offer free blacks? In Nash's rendering, free blacks found not only access to a range of employment and housing options, but they found each other—communal power. The divide-and-conquer universe of plantation slavery could not cohere in the metropolis. "This was the first gathering in one American community of a large number of former slaves," he noted. "Perhaps more important than their number, however, was the latent power of a new group self-consciousness."⁹ Coming from diverse backgrounds, free blacks forged the autonomous institutions that guided them over the next century—churches, benevolent societies, and schools. A leadership cadre also emerged with a powerful civil rights agenda seeking equality and civic integration. "Once formed," Nash commented, the black community "could not be obliterated, whatever the magnitude of hostility toward its members."¹⁰

Looking well beyond Philadelphia, recent studies of emancipation in the Atlantic World have reemphasized the critical connections among city life, urban economies, and collective black freedom struggles. As Doug Egerton has argued, though urban economies could certainly stifle

⁷ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 109.

⁸ Ibid., 136.

⁹ Ibid., 65.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

black aspiration, they often facilitated African-descended people's ability to amass capital, organize, and thereby create "psychological independence."¹¹ Nash's depiction of Philadelphia testified to the city's centrality in early black freedom struggles.

Indeed, Nash's tale of black community building is a heroic one. Against great odds, free black society grew and even prospered. By 1840, when Nash's story ends, the free black population of roughly eighteen thousand surpassed the populations of many American towns. Yet Nash also traced the precipitous decline of race relations during the nineteenth century. As white urban dwellers' support for black freedom waned, discriminatory policies steadily rose. Still, Nash remained inspired by black communal uplift in this key urban locale. When few others did so, black Philadelphians tried "to imagine and work optimistically toward a multi-racial and equal society."¹²

Assuming, then, that it is his definitive work on urban slavery and race, how would Nash approach *Forging Freedom* today? In 1989, Eric Foner offered abundant praise to Nash but wondered how black Philadelphians' experiences compared with other urban locales.¹³ While the lack of comparable urban studies made the question somewhat unanswerable then, there are now dozens of books on urban freedom struggles—including at least nine on New York City and a half dozen on Philadelphia.

Many of these works emphasize the tension between class and community within black urban sectors. Class certainly looms large in studies of black New York. With the legacy of a larger urban enslaved population in the eighteenth century, and a palpable history of both slave uprisings and African cultural retention, black New York had a more vibrant working-class culture and festive street life than Philadelphia. As Shane White showed long ago, and as others have verified, class framed the style of black politics throughout the early republic, with elites favoring uplift strategies while laboring populations turned to more confrontational tactics, particularly those that claimed physical space or workplace rights. Going back to *The Urban Crucible*, how would Nash navigate between vectors of race and class in and beyond black communities?¹⁴

¹¹ See Douglas R. Egerton, "Slaves to the Marketplace: Economic Liberty and Black Rebelliousness in the Atlantic World," *Journal of the Early Republic* 26 (2006): 617–39, quote at 622.

¹² Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 279.

¹³ Eric Foner, review, *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 1470.

¹⁴ On New York City, see, among others, Shane White, *Stories of Freedom in Black New York*

New work has revised several key issues Nash originally treated, including the nature of black leadership and the meaning of gender relations in Philadelphia. Julie Winch and I have written biographies of perhaps the leading black Philadelphians of the early republic, James Forten and Richard Allen. Though they came from different backgrounds and embraced a range of tactical outlooks during their long lives, Forten (free) and Allen (a former slave) cherished an ideal of interracial reform that would influence subsequent generations of immediate abolitionists. But would black Philadelphia's elite embrace confrontational action? And were leaders sensitive to laboring people's concerns? Indeed, when Allen did sanction alternative strategies for achieving justice (such as Haitian emigration), he articulated concerns about an impending urban crisis that reified some white fears.¹⁵

Erica Armstrong Dunbar's recent book, *A Fragile Freedom*, similarly argues that Philadelphia's upper- and lower-class black women were increasingly divided by class concerns. While the former focused further on uplift initiatives and fighting for civic rights, the latter—"poor, under-educated and in search of secure employment"—remained "concerned with matters of everyday life."¹⁶ Nash offered perceptive portraits of black women's struggles and contributions to the broader freedom movement, but he also implied that gender and class divisions were not nearly as important as community cohesion. Has recent scholarship changed his mind?

What about the southern urban experience? Christopher Phillips has found that Baltimore's sizable free black community (thirteen thousand by 1830) built an impressive array of autonomous institutions but was "less racked by class and intra-racial divisions than in other comparable cities," including Philadelphia. The enslaved South's largest city,

(Cambridge, MA, 2002), and *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens, GA, 1991); Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago, 2003); Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000); Craig Steven Wilder, *In the Company of Black Men: The African Influence on African American Culture in New York City* (New York, 2001); and David N. Gellman, *Emancipating New York: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom, 1777–1827* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2006).

¹⁵ See Julie Winch, *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten* (New York, 2002); and Richard S. Newman, *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (New York, 2008).

¹⁶ Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 150.

Baltimore tolerated hiring out and private manumission but compressed black economic opportunity in ways that elided class divisions. In Virginia, Tommy Bogger found that over a third of Norfolk manumissions in the 1790s occurred via self-purchase—precisely the type of black agency that Nash celebrated in Philadelphia in *Forging Freedom*. Do these examples suggest that free blacks in the urban south (with fearful slaveholders omnipresent) had to imagine liberty, community, and political activism in similar or different ways from their northern counterparts?¹⁷

The prolific Nash has produced his own steady stream of updated articles, books, and essays on these and other questions.¹⁸ As he has observed, “the historians’ work is never done.” Yet, whatever his thoughts, we can go back to *Forging Freedom* for our own inspiration. Even more than *The Urban Crucible*, it reminds us that the black urban experience was defined not only by oppression but by uplift. For anyone who has walked Philadelphia’s streets with Gary Nash, it is clear that the city remains a crucible of change, offering great hope for racial redemption.

Rochester Institute of Technology

RICHARD S. NEWMAN

¹⁷ See Christopher Phillips, *Freedom’s Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana, IL, 1997), 2–3; T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington, KY, 1997); and Tommy L. Bogger, *Free Blacks in Norfolk, Virginia, 1790–1860: The Darker Side of Freedom* (Charlottesville, VA, 1997). See also Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803* (Durham, NC, 1997); and Midori Takagi, “Rearing Wolves to Our Own Destruction”: *Slavery in Richmond, Virginia, 1782–1865* (Charlottesville, VA, 1999).

¹⁸ See, for example, Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), esp. chap. 2.

Reflections on The Urban Crucible Commentaries

I AM GRATEFUL AND DEEPLY HONORED that the editor and editorial board of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* decided to devote space for this forum on *The Urban Crucible* thirty years after its publication. I also extend my thanks and appreciation to the five commentators for their thoughtful appraisals.

Billy G. Smith believes that *The Urban Crucible* would have benefited if I had connected the transition to capitalism in the northern seaports to Atlantic-wide and global changes that were played out on the eastern seaboard of North America as well as in the Caribbean, Central America, and other parts of the world. I agree. I should have known better after sitting at the feet of R. R. Palmer in my second year of graduate study at Princeton in 1960.

Smith is also spot-on about the insufficient treatment of women and gender relations in *The Urban Crucible*. I knew this was the case at the time, and I expressed my regrets in the preface that I would have to leave this task to others. Already, I had scuttled my intention to include Charleston, South Carolina, in the book when I saw that the project was careening out of hand. When chided on the sparse attention to women by Jean Soderlund at an OAH session on the book more than a decade ago, I pleaded that while trying to feature race and class, I was incapable of pulling off what's known in figure skating as a triple axel. In the thirty years since the book's debut, gender and women's historians have leaped into this breach, producing a wealth of studies to my great satisfaction. What I could not do at least provided an open door through which others could stride. Twenty years later, working on *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*, I tried not to repeat this omission. Indeed, the role of women in the tumultuous revolutionary era is one of the main strands of the book.

John Murrin raises an interesting question, sparked by Benjamin Carp's provocative notion, as to whether Boston, New York, and Philadelphia lost their political influence during the British military

occupation and regained little of it after peace returned in 1783. I cannot answer this question with certainty. After *The Urban Crucible* came off the press in 1979, I contemplated a sequel volume that would carry the analysis forward from 1776 to the advent of the Jefferson presidency. That was never to be, as I turned instead to a study of the free black community that emerged in Philadelphia—the largest in the nation for half a century after the American Revolution—and to other projects. I hope that a younger scholar will do just such a *comparative* study. If one does, he or she will no doubt address the question of the leverage of the cities on the politics of their hinterlands. But my conditional understanding is that the cities *did* regain their political heft. This was harder in New York City because the long British occupation squelched political organizing and political influence. But in Philadelphia and Boston, where the British occupation was brief—less than a year in Boston and nine months in Philadelphia—the case was very different. And after peace returned, the rapid growth of the cities, accompanied by the gathering of legal, financial, and mercantile elites, expressed itself in political terms. Indeed, New York and Philadelphia became the nation's capitals for the remainder of the eighteenth century, and in both cities, as well as in Boston, the rapid influx of immigrants, many of them fervently politicized Irish émigrés, added fuel to the growing class resentments and highly charged politics of the early nineteenth century.

Ronald Schultz's *Republic of Labor* is but one example of how the seaboard urban centers remained crucibles of political organizing and political protesting in the era of emerging two-party politics.¹ In his *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution*, Carp proposes that "it was uncertain whether they [the cities] would ever again play so crucial a role in political mobilization and the advancement of democratic ideas and practices."² Certainly, it was uncertain. But just as certainly, as centers of pamphlet and newspaper publishing, as centers of labor organizing, and as centers of immigration, the seaboard cities remained vortexes of radical ideas, class tensions, and "out-of-doors" politics. The state capitals of New York and Pennsylvania found new climes in Albany and Harrisburg, but New York City and Philadelphia, as well as Boston,

¹ Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York, 1993).

² Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (New York, 2007), 22, 213.

remained vibrant centers of political mobilization among the lower classes and schools of political education.

Or so I think. But let's hope that a younger historian, equipped with strong eyes and the kind of data-extracting computer programs that were not available in the late 1960s and 1970s, will answer this central question. Today's ambitious historian who will take on this task will have access to richer municipal records, more complete tax lists, and denser probate records and will find far more traces of female involvement in urban affairs. With these materials for studying the postrevolutionary period at his or her disposal, the urban historian can navigate through waters that are still largely uncharted. Climbing out on a limb, I will venture a guess that the earnest scholar will find that concentrated economic power rarely emerges without the quest for equivalent political power, as we know down to the present day. So I will be surprised if the seaboard cities are found to have descended into political quietude at the same time they were becoming, as in the colonial period, arsenals of economic strength and sites of contention as the postrevolutionary generation approached the industrial era.

The matter of my tendencies toward economic determinism comes up in several of the current reviewers' comments, particularly those from Benjamin Carp and Simon Middleton. Carp quotes my early mentor and long-time friend, Richard Dunn, who indeed, when reading a draft of *The Urban Crucible*, found my analysis "too much [that] of an economic determinist."³ This has led to some banter between us, but it raises an important question. My own reading of Dunn's classic *Sugar and Slaves* convinced me that I was less condemnatory of the urban elite in late colonial society than he was of the British West Indian slave owners. I also believe that his account, supplemented since then in a series of essays comparing Jamaican and Virginian slavery, has all the earmarks of a Marxian analysis. Among the central themes he develops, after all, are the commodification of coerced and degraded labor, the drive to maximize profits, the seizing of the state apparatus to implement the economic ambitions of the wealthy or would-be wealthy, and the impoverishing of those at the bottom of the capitalist class structure. Dunn was an idealist when studying Puritan culture but an economic determinist when study-

³ Richard S. Dunn, "Reminiscences of Gary B. Nash," in *Inequality in Early America*, ed. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Hanover, NH, 1999), 301–2.

ing the brutal coffee and sugar regimes of the West Indies. The same can be said of Edmund Morgan: an idealist in his lavish studies of Puritanism but a near-Marxist in *American Slavery, American Freedom*.⁴

But what do we mean by economic determinism? In the preface to *The Urban Crucible*, I explained the influence of E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams on my thinking and on the difference between rigid Marxist theory and the more pliable understanding of how economic forces, much in the vein of the American Progressive historians, influenced politics and shaped values and ideas but did not determine them absolutely. I continue to uphold my formulation expressed in the preface that many urban Americans, during the period from about 1680 to 1776, “came to perceive antagonistic divisions based on economic and social position; that they began to struggle around these conflicting interests; and that through these struggles they developed a consciousness of class” (x). This was not the class formation that Marx studied, for the mature class formation of his industrial era had not yet been reached. I followed Thompson—his *The Making of the English Working Class* was key to my thinking—in his argument that it was wrong to think “that classes exist, independent of historical relationship and struggle, and that they struggle *because* they exist, rather than coming into existence out of that struggle.”⁵

If Thompson was an inspiration on how to treat the working people in their quest for equality, social justice, and dignity, my theoretical model on the source of ideas and the interaction of ideas and daily practice was Karl Mannheim. As I explained at a conference organized by two of the essayists above, Billy G. Smith and Simon Middleton, I, like Dunn and Morgan, had never read more than small fragments of Marx’s work and certainly never read him systematically. I had smoked a little Marx, as I said at this conference, but never inhaled.⁶ What I *had* inhaled was Karl Mannheim, whose work still serves to great benefit. More philosopher and sociologist than historian, Mannheim put a new face on what is often deplored as economic determinism. “Modes of thought,” he wrote in

⁴I have appraised this essay literature in “The Work of Richard Dunn,” *Pennsylvania History* 64 (1997): 11–25. See also, Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1972); and Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975).

⁵E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1964), x–xi.

⁶More on this in Nash, “Class in Early American History: A Personal Journey,” *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 1 (winter 2004): 15–26.

Ideology and Utopia, first published in German in 1929 when he taught at the universities of Frankfurt and Heidelberg, “. . . cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured.” Or, “In every concept, in every concrete meaning, there is contained a crystallization of the experiences of a certain group.” Or, “Thought has always been the expression of group life and group action (except for highly academic thinking which for a time was able to insulate itself from active life).” Or, “Political discussion is, from the very first, more than theoretical argumentation; it is the tearing off of disguises—the unmasking of those unconscious motives which bind the group existence to its cultural aspirations and its theoretical arguments.” Mannheim calls all of this “a sociological approach,” one that “puts an end to the fiction of the detachment of the individual from the group, within the matrix of which the individual thinks and experiences.”⁷ His formulation applies not only to the lower class; it applies to all. Moreover, his emphasis on social origins, social experiences, and social contexts suggests far more than strict economic status or occupation, more than wages and wealth accumulation. This is what I understood to be the connection between ideology and political action as I read every printed pamphlet, broadside, diary entry, newspaper essay, sermon, and letter that I could find. What I could no longer accept was the proposition that an idea or an idea-driven action could stand apart from social experience—and that economic factors constituted a weighty part of that experience.

Others in the history profession were unsettled by my sociological (rather than Marxian) analysis of the urban centers in the late colonial period. But their criticisms were mild compared to the outcry of conservative op-ed writers when the National History Standards came off the press in 1994, fifteen years after Harvard University Press first published *The Urban Crucible*. The U.S. standards, the work of hundreds of teachers and historians and vetted and approved by thirty organizations involved in history education, brought yowls of protest from those who saw American history being rewritten in ways they believed demoted the primacy of white Protestant males of the upper echelon and elevated the agency of ordinary people, whether women, whites with roughened hands, African Americans, immigrants from all points on the compass, or otherwise unnoticed Americans. Even implications that America was

⁷ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, 1936), 2, 22, 39, 28.

something other than a classless society, always full of equal opportunity and social fairness, was an affront.

