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*Apologetics of Harmony:  
Mathew Carey and the Rhetoric of  
Religious Liberty*

WHILE VISITING PHILADELPHIA, the respectable Mr. Fitzwhylsonn of Richmond observed Catholic Mass at St. Augustine's Church, following in the footsteps of numerous other curious Protestant spectators who attended Catholic ceremonies in the early nineteenth century. The Protestant found the event to be a magnificent but hollow spectacle. Dining later with Mathew Carey, he declared that "there is no religion in it. It is nothing but parade." Mischievously, Carey allowed Fitzwhylsonn to continue before explaining that he and the others were Catholics. Thunderstruck, Fitzwhylsonn exclaimed, "I had always fancied myself one of the most liberal of men on the score of religion, and behold I have made a most miserable display of illiberal prejudice." Carey, ever delighting in turning "illiberal prejudice" on its head, joined Fitzwhylsonn in a hearty laugh. Indeed, he made it a

I wish to thank Scott Appleby, who directed the original seminar paper that evolved into this article and whose advice made this a much better essay. John McGreevy, Jim Turner, and Micaela Larkin generously read multiple drafts of this article at various stages of the project, and I am grateful. I also received extremely helpful suggestions on an earlier version from members of the Catholic History Reading Group at the University of Notre Dame, especially Jay Dolan and Tom Kselman, as well as from anonymous readers and the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* editor, Tamara Gaskell. The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at Notre Dame provided generous financial assistance for research in Philadelphia.

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standing joke that still tickled him many years later when he wrote his autobiography.<sup>1</sup>

But laughter served a serious purpose. Snickering at “illiberal prejudice” undermined the respectability of the anti-Catholicism that Carey spent much time, energy, and printer’s ink combating. An Irish immigrant, Carey arrived in Philadelphia in 1784, a time when Americans were rethinking the meaning of toleration, the role of religion in the public sphere, and the place of Catholics in the new republic. The revolution, which succeeded only with the help of Catholic France, had loosened the hold of centuries of anti-Catholicism, but it left lingering mistrust about Catholic morality, religiosity, and republicanism. Catholics would at least be grudgingly tolerated in the new nation, but what, precisely, would religious liberty mean in practice? In Carey’s Philadelphia, the situation looked unusually promising; colonial Pennsylvania had no established church and boasted a long history of toleration, which extended even to Catholics. Philadelphia even housed the oldest legally functioning Catholic parish in British America, dating back to 1733. Yet, Catholics—like Jews, Atheists, Deists, and (later) Mormons—tested the limits of religious liberty; after 1705, Pennsylvania’s Catholics had to abjure their faith to hold office, and Jews had always been barred from public service. After 1790, Catholics enjoyed the same legal rights as their Protestant neighbors; elsewhere, restrictions on Catholics slowly weakened or even disappeared in the decades after the Revolution. But the status of Catholics in the republic was more than a matter of nominal rights or disestablishment; legal toleration and cultural acceptance were very different matters. By the late eighteenth century, a growing number of Protestants frowned on “illiberal prejudice” and insisted that religious liberty included polite respect for—or even cooperation with—Protestants in other denominations. They often blanched, however, at extending respect to Catholics. In fighting against “illiberal prejudice,” Carey tried to form a broader culture of religious liberty—extending across the Protestant-Catholic divide—that went beyond mere legalities or grudging tolerance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mathew Carey, “Memoirs,” n.d., in *Miscellanies [Pamphlets and Papers]*, ed. Mathew Carey, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1826), 142–43, Library Company of Philadelphia; Mathew Carey, *Mathew Carey Autobiography* (1837; repr., Brooklyn, NY, 1942), 87–88; Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), 189–90.

<sup>2</sup> Charles P. Hanson, *Necessary Virtue: The Pragmatic Origins of Religious Liberty in New England* (Charlottesville, VA, 1998). Chris Beneke argues that, by the late eighteenth century, Protestant conceptions of religious liberty often included respect for the legitimacy of other forms of Protestantism. Chris Beneke, *Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism*

Drawing on a legacy of Enlightenment and revolutionary thinking, Mathew Carey called for a culture of religious harmony and respect. He prided himself on religious cooperation: he published Catholic and Protestant books, he joined with Protestants to form a Sunday school, and a few of his children even married Protestants. Yet Carey also wore his Catholicism on his sleeve and defended Catholics from attacks. But even while engaging in apologetics, Carey showed deep concern for religious harmony. He avoided traditional apologetics that aimed at proving the superiority of Catholic teachings. Rather than arguing over doctrines, he defended Catholicism by linking it to enlightenment, toleration, and religious liberty. Catholicism deserved respect, but as one religion among many. Carey defended Catholicism as a true religion that promoted morality and benevolence, not as *the* true religion. Carey did not dismiss the value of doctrinal truth within communities. True religion, however, contrasted sharply with a sectarian fixation on the details of difference.

Carey's commitment to religious liberty exemplifies a broader moment of thawing in Catholic-liberal and Catholic-Protestant relations, a moment often overshadowed by a longer history of tension. As John McGreevy has shown, by the mid-nineteenth century, Catholics and liberals articulated antagonistic notions of freedom, individualism, and community. Antebellum Catholics developed a rich devotional and religious culture that intensified lines of opposition to Protestant culture and its intellectual life.<sup>3</sup> But the lines had not always been so clear. Carey joined a host of early republican Catholics who eagerly demonstrated the compatibility of Catholicism with republicanism and modern ideas. Catholics, especially in Philadelphia, experimented with "republican" church structures. For example, Bishop John England of Charleston wrote a diocesan constitution enhancing the role of the laity.<sup>4</sup> An

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(Oxford, 2006), 113–201. Yet, such respect often depended on a shared Protestant identity. Eric Schlereth points to the gap between legal and cultural ideas of religious liberty, but he usefully stresses the limits of religious liberty and the tendency of early national Philadelphians to define toleration narrowly, trying to exclude undesirable beliefs from the public sphere. Eric Schlereth, "A Tale of Two Deists: John Fitch, Elihu Palmer, and the Boundary of Tolerable Religious Expression in Early National Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 132 (2008): 6–7; J. William Frost, *A Perfect Freedom: Religious Liberty in Pennsylvania* (Cambridge, 1990), 59, 16–17, 21.

<sup>3</sup> John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> Dale Light, *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War* (Notre Dame, IN, 1996); Patrick Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop: John England's Adaptation of Irish Catholicism to American Republicanism* (Yonkers, NY, 1982), esp. 111, 114–60.

"English Catholic Enlightenment" developed in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was led by figures such as John Lingard. Their beliefs, including an emphasis on church councils rather than papal authority, limits on the Church's temporal authority, and toleration as a natural *right*, not a concession, struck a more irenic posture.<sup>5</sup> Although rapprochement did not last, it represented a significant, if rejected, possibility that deserves closer attention.

Such possibilities, however, have been neglected by historians, who have tended to focus on hostility between Catholics and Protestants.<sup>6</sup> While anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism remain fruitful areas of study, the emphasis on hostility overshadows other kinds of interaction. Hostility was only a part of, not the sum of, Catholic-Protestant relations. Emphasizing hostility, moreover, has led to a neglect of the early republic, seemingly a period of tranquility when juxtaposed with the blazing convents and lurid sex tales of late-antebellum America. The early republic appears primarily as a false calm in the storm of anti-Catholicism, barely worth passing notice.<sup>7</sup> Seeing only the calm blinds us to the swirling complexities of a religious dynamic that was neither violent nor entirely peaceful. Mathew Carey—and his attempts to juggle competing identities and ideas—provides a fascinating window into early republican religious cooperation, but historians know little about his religious role.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Joseph Chinnici, *The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780–1850* (Shepherdstown, WV, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> The few works treating more positive relations between Catholics and Protestants include Joseph P. Chinnici, "American Catholics and Religious Pluralism, 1775–1820," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 16 (1979): 727–46; Joseph Agonito, "Ecumenical Stirrings: Catholic-Protestant Relations during the Episcopacy of John Carroll," *Church History* 45 (1976): 358–73; Thomas W. Jodziewicz, "The Wharton-Carroll Controversy and the Promise of American Life," in *Studiolum Speculum: Studies in Honor of Louis J. Lekai O. Cist*, eds. Francis R. Swietek and John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI, 1993), 135–54; Jodziewicz, "American Catholic Apologetical Dissonance in the Early Republic? Father John Thayer and Bishop John Carroll," *Catholic Historical Review* 84 (1998): 455–76.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Agonito treats the era as an anomaly; others give it minimal attention as a precursor to later events. Agonito, "Ecumenical Stirrings," 373; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York, 1938). An exception is John Dichtl's *Frontiers of Faith: Bringing Catholicism to the West in the Early Republic* (Lexington, KY, 2008), which situates Catholic growth in the trans-Appalachian West in terms of more fluid relations.

<sup>8</sup> Carey lacks a full-length biography; historians have written specialized studies of particular aspects of his life. Jay P. Dolan, "The Search for an American Catholicism, 1780–1820," in *Religious Diversity and American Religious History: Studies in Traditions and Cultures*, eds. Walter H. Conser Jr. and Sumner B. Twiss (Athens, GA, 1997), 26–51, gives only brief attention to Carey's relations with Protestants. R. Laurence Moore inaccurately asserts that Carey paid little attention to Protestant hostility. R. Laurence Moore, *Touchdown Jesus: The Mixing of Sacred and Secular in*



This article is a preliminary exploration of an uncharted terrain on which religious devotion and an antisectarian commitment to harmony met and flourished.

\* \* \*

Mathew Carey was born in Dublin in 1760, and it was in Ireland where he gained an abiding interest in religious tolerance. Growing up under the Penal Laws, the hot-tempered youth became increasingly involved in radical politics. The Irish Penal Laws denied Carey and his fellow Catholics many rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, hold public office, join the legal profession, and attend Trinity College, and seriously limited Catholics' ability to acquire property or build schools. Political exclusion taught Carey (and others like John England, the future Bishop of Charleston) to be wary of religious disabilities and to link republicanism and religious freedom. At nineteen, Carey penned *The Urgent Necessity of an Immediate Repeal of the Whole Penal Code against the Roman Catholics* (1779), which denounced all religious intolerance, especially toward Catholics. Few people read the pamphlet because his advertisement warned of "the VERY GREAT *Danger*" of penal laws.<sup>9</sup> His fiery rhetoric alarmed the aristocratic Catholic Committee, which sought accommodation with the British government (and disavowed political loyalty to Rome). The committee offered a forty pound reward to find the unnamed author, so Carey fled to France for a year until the furor quieted. He returned unrepentant, and two years later he began a radical newspaper and demanded democracy, religious equality, and, by 1784, revolution. With a "superabundance of seal [*sic*] and ardour," but less prudence, Carey lashed out at the Irish Parliament. His ardor forced him to sneak, disguised as a woman, onto a ship bound for Philadelphia.<sup>10</sup>

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*American History* (Louisville, KY, 2003), 38. After completing this article, except for final revisions, I learned that Michael Carter recently finished a dissertation on an earlier (1780s–early 1790s) stage of Carey's republican Catholicism; this article focuses on the early nineteenth century. Michael Steven Carter, "Mathew Carey and the Public Emergence of Catholicism in the Early Republic" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Carey, *Advertisement to the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, in *Miscellanies*, 69; Carey, *The Urgent Necessity of the Immediate Repeal of the Whole Penal Code against the Roman Catholics, Candidly Considered*, in *Miscellanies*, 70–143.

<sup>10</sup> Carey, *Autobiography*, 5–7; David A. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), 15; Edward C. Carter II, "Mathew Carey in Ireland, 1760–1784," *Catholic Historical Review* 51 (1966): 519.

Carey chose his ship well; Pennsylvania had a long history of religious freedom, and his anti-British radicalism found a congenial home in postrevolutionary American politics. There, Carey's interest in the fate of Catholics and Ireland continued unabated; he pushed for Catholic Emancipation until it succeeded in 1828, and he even dueled with a competitor who had accused immigrants of base ingratitude.<sup>11</sup> He joined the American Society of United Irishmen, a cross-denominational group of emigré radicals—both Catholics and Protestants—seeking Irish political reform, the elimination of the Penal Laws, and, eventually, Catholic Emancipation (which restored Catholics' rights to hold most public offices). In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Catholics, despite their reputation for supporting the Federalists, allied with transatlantic radicals to push for full political and religious rights in the neighboring state of New York.<sup>12</sup> Carey firmly linked political freedom, religious toleration, and Catholic rights.