One case will suffice to illustrate this point. One standard read: "Demonstrate understanding of the principles articulated in the Declaration of Independence." Appended were examples of "student achievement" in meeting this standard. One read: "Draw evidence from biographies to examine the lives of individuals who were in the forefront of the struggle for independence such as Sam Adams, Thomas Paine, Mercy Otis Warren, and Ebenezer MacIntosh." Adams, Paine, and Warren were known to most teachers and much of the history-reading public. MacIntosh, a poor shoemaker, was not. Teachers wanted him included because he was the street leader of the fiery Stamp Act protests in Boston that all but reduced the stamp distributor's and lieutenant governor's houses to rubble. Emerging from the shadows of proper Bostonian life, MacIntosh was representative of lower-class figures largely forgotten by historians but known to every Bostonian of his day. The historian Alfred Young had done much research on MacIntosh, and I had featured him in chapter 11 of *The Urban Crucible* for his central role in the first mass urban protests against British policies after 1763 that led eventually to the American Revolution.

John Leo, columnist for *U.S. News & World Report*, exploded. In an essay titled "The Hijacking of American History," he found it offensive to suggest that precollegiate students explore the life of someone who was "a brawling street lout," an "anti-elitist, anti-oppression, and pro-uprising gang member," a man who "fits right in as a sort of early Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin."⁸ For Leo the revolution might better have been fought without revolutionaries. A descendant of MacIntosh wrote indignantly to *U.S. News & World Report* that his ancestor was no street lout but a brave man leading the opposition to liberty-killing English policies. I took great satisfaction that an ordinary cobbler who commanded the cobblestone streets of Boston in the 1770s had entered the public consciousness. A bit of *The Urban Crucible* had seeped into the National History Standards and became part of a lengthy debate over what young Americans should learn about the nation's past.

Simon Middleton's comments raise important questions about the tra-

⁸ For more on this, and additional quotes from Leo, see Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York, 1997), 191–92, 203–4.

jectory of studies of the colonial seaboard cities. First is the sheer magnitude of the work over the last three decades. Focusing mainly on New York City, Middleton cites sixteen books and dissertations published since 1979; if we add about twenty others on Philadelphia and Boston (the latter is the least furrowed soil) and hundreds of articles, nothing less than a deluge of scholarly work on the cities has appeared in the last generation. When I began research on *The Urban Crucible* in 1966, Carl Bridenbaugh's two books were the beginning, and nearly the end, of what was available.⁹ No longer can we say that the colonial and revolutionary American cities are understudied.

Second, Middleton draws attention to the study of the middle class, which has surely come into fashion. In the United States, where studies of poverty, exploitation, and degradation have not been popular and have often offended the public that prefers to believe in a golden American past, studies of gentility, material consumption, and entrepreneurialism have thus enjoyed greater favor. In *The Urban Crucible*, I had noted that artisans ranged from the very bottom of urban society—say, a poor shoemaker—to well into the upper class—say, a master carpenter who owned real estate and designed houses as well as built them. I had not entirely ignored the “middling sort,” I maintain, and I believe it mistaken to say that the book is organized simplistically around “the binary social division of patrician and plebeian.”¹⁰ Nor did I cast all those who worked with their hands as antiliberal or anticapitalistic. Many artisans, and even more small shopkeepers, embraced the market economy in contrast to the “moral economy,” as E. P. Thompson called the anticapitalistic ethic of the early modern period.

However, I concede that the attention to the middling ranks in recent years has added greatly to what I had to say. It is notable that most of the studies cited by Middleton focus on the language, consumption patterns, gender relations, and material culture of the middle class. Thus, most of the historians he cites can be called cultural rather than social historians. What they have not studied is mobility in and out of the middle ranks, generational patterns of wealth accumulation or wealth disinvestment, ethnic and religious components of middle-class attainment, and occupa-

⁹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (1938; repr., New York, 1971); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955; repr., New York, 1971).

¹⁰ Simon Middleton, “Artisans’ and the ‘Middling Sort’ in Gary Nash’s Eighteenth-Century Urban America,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133 (2009): 418.

tional pathways to middling status. This is the work of social historians, work of the type that Stuart Blumin did three decades ago in his study of nineteenth-century Philadelphia. This is harder, more eye-straining, and tedious work to do, requiring vast investments of time extracting and processing data from tax, probate, church, and real estate records. Yet who would disagree with Middleton that these new cultural studies, basically eschewing the kind of quantitative analysis that goes with social history, have added much in informing us on “the importance of civility, sensibility, and changing notions of masculinity [and femininity] in the development of the egalitarian discourse of natural rights.”¹¹

Richard Newman’s comments on my treatment of slavery in *The Urban Crucible* (but even more in his discussion of my *Forging Freedom*) are sure-handed. He is right that I treated slavery episodically in *The Urban Crucible* and did not weave it deftly enough into my account of the development of the maritime-based economies of the port cities. He is also on target in noting that I did not make African Americans distinct actors and that “their experiences had still to be delineated.”¹² If I was starting over again on this study of the northern seaport centers, this is the first area where I would dig in deeper, not only to disinter the lives of African Americans but to show how slavery and the slave trade underpinned the maritime economies and were woven into the social, cultural, political, and ideological urban patterns of life. Subsequent work—including notable books by Shane White, Jill Lepore, Richard Newman, James Horton and Lois Horton, Leslie Harris, Thelma Foote, Graham Hodges, Craig Wilder, David Gellman, Julie Winch, and Erica Dunbar—has gone a long way toward remedying this to my great satisfaction.¹³ Still, what we have are collective portraits and collective experi-

¹¹ Middleton, “Artisans’ and the ‘Middling Sort,’” 421.

¹² Richard S. Newman, “Another Urban Crucible: Gary Nash and the New Black Urbanism,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133 (2009): 425.

¹³ Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens, GA, 1991); White, *Stories of Freedom in Black New York* (Cambridge, MA, 2002); Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York, 2005); Richard S. Newman, *Freedom’s Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (New York, 2008); James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington, DC, 1993); James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1865* (New York, 1997); Horton and Horton, *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North*, rev. ed. (New York, 1999); Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago, 2003); Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863*

ences, not distinct actors and actresses. This is because the sources on enslaved and free black colonists are limited and fragile, though some historians, such as Sidney Kaplan, Vincent Carretta, Timothy Breen, Robert Desrochers, Graham Hodges, and this author, have found material to bring to life the black subaltern part of the population—a fifth of the whole.¹⁴ I tried to incorporate much of this in *The Unknown American Revolution*.¹⁵

It is commonplace to say today that the linguistic turn, the advent of poststructuralism, and the rise of multicultural approaches to history have elbowed class analysis aside, a matter that several of the contributors to this forum comment upon. Some historians today believe that class is no longer a useful explanatory category. No, class is and always will be vital to historical interpretation this side of utopia. Six years ago, a conference in the mountains of Montana, not far from Yellowstone National Park, testified to that truth. Organized by two of the contributors to this discussion of *The Urban Crucible* (Middleton and Smith), the meetings attracted some ninety scholars from three continents, twenty-eight of them presenting class-oriented papers on the preindustrial world. The quality of the essays became clear when nearly all of them were accepted for publication in issues of *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, and in a volume edited by Middleton and Smith and published last year by the University of

(Chapel Hill, NC, 1999); Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North: African Americans in Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1665–1865* (Madison, WI, 1997); Craig S. Wilder, *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn* (New York, 2000); Wilder, *In the Company of Black Men: The African Influence on African American Culture in New York City* (New York, 2001); Julie Winch, *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten* (New York, 2002); David N. Gellman, *Emancipating New York: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom, 1777–1827* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2006); Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, CT, 2008).

¹⁴ Sidney Kaplan and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, rev. ed. (Amherst, MA, 1989); Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: A Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens, GA, 2005); T. H. Breen, “Making History: The Force of Public Opinion and the Last Years of Slavery in Revolutionary Massachusetts,” in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997), 67–95; Robert E. Desrochers Jr., “‘Not Fade Away’: The Narrative of Venture Smith, an African American in the Early Republic,” *Journal of American History* 84 (1997): 40–66; and Gary B. Nash and Graham Russell Gao Hodges, *Friends of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson, Tadeuz Kosciuszko, and Agrippa Hull: A Tale of Three Patriots, Two Revolutions, and a Tragic Betrayal of Freedom in the New Nation* (New York, 2008).

¹⁵ Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York, 2005).

Pennsylvania Press.¹⁵ At that conference, where hand-wringing about the decline of class-based studies was often expressed, I had commented that “class is not dead and perhaps never sickened.” The vibrancy of the conference and the number of attendees and participants testified to that. Since then, to judge by recent publications and works in progress, class is far from disappearing as an analytic category in early American studies.¹⁶ That gives me hope that *The Urban Crucible* has not reached the end of its road.

University of California, Los Angeles
Emeritus

GARY B. NASH

¹⁵ Simon Middleton and Billy G. Smith, eds., *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2008).

¹⁶ One example—casting modesty aside—is the forthcoming volume of essays, edited by Alfred F. Young, Ray Raphael, and myself. Titled *Revolutionary Founders: Crusaders for Democracy, Equal Rights, and Liberty and the Promise of the American Revolution* (New York, forthcoming, 2011), the book contains twenty-three biographical essays in which class analysis figures prominently.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ethnographies and Exchanges: Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America. Edited by A. G. ROEBER. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008. 240 pp. Notes, index. \$45.)

How reliable are the observations about Indian cultures recorded by Euro-Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how well are current scholars able to interpret the meanings of their texts, especially in translation? What are the limitations faced by translators and translations, both then and now, in conveying the meaning of words spoken and written by unfamiliar peoples in unfamiliar languages? What motives and mentalities characterized the minds of European missionaries as they encountered Native Americans? What methods did they employ as they endeavored to mediate the Christian message to potential Indian converts? And how did native men and women respond to those overtures as they looked for means to ensure the well-being of themselves, their families, and their communities?

These are some of the core questions that animate the essays of *Ethnographies and Exchanges*. If those queries are not particularly new for students interested in the interactions between Native Americans and Europeans in early America, where these authors search for answers is groundbreaking, at least comparatively and according to editor A. G. Roeber. Countering what he sees as the still-dominant focus of scholars on English contacts with Indians in New England and the Chesapeake, this volume looks instead to mine some of the rich materials produced by French Catholic and German Moravian Protestant missionaries in order to add to and correct the “received wisdom about the language, religion, and political structures of Europeans and First Peoples” (xiii). As most early Americanists are aware, the texts those newcomers produced contain much valuable ethnographic data and afford historians and other scholars a wealth of opportunities for making more sense out of the complex cross-cultural contacts that were at the heart of early American history.

The publication of an English translation of one of those texts, Moravian missionary David Zeisberger’s diaries for the years 1772 through 1781, gave rise to a scholarly conference in 2004, which in turn resulted in this collection of essays. Using Zeisberger’s journals more as a springboard than endpoint, contributors examine various communities of Delaware, Mahican, Munsee, Wabanaki, Haudenosaunee, and Cherokee Indians and their exchanges with Moravian and Catholic missionaries from the late seventeenth through the early

nineteenth centuries in places stretching from southern Québec to the western frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio and as far south as Salem, North Carolina.

Divided into three sections, the volume's essays generally offer insightful and balanced analyses that capture effectively both native and European perspectives on their exchanges. Following a fine introductory biographical piece on Glikhikan, a well-known Munsee war chief who surprisingly became a pacifist Moravian convert, part 1 contains three articles that, from different angles, wrestle with the interpretive problems posed by language and translation when using Moravian sources for understanding Delaware life and culture. Part 2 presents five essays on Catholic and Moravian mission mindsets and strategies and includes especially effective discussions of Jesuit tactics in "policing" Wabanaki neophyte behavior and Moravians' uses of music within their evangelism. Part 3 shifts our attention to Indian points of view on the Euro-American Christian presence. Recent emphasis on the multiplicity of native responses to Christianity (as opposed to a simple acceptance/rejection model) is reinforced here. A concluding essay revisits the challenges faced by eighteenth- and twenty-first-century translators.

The volume could have used an additional concluding essay that offered some comparative reflections on the Catholic and Moravian experiences. Nevertheless, it makes a solid overall contribution to the burgeoning scholarship on these Christian communities' encounters with native peoples in early America.

Westmont College

RICHARD W. POINTER

The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. 3, Soldier, Scientist, and Politician, 1748–1757. By J. A. LEO LEMAY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 768 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, index. \$45.)

J. A. Leo Lemay died in October 2008, and volume 3 of what was to have been "the" definitive multivolume (a total of seven projected) biography of the great eighteenth-century American literary figure and statesman now stands as the final monument to Lemay's intensive, rigorous, and loving study of Benjamin Franklin. He joins the ranks of Douglas Southall Freeman, Dumas Malone, and Irving Brant, biographers of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison.

Lemay has a wonderful talent for weaving the concrete facts of Franklin's life into the recollection of those events as Franklin presented them in his *Autobiography*. Lemay, almost with a mischievous smile, points out what Franklin has misremembered or slightly reshaped. Because he has an unparalleled command of every detail in the *Autobiography* and every document published in thirty-nine volumes of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (1958–2008),

Lemay is the consummate biographer. With Lemay as intermediary, Franklin the autobiographer and Franklin the letter writer/essayist are in continual conversation with one another. And because the new directions Franklin took between 1748 and 1755 “partly mirrored and partly anticipated the major shifts in society from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries” (595), Lemay is able to tell the stories of colonial Pennsylvania and colonial America through Franklin.

The final chapter, “Assessing Franklin, Age 42 through 51,” steps back from the small brush strokes of the first 585 pages to consider the big canvas and take stock. While the decade saw a consolidation of his “old projects,” it also represented an entrance onto a new scene: he increasingly turned away from moral philosophy toward natural philosophy (science); he gave up active control over his printing business but continued to write pieces for newspaper publication; while he had been active in Pennsylvania politics before, he now became fully immersed, as the opposition between Franklin and the Quakers on one side and the governor and the proprietary party on the other grew sharper and more public; and he wrote more frequently about relations between the colonies and the British Empire.

When did Franklin become an “American”? The question is implicit throughout the book, but the final appendix, “The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin,” addresses it explicitly. If, Lemay argues, the moment is “the time when he believed that Americans and Englishmen *should* (as opposed to *would*) fight one another, the answer is never.” But if it is more generally the rejection of royal or parliamentary control over the colonies and taking “special pride” in American culture and achievements, the change came earlier (635). For Lemay, Franklin’s “fundamental document” of the American Revolution is his 1751 manuscript, “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind.”

What a sad irony that the recent discovery of a cache of about forty letters from 1755 chronicling Franklin’s success in obtaining wagons and supplies for General Edward Braddock came too late for the letters to find their way into this book, the proper chronological place for them. Lemay would have reveled in Alan Houston’s find, which was published in the April 2009 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Lemay relished each anonymous newspaper piece that he could assign to Franklin, and indeed the first appendix to *The Life*, volume 3 (597–98) presents several more “new attributions.” He took equal delight when other scholars unearthed new materials.

If we cannot have all seven volumes of Leo Lemay’s biography, these are three important ones to have. Anyone who studies, writes about, or is just plain curious about the first fifty-one years of Benjamin Franklin’s life needs and wants this volume. Paul M. Zall, Lemay’s longtime friend and a fellow student of Franklin, told me recently that Lemay, reflecting on the friendly rivalry between students of literature and students of history to claim Franklin as their own subject, quipped after completing work on the genetic text of the *Autobiography* (1981),

“we have saved Franklin from the historians.” *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, volume 3, restores Franklin to the historians and leaves a fuller Franklin for students of literature as well.