Carey quickly built a reputation in both politics and publishing. He hurled himself into American affairs, publishing the *Pennsylvania Herald* within three months of arriving, followed quickly by the *American Museum*, a literary and political magazine, which he published until 1792. By 1794, he focused his efforts on publishing and selling books, printing almost 1,100 books between 1785 and 1821; he cornered the southern book market with the aid of his Protestant traveling salesman, Mason Weems.<sup>13</sup> In politics and publishing, as in religion, Carey claimed to place harmony and the common good over political loyalties or parties.<sup>14</sup> He printed anti-Constitutional views in his *Museum*, rather than

<sup>11</sup> Carey, *Autobiography*, 13–16; *Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia), Nov. 5, Nov. 19, Dec. 3, Dec. 10, Dec. 17, Dec. 24, 1785, Jan. 7, Jan. 21, 1786; *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, Nov. 9, Dec. 7, Dec. 10, Dec. 14, Dec. 31, 1785, Jan. 11, 1786; Carey, *The Plagi-Scurriliad: A Hudibrastic Poem* (Philadelphia, 1786); *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 23, 1786.

<sup>12</sup> Carey, *Autobiography*, 6–9; Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, 11, 18. Wilson notes that while Carey later denied being involved, he did so during the Alien and Sedition Acts furor; such denials should not be credited. For Catholic-radical alliances in New York, see Jason Duncan, *Citizens or Papists? The Politics of Anti-Catholicism in New York, 1685–1821* (New York, 2005), 129.

<sup>13</sup> Carey arrived well connected; he knew Benjamin Franklin from his exile in France, and Lafayette loaned Carey money to start his paper. James N. Green, *Mathew Carey: Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia, 1985), 22. See James Gilreath, "Mason Weems, Mathew Carey and the Southern Book Trade, 1794–1810," *Publishing History* 10 (1981): 27–49; Rosalind Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic* (Philadelphia, 1996), 130–36.

<sup>14</sup> See David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997), 201–7.

only those “on the right side,” as “zealots” might wish. He was a political maverick, breaking ranks with the Democratic-Republicans to advocate the American System and protective tariffs.<sup>15</sup> His most famous political piece was his *Olive Branch, or, Faults on Both Sides, Federal and Democratic* (1814), which responded to divisions sparked by the war—and again, staked a position ostensibly above partisanship.<sup>16</sup> Even while defending his positions, Carey exalted harmony over party.

Carey’s calls for harmony in politics and religion sprang from his belief that the public good transcended the divisions of party or denomination. He depicted his policies as springing from compassion, not partisanship; he believed that relying on foreign manufactures created poverty and misery. A concern for suffering was a crucial part of being a moral, religious person in the early republic, and Carey eagerly proved his humanity. In 1793, he founded a society to alleviate the “sufferings and wretchedness” of Irish immigrants; in 1830, he headed a society to aid poor Catholics.<sup>17</sup> Carey also preached what he practiced, and he wrote prolifically on poverty, rebutting claims that benevolence created “idleness and improvidence.” Low wages, not dissipation, drove women to prostitution.<sup>18</sup> Carey’s interest in promoting and practicing benevolence extended into retirement.<sup>19</sup> When he died in 1839, his concern for “suffering humanity” found mention in even the shortest of over thirty obituaries, which appeared as far away as Pensacola. His funeral was the best attended in living memory in Philadelphia, drawing thousands of mourners.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Mathew Carey, “Preface,” *American Museum* 3 (Jan. 1788): xvi; Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher: A Study in American Literary Development* (New York, 1912), 54; Kenneth Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore, 1933).

<sup>16</sup> It sold more copies than any other political book in America before 1820. Edward C. Carter II, “Mathew Carey and ‘The Olive Branch,’ 1814–1818,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 89 (1965): 399; unionists reprinted portions during the Civil War in *The Boot on the Other Leg, or, Loyalty above Party* (Philadelphia, 1863). For politics, see Edward C. Carter II, “The Political Activities of Mathew Carey, Nationalist, 1760–1814” (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr, 1962).

<sup>17</sup> Carey, *Autobiography*, 29; *Constitution of the Society for Bettering the Condition of Indigent Roman Catholics of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1830), Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame.

<sup>18</sup> Carey, *Essays on the Public Charities of Philadelphia* (1828), in *Miscellaneous Essays* (Philadelphia, 1830), 155, 190–93; many essays are printed in *Miscellaneous Essays*, 266–90.

<sup>19</sup> For example, A Citizen of Philadelphia [Carey], *A Plea for the Poor, Particularly Females* (Philadelphia, 1837), in *The Jacksonians on the Poor: Collected Pamphlets* (New York, 1971), 3.

<sup>20</sup> David Kaser, “The Retirement Income of Mathew Carey,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (1956): 411; *United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston), Oct. 5, 1839; *Pensacola Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1839; “The Funeral of the Late Mathew Carey, Esq.,” *Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier*, Sept. 20, 1839; *U.S. Gazette* (Philadelphia), Sept. 20, 1839; *Niles’*

\* \* \*

Carey's obituaries testified to his public importance, but they fell oddly silent on his religiosity.<sup>21</sup> In 1839, religious relations in Philadelphia and the nation were tense, and his calls for religious cooperation no longer fit the public mood. By the 1830s, Catholics increasingly stressed their differences with Protestants and asserted a distinctively Catholic identity; Protestants, wary of the dangers of Catholic expansion, proved no more eager to compromise. The antisectionarian world in which Carey had operated—and in which his Catholic devotion played out in his commitment to religious harmony—was fading rapidly, giving way to a world in which lines between Catholics and Protestants were both clear and growing clearer. In 1834, a Protestant mob burned down a Catholic convent school in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and in 1844, the Bible Riots exploded in Philadelphia, precipitated in part by a debate over the exclusive use of Protestant Bibles in schools.

The riots were only one flare-up in a huge firestorm sweeping through American cities over Bible reading and religious teaching and practices in schools. The spark was a stridently sectarian sensibility among Catholics and Protestants, which stressed points of divergence. Rather than seeing the Bible as a unifying text, Philadelphia Protestants refused Bishop Kenrick's 1842 request that Catholics be permitted to read Catholic Bibles, rather than the Protestant King James Version, in public schools. Such stridency over differences echoed across the nation. Nineteenth-century Catholics debated among themselves whether they should assimilate into the public system or form separate schools; Protestant hostility strengthened the hand of those calling for separate Catholic schools. In 1859, a ten-year-old Bostonian refused a teacher's order to recite the Protestant, rather than Catholic, Ten Commandments. Despite similarities between the versions, the teacher tolerated no deviations from the Protestant wording, forbidding the Catholic students to even mumble over the points of difference—such differences in wording trumped a shared belief in the Commandments. As the conflict escalated, hundreds

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*National Register* (Baltimore), Sept. 21, 1839. See also Newspaper Notices of the Death of Mathew Carey and His Son Edward L. Carey, box 28, folder 2, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>21</sup> One described him as a friend of religious liberty; most remained silent. "Obituary," *Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier*, Sept. 18, 1839.

of Catholics abandoned the public schools and created alternative, but stridently Catholic, schools.<sup>22</sup>

This late-antebellum sectarianism in religious education—both in Philadelphia and across the nation—stood in stark contrast to a world of religious cooperation in the early republic. In 1791, Mathew Carey and several prominent Philadelphia Protestants, including Benjamin Rush and Episcopal Bishop William White, had formed a society for “First Day or Sunday Schools.” Even the name—using both “Sunday” and the Quaker “First Day”—emphasized religious cooperation.<sup>23</sup> The society’s schools excluded divisive doctrines and focused on instilling the moral values shared by all Christians. The school served as common ground to supplement, but not replace, individual religious beliefs; students attended worship, but in their own churches. Excepting the years 1792 to 1801, the society taught reading and writing through the Bible, since, Rush noted, each sect “finds its peculiar doctrines in it.”<sup>24</sup> Carey likewise stressed convergence. In 1785, he warned that such schools risked abuses “from party, civil or religious”; religious education should focus on points of agreement and leave differences to “the various pastors.”<sup>25</sup> Carey and the society placed denominational differences in a context of broader agreement. They aimed to instill morality and religiosity in Philadelphia’s poor. For the school’s elite organizers, the threat of a growing population of irreligious, immoral, and uneducated Philadelphians mattered far more than reinforcing the boundaries separating Christians. Carey turned to sectarian Sunday schools only in 1816—after Protestants began stressing denominational specifics rather than morality and broad religion.<sup>26</sup> Significantly, when a Charlestown, Massachusetts, mob torched the Ursuline convent school, they attacked not only Catholics, but also the

<sup>22</sup> McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 7–11, 42.

<sup>23</sup> *Society for the Institution and Support of First Day or Sunday Schools, in the city of Philadelphia, and the Districts of Southwark and Northern Liberties* [Philadelphia, 1796]. Despite the commonly attributed date of 1796, Carey was attending meetings in 1791. See Carey diary, Mar. 4, 1791, vol. 26, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection. See also Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution 1790–1880* (New Haven, CT, 1988), 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 30, 1791; Jacqueline S. Reinier, “Rearing the Republican Child: Attitudes and Practices in Post-Revolutionary Philadelphia,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (1982): 161–62; Benjamin Rush, “A Defense of the Use of the Bible as a School Book, in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Jeremiah Belknap, of Boston, from Dr. Rush,” *American Museum* 9 (Mar. 1791): 134.

<sup>25</sup> *Pennsylvania Evening Herald, and the American Monitor*, Aug. 10, 1785.

<sup>26</sup> *Constitution of the Roman Catholic Sunday School Society of Philadelphia, in Miscellanies*, 537. Gradually these schools gave way to denominational ones dedicated to indoctrination. Boylan, *Sunday School*, 6–21; Reinier, “Rearing the Republican Child,” 161–62.

ecumenical spirit among elites. Many wealthy Protestants sent children to the convent school; the pupils prayed together and received religious instruction, but did so using prayers “common to all Christians” and learning the “practical truths, and religious duties which are peculiar to no sect.”<sup>27</sup> Religious differences mattered, but they did not preclude the search for a common religious goal.

That sectarian warfare erupted over Bibles also shows that much had changed. In Carey’s Philadelphia, Catholics and Protestants read different Bibles, but Carey published both. He had made his name publishing Bibles and religious books, and he published Protestant works so prolifically that he was once mistaken for “some d—d methodist [*sic*] parson.”<sup>28</sup> After Carey’s first King James Bible appeared in 1801, he regularly produced editions until 1820. Although the Bible proved profitable (no small matter for a father of eight), Carey’s publishing was rooted in a vision of religious harmony and cooperation.<sup>29</sup> He denounced the “contemptible prejudice which confines its benevolence within the narrow pale of one religious denomination.”<sup>30</sup> Not all Philadelphians agreed. Carey contrasted his benevolence to Protestants with his competitors’ treatment of Catholics, including one “ultra puritan” who “would rather print the *Woman of Pleasure*, than such a pestiferous, idolatrous book” as a Catholic Catechism.<sup>31</sup> Publishing Protestant books affirmed the value of religious cooperation.

Carey lived in a world in which he and others, though not all, believed that the goal of advancing religion and morality extended beyond denominational identities. In 1788, Carey’s friend Benjamin Rush reminded Americans that, in the matter of morality, “you are neither catholic nor protestants. . . . One spirit actuates you all.” Rush proposed a convention of Christians to reform America, as it would show “that it is possible for Christians of different denominations to love each other, and to unite in

<sup>27</sup> “Report of the Committee, Relating to the Destruction of the Ursuline Convent, August 11, 1834,” reprinted in *The Works of the Right Rev. John England*, collected by Ignatius Aloysius Reynolds (Baltimore, 1849), 5:235.

<sup>28</sup> Carey, *Autobiography*, 87. See also Carey, “Memoirs,” 137.

<sup>29</sup> Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (Stanford, CA, 1999), 23; Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital*, 52, 172n87.

<sup>30</sup> [Mathew Carey], *Address to the Subscribers for the Doway Translation of the Vulgate Bible* [Philadelphia, 1790], 2–3.