Princeton University

BARBARA OBERG

Following the Drum: Women at the Valley Forge Encampment. By NANCY K. LOANE. (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc., 2009. 224 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

During her time as a seasonal ranger and interpreter at Valley Forge National Historical Park, Nancy Loane answered countless questions and righted numerous misconceptions. *Following the Drum* is intended for those who wish to learn more about Valley Forge, the Continental army, and, of course, the women with that army. Her dedication to research helps reveal what women, in particular Martha Washington, experienced at what was temporarily “one of the largest cities on the continent” (2). While the book is primarily a narrative that deftly synthesizes stories about women—not only at Valley Forge but also other encampments—Loane adds interesting, pertinent analysis of inaccuracies and fictions about these camp followers.

In the first chapter, Loane presents some of Valley Forge’s civilian families. She does well to remind readers how the army marched into this farming community and thus brought the war to the local women. The next two chapters focus on Martha Washington, while the following two concern other officers’ ladies. There is little “following the drum” in the true meaning of the phrase until chapter 6, when the women who served in Washington’s household are discussed; Loane then looks at the followers at Valley Forge in chapter 7 and camp women in general in chapter 8. Furthermore, as chapter 3, “Martha Washington at the Other Encampments,” and chapter 8, “Camp Women with the Continental Army,” show, this book encompasses more than Valley Forge. The wider lens, on the one hand, may indicate a paucity of material about women at Valley Forge alone, but, on the other hand, it allows for the Valley Forge experience to be put into a larger context of other encampments. As Loane explores the other sites, she tends to refer to Valley Forge and thus maintains that locale as the linchpin of her account.

The other linchpin is George Washington. That is due in part to Loane’s intensive use of the various collections of Washington’s writings, including those available through the Library of Congress’s American Memory Web site. Another reason is that General Washington set policy for the presence and activities of women in the camps. The other Washington to set some precedents was Martha, and Loane delves deep into *Worthy Partner: The Papers of Martha*

Washington (1994), as compiled by Joseph E. Fields, to reveal Lady Washington's story. Loane did substantial research in secondary sources, but she commendably built her history chiefly upon primary sources.

Of particular interest are Loane's reviews and rebuttals of certain fanciful anecdotes (see pages 14, 57, and, in particular, the appendix) that became part of the public's memory through nineteenth-century interpretations. The author educates her readers about how and why some of the stories came to be and how available evidence does not substantiate them. She also, over the course of the book, but especially when adding the rest of the story to the accounts of officers' wives, provides a counterpoint to upbeat, glorified tales by noting how many of these women faced hardships not only at Valley Forge but throughout the war and afterwards. These are valuable lessons in what is a nice, easy-to-read introduction to women with the Continental army.

Duquesne University

HOLLY A. MAYER

Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America. By CYNTHIA G. FALK. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008. 256 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, index. \$45.)

This book begins by clarifying its particular take on how to think about the materiality of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans. Like "us today," Falk argues, earlier Americans "invested material goods with meaning," and once invested, "objects served as symbols of otherwise intangible ideas" (1). The intangibles we meet in this study have much to do with ethnicity and the innovative ways that people can play with discretionary membership by gliding across and through material forms and, in so doing, manage to pursue interests while neglecting such infelicities as "acculturation." Falk tells us, "I consider material culture as a physical manifestation of personal identity, that is, as a means of designing self" (5). To be sure, she is not the first scholar to use the "defining self" argument, but Falk's analysis pushes the reader to see new social relations and new buildings as her late eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans came to define themselves in new ways.

Specialists who approach this work will not be disappointed. Falk's unique contribution is to remind us that so-called Georgian-German houses—structures that have a symmetrical arrangement of windows and doors and a center (or slightly off-center) passage—are as typical of German citizens as they are of their British counterparts. While vernacular-architecture enthusiasts usually choose a three-room, center-chimney *flürkuchenhaus* to represent a quintessential Pennsylvania Germanness in their slide lectures, Falk argues that what qualifies

as “German” requires further investigation. She of course discusses this early plan and illustrates such monuments as the Herr House and Fort Zeller. But the *flürkuchenhaus*, if it indicated a German identity, was a sign of being “poor farmers” (180). Thus, it was by no means a representative social space.

Falk arrives at a closer approximation of economically representative housing by focusing on the 1798 federal direct tax returns for two Pennsylvania townships, and the results are telling. In the first township, Coventry, the house sizes of British (700 square feet is average) and German (about 830 square feet) citizens make apparent the relative wealth and material investment of Germanic peoples; in 1798, about one-third of all Coventry householders had no barn at all, while only 16 of 179 householders owned a barn larger than thirty-by-sixty feet (48–49). The second township, Conestoga, by contrast reveals distinctions between two nominally German groups, Lutherans and Mennonites. We might think that Lutherans, as people unabashedly of *this* world, might prosper more than their sectarian neighbors. Not so. Mennonites were among Conestoga’s earliest settlers, grabbed the best land, and then built the largest houses (though of what plan, we cannot tell). She notes that “of the 135 householders who occupied houses worth more than \$100 . . . 34 could be identified as Mennonite and 14 as Lutheran” (142–43). These two townships demonstrate two kinds of tensions felt by Germans at the very end of the eighteenth century: as a group aware of its differences from its British (English, Scots, Scots-Irish) neighbors, and as a group split up into its own ethnic fragments, whether Palatine, Mennonite, Lutheran, or Moravian.

Falk then takes us to the “artifacts” inside the house, or such domestic furnishings and spaces as blanket chests, tea equipage, bedsteads, and the kitchen and its various uses. She sees accumulation as both familiar and foreign. Here, for example, is her view of the force of new goods arriving in the countryside: “new types of goods and new types of behaviors began to distinguish those who had the knowledge and money to participate in the culture of refinement” (167). A basic question nags for a response, however. What may have been the early German words for “refinement” or “improvement”? According to my *Cassell’s*, *die Verfeinerung* stands as the best estimate of “refinement,” although it may contain more ambivalence in its wider range of significance. The root word, *Fein*, suggests delicate, thin, polite, cultivated, elegant, and fashionable but also subtle, sly, and artful. Improvement, however, is more straightforward: *die Verbesserung*, meaning the process of bettering oneself, as well as amendment, and even a kind of personal reformation. Had it teased out these semantic traces, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans* would have been a more nuanced cultural history.

Still, Cynthia G. Falk has provided a challenging, well-researched study that emphasizes the commercial strength of Pennsylvania Germans and the “creole” (her word, p. 184) houses they built, structures that signaled at once their resi-

dents' dual status as "Georgian Germans" and as *verfeinerung* citizens of the early republic.

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT ST. GEORGE

A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807. By DIANE E. WENGER. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008. 280 pp. Illustrations, figures, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.)

Founded in the mid-eighteenth century, Shaefferstown was a largely German crossroads village approximately seventy-five miles northwest of Philadelphia and surrounded by the most productive iron furnaces and forges in early America. In the years before the Revolution, Shaefferstown supported two or three country stores and associated taverns. Trading collapsed during the Revolution, but in the late 1780s it picked up again, which may have been why Lewis Kreider traveled to Philadelphia to hire a new clerk, Samuel Rex, to help him manage his store. Within a year, Kreider had moved on, and Rex had opened a store of his own (using money from his father, a Philadelphia-area storekeeper). A year later, in 1791, Rex, now twenty-five years old, married the thirty-four-year-old daughter of a local innkeeper, cementing relations in the community. He would run a thriving store in Shaefferstown for almost two decades.

Diane E. Wenger systematically analyzes Rex's day books and store ledgers to address several questions that have informed scholarly debate about early American economy and society. Did this Middle Atlantic region undergo a disruptive "transition to capitalism"? How caught up in a "consumer revolution" were the region's German inhabitants? Were the villages that provided the fuel and housed the workers for iron furnaces integrated into the regional economy? While answering these questions she also provides a richly nuanced portrait of the village that will appeal to those interested in local history.

Wenger argues that Rex's storekeeping operations provide strong evidence of the embeddedness of market relationships in the village and surrounding area. Rex charged (and his customers accepted) market prices for goods, collected interest, held produce back from sale until he could get a better price, provided his customers fashionable textiles for their homespun cloth, and routinely stocked European and West Indian goods. But Wenger complicates this depiction of the market with several crucial qualifiers. Market relationships did not force Shaefferstown's inhabitants to abandon their German cultural heritage. Nor did the market impose impersonal, long-distance imperatives on the village. Rather (and this is Wenger's central point) market transactions occurred through personal networks and face-to-face transactions that differentiated the economy

from the capitalism of a later era.

Wenger makes additional and major contributions with chapters on the iron industry and Rex's market trips to Philadelphia. She demonstrates that iron-furnace villages depended heavily on nearby storekeepers both to supply their workers with goods and to purchase meat for food; she also shows that the iron bars the iron works produced passed through the economy as a commodity currency. She sketches out more fully than any other scholar the way hinterland communities traded with Philadelphia. She follows Rex on a ten-day buying and selling trip to the city. Wagoners had to be hired, over two dozen city merchants dealt with to put together a return cargo, and agents employed to assure the sale of country produce (especially meat). In emphasizing the importance of butter to the city trade, Wenger reinforces our sense of the role of women as producers in the market economy.

Why was Rex, who retired a gentleman farmer, successful? His success was the result of help from his family, fluency in German and English, the security of the market at the iron furnaces, cultivation of personal relationships, attention to detail, and an ideal location. The moment did not last. Bypassed by the railroad, Shaefferstown retains even today some of the look of an eighteenth-century village.

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey PAUL G. E. CLEMENS

Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859. By ELIZABETH R. VARON. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 472 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.)

In *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (1976), David Potter's magisterial treatment of the political events leading up to the Civil War, the author identified a "sinister dual quality" in American nationalism that reached a crisis in the 1850s when American expansion into Mexico came at the expense of American ideals. The issue that lay at the heart of this duality was slavery, of course, which for Potter emerged abruptly as a political issue only in the 1850s. In her book *Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859*, Elizabeth Varon picks up where Potter left off, extending his analysis backward and, significantly, expanding it outward to consider the social context that created a generation of Americans who had reached a linguistic consensus about the threat of disunion. In the half century leading up to the war, Varon argues, "Americans with rival political agendas . . . honed the art of casting their opponents as traitors bent on destroying the Union" (337–38).

In this very important book—the first in the Littlefield History of the Civil War series—Varon, professor of history at Temple University, explains that from

the nation's founding, Americans understood that the federal union was fragile; because of that, citizens engaged in a discourse of disunion, expressed as a fear as often as it was a threat. This war of words was always about slavery, and it reached a crescendo in the decade preceding the Civil War when Republicans began echoing the abolitionists' disunionist rhetoric and fire-eaters' dire predictions of the North's aggressive designs began to drown out the voices of Southern Unionists. By 1861, the "vocabulary of treason" had indeed become the "vernacular of the country," as one newspaper put it (14). Secession and the Civil War offered "linguistic clarity," among other things, to disunionists on both sides and brought an end to a half century of accusation and recrimination (337).

Or did it? Varon suggests that black leaders such as Frederick Douglass continued to employ disunionist language to express their anger over the betrayal of black civil rights. I would have liked to have seen this idea developed more, as it speaks to Varon's point about Southern nationalism, or the notion that white Southerners, nurtured as they were in U.S. civic religion, harbored a "deep ambivalence" about disunion—an ambivalence that was not as easy to shake off as fire-eaters would have liked (344). African Americans, too, negotiated an ambivalent nationalism, one that sought to keep alive the disunionist spirit until the nation could be remade in accordance with its own moral principles. The war did not resolve the dualism of black national identity, but what did it do for white Southerners? Perhaps the language of the Lost Cause did not *replace* disunionist talk so much as cover it up, for the latter occasionally resurfaces. On the day I began reading this book, for instance, Governor Rick Perry called on Texas legislators to consider whether the state should secede from the Union rather than accept money from the federal stimulus package. No one—least of all Perry—seems to have given the matter serious thought, but when reading Varon's book it's hard not to take words seriously.

Varon's is a balanced account, lending equal time to Southerners who stoked the fires of disunion as to Northerners. William Seward, for instance, shoulders his fair share of the blame for escalating the war of words, particularly in his 1858 Irrepressible Conflict speech, in which he dared Southern disunionists to live up to their words. When he later regretted having done so, his wife, Frances, set him straight. Indeed, women are never tangential to Varon's account. Her previous books focused on the South, but for *Disunion!* Varon immersed herself in local sources, weaving together the women of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, such as Sarah Mapps Douglass and the Forten sisters, local civil rights activists William Still and Robert Purvis, and Southerners such as Elizabeth Van Lew, the subject of her last book.

The book is well-written and carefully documented and will be imminently useful in undergraduate and graduate classrooms alike.

Villanova University

JUDITH GIESBERG

Gender and the Sectional Conflict. By NINA SILBER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 144 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95.)

In a January 1863 letter to her soldier-husband, Sophia Buchanan demonstrated her support for the Union cause. Buchanan wrote that the American Civil War was “a matter of life & death, to the most glorious nation, the sun ever shone upon” (57). In *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, Nina Silber considers the wartime experiences of individuals like Buchanan and analyzes the ways that the Civil War altered Union and Confederate women’s and men’s gendered relationship to the nation-state. This succinct synthesis of the current scholarship is a product of three lectures that Silber presented at Penn State’s Richards Civil War Era Center. Silber expands on LeeAnn Whites’s assertion that the Civil War precipitated a “crisis in gender relations” to examine further how distinctly sectional gender ideologies informed the ways that Southerners and Northerners imagined, prosecuted, and remembered the war (xii).

According to Silber, while white Confederates fought on their native ground to defend tangible homes and womenfolk, Unionists fought for abstract notions of “country” and “nation.” She argues that the Southerners’ melding of home and nation flowed from the slaveholding model of the agrarian patriarchal household, in which white men controlled women and white and black dependents. By contrast, Silber maintains that the Northern market-based gender ideology that distinguished the female domestic space from the male workplace set the stage for both male and female Unionists to “separate the private and the political” and to prioritize the nation over home (13). Thus, Southerners maintained traditional gender roles, while the separation of nation and home allowed Northerners to perceive women as being accountable for their own patriotism rather than simply following the politics of male kin.

Silber notes that Southern white women were central to the war effort, first as the focus of male protection and later because of their alleged unflagging patriotism in spite of hardships on the home front. When Union war boosters criticized Northern women for lacking their counterparts’ self-denial, Northern women asserted their personal allegiance to an abstract nation. As in her previous book, *Daughters of the Union*, Silber demonstrates that Northern women expressed their patriotism by participating in aid societies and nursing work, yet their relationship to the paternalistic nation-state remained ambiguous. In the war’s aftermath, Silber maintains, white Southern womanhood symbolized a reimagined genteel and benevolent prewar South, which helped to erase the brutality of slavery as both sides sought reconciliation.

Although the bulk of Silber’s argument rests on the experiences of literate white Northerners and Southerners, she does consider ways that African Americans mobilized gendered arguments to assert their patriotism and worthiness of citizenship. While she agrees with historians who place slavery at the cen-

ter of the sectional crisis, Silber believes that gender ideologies were also critical factors in creating sectionalism and in facilitating reconciliation. Silber discusses a wide range of subjects concisely, but her book's brevity leaves unanswered questions regarding topics like Confederate nationalism. Silber's informative footnotes, however, point the reader to key works for further perusal. This slim, readable volume is an excellent introduction to gender and the Civil War for scholars, students, and general readers.

Temple University

SUSAN HANKET BRANDT

Nickelodeon City: Pittsburgh at the Movies, 1905–1929. By MICHAEL ARONSON. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008. 320 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.95.)

It has been a long time since I have so thoroughly enjoyed a work of film history. Film historians have a knack for either overtheorizing or overdetailing their books so as to render them virtually unreadable. Michael Aronson, who did his graduate work at the University of Pittsburgh and is currently an assistant professor of English at the University of Oregon, is intent on reaching a larger audience than the professoriate. That is not to say that there isn't a whole lot here for the scholar, but rather that the specialists aren't the only audience for whom this book is intended.

Nickelodeon City: Pittsburgh at the Movies, 1905–1929 works on several levels at once. It is one of the best local histories of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. But it is also a history of early twentieth-century urbanization and commercial amusements. By placing the nickelodeon in the larger context of accessible, affordable entertainments, Aronson enriches film history by extending its boundaries. We learn a great deal about the connections between nickel film theaters and dime museums, penny arcades, live theater, and vaudeville. We meet the entrepreneurs and the audiences. We see how films were advertised and stars were made. We are witnesses to the long, complicated battle between censors and exhibitors. We understand the critical interconnections between real estate transactions and the expansion of popular entertainments. And, through it all, we watch as a city—and its commercial amusements—grow together in the first decades of the last century.

Aronson is that rare creature: a prodigious researcher who knows how to write. There is neither an undocumented assertion nor a dull sentence in the entire book. Time and again, Aronson makes connections: between the local and the national, between exhibitors and distributors, between the entrepreneurs and their audiences. Each connection deepens and complicates our understanding of city life and of the history of film exhibition. The illustrations and graphics only

add to the reader's enjoyment. Aronson includes period photographs of the city, its streets, and its theaters, reproductions of posters, newspaper and magazine advertisements, wonderful cartoons and caricatures, and some superb maps.

The unsung heroes of this study may be the archivists, librarians, and institutions of Pittsburgh who have catalogued, preserved, and made accessible the treasure trove of primary source materials, newspapers, photos, and ephemera without which such a study could not have been written.

Nickelodeon City: Pittsburgh at the Movies, 1905–1929 is a special book that should attract a wide audience. I highly recommend it to anyone interested in the history of Pittsburgh and/or of film. It should appeal to specialists, students, and general readers alike.

*Graduate Center,
City University of New York*

DAVID NASAW

THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOLUME CXXXIII



1300 LOCUST STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA 19107

2009

CONTENTS

ARTICLES	Page
<i>The Lancaster County Cholera Epidemic of 1854 and the Challenge to the Miasma Theory of Disease</i>	John B. Osborne 5
<i>Reconstructing Philadelphia: African Americans and Politics in the Post–Civil War North</i>	Andrew Diemer 29
<i>The Assimilation of German Immigrants into a Pennsylvania German Township, 1840–1900</i>	Robert F. Hueston 59
<i>Pennsylvania, the Militia, and the Second Amendment</i>	Nathan R. Kozuskanich 119
<i>Federalist Decline and Despair on the Pennsylvanian Frontier: Hugh Henry Brackenridge’s Modern Chivalry</i>	Robert Battistini 149
<i>“I shall speak in Philadelphia”: Emma Goldman and the Free Speech League</i>	Bill Lynskey 167
<i>Anxious Hospitality: Indian “Loitering” at Fort Allen, 1756–1761</i>	Daniel Ingram 221
<i>A Common Law of Membership: Expulsion, Regulation, and Civil Society in the Early Republic</i>	Kevin Butterfield 255
<i>A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians: Recasting a Prejudice in Late Colonial Pennsylvania</i>	Benjamin Bankhurst 317
EXHIBIT REVIEW	
<i>A Common Canvas</i>	Eliza Jane Reilly 277
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS	
<i>Newly Available and Processed Collections at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania</i>	Eric Klinek and HSP Archives Staff 89
<i>Political Influence in Philadelphia Judicial Appointments: Abraham L. Freedman’s Account</i>	Isador Kranzel, with Eric Klinek 349
<i>Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney’s Correspondence with Abraham Lincoln: The Quaker Dilemma</i>	Max L. Carter 389
REVIEW ESSAYS	
<i>A Roundtable Discussion of Gary Nash’s The Urban Crucible</i>	John M. Murrin, Benjamin L. Carp, Billy G. Smith, Simon Middleton, Richard S. Newman, and Gary B. Nash 397
BOOK REVIEWS	97, 203, 285, 441
INDEX	457

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

OFFICERS

Chair

SARAH D. PRICE

Executive Vice Chair

BRUCE K. FENTON

Vice Chairs

LEONARD L. COMBS

HOWARD H. LEWIS

WALTER LICHT

CHALRES E. MATHER III

PAGE TALBOTT

Secretary

HENRY LAFAYETTE COLLINS III

Treasurer

MAJID ALSAYEGH

Councilors

DEBORAH DILWORTH BISHOP

THOMAS BISHOP

ROBERT W. BOGLE

BARBARA GREENFIELD

KRISHNA LAHIRI

TSIWEN M. LAW

CAROL CLARK LAWRENCE

LEON L. LEVY

JERRY J. MAGINNIS

COLLIN F. MCNEIL

KAREN NAGEL

DAVID A. OTHMER

NATHAN K. RAAB

ROBERT J. RITTENHOUSE

ROBERT G. SOUAID

THOMAS J. SUGRUE

ALICE LEA TASMAN

JOSEPH P. WATKINS

GEORGE W. CONNELL, *Emeritus*

JACK M. FRIEDLAND, *Emeritus*

BRUCE H. HOOPER, *Emeritus*

DAVID W. MAXEY, *Emeritus*

HARRISON M. WRIGHT, *Emeritus*

THOMAS BARBANO, *Ex officio*

JOHN C. HAAS, *Ex officio*

STAFF

KIM SAJET, *President & CEO*
LAURA PROCTOR, *Administrative Assistant*
& *Coordinator of Board Materials*

LIBRARY AND COLLECTIONS

LEE ARNOLD, *Senior Director of the Library*
and *Collections*

ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS MANAGEMENT

MATTHEW LYONS, *Director of Archives and*
Collections Management
CARY MAJEWICZ, *Technical Services Archivist*
WECKEA DEJURE LILLY, *Archival Processor*
HEATHER WILLEVER-FARR, *Archival Processor*

Remote Services

DANA M. LAMPARELLO, *Digital Collections*
Archivist

Special Projects

CATHLEEN MILLER, *Project Archivist, Digital*
Center for Americana
WILLHEM ECHEVARRIA, *Project Archival*
Metadata Assistant, Digital Center for
Americana

CATALOGING

JACQUELINE TADDONIO, *Director of Cataloging*

CONSERVATION

TARA O'BRIEN, *Director of Preservation and*
Conservation Services
LEAH MACKIN, *Project Conservation*
Technician
WATSUKI HARRINGTON, *Preservation Technician*

RESEARCH SERVICES

DAVID HAUGAARD, *Director of Research*
Services
SARAH HEIM, *Research Services Librarian*
DANIEL N. ROLPH, *Historian and Head of*
Reference Services
STEVEN SMITH, *Reference Librarian*
RONALD MEDFORD, *Senior Research Services*
Associate

PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

TAMARA GASKELL, *Historian and Director of*
Publications and Scholarly Programs
JOAN SAVERINO, *Folklorist and Director of*
Education and Outreach
LAURI CIELO, *Director of Programs and*
Communications
MELISSA M. MANDELL, *Project Coordinator,*
PhilaPlace
DWIGHT SWANSON, *PhilaPlace Digital Media*
Coordinator
MICHAEL RYAN, *Programs Associate*

DEVELOPMENT

MARYGRACE GILMORE, *Senior Director of*
Development
CHRISTIANNE BALSASMO, *Coordinator of*
Membership
JON-CHRIS HATALSKI, *Coordinator of Grants*
and Government Relations
EMILIE KRETSCHMAR, *Development Associate*

FINANCE AND OPERATIONS

MICHAEL HAIRSTON, *Chief Operating Officer*
KATHERINE WALDRON, *Staff Accountant*
TYRONE LITES, *Assistant Facilities Manager*
GEORGE JAMES, *Facilities Technician*

as of October 2009

INDEX 2009

- Abbott, Leonard (president, Free Speech League), 171, 175, 186, 196
- Abele, Julian (architect), 94–95
- abolition: book on, 300–302; Phila. and, 33–34; John Woolman, book on, 203–4
- Abolitionists Remember: Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation*, by Jeffrey, rev., 300–302
- Ackerknecht, Erwin H. (medical historian), 8, 15, 28
- ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), 169, 199–200
- ACS (American Colonization Society), African American opposition to, 33
- Adams, John: Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and, 169; Declaration of Independence and, 136, 139; voluntary military corps and, 146
- Adams, John Quincy, death of, 209
- African Americans: antebellum period, women during, book on, 105–6; crime and violence, women and, book on, 106–8; employment and, book on, 310; Fifteenth Amendment, 50, 52; William Fontaine, book on, 213–15; as founding fathers, book on, 102–3; interracial unionism in Progressive-era Phila., book on, 108–9; in post–Civil War Phila., 29–58; “respectability” as a strategy for equality of, 34, 34n; Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia, 35; streetcar segregation in Phila. and, 34–42 passim; suffrage and, 42–57 (with political cartoons)
- African Methodist Episcopal Church, book on, 102–3
- Age* (newspaper), 40–41, 43 (political cartoon), 48, 50, 51, 54–56
- Alabama* (ship), print of, 91
- alcohol: at Fort Allen, 221–53 passim; German American immigrants into PA and, 84–85
- Alcorn, James L. (Phila. city attorney), 184
- Alexander, Raymond Pace (Phila. councilman), 354, 363–85 passim, 386
- Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, 169
- Alison, Francis (vice provost of the College of Philadelphia), 325–27, 333, 337
- Allen, Anita L., book rev. by, 213–15
- Allen, Richard, book on, 102–3
- Allen, James, Declaration of Independence and, 136
- Allen, William (PA chief justice), 230
- AME Church, book on, 102–3
- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 169, 199–200
- American Colonization Society (ACS), African American opposition to, 33
- American history 1815–48, book on, 209–10
- American Journal of Medical Science* (journal), 19
- American naval history, book on, 206–7
- American Revolution, book on, 205–6
- Ames, Fisher, 161; Federalism and, 152
- anarchism, Emma Goldman and, 167–202 passim
- “Anarchism: What It Really Means,” by Goldman (speech), 179
- “Anarchism and Why It Is Unpopular,” by Goldman (speech), 197
- Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903, 172, 201
- Anderson, Patricia Dockman, book rev. by, 208–9
- Anglicans, Anti-Presbyterianism among, 317–48 passim
- Anne (queen of England), 323
- Annenberg, Walter (philanthropist), 354–55, 363–85 passim
- “Another Urban Crucible: Gary Nash and the New Black Urbanism,” by Richard S. Newman, 424–30
- An Answer to the Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Paxton Men*, 332
- antebellum period, African American women during, book on, 105–6
- anthracite miners. *See* coal miners/mining
- anti-Catholicism in colonial PA, 333–36
- anticontagionism, 5–28 passim
- anti-Presbyterianism in colonial PA, 317–48
- anti-Semitism in early America, book on, 97–98
- “Anxious Hospitality: Indian ‘Loitering’ at Fort Allen, 1756–1761,” by Daniel Ingram, 221–53
- architecture: PA Germans and, book on, 445–47; Horace Trumbauer (1868–1938), collection (ca. 1898–1947), 94–95
- Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*, by Falk, rev., 445–47
- Armstrong, William G. (diarist), 40, 53
- Aronson, Michael, *Nickelodeon City: Pittsburgh at the Movies, 1905–1929*, rev., 451–52
- art: design of Philadelphia Museum of Art,

- 94; exhibit rev., 277–84 (with photos)
 “‘Artisans’ and the ‘Middling Sort’ in Gary Nash’s Eighteenth-Century Urban America?” by Simon Middleton, 416–23
 Ashbridge, Samuel H. (Phila. mayor), 176
 Assembly Party, 320–48 passim
 assimilation: of German American immigrants in PA, 59–87; six stages of, 60, 60n
 “The Assimilation of German Immigrants into a Pennsylvania German Township, 1840–1900,” by Robert F. Hueston, 59–87
 Atlee, Dr. John, 5–28 passim
 Audenried, Charles Y. (judge), 182, 186–88
Aurora (newspaper), 260–71 passim
The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, by Stein, 166
 Avondale, PA 1869 mining disaster, book on, 210–11

 badge, Order of Cincinnatus, 155–56, 155n, 160–61
 Baldwin, Roger (progressive), 169
 Bankhurst, Benjamin, “A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians: Recasting a Prejudice in Late Colonial Pennsylvania,” 317–48
 Barclay, Thomas (diplomat), book on, 288–89
 Barkan, Elliott (historian), 60, 60n
 Barton, Rev. Thomas, 325; *The Conduct of the Paxton Men*, 341
 Battistini, Robert, “Federalist Decline and Despair on the Pennsylvania Frontier: Hugh Henry Brackenridge’s *Modern Chivalry*,” 149–66
A Battle! A Battle! (poem), 340
The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, *Apostle of Abolition*, by Slaughter, rev., 203–4
 Beiler, Rosalind, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750*, rev., 286–87
 Bell, Whitfield Jenks, Jr., memorial, 117
 Benedict, Michael Les (historian), 32, 57
Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement, by Houston, rev., 291–92
 Berger, David, 355, 363–85 passim
 Berkman, Alexander (anarchist), 183, 196, 201
Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America, by Warren, rev., 305–6
 Bickerstaff, Isaac (alias of Jonathan Swift), 329
 Biddle, Edward, Declaration of Independence and, 136
 Biddle, George (artist), 282–83
 Bilder, Mary Sarah (historian), 266–67

Billy Budd, by Melville, 166
 Binns, John (*Democratic Press* newspaper editor), 258–71, 274
Black Philosopher, White Academy: The Career of William Fontaine, by Kuklick, rev., 213–15
 Blanc, Victor H. (Phila. district attorney), 352, 355, 363–85 passim
 Blankenburg, Rudolph (Phila. mayor), 196, 350
 Blodget, Samuel (economist), 257
 Blue Mountain region (1756–61), 221–53 passim, 223 (map)
Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh, by Slavishak, rev., 303–4
 Boone, Daniel, book on, 292–93
 Borish, Bernard (attorney), 355, 363–85 passim
 Bowers, John C. (activist), 38, 39
 Bowman, Hans (trader), 249, 251
 Bowser, David (activist), 41
 Brackenridge, Hugh Henry: *Law Miscellanies*, 164, 164n; *Modern Chivalry*, article on, 149–66; *Six Political Discourses*, 160
 Braddock, Gen. Edward, 226
 Brandt, Susan Hanket, book rev. by, 450–51
 Bric, Maurice J., *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America, 1760–1800*, rev., 99–100
 Bright, John (Quaker parliamentarian), 392
 Broad Street Riot, 179–80, 184
 Brown, George (anarchist), 175, 176, 179
 Brown, John, 35, 185
 Brown, Meredith Mason, *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America*, rev., 292–93
 Bryan, George, PA Declaration of Rights and, 138–39, 141–42
 Buchanan, James, 45
 Buck, William J. (Nockamixon Township native), 60–61
 Buckminster, Joseph Stevens, 297
 Bucks County, PA, German American immigration into, 59–87
Bucks County Express (German-language newspaper), 74
Bucks County Intelligencer (newspaper), 83
 Budd, Dr. William, 27
 Buehrle, Robert (son of German American immigrants), 70
Buford (ship), 201
 Bull, John (Fort Allen commandant), 249–50