<sup>31</sup> Carey, “Memoirs,” 34–35, 280–81.

the advancement of their common interests.”<sup>32</sup> Presbyterians and Congregationalists even put aside their differences in their 1801 Plan of Union to evangelize the West together. Divisions between Catholics and Protestants loomed larger than those between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, but Catholics benefited in smaller ways from the spirit of cooperation. The forces of infidelity and immorality seemed more dangerous than Catholics. Protestants even donated money to construct Catholic churches. In 1796, the Protestant George Washington and Catholic Mathew Carey both donated money to build Philadelphia’s St. Augustine’s Catholic Church (which ironically was destroyed in the 1844 Bible Riots).<sup>33</sup>

Carey aimed for similar cross-denominational cooperation in his publishing. Though by 1842 Protestants refused to allow children to use Catholic Bibles in school, in 1789, Carey had hoped that Protestants might use his Catholic Douay edition themselves. He pitched an advertisement to Protestants, boasting that the Douay Bible could serve as a corrective to the “various important errors” in the King James Version; he even printed a Protestant’s assessment of its usefulness. Most subscribers were Catholic, but at least one Protestant—Benjamin Rush—purchased it. Carey’s hope—even if a vain one—signals a remarkably different mindset than that which prevailed by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

Carey’s goal of attracting a cross-confessional readership extended well beyond the Bible. He happily published Protestant works, such as prayer books for Episcopalians and Jonathan Edwards’s *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*. But Carey also produced Protestant-friendly editions of Catholic works, including an 1816 edition of Chateaubriand’s *Beauties of Christianity*; a Protestant wrote the preface and notes and

<sup>32</sup> Benjamin Rush, “Address to the Ministers of the Gospel of Every Denomination in the United States, on Subjects Interesting to Morals,” in *Essays Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1806), 114, 122, 124.

<sup>33</sup> Each donated \$50 (a substantial donation); the entire subscription raised \$8,679. John Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia: 1609–1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), 1376; Protestants in the West donated land and money to build Catholic churches. Dichtl, *Frontiers of Faith*, 95.

<sup>34</sup> [Carey], *Address to the Subscribers*, 2–3; Mathew Carey, *To the Roman Catholics of America, Mathew Carey Respectfully Submits the Following Proposals . . .* [Philadelphia, 1789], 4; Michael S. Carter, “Under the Benign Sun of Toleration: Mathew Carey, the Douai Bible, and Catholic Print Culture, 1789–91,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 27 (2007): 457. However, Carey ensured that Protestants did not buy it mistakenly. Mathew Carey to Isaiah Thomas, Feb. 19, 1789, Letterbook, 1788–1794, Lea and Febiger Records 227b, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *Miscellanies*, 244.

excised its most Catholic remarks.<sup>35</sup> His Protestant traveling salesman, Mason Locke Weems, saw their venture in publishing as a boon to morality and religion, helping “bring back the golden age of Light, Liberty, and Love.”<sup>36</sup>

Yet Carey’s cooperation with Protestants sprang from a devotion to Catholicism, not from a sense of indifference about religion. He sought harmony and cross-confessional cooperation precisely because he wanted to be accepted as a *Catholic* citizen. His 1787 diary began “In nomine domine amen”; using Latin signaled the Catholic core of his invocation.<sup>37</sup> Carey dined with bishops and priests, and he attended Mass most Sundays, occasionally noting the quality of sermons. He threw himself into St. Mary’s parish politics.<sup>38</sup> When his daughter Frances married the Quaker Isaac Lea, she did so in a Catholic church and only after Lea promised not to influence her religion.<sup>39</sup> (“Mixed” marriages were common, despite clerical wariness; even Bishop John Carroll presided at the marriage of a relative to a Protestant).<sup>40</sup> Most significantly, Carey began his Bible-publishing career by printing the first Catholic Bible in America, despite his well-grounded fears about the financial risks, given the scarcity of Catholics. Carey would know that it had only been ten years since the first domestic—and financially disastrous—New Testament.<sup>41</sup> In 1789, with the personal aid of Bishop John Carroll, Carey solicited subscriptions for the Bible.<sup>42</sup> Even without enough subscribers

<sup>35</sup> William Clarkin, *Mathew Carey: A Bibliography of His Publications, 1785–1824* (New York, 1984), 25, 142. Some Catholics disapproved of his use of Kett’s preface (see below); A Catholic of Kentucky to Mathew Carey, [n.d.], and Bishop Simon Bruté to Mathew Carey, Feb. 13, 1816, in “Selections from the Correspondence of the Deceased Mathew Carey,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 10 (1899): 106–7 and 12 (1901): 98–100.

<sup>36</sup> Mason Weems to Mathew Carey, Mar. 24, 1801, in *Mason Locke Weems: His Works and Ways in Three Volumes*, ed. Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel (New York, 1929), 2:186.

<sup>37</sup> Carey diary, Jan. 1, 1787, vol. 26, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1820, Apr. 1, Apr. 29, Oct. 17, and Oct. 21, 1821; for politics, see e.g., A Catholic Layman, *Review of Three Pamphlets Lately Published by the Rev. W. V. Harold* (Philadelphia, 1822).

<sup>39</sup> Isaac Lea to Frances Carey, June 10, 1819, Scrapbook B, Carey and Lea Family Manuscripts and Photographs, Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>40</sup> Dichtl, *Frontiers of Faith*, 128–29; Anne C. Rose, *Beloved Strangers: Interfaith Families in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 14–34.

<sup>41</sup> Gutjahr, *An American Bible*, 23; Carey to Rev. W. O’Brien, May 14, 1789, Letterbook, 1788–1794, Lea and Febiger Records Collection 227b.

<sup>42</sup> Carey, *To the Roman Catholics of America*; John Carroll to Mathew Carey, Jan. 30, [Aug.], and Sept. 10, 1789, all in *The John Carroll Papers*, ed. Thomas O’Brien Hanley (Notre Dame, IN, 1976), 1:348, 375, 380–81. See also Carter, “Under the Benign Sun of Toleration,” 437–69.



to defray his expenses, Carey printed it, and he did so again in 1805.<sup>43</sup>

For both men, publishing the Catholic Bible—and other religious works—was crucial both to defining Catholicism in the early republic and to defeating anti-Catholic prejudice. The Bible and religious works, they predicted, would not only nurture the moral and spiritual development of Catholics but also reform Catholics into respectable people who deserved the esteem of their Protestant neighbors. In 1791, when Carey solicited funds for a Catholic publication society, he hoped that such a project would instill morality in the Catholic population; he fretted that many Catholics could not easily explain doctrines and lacked moral formation.<sup>44</sup> Such lack of doctrinal or moral training undermined Catholics' public standing. For the printer and the bishop, sincere religious concern for moral and religious education blended with a desire to instill respectability. The Bible project also promised to challenge anti-Catholic prejudice in broader ways.<sup>45</sup> Protestants, as Carey noted, incorrectly, but commonly, believed that Catholics were neither interested in reading the Bible nor allowed to do so; he encouraged Catholics to support his Bible to disprove such criticisms. Both men feared it would be a "disgrace" if they could not get at least 400 subscribers (they ultimately got 471).<sup>46</sup> Publishing Bibles and other Catholic works was crucial to defeating anti-Catholicism.

The concern about Catholics' public standing mattered so much because the new opportunities for harmony and cooperation existed alongside enduring prejudice and mutual suspicion, both in Pennsylvania and the nation as a whole. The growing toleration of Catholics unnerved some Protestants who viewed the republic as a de facto Protestant nation. But if anti-Catholic prejudice had not disappeared, the world of

<sup>43</sup> Carey, *To the Roman Catholics of America*, 1; Clarkin, *Mathew Carey*, 9 entry 5, and 79–80; Margaret T. Hills, *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible and the New Testament Published in America, 1777–1957* (New York, 1961), 4–5, 21–23.

<sup>44</sup> Mathew Carey, *Reverend Sir, The Opportunity Afforded by the Present Meeting is So Favourable, That I will Avail Myself of It, to Call Your Attention to the Institution for Printing Roman Catholic Books* [Philadelphia, 1791]; Mathew Carey to John Carroll, Mar. 27, 1791, box 27, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection.

<sup>45</sup> John Carroll to Mathew Carey, Jan. 30, 1789, in *Carroll*, 1:348; see also Carey to Carroll, Apr. 6, 1789, Letterbook, 1788–1794, Lea and Febiger Records Collection 227b; Carroll to Carey, Jan. 30 and Apr. 8, 1789, and Mar. 7, 1792, in *Carroll*, 1:348–49, 355, 2:23.

<sup>46</sup> Carey, "Address to the Subscribers," 1–2; Mathew Carey to John Carroll, Apr. 6, 1789, Letterbook, 1788–1794, Lea and Febiger Records Collection 227b; John Carroll to Mathew Carey, Apr. 8, 1789, and Carroll to Francis Neale, Jan. 19, 1790, in *Carroll* 1:355, 420; a similar point is made in Carter, "Under the Benign Sun of Toleration," 459.

Catholic-Protestant relations had still changed significantly. What is striking is not just that anti-Catholicism had *relatively* weakened but that Catholics defended themselves in new ways, drawing upon religious freedom, harmony, and Enlightenment ideals. Carey abandoned the traditional claims of apologetical literature, which aimed at convincing nonbelievers of the truth of one's positions. He instead tried to convince others of the value of harmony and religious liberty. Staking his ground on harmony and pluralism, Carey forced anti-Catholics into a sectarian mold. It was their bigotry—not Catholicism—that did not belong in an enlightened society.

Carey showed a life-long willingness to defend Catholics; in 1826, when he bound his earlier pamphlets and published works into seven volumes, he filled an entire volume with works related to Catholicism.<sup>47</sup> He began defending Catholics in Ireland in 1779 against the penal laws. In 1792, he leapt to Catholics' defense when a Philadelphia Quaker compared lotteries to indulgences as "forgiving and permitting sins, to raise money."<sup>48</sup> In 1808, he fumed when John Mason, editor of the *Christian's Magazine* in New York, accused present-day Catholics of claiming divine sanction for cruelty and murdering Protestants. Mason denounced Catholic doctrines as being "calculated to gratify those sensual passions and desires" of wicked hearts.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, the struggle for Catholic Emancipation in the United Kingdom inspired Carey's pen. When, in 1817, William Godwin resurrected charges that Irish Catholics had massacred Protestants in the 1641 rebellion, Carey wrote *Vindiciae Hibernicae* (1818).<sup>50</sup> It not only challenged Godwin's account, but it also blamed the insurrection on *Protestant* persecution of Catholics. Carey's *Letters on Religious Persecution* (1826) refuted warnings that Catholic emancipation would endanger Protestants.<sup>51</sup> In 1828, Carey helped cre-

<sup>47</sup> See Carey, *Miscellanies* (1826).

<sup>48</sup> A Catholic, *American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), Jan. 6, 1792, in Verax [F. A. Fleming], *The Calumnies of Verus, or, Catholics Vindicated, from Certain Old Slanders Lately Revived* (Philadelphia, 1792), 7. This controversy is discussed in detail in Michael S. Carter, "What Shall We Say to this *Liberal Age*?": Catholic-Protestant Controversy in the Early National Capital," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 26 (2008): 79–95.

<sup>49</sup> John M. Mason, "John Rogers, the Proto-Martyr under Queen Mary," *Christian's Magazine* 2 [1808], 150–51; Mathew Carey, "To the Rev. John M. Mason," unidentified newspaper, [*Democratic Press*?], [Sept. 1808?], in *Miscellanies*, 149.

<sup>50</sup> William Godwin, *Mandeville: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century in England* (Edinburgh, 1817).

<sup>51</sup> Specifically, he responded to praise of Joseph Blanco White's work; White, *Practical and Internal Evidences against Catholicism* (London, 1825).

ate an association of “Vindicators of the Catholic Religion from Calumny and Abuse,” which rebutted claims that persecution was “almost exclusively perpetrated by Roman Catholics.”<sup>52</sup> Eleven days after a Protestant mob torched the Charlestown Ursuline Convent in 1834—forcing the sisters and pupils to flee into the night—Carey’s *Address to the Public* responded to Samuel Miller, a Presbyterian cleric, who had dubbed Catholics “FOES OF GOD AND MAN.”<sup>53</sup>

Carey’s geographic scope of concern was broad; he fought anti-Catholicism across the Atlantic and across America, especially in Massachusetts, New York, and Philadelphia. Despite such geographic breadth, his work showed clear patterns: he selectively responded to charges that struck at Catholic claims to morality and true religion or that denied their right to participate in the civic life of the republic. Critics of Catholicism drew on a legacy of linking republicanism to anti-Catholicism. As Mark Noll argues, during the Seven Years’ War, republicanism took on a distinctively Christian character when it fused with longstanding anti-Catholic ideologies and suspicions of Catholics’ loyalty.<sup>54</sup> Protestants viewed Catholics as enemies of liberty, especially religious freedom. When Protestants denounced Catholics as uniquely intolerant—or accused them of supporting the murdering of Protestants—they rhetorically banished Catholics from the republic. Even arguments against Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, Carey recognized, bore ideological weight in America.

Accusations of unique Catholic immorality undermined the possibility of a Catholic republicanism; Catholics were either moral contaminants or moral monsters, preying on their neighbors. This charge—and Carey’s response—reflected a growing emphasis on morality as the foundation of the republic. Rather than defining morality in religious terms (such as limiting true virtue to the elect), Americans increasingly saw morality as common ground, distinct from issues of salvation and accessible through the laws of nature. Morality took root in human reason or the broad principles of Christianity; a moral common ground provided a foundation for

<sup>52</sup> “Vindicators of the Catholic Religion from Calumny and Abuse,” in *American Catholic Historical Researches* 7 (1890): 158–59; for a list of the 179 members, see Martin I. J. Griffin, “The Life of Bishop Conwell,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 28 (1917): 172–73.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Carey, *Address to the Public. On Religious Intolerance and Persecution* [Philadelphia, 1834], 2, 20.

<sup>54</sup> Mark Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford, 2002), 78–81.

a religiously pluralistic republic. Pennsylvania's 1790 constitution offered broad tolerance, but it linked political rights to a belief that an afterlife would reward virtue and punish vice.<sup>55</sup> But if Catholics thought—as their critics claimed—that “*the Pope can change the essential nature of moral good and evil*,” then Catholics believed in an inverted moral government in which God rewarded vice. As such, they could not be trusted.<sup>56</sup> Carey combated such claims by insisting on Catholics' morality: “Are they worse husbands, worse wives, worse parents, worse children, worse friends, worse neighbors, worse citizens, than the protestants, presbyterians, quakers, or methodists?”<sup>57</sup>

Carey also fought accusations of Catholic immorality because such charges undermined Catholicism's claims to be a true religion. He tapped into broad shifts in conceptions of religion: true religion resided in the hearts and behavior of practitioners rather than in an adherence to doctrines. Carey drew on a tradition, growing since the late seventeenth century, of stressing human happiness and morality as key aims of religion.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, by the late eighteenth century, benevolence stood at the core of Christian virtue, and Carey prided himself—and his religion—on it. He began one work by quoting: “if we see our fellow-beings suffering with cold, or hunger, or destitute of covering, and do not relieve them, WE HAVE NO FAIR CLAIM TO THE CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANS.” The Catholic philanthropist insisted that Catholics showed just as much humanity as Protestants; Catholics' morality and sympathy for sufferers vindicated their claims to be true Christians.<sup>59</sup> True religion, rooted in the heart and flowering in morality and humanity, contrasted sharply with a sectarian focus on divisive doctrines.

Carey's stress on morality contrasted with doctrinally oriented apologetics, and, with few exceptions, he refused to debate doctrines with Protestants. He explained that “those who dispute most about forms, modes, and creeds of religion, have frequently the least of it in their

<sup>55</sup> Frost, *Perfect Freedom*, 77.

<sup>56</sup> Carey, *Address to the Public*, 2; A Catholic, *American Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 6, 1792, in *Calumnies*, 7.

<sup>57</sup> A Catholic Layman [Mathew Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution* (Philadelphia, 1827), 6.

<sup>58</sup> See Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1991); James Turner, *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America* (Baltimore, 1985), esp. chaps. 2 and 3.

<sup>59</sup> Unnamed philanthropist, quoted in Carey, *Plea for the Poor*, 14; Carey, *Address to the Public*, 4.

hearts.”<sup>60</sup> Americans could disagree about doctrinal specifics if they shared a commitment to morality and religion. But while Carey claimed to “most cordially abhor religious controversy,” his distaste for controversy did not mean distaste for doctrine itself.<sup>61</sup> He debated with other Catholics and delighted in John Milner’s works that defended Catholic beliefs. Yet Carey’s primary aim was not to convince Protestants of Catholic truth; rather, he sought to convince them that Catholics were moral and respectable people with whom Protestants could and should live in harmony. His “Vindicators of the Catholic Religion from Calumny and Abuse” likewise declined to publish books “merely of religion,” of which there was an “abundant supply.”<sup>62</sup>

In the rare cases that Carey ventured into doctrines, he engaged in an “apologetics of convergence” that downplayed what was unique about Catholicism and stressed shared values and ideas across denominations.<sup>63</sup> Anglicans could not be “fastidious” about Catholic doctrines of infallibility when Queen Elizabeth had “enforced submission” more rigidly than any pope or council.<sup>64</sup> Echoing a point made by Bishop John Carroll in 1784, Carey argued that Protestants who denounced the Eucharist as idolatrous should also condemn the Calvinist who “FEEDS ON THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST” and Lutherans who believed in consubstantiation and Christ’s presence in the host.<sup>65</sup> Rather than defending the uniquely Catholic transubstantiation, Carey emphasized the more broadly held belief in the Real Presence—and defined that as capaciously as possible. Carey hoped to convince Protestants that Catholicism resembled their beliefs and belonged to the realm of reasonable, moral, and respectable religion.

Carey cast himself as an apologist for religious harmony, rather than a controversialist, and his commitment to harmony limited and structured his responses. It meant avoiding any hint that Catholics’ rights sprang from the truth of their creeds. In the rare cases that he praised Catholics,

<sup>60</sup> Carey, *Address to the Public*, 3, 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>62</sup> Mathew Carey to Bernard Dornin, Oct. 27, Nov. 2, and Nov. 30, 1808, and Carey to Robert Walsh, Oct. 12, 1808, Letterbook DD, Lea and Febiger Records Collection 227b; “Vindicators of the Catholic Religion from Calumny and Abuse,” 159.

<sup>63</sup> For apologetics of convergence, see Chinnici, “American Catholics and Religious Pluralism,” 736.

<sup>64</sup> [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 10.

<sup>65</sup> [John Carroll], *An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America by a Catholic Clergyman* (Annapolis, MD, 1784), 92; [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 12.

it was for their liberality. In 1808, he convinced Benjamin Rush that William Penn had learned the “sublime lesson of religious toleration” from the Catholic Lord Baltimore.<sup>66</sup> Instead of defending Catholics on Catholic terms, Carey used neutral or even Protestant terms—he cited Protestant sources, even when he could have made a stronger case using Catholic ones.<sup>67</sup>

Likewise, Carey was loathe to appear a sectarian who picked fights, and he placed the “blame” on “those who provoke a warfare, from which no possible good can arise.”<sup>68</sup> Religious bigotry demanded a response—for the sake of harmony and Catholicism.<sup>69</sup> But Carey insisted that he acted only to “repel gross and outrageous assault” and responded only when it would be “criminal to be silent; thus leaving the ignorant and unwary to infer our acquiescence in the odious accusations.”<sup>70</sup> Indeed, while his works showed remarkable consistency over time (he never used a new argument when an old one would do), he responded to specific events—whether the burning of the Ursuline convent in 1834 or the 1820s campaigns against Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. In 1808, he fumed when a New York paper delayed printing his response to John Mason for ten weeks, complaining that “the very extraordinary delay of the essays has totally destroyed the Connexion” between the response and provocation. Printing so late “would be raking up the ashes of the dead,” effectively instigating a new controversy.<sup>71</sup>

Especially after 1808, a commitment to religious liberty formed the conceptual core of Carey’s apologetics. Religious liberty could be denied to none; he condemned persecution of Jews and Muslims, including the “odious restrictions” still afflicting British Jews in 1834.<sup>72</sup> For Carey, persecution’s “ill-fated victims are either hypocrites or martyrs” and its practition-

<sup>66</sup> Benjamin Rush to Mathew Carey, Nov. 24, 1808, in *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L. H. Butterfield (Princeton, NJ, 1951), 2:989; See also Carey, *Brief View of the Policy of the Founders of the Colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as Regards Liberty of Conscience* [Philadelphia, 1828], 147–51.

<sup>67</sup> Carey, *Autobiography*, 61; [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 19–20.

<sup>68</sup> Carey, “To the Rev. John M. Mason.”

<sup>69</sup> Mathew Carey to Bernard Dornin, Dec. 12, 1808, Letterbook DD, Lea and Febiger Records Collection 227b; Carey, *Vindiciae Hibernicae: or, Ireland Vindicated*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia, 1837), 5, 7.

<sup>70</sup> Carey, *Address to the Public*, 26, 3; see also [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 21, 32.

<sup>71</sup> Mathew Carey to William Christie, Dec. 13, 1808, and Carey to Bernard Dornin, Dec. 12, 1808, Letterbook DD, Lea and Febiger Records Collection 227b.

<sup>72</sup> Carey, *Address to the Public*, 5–6.

ers tyrants, robbers, or murderers.<sup>73</sup> Carey defended religious liberty on principle and not merely as a necessity for maintaining peace in a pluralistic society. Humanity, he insisted, had no right to control religious belief; persecution was “blasphemous” and “the genuine Antichrist.”<sup>74</sup> In 1826, Carey boasted that Americans did not speak of “toleration,” which “means, that a miserable worm, who worships God in one particular form, permits his fellow worm to do the same.” Carey echoed George Washington, who insisted on the language of “liberty of conscience,” instead of “toleration,” which implied indulgence rather than “inherent natural rights.”<sup>75</sup>

Stressing religious liberty, not rights based on creedal truth, led Carey to the startling demand that both Catholics and Protestants forgive and forget the wrongs of the past. Protestant “men of glass should throw no stones” at Catholics; Protestants had not only engaged in just as much persecution as Catholics but also bore the added inconsistency of invoking the right of private judgment while doing so.<sup>76</sup> Carey intended his never-published “Religious Olive Branch” to encourage cross-confessional charity and forgiveness, and he described his 1826 essays as a “religious olive branch to inculcate the divine doctrine of mutual forgiveness and forgetfulness of the crimes of ages.”<sup>77</sup> Forgiveness was needed all around, and he aimed to show that the “dire insanity and atrocious wickedness of punishing the body by stripes, cropping, hanging, drawing, quartering, tortures, drowning and flames, for the errors of the mind, real or supposed, have been confined to no denomination.” Even outspoken critics of such “injustice and cruelty” persecuted when given power.<sup>78</sup> Just as he stressed the convergence of doctrines, he emphasized the convergence of errors. Carey denounced his church’s use of persecution, even when

<sup>73</sup> Carey, “Dedication of the Religious Olive Branch” (1817), in *Miscellaneous Essays*, 291; see also *Miscellanies*, 527.

<sup>74</sup> Carey, “Dedication of the Religious Olive Branch,” 291; [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 19, 21.

<sup>75</sup> Carey, “Reflections on the Subject of Emigration from Europe with a View to Settlement in the United States” (1826), in *Miscellaneous Essays*, 134; George Washington to the Clergy of Newport, RI, in *The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series*, ed. W. W. Abbot et al, (Charlottesville, VA, 1996), 6:284–86; for the linguistic shift, see Beneke, *Beyond Toleration*, 114, 152.

<sup>76</sup> [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 16–17, 28; Carey, *Address to the Public*, 13, 14.

<sup>77</sup> In 1830, the “Religious Olive Branch” remained incomplete, and I find no indication that he ever published more than its dedication and preface; Carey, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 291.

<sup>78</sup> Carey, “Dedication of the Religious Olive Branch,” 291.

mocked for it. His point had never been to deny Catholic wrongs but only to deny their *uniqueness*. The olive branch demanded reciprocity; Protestants should admit *their* errors.