- Burr, Aaron, letters re, 90
- Burroughs, Stephen, 163
- business success among immigrants, 286–87, 288–89
- Butler, Samuel, *Hudibras* (1663–68) (anti-Dissenter poem), 323
- Butterfield, Kevin, “A Common Law of Membership: Expulsion, Regulation, and Civil Society in the Early Republic,” 255–75
- Byrne, Mike (Phila. ward leader), 355, 363–85 passim
- Calpin, John (reporter), 355, 363–85 passim
- Calvin, John, 328, 330
- Canton, China, Sword family papers (1751–ca. 1940) re, 92
- Carp, Benjamin L., “The Urban Crucible as Urban History,” 404–9
- Carr, John (cholera victim), 23
- Carroll, Vincent A. (judge), 355, 363–85 passim
- Carter, Max L., “Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney’s Correspondence with Abraham Lincoln: The Quaker Dilemma,” 389–96
- Catholicism, prejudice against in colonial PA, 333–36
- Catholic missionaries’ writings about Indians, book on, 441–42
- Catto, Octavius V. (activist), 36–39, 41, 52, 55–57
- Cervantes, Miguel de, *Don Quixote*, 157, 161
- Chadwick, Edwin (sanitarian), 9
- Chafee, Zechariah, Jr., “Freedom of Speech in Wartime” (law review article), 169
- Chamberlain, Edward (Free Speech League founder), 170
- Chapman, Maria (abolitionist), 33
- Charles I (king of England), 331, 334, 342
- Charles II (king of England), 392
- Chase, Samuel (judge), 151
- Chelton House (residence), 94
- Chew, Benjamin, Sr., 151
- China, Sword family papers (1751–ca. 1940) re, 92
- cholera, miasma theory and, 5–28
- Chopin, Frederic, 92, 93
- Christian (Moravian Indian), 232
- Christian Recorder* (AME Church paper), 38–40, 47
- civil liberties, Free Speech League and, 167–202 passim
- civil society, expulsion from, 255–75
- Civil War: African Americans in Phila. and, 29–30; correspondence re, 95; events leading up to, book on, 448–49; experiences of and gender, book on, 450–51; Quakers, slavery, and, 389–96 passim
- Clark, James P. (Phila. Democratic City Committee treasurer), 356, 363–85 passim
- Clark, Joseph (Phila. mayor), 350–54, 356, 363–85 passim, 386
- Clay, Henry, 390
- Clay, Henry (Phila. director of public safety), 180–98 passim, 198n
- Clemens, Paul G. E., book rev. by, 447–48
- Cleyre, Voltairine de (anarchist), 175, 176, 179, 179n, 191–92, 194–95
- coal miners/mining: anthracite coal industry, book on, 211–13; 1869 Avondale disaster, book on, 210–11; Welsh American, book on, 302–3
- Coffin, Levi (abolitionist), 301
- Cohen, Herbert (PA Supreme Court justice), 356, 363–85 passim
- Cole, Peter, *Wobblies on the Waterfront: Interracial Unionism in Progressive-Era Philadelphia*, rev., 108–9
- Collected Works of James Wilson*, 2 vols., Hall and Hall, eds., rev., 101–2
- collections: at Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 89–96
- College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 5–28 passim
- colonial Pennsylvania: anti-Catholicism in, 333–36; anti-Presbyterianism in, 317–48; place of emotion in, 98–99
- Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880–1910*, by Gross, rev., 106–8
- Columbia, PA, cholera outbreaks in, 5–28 passim
- Columbus Ledger-Enquirer* (newspaper), 55
- A Common Canvas: Pennsylvania’s New Deal Post Office Murals, curated by Lembeck and Miner (exhibit rev.), 277–84 (with photos)
- “A Common Law of Membership: Expulsion, Regulation, and Civil Society in the Early Republic,” by Kevin Butterfield, 255–75
- Commonwealth v. St. Patrick Benevolent Society*, 269
- Comstock Act of 1873, 170–71
- The Conduct of the Paxton Men*, by Thomas Barton, 341
- Constitution* (ship), print of, 91
- contagionism, 5–28 passim

- Continental army drillmaster, book on, 206
 Continental navy, book on, 206–7
 Conzen, Kathleen Neils (historian), 59, 60
 Copland, Dr. (Edinburgh physician), 25
A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807, by Wenger, rev., 447–48
 Cox, Robert S., book rev. by, 299–300
 Crane, Tom, photographer for *Historic Landmarks of Philadelphia*, by Moss, rev., 307–8
 Crawford, Andrew Wright (Phila. city attorney), 184
 Crawford, Michael J., book rev. by, 206–7
 Crealey, John V. (U.S. congressman), 53
 crime, African American women and, book on, 106–8
 Cromwell, Oliver, 331–32, 340
Cruikshank v. United States, 189
 Cummings, John M. (*Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter), 386
 Curtis, George William (abolitionist), 35
 Czolgosz, Leon (assassin), 172, 182–83, 184
- Dallas, Alexander, 263
 Daughan, George C., *If by Sea: The Forging of the American Navy—From the Revolution to the War of 1812*, rev., 206–7
 Davies, Samuel (Princeton president), 133
 Davis, John Morgan (judge), 386
 Dechert, Col. Robert (PA state senator), 53
 defense in the Delaware Valley, book on, 285–86
 Delaware Indians, Fort Allen and, 221–53 passim
 Delaware Valley, PA, defense of, book on, 285–86
 Democratic Party: Abraham L. Freedman and, 349–87 passim; in post–Civil War Phila., 29–58 passim
Democratic Press (newspaper), 260–71 passim
 Dennie, Joseph (*Port Folio* editor), 297
 Denny, William (PA governor), Indian relations and, 241–51
 DeSilver, Albert (progressive), 169
Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-class Ideology, 1800–1860, by Martin, rev., 208–9
A Dialogue, Between Andrew Trueman, And Thomas Zealot, 344–47
 Dickinson, John, 151; Declaration of Independence and, 136, 140
Die Freiheit (anarchist newspaper), 174
 Diemer, Andrew, “Reconstructing Philadelphia: African Americans and Politics in the Post–Civil War North,” 29–58
 Dilworth, Richardson (Phila. mayor), 350–52, 356, 363–85 passim, 386–87
 Dinnerstein, Leonard, book rev. by, 97–98
 Dissenter, secondary meaning of, 322–23
District of Columbia v. Heller, 120–23
Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859, by Varon, rev., 448–49
Don Quixote, by Cervantes, 157, 161
 Dorwart, Jeffery M., *Invasion and Insurrection: Security, Defense, and War in the Delaware Valley, 1621–1815*, rev., 285–86
 Doty, Ethan A. (Phila. Zoning Board member), 356, 363–85 passim, 386
 Douglass, Frederick, 34, 301; on prejudice in Phila., 34
The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army, by Lockhart, rev., 205–6
 Duane, William (*Aurora* editor), 258–71, 274
 Du Bois, W. E. B., 31
 Duke University, design of, 94, 95
 Dunbar, Erica Armstrong: book rev. by, 102–3; *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City*, rev., 105–6
 Dunning, William (historian), 30–31
 Dupre, Daniel, book rev. by, 209–10
- early America: economic networks in, book on, 447–48; PA Germans and, book on, 445–47; society membership in, 255–75
 Eastman, Max (journalist), 171
 Easton and Water Gap Railroad, correspondence re, 95
 economics, early American, book on, 447–48
 education among women in eighteenth-century Phila., book on, 293–95
 Elizabeth I (queen of England), 334
 “Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney’s Correspondence with Abraham Lincoln: The Quaker Dilemma,” by Max L. Carter, 389–96
 Elkins, George W., 94
 emancipation, book on, 300–302
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 182, 185
 emotion, place of among Americans of British

- descent, book on, 98–99
 employment in Phila., book on, 309–11
 English, Abraham Lincoln (director, Phila. Dept. of Public Safety), 176–78
 Enlightenment, rural, book on, 204–5
 Equal Rights League, 36–39, 47, 52, 57
 Erskine, Rev. Ebenezer, 18
 Espionage Act of 1917, 169, 172, 200
Ethnographies and Exchanges: Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America, by Roeber, ed., rev., 441–42
 Eustace, Nicole, *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution*, rev., 98–99
 Eustis, William (sec. of war), letters from, 90
 Evans, Richard J. (historian), 27
Evening Bulletin (newspaper), 35
 Ewing, Rev. John, 333, 337, 342
 exploration of the polar sea, book on, 299–300
 expulsion from civil society, 255–75

 Fahnestock, George (Phila. republican), 37
 Falk, Cynthia G., *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*, rev., 445–47
 Fatherly, Sarah, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*, rev., 293–95
 Fea, John, *The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment in Early America*, rev., 204–5
 Federalism: book on, 296–97; novel about, article on, 149–66
 “Federalist Decline and Despair on the Pennsylvania Frontier: Hugh Henry Brackenridge’s *Modern Chivalry*,” by Robert Battistini, 149–66
Federalist Papers by Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, 152–53
 Federation of Women’s Clubs of Pennsylvania, records re, 93
 Ferguson, Robert (historian), 151
 Ferrer, Francisco (Spanish anarchist), memorial meeting re, 191–92
 Ferris, Rev. Cooper (Baptist minister), 194
 Fifteenth Amendment, PA vote on, 50, 52
 film history, book on, 451–52
 Finnegan, Jim (Phila. Democratic City Committee chairman), 350, 356, 363–85

 passim
 First Amendment, 167–202 passim
 Fisher, Sidney George (Phila. patrician), 30, 36, 42, 45
 Fithian, Philip Vickers, book on, 204–5
 Fleck, Achaz (German American immigrant), 64
 Fleck family (German American immigrants), 62
 Fleming, Tom, book rev. by, 205–6
 Fletcher, Benjamin (dockworker), 108
Following the Drum: Women at the Valley Forge Encampment, by Loane, rev., 444–45
 Fontaine, William (philosophy professor), book on, 213–15
 Foote, Edward Bond, Jr. (Free Speech League founder), 170
 Forbes, Brig. Gen. John, 250
 Forer, Lois (PA deputy attorney general), 357, 363–85 passim
 Formisano, Ronald P., *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s*, rev., 104–5
 Forney, Col. (marine), 53
 Fort Allen, history of, 221–53, 230 (plan drawing)
 Forten, William D. (activist), 38, 41
For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s, by Formisano, rev., 104–5
 Fourteenth Amendment, 189–90, 200–201
 Fox, Daniel (Phila. mayor), 47–48, 52–53, 56
 Fox, George (founder of Quakerism), 322
A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City, by Dunbar, rev., 105–6
 Frank, William O. (architect), 95
 Franklin, Benjamin: Assembly Party and, 320–48 passim; book on, 442–44; Fort Allen and, 221, 229–30, 247; PA militia charter and, 127; political philosophy of, book on, 289–90; and the politics of improvement, book on, 291–92; prints re, 91
 Franklin, John Hope (historian), 31
 Franklin, Walter (attorney), 264
 Freedman, Abraham L., papers of, 349–87
 Freedman, Bernard (attorney), 357, 363–85 passim
 Freedman, Jane Sunstein (civic leader), 357, 363–85 passim
 Freedman, Maurice (author), 357, 363–85

- passim
 freedom of speech, 167–202 passim
 “Freedom of Speech in Wartime,” by Chafee (law review article), 169
Freedom’s Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers, by Newman, rev., 102–3
 Freeh, Landolin (German American immigrant), 62, 69
 Free Library of Philadelphia, design of, 94
 Free Speech League, Emma Goldman and, 167–202 passim
 French, Jared (painter), 281
 Frick, Henry Clay, 183
 frontier PA, novel set in, article on, 149–66
Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America, by Brown, rev., 292–93
 Fruch, Landolin. *See* Freeh, Landolin
- Galen, 8, 33
 Gallatin, Albert, voluntary military corps and, 146
 Galloway, Joseph, Assembly Party and, 320
 Garrison, William Lloyd (abolitionist), 33, 185, 301
Gazette and Daily (newspaper), book on, 109–10
 Geary, John White (PA governor), 40, 42–44 (with political cartoons), 51, 54–55
 gender, Civil War experiences and, book on, 450–51
Gender and the Sectional Conflict, by Silber, rev., 450–51
Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia, by Fatherly, rev., 293–95
 George III (king of England), 339, 341
 German immigrants, 59–87; in early American PA, book on, 445–47
 Gibson, John Bannister (judge), 270
 Giesberg, Judith, book rev. by, 448–49
 gifts among Indians, 234–35
 Gitt, Josiah William (publisher), book on, 109–10
 Gladstone William, 392
 Gleeson, Gerald A. (U.S. attorney), 358, 363–85 passim, 386
 Gnadenhütten, PA (mission town), 226–30
 Godbeer, Richard, book rev. by, 98–99
 Goffman, Louis (attorney), 358, 363–85 passim
 Gold, Joseph (attorney), 358, 363–85 passim, 386
 Goldman, Emma: “Anarchism: What It Really Means,” 179; “Anarchism and Why It Is Unpopular,” 197; Free Speech League and, 167–202; McKinley assassination and, 182–83, 184; *Mother Earth* (journal) and, 170, 175, 180–81, 194, 197
 Goldman, Helena (Russian immigrant), 173
 Goldman, Lena (Russian immigrant), 173
 Goldman, William (businessman), 358, 363–85 passim
 Goodlet, John (Presbyterian minister), 133
 Gordon, Patrick (PA governor), 125
 Grant, Ulysses S., 51–52, 54, 56–57
Gravity’s Rainbow, by Pynchon, 165
 Gray, George, Declaration of Independence and, 140
 Gray Towers (residence), 94
 Greaton, Father Joseph, 334
 Green, William J. (U.S. congressman), 349–53, 358, 363–85 passim, 386
 Greenwalt, Dr. Frank L. (physician-in-chief, Girard College), 92
 Greenwalt, Mary Elizabeth Hallock (1871–1950), papers of (1769–1950), 92–93
 Greenfield, Albert M. (businessman), 358, 363–85 passim
 Gregory, Gen. E. M. (U.S. marshal), 53
 Griffin, Patrick (historian), 317
 Grimké, Angelina (abolitionist), 33
 Grimké, Sarah (abolitionist), 33
 Gross, Kali N., *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880–1910*, rev., 106–8
Growth of the Road, mural by Thompson, 280
 Guenther, Karen, *Sports in Pennsylvania*, rev., 308–9
 Gurney, Elizabeth Kirkbride, correspondence of with Abraham Lincoln, 389–96
 Gurney, Joseph John (Quaker), 389–90
 Gymnast, Christopher, *The Paxtoniade. A Poem*, 323, 346
- Habermas, Jürgen (philosopher), 257–58, 272–73
 Hahneman Medical College, design of, 94
 Hale, Matthew, book rev. by, 296–97
 Hall, Kermit L., ed., *Collected Works of James Wilson*, 2 vols., with Hall, rev., 101–2
 Hall, Mark David, ed., *Collected Works of James Wilson*, 2 vols., with Hall, rev.,

- 101–2
 Hallock, Samuel (U.S. consul), 92
 Hallock, Sara Tabet (aristocrat), 92
 Hallock Greenewalt, Mary Elizabeth (1871–1950), papers of (1769–1950), 92–93
 Haltman, Kenneth, *Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823*, rev., 298–99
 Hamilton, Alexander: Federalism and, 152; *Federalist Papers*, 152–53
 Hamilton, James (PA governor), 126
 Hamilton, Mary A., *Rising from the Wilderness: J. W. Gitt and His Legendary Newspaper, the Gazette and Daily of York, Pa.*, rev., 109–10
 Hancock, John, PA militia and, 136
 Handlin, Mary (historian), 274
 Handlin, Oscar (historian), 274
 Hapgood, Hutchins (journalist), 171
 Harlan, John Marshall (U.S. Supreme Court justice), 190
 Harris, Joseph Smith (1836–1910), correspondence of (1853–1906), 95
Harrisburg Morning Herald (newspaper), 19
 Harrison, William Henry, letters from, 90
 Harrison, William Welsh, 94
 Hartshorne, Dr. Henry, 5, 12–14, 16, 27
 Harvard University Widener Library, design of, 94
 Haviland, Laura (abolitionist), 301
 Hayes, Jack (Phila. Democratic City Committee deputy), 358, 363–85 passim
 Haymarket incident, 173–74, 198
 Hays, Capt. William, 227–29
 Healey, Richard G., *The Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal Industry, 1860–1902: Economic Cycles, Business Decision Making, and Regional Dynamics*, rev., 211–13
 Heckewelder, John, 234
 Henry, Alexander (Phila. mayor), 29, 35–37
 Henry, Patrick, 177
 Henry George Club, 178
 Hickman, John (PA state legislator), 45
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth (abolitionist), 301
 Hinshaw, Thomas (Quaker), 393
 Hippocrates, 8, 9
Historic Landmarks of Philadelphia, by Moss, photos by Crane, rev., 307–8
 Hoadley, Bishop, 334
 Hoffman, J. Sydney (judge), 359, 363–85 passim
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 202
 homeland security, history of, book on, 285–86
 Horsfield, Timothy, 129; Indian relations and, 240–41, 246, 249, 252
Hospital Doctor (journal), 10
 hospitality among Indians, 233–36, 233n
 Houston, Alan, *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement*, rev., 291–92
 Howe, Daniel Walker, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848*, rev., 209–10
Hudibras (1663–68), by Samuel Butler (anti-Dissenter poem), 323
 Hueston, Robert F., “The Assimilation of German Immigrants into a Pennsylvania German Township, 1840–1900,” 59–87
 Hunt, Isaac (Quaker pamphleteer), 325–48 passim; *A Letter From a Gentleman in Transylvania*, 329–30; *A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, 326
 Hurst, James William (author), 269
 Hutchinson, E. P. (historian), 64
 Ibsen, Henrik, 167
If by Sea: The Forging of the American Navy—From the Revolution to the War of 1812, by Daughan, rev., 206–7
Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750, by Beiler, rev., 286–87
 immigrants: Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, 169; Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903, 172, 201; business success among, book on, 286–87; citizenship and, 173n, 186–88; German, 59–87; book on, 445–47; Irish: in colonial PA, prejudice against, 317–48 passim; in Phila., book on, 99–100; Russian, 173; Scots-Irish in colonial PA, prejudice against, 317–48 passim; Welsh, book on, 302–3
 Immigration Act of 1903, 188
 Immigration Act of 1906, 187
 Immigration Act of 1918, 201
 Indians: Fort Allen and, 221–53 passim; gifts among, 234–35; hospitality among, 233–36, 233n; letters from Thomas Jefferson re, 90; missionary writings about, book on, 441–42; Walking Purchase land acquisition from, 244, 244n
 Industrial Pittsburgh, PA, book on, 303–4

- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW):
book on, 108–9; freedom of speech and,
168, 171
- Ingram, Daniel, “Anxious Hospitality: Indian
‘Loitering’ at Fort Allen, 1756–1761,”
221–53
- Inland Daily* (newspaper), 23
- Inland Weekly* (newspaper), 19
- Invasion and Insurrection: Security, Defense,
and War in the Delaware Valley,
1621–1815*, by Dorwart, rev., 285–86
- Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of
America, 1760–1800*, by Bric, rev.,
99–100
- Irish immigrants: in colonial PA, prejudice
against, 317–48 passim; in Phila., book
on, 99–100
- The Irish Rebellion* (1646), by John Temple,
344
- Irvine, William, PA militia and, 136
- “I shall speak in Philadelphia”: Emma
Goldman and the Free Speech League,”
by Bill Lynskey, 167–202
- “It’s the Economy and Class, Stupid: A
Retrospective on *The Urban Crucible*,” by
Billy G. Smith, 410–15
- IWW. See Industrial Workers of the World
(IWW)
- Jackson, Andrew, letters from, 90
- Jackson, Dr. Samuel (professor), 26–27
- Jackson, Dr. T. Heber, 5–28 passim
- Jaffee, David, book rev. by, 204–5
- Jay, John, *Federalist Papers*, 152–53
- Jefferson, Thomas, letters from, 90
- Jefferson Medical College, design of, 94
- Jeffrey, Julie Roy, *Abolitionists Remember:
Antislavery Autobiographies and the
Unfinished Work of Emancipation*, rev.,
300–302
- Jenney, Rev., 327
- Jennings, John (Society of Friends of the
People member), 262
- Jennings, Ryerson W. (Phila. citizen), 185
- Jewell, Dr. Wilson (president, Phila. Board of
Health), 5, 12, 15–17, 21, 27
- Jewish Workers’ Cooperative Association,
175–76
- Jews and Gentiles in Early America,
1654–1800*, by Pencak, rev., 97–98
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 387; in photo collection,
96
- Johnson, Sir William (Indian superintendent),
242, 252
- Jones, Charles Alvin (judge), 359, 363–85 pas-
sim
- Journal of Women’s Work* (journal), 93
- judicial appointments in Phila., political influ-
ence in, 349–87
- Julian, George (abolitionist), 301
- Kachun, Mitch, book rev. by, 300–302
- Kallick, Edward (judge), 359, 363–85 passim
- Kane, Elisha Kent, book on, 299–300
- Kanuksusy (Seneca Indian), 232, 238, 241
- Kaplan, Catherine O’Donnell, *Men of Letters
in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums
of Citizenship*, rev. of, 296–97
- Kaster, Gregory L., book rev. by, 303–4
- Katz, Michael B., book rev. by, 309–11
- Kazal, Russell A. (historian), 85
- Keating, Joseph M., *Tragedy at Avondale:
The Causes, Consequences, and Legacy
of the Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal
Industry’s Most Deadly Mining Disaster,
September 6, 1869*, with Wolensky, rev.,
210–11
- Kelley, Mary, book rev. by, 293–95
- Kelley, William D. (PA congressman), 38,
38n, 45–46, 50, 57
- Kelly, Frank (Catto assassin), 56
- Kelly, John B. (Democratic Party leader), 350,
359, 363–85 passim
- Kennedy, John F., 387; in photo collection, 96
- Kenny, Kevin (historian), 317
- Kent, James, 297
- Kershner, Jacob (Russian immigrant), 173,
173n, 186–87, 201
- Kierner, Cynthia A., book rev. by, 295–96
- King, Francis T. (businessman), 393
- Kirkbride Gurney, Elizabeth, correspondence
of with Abraham Lincoln, 389–96
- Klinek, Eric: collections at Historical Society
of Pennsylvania, 89–96; “Political
Influence in Philadelphia Judicial
Appointments: Abraham L. Freedman’s
Account,” Isador Kranzel with, 349–87
- Knies, Michael, book rev. by, 210–11
- Knox, John, 347
- Koch, Robert, 27
- Kozuskanich, Nathan R.: book rev. by,
285–86; “Pennsylvania, the Militia, and
the Second Amendment,” 119–47
- Kranzel, Isador, “Political Influence in
Philadelphia Judicial Appointments:
Abraham L. Freedman’s Account,” with

- Eric Klinek, 349–87
- Kuklick, Bruce, *Black Philosopher, White Academy: The Career of William Fontaine*, rev., 213–15
- labor history: book on, 108–9; freedom of speech and, 168, 171, 171n, 178; Haymarket incident, 173–74, 198; idealized workingman's body as civic symbol, book on, 303–4; Reconstruction and, 31–32
- Lacount, Caroline R. (segregation complainant), 41
- Ladies Liberal League, 175
- LaFollette, Robert M. (U.S. senator), 171
- Lancaster, PA cholera outbreak, 22–25
- Lancaster Examiner and Herald* (newspaper), 19
- "The Lancaster County Cholera Epidemic of 1854 and the Challenge to the Miasma Theory of Disease," by John B. Osborne, 5–28
- Lapsansky-Werner, Emma, book rev. by, 105–6
- La Roche, Dr. Rene (member, Phila. Board of Health), 5, 12, 14–15, 21
- Laslett, John H. M., book rev. by, 302–3
- Lavington, George (bishop of Exeter), 335
- Law Miscellanies*, by Brackenridge, 164, 164n
- Lawrence, David L. (Pitts. mayor), 359, 363–85 passim
- Leader, George M. (PA governor), 351–86 passim
- Leavenworth, Col. Henry, letters from, 90
- Leaves of Grass*, by Whitman, 165
- Lee, Richard Henry, Declaration of Independence and, 136
- Lee, Robert E., 29, 30
- Leffler, Richard, book rev. by, 101–2
- Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co., correspondence re, 95
- Lehman, Harold, murals of, 280–81 (with photo)
- Leib, Michael (politician), 261–63
- Lemay, J. A. Leo, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 3, *Soldier, Scientist, and Politician, 1748–1757*, rev., 442–44
- Lembeck, David, curator, A Common Canvas: Pennsylvania's New Deal Post Office Murals, with Miner (exhibit rev.), 277–84 (with photos)
- Leschetizky, Thomas (pianist), 92
- A Letter, From a Clergyman in Town*, 328–29
- A Letter From a Gentleman in Transylvania*, by Isaac Hunt, 329–30
- Levin, Herbert (attorney), 360, 363–85 passim
- Levinthal, Louis E. (judge), 360, 363–85 passim, 386
- Lewis, Edwin O. (judge), 359, 363–85 passim
- Lewis, Meriwether, letters from, 90
- Lewis, Ronald L., *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields*, rev., 302–3
- Lhote, André (painter), 280
- liberalism, employment and, book on, 309–11
- Licht, Walter, book rev. by, 108–9
- Lieber, Francis, 267
- The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 3, *Soldier, Scientist, and Politician, 1748–1757*, by Lemay, rev., 442–44
- Lincoln, Abraham: correspondence of Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney with, 389–96; Phila. immigrant issues and, 86; Phila. racial issues and, 29, 30, 34, 36; prints re, 91
- Loane, Nancy K., *Following the Drum: Women at the Valley Forge Encampment*, rev., 444–45
- Lockhart, Paul, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army*, rev., 205–6
- Locomotive Repair Operation*, mural by Lehman, 281 (photo)
- Logan, James, print of residence of, 91
- London, England, cholera in, 10, 20
- Looby, Christopher (literary scholar), 163
- Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823*, by Haltman, rev., 298–99
- A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians*, by Isaac Hunt, 326
- "A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians: Recasting a Prejudice in Late Colonial Pennsylvania," by Benjamin Bankhurst, 317–48
- Loquus, Gabriel (Delaware Indian), 249
- Lowry, Morrow (PA state senator), 35, 37–40
- Lowry Bill, 34–42 passim
- Ludlow massacre, freedom of speech and, 171, 171n
- Lyle, Peter (Phila. sheriff), 45, 48
- Lynnewood Hall (residence), 94
- Lynskey, Bill, "I shall speak in Philadelphia":

- Emma Goldman and the Free Speech League," 167–202
- Macao, China, Sword family papers (1751–ca. 1940) re, 92
- MacMaster, Richard K., book rev. by, 99–100
- MacNeille, Raymond (judge), 360, 363–85 passim, 386
- Macon Weekly Telegraph* (newspaper), 54
- Madison, James, 152; *Federalist Papers*, 152–53; letters from, 90
- Making of Americans*, by Stein, 165
- Manhattan Liberal Club, 171
- Mann, Frederic R. (businessman), 360, 363–85 passim
- Mann, William B. (Phila. district attorney), 50
- Marshall, William (businessman), 268
- Martin, Scott C., *Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-class Ideology, 1800–1860*, rev., 208–9
- Matt, Leonard (attorney), 360, 363–85 passim
- May, Samuel J. (abolitionist), 301
- Mayer, Holly A., book rev. by, 444–45
- Mayflower* (ship), print of, 91
- McBride, Thomas D. (attorney), 360, 363–85 passim
- McCandless, W. H. (PA state senator), 40
- McClellan, Gen. George B. (presidential candidate), 86
- McClenachan, Blair, 327
- McClenachan, Rev. William, 327–29, 336, 341, 347–48
- McCloskey, Matthew (Democratic Party leader), 350, 360–61, 363–85 passim
- McClure, Alexander (Phila. politician), 49, 51–53, 56
- McCormick harvester plant, 173–74
- McCracken, Robert (attorney), 351
- McGoogan, Ken, *Race to the Polar Sea: The Heroic Adventures of Elisha Kent Kane*, rev., 299–300
- McKee, Guian A., *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia*, rev., 309–11
- McKinley, William, assassination of, 168, 171–72, 178, 182–83, 184
- McManes, James (political organizer), 51
- McMichael, Morton (Phila. mayor), 38–40, 47
- McMullen, William (PA politician), 56
- McPherson, James (historian), 31
- Meal Time with the Early Coal Miners*, mural by French, 281
- medicine, miasma theory of disease and, 5–28
- Meigs, Dr. Charles D., 13
- Meis, Lt. Jacob, 232
- Melville, Herman: *Billy Budd*, 166; *Moby Dick*, 156, 165
- memorial, Whitfield Jenks Bell Jr., 117
- Menippean satire, 165, 165n
- Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship*, by Kaplan, rev. of, 296–97
- Metz, Lance, book rev. by, 305–6
- Mexican-American War, book on, 209–10
- Meyer, Xaver. See Moyer, John X.
- miasma theory of disease, 5–28
- Mich, Nicholas (German American immigrant), 69
- Michelson, Miriam (journalist), 178
- Middleton, Simon, "Artisans' and the 'Middling Sort' in Gary Nash's Eighteenth-Century Urban America?" 416–23
- military history: of Fort Allen, 221–53; naval, book on, 206–7
- military supplier, Bethlehem Steel as, book on, 305–6
- militias in PA, Second Amendment and, 119–47
- Miller, Joe (reporter), 361, 363–85 passim
- Miller, Lt. (Fort Allen temporary commandant), 239–41
- Miner, Curtis, curator, A Common Canvas: Pennsylvania's New Deal Post Office Murals, with Lembeck (exhibit rev.), 277–84 (with photos)
- miners. See coal miners/mining
- Minutemen in PA, Second Amendment and, 119–47
- Moby Dick*, by Melville, 156, 165
- Model Cities program, 310
- Modern Chivalry*, by Brackenridge, article on, 149–66
- Monroe, James, letters from, 90
- Montgomery, David (historian), 31–32, 58
- Moore, William (justice of the peace), 125–26
- Moravians, 224–53 passim; missionary writings about Indians, book on, 441–42
- Morris, Robert Hunter (PA governor): Indian relations and, 228, 229, 236, 238–39; PA defense and, 127, 129, 130; print of residence of, 91
- Moss, Roger W., *Historic Landmarks of Philadelphia*, with photos by Crane, rev.,