Few images more aptly encapsulate Carey's views than the olive branch, which appeared frequently in his works. He exhorted Catholics and Protestants, northerners and southerners, Federalists and Democrats alike to accept olive branches and put animosity aside. He could portray this positively by appealing to a desire to reject the religious bigotry behind the convent blaze or the fight against Catholic Emancipation. He praised a Protestant supporter for "soaring above the influence of sectarian prejudices."<sup>79</sup> But the rhetoric had a sharper edge. By depicting his opponents' positions as extremist, divisive, and sectarian, he could engage in a fierce defense of harmony. He believed he could "force conviction on all but the willfully blind."<sup>80</sup> The olive branch made a convenient stick for beating those who refused it.

For all his talk of harmony, Carey left little room for opposition—intolerance was an unenlightened vestige of a former age. In 1808, he wrote to John Mason that while reading his magazine, he "fancied myself transported to distant periods" rather than a tolerant, enlightened age.<sup>81</sup> While both men denounced persecution, Mason saw it as inherent in Catholic doctrine, while Carey saw persecution in chronological terms, as a nondenominational "epidemical disorder" of a bygone era to be eradicated in an enlightened age.<sup>82</sup> Yet, intolerance did not disappear; Carey's frustration grew as the march of time failed to yield expected results. In 1808, Carey counted on enlightenment to destroy bigotry, which did not belong in an enlightened age. By 1834, in the wake of the convent fire, his confidence had waned, and he described the "fiendish spirit" of persecution thriving in a "*soi-disant* enlightened age" and hinting darkly at future "horrors."<sup>83</sup> While in 1792 Carey had seen attacks on Catholicism as "the offspring of ignorance or illiberality," by 1817 he described them as "*the mark of the beast*," and in 1834 he attributed such attacks to "the

<sup>79</sup> Mathew Carey, printed form letter, to Rev. James Quinn, Nov. 9, 1837, Scrapbook B, Carey and Lea Family Manuscripts and Photographs.

<sup>80</sup> [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 19.

<sup>81</sup> Carey, "To the Rev. John M. Mason," 149.

<sup>82</sup> Mason, "John Rogers, the Proto-Martyr under Queen Mary," 150; [Carey], *Letters on Religious Persecution*, 49.

<sup>83</sup> Carey, *Address to the Public*, 1, 3.



satanical passions of our nature.”<sup>84</sup> Fiery rhetoric aside, Carey correctly perceived a chilling of Catholic-Protestant relations. By 1834, religious harmony was fading fast.

Carey’s insistence on Catholics’ right to respect, rather than the rightness of Catholicism, represented a set of possibilities in the early republic. Catholic reactions suggest both the promise of and the limitations on such possibilities. Carey was only one man, but he was not alone. Indeed, John Thayer—a priest and ex-Protestant who was best known for his attempts to convert Protestants—even defended Christianity in decidedly ecumenical tones in the 1790s rather than uphold peculiarly Catholic doctrines.<sup>85</sup> Carey exemplified a pattern in early republican Catholicism—represented in the hierarchy by Bishops John Carroll and John England—of merging traditional Catholicism and Enlightenment ideals, especially religious liberty. Bishop John England—a fellow Irish immigrant, bishop of Charleston, and one of Carey’s supporters—described religious liberty as a divine gift and inalienable right as opposed to a state’s prerogative. England praised American religious liberty as a model for the world and denounced persecution. Religious liberty meant not only legal toleration but also “security of the feelings from insult”—in short, the right to respect that Carey advocated.<sup>86</sup> Bishop England was “pleased and instructed” by Carey’s *Vindiciae Hibernicae*, commiserating with him over his difficulties reprinting it in 1823.<sup>87</sup> Bishop Carroll similarly praised Carey’s efforts to defend religious liberty.<sup>88</sup> Like Carey, Carroll was wary of religious controversy. Carroll insisted that Catholicism would pass the tests of reason, morality, and free inquiry.<sup>89</sup> Carey’s approach was not identical to the bishops’ methods. Carroll’s affirmation of religious liberty rested, in part, on his belief that it paved the way for the triumph of Catholic truth.<sup>90</sup> In contrast, if Carey dreamed

<sup>84</sup> A Catholic, *American Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 6, 1792, in *Calumnies*, 7; *Proposal for Publishing, by Subscription, The Religious Olive Branch*, in *Miscellanies*, 5; Carey, *Address to the Public*, 2–3.

<sup>85</sup> Thomas W. Jodziewicz, “The Catholic Missionary of Boston’ Fr. John Thayer: Controversialist and Ecumenist?” *American Catholic Historical Studies* 112 (2001): 23–47.

<sup>86</sup> P. Carey, *Immigrant Bishop*, 49, 89, 91.

<sup>87</sup> John England to Mathew Carey, June 23, 1823, box 22, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection.

<sup>88</sup> John Carroll to Mathew Carey, Jan. 30, 1789, in *Carroll Papers*, 1:348.

<sup>89</sup> [Carroll], *Address to the Roman Catholics*, 114, 7, 10, 22, 28; Jodziewicz, “Wharton-Carroll Controversy,” 147.

<sup>90</sup> [Carroll], *Address to the Roman Catholics*, 114; Jodziewicz, “Wharton-Carroll Controversy,” 149; Chinnici, “American Catholics and Religious Pluralism,” 727–46.

of converting people, he was quiet about it. Yet all three shared a common tone: they emphasized cross-confessional harmony and the right of all religious groups to be respected.

Carey's views found a welcoming audience in the Catholic community. Despite his avoidance of doctrinal disputes, many early republican Catholics found Carey a staunch defender of their religion. In 1808, Robert Walsh dubbed Carey "the *old, able, and prompt defender of the faith*." Others offered to reprint and circulate his pamphlets. As late as 1826, Carey's "Vindicators of the Catholic Religion from Calumny and Abuse" enlisted 179 members, including Bishop Henry Conwell and the future bishop John Hughes. The society even sponsored a reprinting of Carey's *Letters on Religious Persecution*. In 1808, Charles Kenny gushed that Carey's responses to anti-Catholic attacks "must endear you to every sincere professor of the Catholic religion."<sup>91</sup>

Perhaps not every professor; in 1808 Carey faced few criticisms, but as the decades wore on an increasing number of detractors worried that Carey's focus on defending Catholics' rights, rather than their beliefs, flirted dangerously with indifference. This fear reflected a broader shift in the attitudes of the laity, clergy, and episcopacy. In 1816, Bishop Simon Bruté of Vincennes fumed when Carey let a Protestant edit Chateaubriand's *Beauties of Christianity* to make it more appealing to Protestant readers. Baltimore's new archbishop, James Whitfield, refused to subscribe to *Letters on Religious Persecution* in 1829. He griped that Carey turned "toleration, persecution, humanity" into "the ground of controversy—It is bringing Religion to a human test" in which "Protestants were as well off as Catholics."<sup>92</sup> Indeed, Carey had significantly narrowed the grounds of debate by focusing on religious liberty, not truth claims. When the *Catholic Herald* printed Carey's 1834 *Address to the Public*, it silently omitted the second and third letters; the second linked all intolerance to the "infernal spirit" of the Inquisition, thus equating Catholic and Protestant intolerance. Carey voiced surprise at the objection, but not

<sup>91</sup> Robert Walsh to Mathew Carey, Oct. 3, 1808, and Charles Kenny to Mathew Carey, Nov. 4, 1808, in "Selections from the Correspondence of the Deceased Mathew Carey," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 10 (1899): 109–10 and 11 (1900): 213; William Taylor to Mathew Carey, Dec. 20, 1821, box 25, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection; Griffin, "Life of Bishop Conwell," 172–73.

<sup>92</sup> Simon Bruté to Mathew Carey, Feb. 13, 1816, in "Selections from the Correspondence of the Deceased Mathew Carey," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 12 (1901): 98–100; James Whitfield to Mathew Carey, Aug. 22, 1829, Archdiocese of Philadelphia Collection (CAPI) 1/03.05, Archives of the University of Notre Dame.

all Catholics appreciated a call for mutual admissions of error. The *Herald* likewise objected to Carey's criticisms of polemics as useless; apologetics *did* lead to conversions.<sup>93</sup> In 1833, Philadelphians pored over the heated apologetical battles waged between John Hughes and John Breckinridge in the newspapers. Like Carey, Hughes defended religious liberty and argued that Protestants were no more tolerant than Catholics, but Hughes's primary point was to "prove the truth of the Catholic religion"—in doctrinal detail.<sup>94</sup> Increasingly, many Catholics found Carey's avoidance of Catholic truth claims troubling. The early wariness of conflict, exemplified by Carroll and England as well as Carey, gave way to an eagerness for controversies in Philadelphia and across the nation.

Such reactions hinted at a deeper debate within the Catholic community over the direction of American Catholicism. In addition to defending Catholic doctrine, a growing group of Catholic leaders worried that the willingness to join with Protestants—both in marriage and in moral reform societies—threatened the coherence of the Catholic community. Carey had imagined Catholics and Protestants working together to advance morality and religion, and he tore down social and cultural barriers between the groups. In his drive to convince Protestants that Catholicism merited respect, he defined Catholicism in terms that would make his elite Protestant neighbors comfortable. Even as Carey fought intolerance by arguing that Catholicism was a moral and enlightened religion, he aimed—through publishing religious works and creating benevolent societies—to shape the Catholic community into a moral population that would assimilate peacefully into the broader population. As Carey denounced Protestants who fixated on divisive doctrines, he also implicitly condemned Catholics who emphasized creeds at the expense of religious cooperation, benevolence, or morality.

A new generation of Catholic leaders and reformers perceived such extensive cross-confessional cooperation as a threat to Catholic distinctiveness and religiosity. Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick—who assumed leadership of the Philadelphia Diocese in 1830—aimed to instill morality and religiosity in Philadelphia by building Catholic benevolent associa-

<sup>93</sup> Carey, *Address to the Public*, 5, 8, 20, 3; *Catholic Herald* (Philadelphia), Sept. 4, 1834, and see also Sept. 25, Oct. 2, Oct. 9, 1834.

<sup>94</sup> *Controversy between Rev. Messrs. Hughes and Breckenridge: on the Subject "Is the Protestant Religion the Religion of Christ?"* 3rd ed. (Philadelphia, 1834), 165, 191–92; Daniel Lee Crosby, "A Christian Nation: Evangelical Protestantism and Religious Conflict in Antebellum Philadelphia" (PhD diss., Washington University, 1997), 142–49.

tions, societies, and institutions, which also served as protective walls around the Catholic community. Drawing on a broader transatlantic Catholic revival, Kenrick aimed to make the parish the center of Catholic social and religious life. The reformers of this new generation directed their efforts at molding Philadelphians into not just moral people but also moral Catholics. Catholics and Protestants both took temperance pledges, but for Catholics, a priest administered the pledge before the altar.<sup>95</sup>

Kenrick and other reformers also worried that the Catholic community had too readily embraced the principles of republicanism and liberalism. During the 1810s and 1820s, Philadelphia's Catholic community had been torn apart—to the point of a schism that provoked Vatican intervention—over the roles of lay trustees, priests, and bishops in governing parishes, particularly over who could appoint priests. As the lay trustees argued for the right to appoint and dismiss priests (a right enjoyed by their Protestant counterparts), they appealed to the languages of republicanism and liberalism. Kenrick and other bishops asserted episcopal control over parishes and strengthened ties with the Roman hierarchy, and they showed growing wariness of liberalism, which they associated with the trustee crisis and European revolution; in the coming decades, revolutions similarly strengthened the Vatican's hostility to liberalism.<sup>96</sup>

Carey articulated one set of possibilities for Catholics in the new republic, but as he aged, the possibilities of religious cooperation were fading. New pressures limited the eagerness of both sides to cooperate, and the lines dividing Catholicism and Protestantism hardened. Invigorated by the Second Great Awakening, evangelicals dreamed of converting the nation to Protestantism; they watched in alarm as the Catholic Church grew rapidly in institutional strength and numbers. Increasing numbers of immigrants, especially lower-class ones (who, unlike Carey, were more likely to need than provide financial assistance), poured into the nation. Not only did immigration pose a demographic challenge to any hopes of a de facto Protestant nation, the expansion of white male suffrage across class lines also meant that the rapidly exploding Catholic population posed a political challenge to Protestant domi-

<sup>95</sup> Light, *Rome and the New Republic*, 269–99, esp. 238–84, 290–94. For the pledge, see Light, *Rome and the New Republic*, 291.

<sup>96</sup> For the Philadelphia lay trustee controversy, see Light, *Rome and the New Republic*; for the new tone, see also McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 7–42.

nance. Growing numbers of priests and religious orders—especially female religious orders full of unmarried women—challenged Protestant gender roles and ideals of domesticity.<sup>97</sup>

The institutional strength of Catholicism—and the threat it posed to Protestant dreams—coincided with a shift of tone in American and European Catholicism. A new generation of Catholics stridently asserted their Catholic identity and eagerly leapt into the religious controversies that a previous generation had reluctantly accepted.<sup>98</sup> Where Carey had understood cultural and intellectual assimilation as the key to Catholic respectability in the new republic, a substantial constituency of antebellum Catholic leaders grew wary of the dangers that such assimilation might pose to Catholic identity and belief. Catholics, worried about Protestant teachers proselytizing, constructed their own schools as alternatives to public or Protestant institutions, creating a rich, but decidedly sectarian, Catholic culture. Catholic piety increasingly emphasized precisely those beliefs and practices that many Protestants found jarring, such as miracles and Eucharistic or Marian devotions. By midcentury, the rapprochement had given way to straightforward sectarianism, unabashed avowals of Catholic superiority, and an antagonistic relationship with Protestantism. Liberals and evangelicals, for their part, fought fiercely against a newly confident and assertive Catholicism. By the mid-nineteenth century, American Catholics and liberals stood at odds, invoking competing and antagonistic notions of freedom and the individual.<sup>99</sup> Neither group cared to downplay differences in the name of harmony.

Carey's case suggests that, however briefly, the early republic offered new opportunities for merging Catholicism, antisectarianism, liberalism, and Enlightenment attitudes. Defending Catholicism through religious harmony and religious liberty, and meshing Catholic and Enlightenment thought, Carey articulated one set of possibilities for Catholicism in the early republic. The rhetoric of liberalism, rather than undermining Catholicism, served Catholic ends, and religious cooperation was premised on individual religious devotion and a shared vision of a moral, religious, and harmonious nation. Traditional polemical models, though

<sup>97</sup> Tracy Fessenden, "The Convent, the Brothel, and the Protestant Woman's Sphere," *Signs: A Journal of Culture and Society* 25 (2000): 451–78; Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), esp. 258–64.

<sup>98</sup> For the growth of apologetical debates in the West, see Dichtl, *Frontiers of Faith*, 175.

<sup>99</sup> See McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, esp. 7–42.

never entirely abandoned, made room for an apologetics of harmony that relied upon religious cooperation and respect as well as religious devotion. The early republican vision of harmony gave way to fiery sectarian polemics in the nineteenth century, but that vision of harmony echoed into the twentieth century. The ideal of harmony proved, in the long run, to be more lasting, but it would be a long road.

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# *The Culture of Improvement in the Early Republic: Domestic Livestock, Animal Breeding, and Philadelphia's Urban Gentlemen, 1820–1860*

FOR MUCH OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, animal breeding was a matter of financial speculation and intellectual curiosity among the growing class of urban gentlemen in the United States. Wealthy people who resided in or near America's burgeoning cities bred livestock to suit the changing markets and diverse climates of an expanding nation of farmers. John Hare Powel (1786–1856) and Peter Browne (1782–1860), both residents of Philadelphia, were among the city-dwellers who promoted the breeding and improvement of cattle and sheep. Although they had several key political and ideological differences, these two Philadelphians were equally emblematic of the culture of improvement that encompassed the efforts of Americans to enhance the quality and productivity of livestock. As Powel wrote to an English cattle breeder in 1825, "There is more excitement in regard to Farm Stock than I had hoped even, to see in America. The first men of the nation are turning their attention to its improvement." Powel sought to increase the dairy producing capabilities of a cattle breed normally known for its beef, the Durham Shorthorn, by personally importing purebreds directly from

In May 2009, I completed my dissertation, "In the National Interest: Improving Domestic Animals and the Making of the United States, 1815–1870," at the University of Virginia under the direction of Peter S. Onuf and Edmund Russell. I wish to thank Earle E. Spamer of the American Philosophical Society, who first brought Peter Browne's hair and wool collection to my attention. Eileen Mathias and Robert Peck of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia provided invaluable assistance in pursuance of this project. Browne's collection closely escaped the dustbin on at least one occasion—thoughtful individuals saved this record of nineteenth-century history. I also appreciate the generous assistance of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

England. Peter Browne, who did not breed farm animals, was nonetheless an armchair enthusiast of sheep breeding and wool production. He put his inheritance and the fees he received as a lawyer toward a variety of geological, scientific, and philanthropic pursuits, including a collection of domesticated and wild sheep's wools from across the globe that he started in the late 1840s. In 1855, he told an audience in Harrisburg that "the enlightened and industrious sovereign people of this great and still growing country should awake to the importance of sheep-breeding and wool growing."<sup>1</sup>

As historians Tamara Thornton and Harriet Ritvo have shown, experimentation with breeding animals was a hobby of the upper classes in nineteenth-century America and Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Thornton found status anxiety as the root cause of genteel Bostonians' promotion of an agrarian ideology during the period of industrialization in Massachusetts, and Ritvo argued that animal husbandry was symbolically important to the British landed gentry because the control of lesser animals like cattle and sheep represented social power, the following pages tell a different story about the politics of animal breeding. Rather than being anxious elites, John H. Powel and Peter Browne were self-confident gentlemen. For them, the breeding of livestock was an expression of the American culture of improvement, as well as a demonstration of the increasing economic links between urban areas and agricultural lands. Animal breeding was a forward-looking endeavor, embraced as part of a dynamic domestic economy. Moreover, while these elite Philadelphians were motivated by the social prestige that came with livestock breeding and intellectual pursuits, they also were practical men who were not afraid to make money and promote methods of wealth creation. Powel had a private financial stake in the purchase and sale of purebred animals; Browne supported the prosperity of wool growers and woolen manufacturers through his political rhetoric and promotion of scientific breeding. Above all, Powel and Browne hoped to promulgate scientific ideas about

<sup>1</sup> John H. Powel, Philadelphia, to John Wetherill, Leicestershire, England, [May 1825], Letterbook, 1824–1826, vol. 45, ser. 5a, Powel Family Papers, 1681–1938, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; "An Address of Peter A. Browne, LL.D., (Delivered by Invitation,) September 25, 1855, before the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg," in *Third Annual Report of the Transactions of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society* (Harrisburg, PA, 1856), 86–98.

<sup>2</sup> Tamara P. Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1785–1860* (New Haven, CT, 1989); Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1987).



livestock to any and all American citizens who read their essays or listened to their speeches. Their vision of agricultural improvement was based less on the agrarian myth of ancient poetry than on the technological advance of an industrial future.

Powel and Browne were part of a small group of agricultural improvers in Philadelphia who claimed that animal breeding would support the public good of the nation. Powel and Browne made grandiose claims about the economic benefits of the physical modifications they proposed to breed into the typical livestock that dominated the family farms of a nation that was still predominantly rural. This tiny, though socially powerful, cadre of gentleman improvers wished to make American farms as productive as those in Europe while keeping down the cost of labor. Animal breeders also became promoters of transportation links between cities and agricultural hinterlands, geological research, domestic manufacturing, and federal tariff policy. They recognized the connections between agriculture and other areas of often contentious public policy. For example, Powel and Browne disagreed over whether the nation should remain fundamentally agrarian. Still, they both believed that America's freehold farmers had the capacity to manage and control the physical features of domesticated animals. By breeding better domesticated animals, American breeders created more productive farmers and more useful citizens.

Sufficient similarities exist between John H. Powel and Peter Browne that they warrant recognition together. They both subscribed to a view of improvement that depended on the diffusion of useful knowledge, the education of literate men, and the communication of political ideas through civil societies. Powel and Browne were fascinated by the material changes in the economy of Pennsylvania and the nation as a whole. To them, the breeding of improved livestock was akin to building canals, constructing steam locomotives, hollowing out mountains of coal, and erecting woolen factories. The fact that they disagreed over the passage of protective tariffs further illuminates the character of the animal breeding community in urban America.

Thus, the story of Philadelphia's John H. Powel and Peter Browne makes an instructive case study of the link between animal breeding and the culture of improvement during the early nineteenth century. After a brief explication of the ways that the "improvement" of domesticated animals was transferred to early America from Great Britain and Europe,

this article shows that a growing number of urban Americans promoted the practice and intellectual pursuit of animal breeding. Unlike Boston's agrarian Federalists, Philadelphia's farmers were far less anxious about their social status. From positions of social supremacy and cultural confidence, Philadelphia's gentleman farmers promoted agricultural change and technological transformation.

*Placing the Breeding of Livestock in the Culture of Improvement*

Livestock "improvement" is the genetic modification of the physical character of animals within a relatively small number of generations over a short period of time. Although animal breeding has long been important in human societies, it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that agricultural reformers in Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries developed new techniques for the "improvement" of domestic animals through repeated and deliberate mating. The new focus on breeding occurred first with the most malleable or ubiquitous of farm livestock—horses, cattle, and sheep. By the 1780s, gentlemen farmers in Britain began to recategorize farm animals isolated by geography and known for centuries by distinctive local features into "breeds." The use of "breed" as a classification, which was interchangeable with "families" and "races" in that pre-Darwinian age, represented a new and universal approach to the organization of the animal world.

The most famous "breeds" indicated a new imperative; they were usually the animals that could produce increased quantities of beef, milk, and wool, all of which were critical to the expansion of cities and mass-produced goods. Leaders of eighteenth-century British agricultural improvement—including Robert Bakewell, Thomas Coke, the dukes of Bedford, Lord Somerville, and the Colling brothers—were pioneers in the breeding of livestock. They became highly relevant to American improvers throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Americans like Powel acknowledged "the vigilance, and science of some distinguished breeders in England, [who] have shown, in varying the forms, and even in assigning, if the phrase may be used, definite properties, shapes, and even peculiar colours, to whole families of neat cattle and sheep."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society, with Selections from the Most Approved Authors, Adapted to the Use of the Practical Farmers of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1824), 49.

The transformation in breeding practice that gentleman farmers in Britain and Europe spearheaded produced the science and engineering that helped to create the most famous livestock breeds of the mid-nineteenth century. Americans like Powel and Browne derived many of their animals and ideas from foreign sources. For instance, the cattle that John H. Powel owned and bred were Shorthorns. Originally from the area around Durham in northeastern England, these animals quickly emerged as “not only the fashionable speculation of the richest landowners and farmers but the commonplace and essential improved beast of the age of high farming.”<sup>4</sup> Browne was familiar with the differences between the fineness and texture of the wool of the Southdown, Merino, Rambouillet, and Saxony breeds of sheep—each of which originated as a “breed” in England, Spain, France, and Germany, respectively.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Americans were eager to remove many kinds of international trade barriers. It is likely that both Powel and Browne supported excluding from tariffs livestock imported for breeding purposes, a federal policy which had begun in 1793 and was renewed in subsequent legislation through the 1850s.<sup>5</sup> By comparison, European monarchs and nobles often had been the only people with the privilege to exchange purebred livestock, as when King George III received Merinos from Spain as a gift in the 1770s. Trade barriers erected by European governments ensured the general prohibition against free trade in pure breeds of animals. Powel complained that “the severe penalties imposed by law for any attempt to export breeding Sheep from Great Britain have defeated my efforts,” but he was jubilant in 1825 when export of Southdown and Leicester sheep breeds was finally allowed.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> John H. Powel to John B. Wallace, June 14, 1824, and Powel to W. Smith, Dishley, England, Dec. 24, 1824, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers; P. J. Perry, “The Shorthorn Comes of Age (1822–1843): Agricultural History from the Herdbook,” *Agricultural History* 56 (1982): 560–66.