- 307–8
 Most, Johann (newspaper editor), 174, 188–89
Mother Earth (journal), 170, 175, 180–81, 194, 197
 Mott, Frank Luther (historian), 158–59
 movies, Pittsburgh, PA, and, book on, 451–52
 Moyer, John X. (German American immigrant), 62, 65, 69
 Mulford, Carla, book rev. by, 289–90
 Murrin, John M., “Still Irreplaceable after Thirty Years,” 398–403
 music, Mary Elizabeth Hallock Greenewalt (1871–1950) papers (1769–1950) and, 92–93
 Mutmanský, Michael (photographer), 278

 Nasaw, David, book rev. by, 451–52
 Nash, Gary B.: “Reflections on *The Urban Crucible* Commentaries,” 431–40; *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, commentary on, 397–430
National Anti-Slavery Standard (newspaper), 45
 National Defense Association, 170–71
 National Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers, book on, 108–9
 National Liberal League, 170–71
 National Women’s Party, 93
 naval history, book on, 206–7
 Neill, Rev. Hugh, 324
 Nelson, Henry John (attorney), 181, 182, 184, 187, 189, 200n
 New Century Trust records (ca. 1854–2004), 93
 New Century Working Woman’s Guild, records re, 93
 New Deal artwork exhibit rev., 277–84 (with photos)
 Newman, Richard S.: “Another Urban Crucible: Gary Nash and the New Black Urbanism,” 424–30; *Freedom’s Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers*, rev., 102–3
 New Ticket Party, 320–48 passim
New York Mercury (newspaper), 127
New York Sun (newspaper), 183
Nickelodeon City: Pittsburgh at the Movies, 1905–1929, by Aronson, rev., 451–52
 Nicodemus (Moravian Indian), 232
 Nockamixon Township, PA, German American immigration into, 59–87
 No-Conscription League, 201
 Nolt, Steven M. (historian), 73
North American (newspaper), 34–56 passim, 177–78
 North Pennsylvania Railroad, correspondence re, 95
Northumberland Republican Argus (newspaper), 260
 Northwest Boundary Survey, correspondence re, 95
 Novak, William (historian), 274

 Oberg, Barbara, book rev. by, 442–44
 Odd Fellows’ Temple, Emma Goldman’s speeches at, 167, 179–82, 186
 OIC (Opportunities Industrialization Centers), 310
 O’Leary, Tim (assistant police superintendent), 167, 180–82
 O’Neill, Charles (U.S. congressman), 53
 Opium War of 1838, Sword family papers (1751–ca. 1940) re, 92
 Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC), 310
 Order of Cincinnatus badge, 155–56, 155n, 160–61
 originalism, 120n
 Orndt, Capt. Jacob (Fort Allen commandant), 242, 245–50
 Osborne, John B., “The Lancaster County Cholera Epidemic of 1854 and the Challenge to the Miasma Theory of Disease,” 5–28

 Pacini, Filippo, 27
 Panati, Vincent G. (political appointee), 386
 Pangle, Lorraine Smith, *The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin*, rev., 289–90
 Parker, Daniel, papers of (ca. 1792–1848), 90
 Parry, Thomas, letters from, 92
 Parry Sword, Mary, papers of (1751–ca. 1940), 92
 Parsons, William (justice of the peace), Indian relations and, 229–46
 Partridge, John (nonconformist), 329
Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution, by Eustace, rev., 98–99
 Pasteur, Louis, 27
 Patterson, John (activist), 350, 361, 363–85 passim

- Patterson v. Colorado*, 189
- Paxinosa, "King" (Shawnee Indian), 232
- Paxton Boys, 317–48 passim; Second Amendment interpretation and, 130–31
- The Paxtoniade. A Poem*, by Christopher Gymnast, 323, 346
- Peale, Titian Ramsay, book on, 298–99
- Pencak, William, *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800*, rev., 97–98
- Penn, Thomas, 325, 338; Paxton Boys and, 320
- Penn, William, 139; Paxton Boys and, 320
- Penn family, 224, 325
- Penn family, prints of residences of, 91
- Pennsilfaanish*. See Pennsylvania Dutch
- Pennsylvania: anthracite coal industry in, book on, 211–13; 1869 Avondale mining disaster, book on, 210–11; Blue Mountain region (1756–61), 221–53 passim, 223 (map); colonial: anti-Catholicism in, 333–36; anti-Presbyterianism in, 317–48; place of emotion in, 98–99; defense in the Delaware Valley, book on, 285–86; economic networks in, book on, 447–48; Emma Goldman's freedom of speech lawsuit against, 167–202 passim; frontier, novel set in, article on, 149–66; German American immigration into, 59–87; militias and the Second Amendment in, 119–47; prints of, 91; registry law in Phila., 50–53; sports in, book on, 308–9; vote of on Fifteenth Amendment, 50, 52
- "Pennsylvania, the Militia, and the Second Amendment," by Nathan R. Kozuskanich, 119–47
- The Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal Industry, 1860–1902: Economic Cycles, Business Decision Making, and Regional Dynamics*, by Healey, rev., 211–13
- Pennsylvania Constitution, freedom of speech and, 167–202 passim
- Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights, Second Amendment interpretation and, 119–47 passim
- Pennsylvania Dutch, German American immigration and, 59–87 passim
- Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, 36, 37, 39, 47, 52, 57
- People's Advocate* (newspaper), 28
- Perkins, Helen C., scrapbooks of (1875–1912), 94
- Peters, Richard (secretary to Governor Morris), 237, 238, 252
- Philadelphia, PA: abolition and, 33–34; African American suffrage in, 42–57 (with political cartoons); Broad Street Riot, 179–80, 184; College of Physicians of, 5–28 passim; crime, violence, and African American women in, book on, 106–8; Frederick Douglass on prejudice in, 34; education among women in eighteenth century, book on, 293–95; Emma Goldman's free speech lawsuit against, 167–202 passim; employment in, book on, 309–11; historic landmarks of, book on, 307–8; interracial unionism in Progressive-era, book on, 108–9; Irish immigrants in, book on, 99–100; Helen C. Perkins scrapbooks (1875–1912), 94; Philanthropic Society of the City and County of, 255–56; political corruption in the early 1900s and, 176–77, 198, 198n; political influence in judicial appointments in, 349–87; post-Civil War, 29–58; prints of, 91; Reconstruction and, 30–33; registry law in, 50–53; streetcar segregation in, 34–42 passim; Mary A. Varallo photographs/memorabilia (ca. 1945–68), 96
- Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, correspondence re, 95
- Philadelphia Industrial Development Corp. (PIDC), 310
- Philadelphia Inquirer* (newspaper), 361, 363–85 passim, 386
- Philadelphia Museum of Art, design of, 94
- Philadelphia Single Tax Society, 177, 177n, 178
- Philanthropic Society of the City and County of Philadelphia, 255–56
- Philips, Walter M. (attorney), 350
- Phillip family (German American immigrants), 62
- Phillips, Anne (historian), 273
- Phillips, Wendell (abolitionist), 185
- PIDC (Philadelphia Industrial Development Corp.), 310
- Pillsbury, Parker (abolitionist), 301
- Pittsburgh, PA: film history and, book on, 451–52; 1880–1915 industrial, book on, 303–4
- Plumsted, William (Phila. mayor), 126
- Pointer, Richard W., book rev. by, 441–42
- political cartoons in post-Civil War Phila., 43, 44, 46, 49
- "Political Influence in Philadelphia Judicial

- Appointments: Abraham L. Freedman's Account," by Isador Kranzel, with Eric Klinek, 349–87
- The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin*, by Pangle, rev., 289–90
- politics: African Americans and, in post–Civil War Phila., 29–58; corruption in early 1900s Phila. and, 176–77, 198, 198n; of improvement, Benjamin Franklin and, book on, 291–92; influence of, in judicial appointments in Phila., 349–87; Paxton Boys and, 317–48 passim
- Pomeroy's Democrat* (newspaper), 54
- Pope, Alexander, colonial responses to ideas of, book on, 98–99
- Populist movement, book on, 104–5
- Porter, George D. (Phila. director of public safety), 196–97
- post office mural exhibit rev., 277–84 (with photos)
- Potts, John, Declaration of Independence and, 140
- power and emotion in colonial America, book on, 98–99
- Presbyterianism, prejudice against in colonial PA, 317–48 passim
- Presbyterian Ministers' Fund Records (1718–1962, n.d.), 89–90
- Press* (journal), 40, 42, 52–53, 54–57
- prints, Society Print Collection (ca. 1800–1950), 91
- private societies in early America, 255–75
- The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia*, by McKee, rev., 309–11
- Prodigal Daughters: Susanna Rowson's Early American Women*, by Rust, rev., 295–96
- Progressive Era: freedom of speech during, 167–202 passim; interracial unionism in Phila. during, book on, 108–9
- Public Ledger* (newspaper), 38–39; on Emma Goldman, 167–68, 180–85, 190, 193, 194, 196, 197
- Pynchon, Thomas, *Gravity's Rainbow*, 165
- Quakers: anti-Presbyterianism among, 317–48 passim; injustice vs. war and, 389–96 passim; Second Amendment interpretation and, 119–47 passim; and slavery, 203–4
- quarantines, 5–28 passim
- Rabban, David M. (legal scholar), 168–69, 199
- race: employment and, book on, 309–11; interracial unionism in Progressive-era Phila., book on, 108–9. *See also* African Americans
- Race to the Polar Sea: The Heroic Adventures of Elisha Kent Kane*, by McGoogan, rev., 299–300
- Radical Library, 193, 196
- Radical Republicanism in post–Civil War Phila., 29–58 passim
- railroads, Joseph Smith Harris (1836–1910), correspondence (1853–1906) and, 95
- Ralston, Shane, book rev. by, 291–92
- Randall, David (attorney), 361, 363–85 passim
- Reading Railroad, correspondence re, 95
- "Reconstructing Philadelphia: African Americans and Politics in the Post–Civil War North," by Andrew Diemer, 29–58
- Reconstruction, Phila. and, 30–33
- Red Scare, 199–200
- registry law, 50–53
- Reilly, Eliza Jane, exhibit rev. by, 277–84 (with photos)
- Reitman, Dr. Ben, 179–82, 191–94
- religion: African Methodist Episcopal Church, book on, 102–3; anti-Catholicism in colonial PA, 333–36; anti-Presbyterianism in colonial PA, 317–48; German American immigrants into PA and, 76–87 passim; Jews and Gentiles in early America, book on, 97–98; missionaries' writings about Indians, book on, 441–42; Presbyterian Ministers' Fund Records (1718–1962, n.d.), 89–90; Quakers and Second Amendment interpretation, 119–47 passim; and slavery, 203–4
- Report to the Sanitary Committee of Lancaster County* (Atlee), 23
- Republican Party: Abraham L. Freedman and, 349–87 passim; in post–Civil War Phila., 29–58 passim
- Revolutionary America, Jews and Gentiles in, book on, 97–98
- Revolutionary War, naval operations during, book on, 206–7
- Rex, Samuel (storekeeper), book on, 447–48
- Rex v. Richardson*, 265
- Reyburn, John E. (Phila. mayor), 180, 182, 184–86, 196, 197
- Reynolds, Capt. George (Fort Allen commandant), 232–42

- Reynolds, Dr. James, Second Amendment interpretation and, 145–46
- Rice, Grantland (literary critic), 163
- Richardson, Heather Cox (historian), 32, 58
- Rickey, George, murals of, 278–80 (with photo)
- Rising from the Wilderness: J. W. Gitt and His Legendary Newspaper, the Gazette and Daily of York, Pa.*, by Hamilton, rev., 109–10
- Risley, Ford, book rev. by, 109–10
- Rivera, Diego (painter), 280
- Roberts, Priscilla H., *Thomas Barclay (1728–1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary*, with Roberts, rev., 288–89
- Roberts, Richard S., *Thomas Barclay (1728–1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary*, with Roberts, rev., 288–89
- Roe, Gilbert E. (attorney), 171
- Roebur, A. G., ed., *Ethnographies and Exchanges: Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America*, rev., 441–42
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, in photo collection, 96
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 350; New Deal artwork exhibit rev., 277–84 (with photos)
- Rosenberg, Charles E. (historian), 10, 17
- Rosenblum, Nancy (political theorist), 271
- Rosswurm, Stephen (historian), 141
- Rowson, Susanna, book on, 295–96
- rural Enlightenment, book on, 204–5
- rural PA, German American immigration into, 59–87
- Rush, Benjamin, PA Declaration of Rights and, 138–39, 141–42
- Rust, Marion, *Prodigal Daughters: Susanna Rowson's Early American Women*, rev., 295–96
- Salt River Express* (newspaper), 49 (political cartoon)
- Salt River Gazette* (newspaper), 45, 46 (political cartoon)
- Sanger, Margaret, 171
- sanitarianism, 5–28 passim
- satire, Menippean, 165, 165n
- Scalia, Antonin (U. S. Supreme Court justice), 122–23
- Scarnati, Joseph (PA senate president pro tempore), 120
- Schenck v. United States*, 169
- Schnader, William (attorney), 351
- Schroeder, Thomas (attorney), 171, 173, 175, 197
- Schwab, Charles Michael (1862–1939) (steel tycoon), Bethlehem Steel and, book on, 305–6
- Schwer family (German American immigrants), 62
- Scots-Irish immigrants in colonial PA, prejudice against, 317–48 passim
- Scott, Gen. Winfield, letters from, 90
- Scott, Hugh D. (asst. district attorney), 361, 363–85 passim, 386
- Scull, Nicholas (map maker), 223 (map)
- Scull, William (map maker), 223 (map)
- sculpture exhibit rev., 282
- Sears, Christine E., book rev. by, 288–89
- Second Amendment, militias and, 119–47
- security in the Delaware Valley, book on, 285–86
- Segal, Bernard M. (attorney), 353, 361, 363–85 passim
- segregation, streetcar, 34–42 passim
- Seymour, Samuel, book on, 298–99
- Shankman, Andrew, book rev. by, 104–5
- Sheridan, John (U.S. congressman), 361, 363–85 passim
- ships: Bethlehem Steel and, book on, 305–6; prints of, 91
- Shirley, Gen. William, 129
- Shirt Makers' Union, 177–78
- Shklar, Judith (historian), 266
- Silber, Nina, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, rev., 450–51
- Silver, Peter (historian), 317, 345
- Silverstein, Louis (businessman), 361–62, 363–85 passim
- Silverstein, Nate (attorney), 362, 363–85 passim
- Sinclair, Upton, 171
- single-tax movement, 177, 177n, 178
- Six Political Discourses*, by Brackenridge, 160
- Slaughter, Thomas P., *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition*, rev., 203–4
- slavery: abolitionism in Phila. and, 33–34; abolitionist John Woolman, book on, 203–4; book on abolition and, 300–302; Quakers, warfare and, 389–96 passim. *See also* African Americans
- Slavishak, Edward, *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh*, rev., 303–4
- Sloane, Joseph (judge), 362, 363–85 passim
- Smith, Billy G., "It's the Economy and Class,