<sup>5</sup> For the 1793 law, see *An Act for Repealing the Several Impost Laws of the United States . . . on Useful Beasts Imported for Breed . . .* [Philadelphia, 1793], broadside, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA; Secretary Alexander Hamilton, *Letter on Importations, Tonnage, Etc.*, Feb. 27, 1793, Ex. Docs. 2nd Cong. 2nd sess., cited in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Publications of the United States, September 5, 1774–March 4, 1881*, comp. Benjamin Perley Poore (Washington, DC, 1885), 27. For 1842 and 1846 tariffs, see *Customs Tariff of 1842 with Senate Debates Thereon Accompanied by Messages of the President, Treasury Reports, and Bills*, 62nd Cong. 1st sess., Senate Doc. 21 (Washington, DC, 1911), 316–18, 388; *Customs Tariff of 1846 with Senate Debates Thereon Accompanied by Messages of the President, Treasury Reports, and Bills*, 62nd Cong. 1st sess., Senate Doc. 71 (Washington, DC, 1911), 27, 271.

<sup>6</sup> For the British laws, see Lewis F. Allen, *History of the Short-Horn Cattle: Their Origin, Progress and Present Condition* (Buffalo, NY, 1872), 23–24; H. B. Carter, *His Majesty's Spanish*

Once they managed to obtain transatlantic animal shipments, gentlemen farmers across the eastern United States began to breed livestock that was increasingly specialized for production and less shaped by its local environment. Carrying genetic markers with them through deliberate breeding—though the concept of genetics was unknown to the breeders—these new and fashionable “breeds” were disseminated throughout the world in the nineteenth century. As a result of these international agricultural innovations, the “improvement” of domesticated animals in the United States came to be associated mainly with the technical processes of selective breeding.

Particularly important was the practice of inbreeding. Many cattle and sheep breeders began to sanction the mating of close relatives, such as mothers and sons or fathers and daughters. For commercial and economic, as much as aesthetic, reasons, the purity of the breed—captured in the label “purebred”—was a highly sought-after goal among an increasing number of nineteenth-century breeders. As Peter Browne wrote in 1855, “The earnest endeavor of all agricultural societies should be to encourage the selection of pure breeds!” Concomitantly, breeders, zoologists, and taxonomists were fascinated and troubled by the existence of animal “hybrids,” or what were also called “mongrels” at the time. But other breeders worried that inbreeding that occurred too closely between members of the same animal family or that proceeded for too many generations without crosses from outside the gene pool resulted in degeneration. The debate over the primacy of inbreeding simmered among gentleman breeders throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Notwithstanding the fears associated with inbreeding, breeders in Britain and America collected pedigrees as emblems of transgenerational purity. Pedigrees were rapidly assembled into printed volumes known as “herd books,” the equivalent of animal genealogies. For example, Powel of Philadelphia assembled many pedigrees from his surrogates across the English countryside. Yet even he was skeptical of the value of all pedigrees. On one hand, he asserted that the “records of the Herd and Stud

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*Flock: Sir Joseph Banks and the Merinos of George III of England* (Sydney, Australia, 1964). For Powel’s desire to overcome British sheep exportation barriers, see John H. Powel to unknown recipient, Apr. 29, 1825, Powel to Mr. Patterson, June 4, 1825, Powel to Jonas Whitaker, June 18, 1825, Powel to Stephen Williams, Nov. 22, 1825, and Powel to Samuel Cox, Jan. 23, 1826, all in Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers.

<sup>7</sup>Peter A. Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium; or, A Treatise on the Organization, Properties and Uses of Hair and Wool; Together with an Essay upon the Raising and Breeding of Sheep* (Philadelphia, 1853), 158.

Books” afforded “the most decided evidence of the validity of” improved animal breeding. On the other, “I like pedigree but I want usefulness.”<sup>8</sup>

But pedigrees and herd books served a commercial purpose. By assigning animals on an individual basis to rigid (if not universally accepted) categories like “breeds,” “families,” or “races,” and by printing herd books for each breed, breeders who lived in distant parts of the United States were able to assess, compare, and calculate the monetary value of purebred animals. As historian Margaret Derry notes, public herd books played “an enormous role in the trade of stock that occurred over long distances.” Some fifty thousand Shorthorn bulls would be registered in the Shorthorn herd book between the years 1822 and 1883.<sup>9</sup>

### *Placing Philadelphia in the Culture of Improvement*

The culture and technology of inbreeding as adopted in Britain and Europe shaped the breeding of domesticated livestock in the early United States. Across the country, there was a commonly held belief that nature, as well as mankind, was improvable. By the 1820s, the American nation was awash in the political rhetoric of improvement. The roads, canals, and, later, railroads built during this era were known as “internal improvements,” but agriculture too was deeply tied to internal improvement. For instance, during the 1820s, Powel defined internal improvement “in its largest and most comprehensive sense” as “the cooperation of those, who although humbly employed in delving the earth are most usefully engaged in creating the means of support and augmenting the resources of all.” Two decades later Browne averred that “hair, wool, and fur are objects of great utility in manufactures and the arts” and would “elevate the American farmer and the manufacturer,” which suggested that animal breeding was an aid to the nation’s material progress.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> John H. Powel to William Greiner, May 20, 1824, Powel to Michael Ashcroft, Bank Hall, England, Aug. 24, 1824, and Powel to James Worth, Newtown, Bucks County, Feb. 17, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers; “On Breeding. . . Its Influence upon the Constitution and Secretions of the Animal,” John H. Powel in reply to Major Rudd, of Marton Lodge, England, in *Hints for American Husbandmen, with Communications to the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society* (Philadelphia, 1827), n.p.

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Derry, *Bred for Perfection: Shorthorn Cattle, Collies, and Arabian Horses since 1800* (Baltimore, 2003), 8; Perry, “Shorthorn Comes of Age,” 560–66.

<sup>10</sup> John H. Powel to unknown recipient, Apr. 29, 1825, and Powel to John Wetherill, Leicestershire, England, [May 1825], both in Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers; Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium*, 148–49.

Powel and Browne envisioned the improvement of domesticated animals as part of the many political projects that arose in the state and national legislatures beginning in the 1820s. They were among a generation of Philadelphians who initiated major material changes in Pennsylvania—building canals, constructing steam locomotives, clearing forests, hollowing out coal, and creating industrial factories. They knew that the economic development of state and nation were linked; they understood that Pennsylvania and the union rose and fell together. They cared about the improvement of Pennsylvania farms because it fostered the intrastate and interstate development of markets for all manner of goods. Their biggest political challenges were to extend interior markets, spread new transportation networks across the state, diversify the rural economy, and perhaps to encourage domestic manufacturing. As a result, Powel and Browne connected livestock breeding to the issue of “internal improvements.”<sup>11</sup>

Powel, for example, had social and political connections that brought him within the orbit of the transportation improvers, such as the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvement, which was founded by pamphleteer Mathew Carey. When Powel was elected to the Pennsylvania Senate in 1827, he became the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Manufactures.<sup>12</sup> Powel spearheaded a plan for a canal between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers to draw commerce to the city of Philadelphia. Yet, by the early 1830s, when railroads had become a reality in Pennsylvania, Powel promoted the building of tracks by the West Philadelphia Railroad Company over the Schuylkill River Permanent Bridge. He also invested in the newly chartered Pennsylvania Railroad Company.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Carter Goodrich, ed., *Canals and American Economic Development* (New York, 1961); John Larson, *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> John H. Powel to Joseph Lawrence, Aug. 19, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, and Samuel Kneass to Powel, Jan. 16, 1829, box 9, folder 1, Powel Family Papers. For a biography of Kneass, see Bruce Sinclair, *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute, 1824–1865* (Baltimore, 1975), 59n28.

<sup>13</sup> Eventually, Powel turned this political promotion of transportation to his favor, selling rights-of-way to the Pennsylvania Railroad in the 1840s and allowing the company to slice through a portion of the Powelton estate that had once been a farm pasture for his cattle and sheep. For Powel's resignation from the state Senate, see Correspondence, March–December, box 9, folder 8, Powel Family Papers. For bridge and railroad activity, see John Hare Powel Civic Papers, 1835, box 17, folder 7, Pamphlets, 1822–1837, vol. 75, and Outgoing Correspondence, 1814–1840, box 11, folder 1, Powel Family Papers; John Hare Powel, *Mr. Powel's Remarks on the Termination of the Pennsylvania Rail-Way, March, 1829* ([Philadelphia?], 1829).

Peter Browne, though less financially invested in transportation projects, was equally aware of the benefits and challenges of connecting city and countryside. In 1837, he penned *An Essay on Veterinary Art*, a pamphlet that outlined how improvements to transportation enhanced the trade and treatment of horses and oxen, animals that Pennsylvania's farmers used for ploughing fields, merchants used to haul goods, and carriage companies needed to transport human passengers. During a trip to Europe in the 1830s, Browne visited the famous French veterinary school at Alfort, outside of Paris. He observed that Pennsylvania needed more trained veterinarians—or at least farmers with knowledge of the veterinary arts—because of the changing contours of the technology of animal transportation. He noted, "The more our cities increase in population, and the greater the number of rail roads by which our country is traversed, the more necessary will it become that our cattle [and horses] should be well broke [trained for the plough or harness]." Consequently, Browne proposed the creation of a veterinary college in Pennsylvania. Though such a college was not built in his lifetime, later in the century Philadelphia became the site of the University of Pennsylvania's veterinary school.<sup>14</sup>

Complementary to transportation, Philadelphia's improvers were involved in the accumulation of scientific knowledge about Pennsylvania's geology. Geology was an important determinant of the uses of Pennsylvania's soils and rocks in agriculture, home heating, and industry. As a proprietor of coal lands in the Lehigh Valley and an administrator of large tracts of land near Wilkes-Barre in Luzerne County on behalf of the Bingham estate, Powel was certain that until "its forests are subdued," Pennsylvania could not increase its production or export of wheat; it also could not extract its known deposits of coal.<sup>15</sup> In 1828, Browne pushed legislators, including Powel when he was serving a term in the Pennsylvania Senate, to fund a geological survey of the entire state of Pennsylvania. By 1830, Browne proposed the formation of a "Geological Society in Pennsylvania" to cater to all the counties in the state. He mod-

<sup>14</sup> Browne linked the introduction of foreign "races of the domestic animals" to the nationalism of "a young country like the United States." See Peter A. Browne, *An Essay on the Veterinary Art* (Philadelphia, 1837), 1–22.

<sup>15</sup> John H. Powel to unknown recipient, Apr. 29, 1825, and Powel to John Wetherill, Leicestershire, England, [May 1825], both in Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers. For Powel's involvement with coal mines, see the finding aid for the Powel Family Papers (2004), 11–20, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

eled the effort on the “Cabinets of Natural Science” that were already established in Philadelphia, Chester, Montgomery, and Bucks counties. Browne believed that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had a republican duty to educate its citizens. The state legislators, however, appear not to have been convinced, as they decided not to approve money for Browne’s proposed geological survey. Later, in 1837, Browne became a professor of geology and mineralogy at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania.<sup>16</sup>

Animal breeding could be improved through geological research as well. Geological details helped farmers choose the most fecund pastures and the most nutritious kinds of grasses (i.e. timothy or orchard grass) for cattle and sheep. Knowledge of the quality of farm soils was an aid in ascertaining the value of land throughout Pennsylvania. “Soiling cattle,” or placing them in barns to collect manures to spread on tired grain fields, was a favorite rallying cry of improvers, but it also evoked the way that improving gentlemen viewed soils as integral to animal improvement. “Drilling crops” was another redolent description. As Powel noted in 1825, agricultural decisions were “very much affected by the strength of the soil[,] the accuracy and depth of tillage,” all of which could be analyzed geologically. Browne told the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society in 1855 about matching fine-wool sheep to certain topographical regions. He observed, “The hairy sheep and the woolly sheep prosper best in different districts of county; the fine woolled sheep does not thrive well on an island or near the sea coast of a continent, but delights in an inland, hilly or mountainous country.”<sup>17</sup> Philadelphia’s urban elites contributed to the dialogue about the improvement of agriculture throughout

<sup>16</sup> P. A. Browne, Benjamin Bartholomew, and Joseph Thomas, “Curiosity,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, copied in *Register of Pennsylvania*, Apr. 24, 1830; Peter A. Browne, *Columbian Star and Christian Index*, Oct. 9, 1830; Peter A. Browne, “Geological Society,” *Register of Pennsylvania*, Oct. 23, 1830; J. B. [sic] Browne, “Singular Impression in Marble,” *American Journal of Science and Arts* 19 (1831): 361; “First Annual Report of the Bucks County Academy of Natural Science,” *Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania* 8 (1831): 1; Peter A. Browne, “On the Geological Character of the Beds upon which the City of Philadelphia Stands,” *Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science* 1 (1832): 363–68; Peter A. Browne, “Hints to Students of Geology: No. I,” *Southern Literary Messenger* 1 (1834): 162; Peter A. Browne, “Hints to Students of Geology: No. II,” *Southern Literary Messenger* 1 (1835): 300. For Browne’s membership in the Geological Society of Pennsylvania, see *Browne Family in America* (Philadelphia, 1934), 45. For Browne’s promotion of a geological survey in 1828, see box 21, folder 10 (Brooke-Browning), James T. Mitchell Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Peter A. Browne to John H. Powel, Feb. 12, 1828, ser. 5, box 8, folder 12: Dec. 1828, Powel Family Papers.