- Stupid: A Retrospective on *The Urban Crucible*, 410–15
- Smith, Daniel Blake, book rev. by, 292–93
- Smith, Elihu Hubbard (publisher), 297
- Smith, Francis R. (U.S. congressman), 362, 363–85 passim
- Smith, Rev. William, 324, 327, 337, 338
- Smith, Steven (abolitionist), 38
- Smith, William Shaw, 297
- Smith Act of 1940, 172
- Snow, Dr. John, 10, 11, 16, 20, 26, 28
- Snyder, Simon (politician), 261
- Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia, 35, 37, 38
- Social Science Club, 175, 176
- societies: private, in early America, 255–75; expulsion from, 255–75
- Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
- Society of Friends of the People, 261–71 passim
- Society Print Collection (ca. 1800–1950), 91
- Soderlund, Jean R., book rev. by, 203–4
- “Souder’s History of Chestnut Street,” hand written copy of, 94
- Spies v. Illinois*, 189
- Sporkin, Maurice W. (judge), 362, 363–85 passim
- sports, book on, 308–9
- Sports in Pennsylvania*, by Guenther, rev., 308–9
- St. George, Robert, book rev. by, 445–47
- St. Patrick Benevolent Society, 260–71 passim
- Standard Oil Co., Ludlow massacre and, 171, 171n
- Stanton, Henry (abolitionist), 301
- state’s rights in post–Civil War Phila., 30
- Statistical Association. *See* Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia
- steel industry, book on, 305–6
- Steffens, Lincoln (journalist), 171, 176–77
- Stehlin family (German American immigrants), 62
- Stein, Gertrude: *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 166; *Making of Americans*, 165
- Steinberg, Frank M. (real estate developer), 362, 363–85 passim
- Stephens, G. Frank (single-tax advocate), 177, 177n, 191, 194
- Stern, Horace (judge), 362, 363–85 passim
- Steuben, Baron Friedrich von, book on, 205–6
- Stevens, John Paul (U. S. Supreme Court justice), 122
- Stevens, Lewis M. (attorney), 351, 362, 363–85 passim
- Stewart, William (expelled Philanthropic Society member), 255–56
- Still, William (Underground Railroad leader), 34, 35, 41, 301
- “Still Irreplaceable after Thirty Years,” by John M. Murrin, 398–403
- Stommel, Rev. Henry (German-born pastor), 74
- streetcar segregation, 34–42 passim
- strikes: freedom of speech and, 171, 171n; Haymarket incident, 173–74, 198; Ludlow massacre and, 171, 171n. *See also* labor history; *specific unions*, e.g. American Federation of Labor
- Stroud, Patricia Tyson, book rev. by, 298–99
- suffrage: African American, 42–57 (with political cartoons); Fifteenth Amendment, 50, 52; registry law in Phila., 50–53; women’s, 93
- Sunday Dispatch* (newspaper), 94
- Supreme Court. *See* United States Supreme Court
- Susquehanna Trail*, mural by Rickey, 279 (photo)
- Sweet, Leonard (historian), 33
- Swift, Jonathan, 326–27; *Gulliver’s Travels*, 329–30; *A Modest Proposal*, 344; *A Tale of a Tub*, 328–29
- Swisshelm, Jane (abolitionist), 301
- Sword, John Dorsey (trader), papers of (1751–ca. 1940), 92
- Sword, Mary Parry, papers of (1751–ca. 1940), 92
- Sword family papers (1751–ca. 1940), 92
- Sylk, Harry (businessman), 363–85 passim
- Sylk, William (businessman), 363–85 passim
- Tabet Hallock, Sara (aristocrat), 92
- A Tale of a Tub*, by Jonathan Swift, 328
- Tammany Society, 260–71 passim
- Tatamy (Delaware Indian), 243
- Tate, James (Phila. mayor), 363–85 passim
- Teedyuscung (Delaware Indian), 222, 236–51
- temperance movement, book on, 208–9
- Temple, John, *The Irish Rebellion* (1646), 344
- Tennent, Gilbert (Presbyterian minister), 327, 333
- Thayer, Maj. Sylvanus, letters from, 90
- Thomas, George (PA governor), 125
- Thomas, George E., book rev. by, 307–8

- Thomas Barclay (1728–1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary*, by Roberts and Roberts, rev., 288–89
- Thompson, Lorin (painter), 280
- Thoreau, Henry David, 185
- Tilghman, William (PA chief justice), 256, 266, 269, 270
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 267
- topography, Joseph Smith Harris (1836–1910), correspondence (1853–1906) and, 95
- trade: Fort Allen and, 221–52 passim; Sword family papers (1751–ca. 1940), 92
- Tragedy at Avondale: The Causes, Consequences, and Legacy of the Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal Industry's Most Deadly Mining Disaster, September 6, 1869*, by Wolensky and Keating, rev., 210–11
- Trefousse, Hans (historian), 31
- Trott, John B. (trader), letters from, 92
- Truman, Harry S., in photo collection, 96
- Trumbauer, Horace (1868–1938), collection of (ca. 1898–1947), 94–95
- Tuckness, Robert (Indian agent), 251
- Turner, John (anarchist), 172
- Tute, Patrick (cholera victim), 23
- Tweed, William M. “Boss,” 51, 55
- Tyndale, Hector (Phila. mayoral candidate), 47–49
- Ullman, David L. (attorney), 386
- Underground Railroad, 301; in Phila., 34, 35, 41
- unions. *See* labor history; strikes; *specific unions*, e.g. American Federation of Labor
- United States Coast Survey, correspondence re, 95
- United States Constitution: Fifteenth Amendment, 50, 52; First Amendment, freedom of speech and, 167–202 passim; Fourteenth Amendment, 189–90, 200–201; Second Amendment, militias and, 119–47; speeches re, book on, 101–2
- United States Magazine (USM)*, 158–59
- United States Steel, book on, 305–6
- United States Supreme Court: Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903 and, 172; Espionage Act of 1917 and, 169; freedom of speech and, 189–90, 200–201; Second Amendment and, 119–47; Justice James Wilson and, 101–2
- United States v. Hall*, 189
- United States War Department, papers of Daniel Parker re (ca. 1792–1848), 90
- The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, by Gary B. Nash: Benjamin L. Carp on, 404–9; Tamara Gaskell on, 397; Simon Middleton on, 416–23; John M. Murrin on, 398–403; Gary B. Nash on, 431–40; Richard S. Newman on, 424–30; Billy G. Smith on, 410–15
- “*The Urban Crucible as Urban History*,” by Benjamin L. Carp, 404–9
- Valley Forge, book on, 205–6, 444–45
- Van Buren, Martin, 390
- Varallo, Mary A., photographs/memorabilia of (ca. 1945–68), 96
- Varon, Elizabeth R., *Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859*, rev., 448–49
- violence, African American women and, book on, 106–8
- voting. *See* suffrage
- Wackerberg, Lt. Andrew (Fort Allen commandant), 252
- Walking Purchase land acquisition, 244, 244n
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. (historian), 225
- Wanamaker, John (department store tycoon), 177
- Wanamaker, Thomas B. (newspaper owner), 177
- War Department, U.S., papers of Daniel Parker re (ca. 1792–1848), 90
- War of 1812: book on, 209–10; letters re, 90; naval operations during, book on, 206–7
- Warren, Kenneth, *Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America*, rev., 305–6
- Washington, George: Federalism and, 152; Fort Necessity and, 226; PA militia and, 135; prints re, 91; women at Valley Forge, book on, 444–45
- Washington, Martha, 444–45
- Watts, Edward (literary scholar), 163
- Wayland, Francis (social theorist), 268
- Wayne, Capt. Isaac, 231
- The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment in Early America*, by Fea, rev., 204–5
- Wears, Isaiah (activist), 57

- Wegge, Simone A., book rev. by, 286–87
- Weinberg, Chaim L. (anarchist), 175, 179, 179n
- Weiser, Conrad, Indian relations and, 241–44
- Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields*, by Lewis, rev., 302–3
- Welsh Americans, book on, 302–3
- Wenger, Diane E., *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807*, rev., 447–48
- Westcott, Rich, book rev. by, 308–9
- Wetterhold, Capt. Jacob, 240
- Weyrick, Corp. Christian, 239–40
- What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848*, by Howe, rev., 209–10
- White, Jacob C. (activist), 37, 50
- Whitefield, George, 334, 336
- Whitehill, Robert (Anti-Federalist), 142–43
- Whitman, Walt, *Leaves of Grass*, 165
- Widener, P. A. B., 94
- Widener Library, Harvard University, design of, 94
- Wilbur, John (Quaker), 390
- William III (king of England), 323, 339
- Williams, Lillian Serece, book rev. by, 106–8
- Willson, Robert N. (judge), 182–84, 186–88, 191–92
- Wilson, James (U. S. Supreme Court justice), 151; Bill of Rights and, 143–45; *Collected Works of James Wilson*, 2 vols., Hall and Hall, eds., rev., 101–2; PA militia and, 136
- Wilson, Woodrow, 200
- Wistar, Caspar (businessman), book on, 286–87
- Wobblies. *See* Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
- Wobblies on the Waterfront: Interracial Unionism in Progressive-Era Philadelphia*, by Cole, rev., 108–9
- Wolensky, Kenneth C., book rev. by, 211–13
- Wolensky, Robert P., *Tragedy at Avondale: The Causes, Consequences, and Legacy of the Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal Industry's Most Deadly Mining Disaster, September 6, 1869*, with Keating, rev., 210–11
- women: African American: during antebellum period, book on, 105–6; crime and violence and, book on, 106–8; Civil War experiences and, book on, 450–51; early American, in the literature of Susanna Rowson, book on, 295–96; education among, in eighteenth-century Phila., book on, 293–95; New Century Trust records (ca. 1854–2004), 93; New Deal artwork of, 282; streetcar segregation and, 41–42; suffrage and, 38n, 93; at Valley Forge, book on, 444–45
- Women's Equal Rights law of 1945, 96
- Woodward, C. Vann (historian), 31
- Woodward, George Washington (PA chief justice), 256
- Woolman, John (abolitionist), book on, 203–4
- Workingmen's Cooperative Association, 176
- Wortman, Tunis, 297
- York, PA *Gazette and Daily* newspaper, book on, 109–10
- Young, James (PA commissary general of the musters), 231–32
- Young Working People's Educational Society, 192
- Zeisberger, David (Moravian missionary), 233–34, 441

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE **Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation**
PS Form 3526, September 2007 (All Periodicals Publications Except Requester Publications)

1. Publication Title
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

2. Issue Date
July 2009

3. Issue Frequency
Quarterly

4. Issue Number for this Issue
10

5. Number of Issues Published Annually
4

6. Annual Subscription Price
\$35/issue / \$75/yr.

7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Not printer) (Street, city, county, state, and ZIP+4®)
**Historical Society of Pennsylvania
1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19107**

8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher (Not printer)
**Historical Society of Pennsylvania
1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19107**

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (Do not leave blank)
**Publisher: Barbara Gaskill
1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19107
Editor: Barbara Gaskill
1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19107
Managing Editor: Barbara Gaskill
1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19107**

10. Owner (Do not leave blank. If this publication is owned by a corporation, give the name and address of the corporation immediately followed by the names and addresses of all individual owners. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, give its name and address as well as those of each individual owner. If the publication is published by a corporation or other organization, give its name and address.)

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check box ☒ None

12. Tax Status (For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates) (Check one)
☒ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months
☐ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months (Publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement)

PS Form 3526, September 2007 (Page 1 of 3) Instructions Page 3) PSN 7530-01-000-8031 PRIVACY NOTICE: See our privacy policy on www.usps.com

13. Publication Title
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below
July 2009

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation

Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
1999	1966
1692	1680

a. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)

(1) Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (includes paid distribution outside normal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies)

(2) Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (includes paid distribution above normal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies)

(3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails (including Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution Outside USPS®)

(4) Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS (e.g., First-Class Mail®)

c. Total Paid Distribution (Sum of 1b(1), (2), (3), and (4))

d. Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541

(1) Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541

(2) Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541

(3) Free or Nominal Rate Copies Mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS (e.g., First-Class Mail®)

(4) Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the Mail (Sum of 1d(1) and 1d(2))

e. Total Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (Sum of 1d(1), (2), (3), and (4))

f. Total Distribution (Sum of 1c and 1e)

g. Copies not Distributed (See Instructions to Publishers #4 (page 83))

h. Total (Sum of 1f and 1g)

i. Record Paid (PS Form 3541, PS Form 3526, PS Form 3527)

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership
☒ If the publication is a general publication, publication of this statement is required. Will be printed in the **OCTOBER 2009** issue of this publication.
☐ Publication not required.

17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner
Barbara Gaskill
Date **8/16/09**

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

PS Form 3526, September 2007 (Page 2 of 3)

Call for Papers

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Special Issue: Civil War in Pennsylvania (October 2011)

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is issuing a call for articles for a special issue of the magazine on the Civil War in Pennsylvania scheduled for an October 2011 publication.

The editors seek submissions of the following two sorts.

Scholarly Articles: The editors seek proposals for scholarly articles (25–35 pages, double spaced) featuring new research on the Civil War in Pennsylvania. Articles can focus on military, political, or civilian topics. Selections will be made based on the quality of the submission and with an eye toward representing the diversity of current Civil War research.

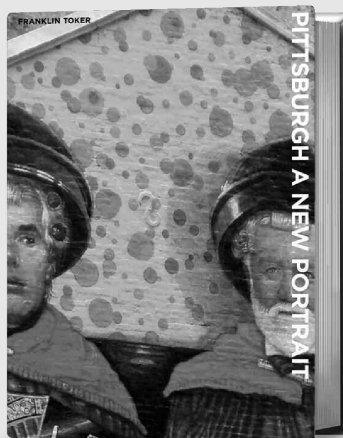
Favorite Sources/Hidden Gems: The editors seek proposals for short articles (250–750 words) featuring favorite sources/hidden gems highlighting some aspect of the Civil War in Pennsylvania. We invite articles focusing on both written and non-written sources, including but not limited to diaries, manuscript collections, novels, government documents, photographs, museum artifacts, and monuments. These items may or may not be found in the state, but all featured items will serve to illuminate some aspect of how Pennsylvanians experienced the war. Selections will be made based on the quality of the submission and with an eye toward representing the wide variety of source material available for understanding the Civil War in Pennsylvania.

Submission details: Submissions should be addressed to Tamara Gaskell, Editor, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 or, by e-mail, to pmhb@hsp.org.

Guest editors: Potential contributors are encouraged to consult with one of the two guest editors for this issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Matt Gallman at the University of Florida can be reached at gallmanm@history.ufl.edu. Judy Giesberg at Villanova University can be reached at Judith.giesberg@villanova.edu.

Deadline for submissions: January 8, 2010.

NEW FROM PITTSBURGH



\$34.95 Cloth • 528 pp.
320 Illustrations • 978-0-8229-4371-6

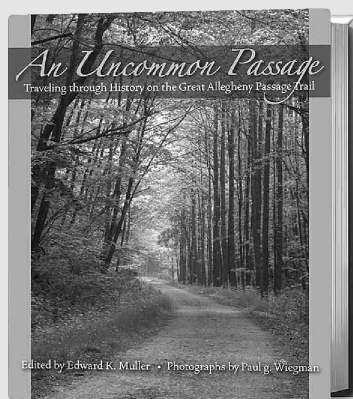
Pittsburgh

A New Portrait

by FRANKLIN TOKER

“A first-class, easily portable guide for knowing this city better . . . not only precise, but full of opinions to give an architectural stroller grist for thought.”

— *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, on
Toker's *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*



\$34.95 Cloth • 256 pp.
162 Illustrations • 978-0-8229-4366-2

An Uncommon Passage

*Traveling through History on the
Great Allegheny Passage Trail*

EDWARD K. MULLER, *editor*

PAUL g. WEIGMAN, *photographer*

“This book ably presents the panoply of geology, geography, biology, and human history that is the Great Allegheny Passage. Read it to achieve the full experience when you visit this rich and fascinating realm.”

— Charles Fergus, author of
Trees of Pennsylvania and
Wildlife of Pennsylvania

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS 800.621.2736 www.upress.pitt.edu