<sup>17</sup> “Address of Peter A. Browne, LL.D. . . . 1855,” 86–98.



Pennsylvania and the nation.<sup>18</sup>

The promotion of federal protective tariffs was another public policy that commanded the attention of Philadelphia's agricultural improvers. In particular, tariffs on wool and woolens—first applied at a “protective” level in 1816—affected the profitability of, among other farm products, fine-wool sheep husbandry. Though Powel and Browne both believed that the new American nation needed to achieve economic independence from Great Britain by producing agricultural goods for its home markets, they disagreed sharply about the political tools necessary to accomplish that goal. Powel thought that the United States was not prepared to begin constructing large-scale factories of any sort in the 1820s, while Browne promoted protective tariffs to support many kinds of industries, both agricultural and manufacturing. Fighting over means rather than ends, Powel and Browne nevertheless both subscribed to the notion that domestic animals would play an economic role in the future prosperity of Pennsylvania's farmers.

Thus, the promise of improving domestic animals became part of the national culture of improvement. Urban elites in Philadelphia were among the notable genteel livestock breeders in the United States during the 1820s. They included Timothy Pickering in Massachusetts, Nicholas Biddle in Pennsylvania, George Featherstonhaugh and Stephen Van Rensselaer in New York, Mark Cockrill in Tennessee, William R. Dickinson in Ohio, George W. P. Custis in Virginia, John S. Skinner in Maryland, Henry Clay in Kentucky, and Daniel Webster in New Hampshire. These men connected the technical means of altering the physical characteristics of farm animals with the culture of improvement.<sup>19</sup>

In Pennsylvania, the improvement of the countryside began in the city of Philadelphia, as Philadelphians took the lead in forming charters for canal and railroad companies, the survey of transportation routes, the erection of navigational aids, and the creation of banking institutions to pay for this infrastructure. The city was also a hotbed of ideas about agriculture and livestock; Philadelphia was a notable place for the creation of

<sup>18</sup> John H. Powel to Robert Smith, Baltimore, June 27, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers. For agricultural aspects of geological exploration, see Benjamin Cohen, “Surveying Nature: Environmental Dimensions of Virginia's First Scientific Survey, 1835–1842,” *Environmental History* 11 (2006): 37–69.

<sup>19</sup> George Lemmer, “The Spread of Improved Cattle through the Eastern United States to 1850,” *Agricultural History* 21 (1947): 79–93.

regional and national institutions of agricultural reform.<sup>20</sup>

Writers in Philadelphia exhorted farmers living across Pennsylvania, in neighboring states, and indeed throughout the nation to make changes to their farm practices and livestock husbandry. For example, the founding of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1785, the Society for the Improving of the Breed of Neat Cattle in 1809, the Merino Society of the Middle States a year later, and the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society in 1823 were all evidence of Philadelphia's concerted efforts to encourage agriculture. In 1825, Powel reminded a fellow breeder in Washington County (west of Pittsburgh) that "a metropolis" was the only place for an agricultural journal to originate because of "the excitements of wealth, the inducements of leisure." It took a decade before such a periodical appeared, but Philadelphia eventually became the home of agricultural journals such as the *Farmers' Cabinet*, and *American Herd-Book* (1836–48) and the *Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* (1848–57). By 1849 the Farmers' Club of Pennsylvania held its meetings in or near the city. The Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, founded in 1851 in Harrisburg in order to represent all fifty-five of the state's far-flung counties more inclusively, had twenty-eight members from Philadelphia County (second only to the sixty members of Dauphin County) and scheduled agricultural fairs near Philadelphia. Cities were crucial sites for animal breeding and animal breeders.<sup>21</sup>

During the early nineteenth century, Powel and Browne asserted the benefits of improving livestock through the new techniques of inbreeding or pure-breeding. While others focused on soil conditions, crop rotation,

<sup>20</sup> Simon Baatz, "Venerate the Plough": *A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Philadelphia, 1985); Simon Baatz, "Patronage, Science, and Ideology in an American City: Patrician Philadelphia, 1800–1860" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986); Simon Baatz, "Philadelphia Patronage: The Institutional Structure of Natural History in the New Republic, 1800–1833," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8 (1988): 111–38.

<sup>21</sup> John H. Powel to Alexander Reed, Aug. 19, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers; *Minutes of the Farmers' Club of Pennsylvania: A Record of Seventy Years, 1849–1919* (Philadelphia, 1920), 31–32; *Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention Held at Harrisburg, January 21, 1851* [Harrisburg, PA, 1851], Library Company of Philadelphia; *First Annual Report of the Transactions of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society* (Harrisburg, PA, 1854), 1–17, 22, 31. For the organization of agricultural societies, see Lawrence Peskin, *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry* (Baltimore, 2003), 119–87; Margaret Rossiter, "The Organization of Agricultural Improvement in the United States, 1785–1865," in *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War*, ed. Alexandra Oleson and Sanborn Brown (Baltimore, 1976), 279–98. For the agricultural press in Philadelphia, see Albert Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819–1860* (New York, 1941).

and manures, they found animal breeding especially enticing. Perhaps that was because breeding offered visual proof of improvement, as demonstrated by the color, size, and shape of the livestock progeny that emerged, or by the quality of milk, beef, or wool that they produced.<sup>22</sup>

*The Lives and Livestock of Powel and Browne*

Powel's emergence as an animal breeder was mainly built upon his mercantile wealth. Not only did he inherit several houses in Philadelphia and a large fortune from his stepfather, Samuel Powel, a global merchant and the last colonial mayor of Philadelphia, but he also made a large fortune from trade with India. Powel gained further valuable experience in the diplomatic service during the Jefferson administration when he was secretary of legation to Great Britain. He quickly adapted his mercantile background, transatlantic awareness, and British social training to country living. By 1818, he had hired laborers to work a farm estate that he called "Powelton." Located in a still-rural district just west of the Schuylkill River, Powel described it as "a small farm of about 100 acres about my house [that] is devoted exclusively to breeding." To accentuate the connection between his name and the purebred animals he purchased from England, Powel erected an inn called the Durham Ox.<sup>23</sup>

Though he maintained other residences in the center of Philadelphia, at Powelton he raised Durham Shorthorn cattle, as well as Tunisian, Southdown, and Leicester sheep, which he imported directly from Europe. Shorthorns were thought to be a special cattle breed in the early nineteenth century because they were symmetrical and stocky, could be raised quickly, and produced good meat. Powel was unique among cattle

<sup>22</sup> Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 45–81.

<sup>23</sup> Born in 1786, Powel began his life as John Powel Hare, the nephew of Elizabeth Willing Powel. She was the wife of Philadelphia's "Patriot Mayor" Samuel Powel. A wealthy landlord of ninety Philadelphia properties, Mayor Powel was active not only in the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture but also in the American Philosophical Society and the University of Pennsylvania. After Mayor Powel died of yellow fever in 1793, his wife, Elizabeth Willing Powel, adopted the young son of her sister Margaret Willing and Robert Hare. By 1809, at age twenty-three, John Powel Hare legally changed his name to John Hare Powel to reflect the new status he had gained as the adopted son of the Powel family. See Powel Family Papers finding aid. For mercantile activity, see Messrs. John Powel Hare and Aaron Thelley, May 22, 1806, box 8, folder 1, Powel Family Papers. For Powel's appointment as Secretary of the U.S. Legation in London and Bearer of Dispatches, see Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1859), 808–19. For the quote about "exclusively for breeding," see John H. Powel to John Wetherell, Dec. 20, 1824, Letterbook 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers. For Durham Ox inn, see Land Agent Records, Administrative Papers, 1816–1849, Civic Papers 1827–1829, box 17, folder 2.

breeders because he also valued the Shorthorn breed for its milking qualities. In June 1824, he raved that “the best variety of cattle among all those of Europe is the Durham Short Horns which unite the great objects sought by the breeders[,] the propensity to become fat when dry and to afford large quantities of rich milk when required by the young.” By his definition, “the dairy strain” was not “the race which cow keepers desire, but that which is best fitted for the general purposes of the Country, affording about three gallons twice a day of rich milk accompanied by the symmetrical proportions . . . which have established the excellence of Improved Short Horns.” Powel sought “rich milk more than beef.”<sup>24</sup>

For two decades following 1820, Powel propagated lines of imported “breeds” of cattle and sheep, experimented with inbreeding, recorded animal pedigrees, displayed and sold animals at local and regional fairs near Philadelphia, gave away animals as studs or breeders, and wrote about livestock in America’s most important agricultural periodicals, like the *American Farmer* (Baltimore) and the *New England Farmer* (Boston). At the time, Powel was unusual because he expended so much money to transport bulls and heifers from Great Britain, an expense that remained prohibitive for most Pennsylvania farmers of the 1820s. In June 1824, for instance, Powel mentioned “the great prices I have paid from nearly \$700 for an imported heifer to \$100 for the hire of a bull for a few months.” By December he owned “now twelve imported animals for eight of which I have paid \$2585.” In June 1825, Powel remarked that “some of my cows have cost from \$500 to \$685 each.” By the end of the 1830s, Powel had spent thousands of dollars on Durham cattle. He continually insisted that he had “no view to profit as a Dealer in Live Stock” and that he had “no desire for pecuniary profit—my farming arrangements are merely matters of amusement.”<sup>25</sup>

While Powel’s Shorthorn cattle were a picturesque addition to his farm at Powelton, they were not simply a wealthy man’s hobby. He believed that they would become a beneficial contribution to Pennsylvania agriculture, but only if he could convince others to purchase

<sup>24</sup> John H. Powel to John B. Wallace, June 14, 1824, Powel to Michael Ashcroft, Aug. 17, 1824, and Powel to Jonas Whitaker, July 14, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers.

<sup>25</sup> John H. Powel to John B. Wallace, June 14, 1824, Powel to Thomas Chase, Dec. 11, 1824, Powel to J. J. Vanderkemp, June 23, 1825, Powel to Joseph Gales Jr., Nov. 17, 1825, and Powel to Mr. Rusby, Feb. 11, 1826, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers. For Powel’s business acumen, see Judith McGaw, “Specialization and American Agricultural Innovation in the Early Industrial Era: John Hare Powel and Livestock Breeding,” *Business and Economic Review* 13 (1984): 134–49.

his prime bulls or to breed from the offspring of his animals. What Powel called “native” cows—a label that he applied universally and indiscriminately to most of the dairy cattle then dotting the American countryside—would be “improved” through mating with his bulls with Shorthorn blood.

To compensate for the high prices of imported or purebred animals, Powel often subsidized the cattle breeding of other farmers in Pennsylvania. In 1824, he was proud of his patriotic acts of generosity, noting, “I have stationed my bulls in various counties and have never allowed a charge to be made . . . I have given away more animals than I have ever sold and never received pay for a sheep in my life except from a butcher.” Even when he did exchange livestock for money, Powel settled on lower prices, since he did not have “the slightest wish to send any animal which I possess to any man who imagines the price too high. My friends and the farmers in the neighbouring counties are ready to take any animal . . . which I am disposed to part from, and to perfectly satisfy your neighbour that I do not wish to expose him to an expenditure too large for his pocket.” The British cattle breeder and cotton manufacturer Jonas Whitaker, who sold a number of cattle to Powel, reckoned that the measure of success for improved farming was to turn local improvements into national wealth. Whitaker told Powel, “I duly appreciate your laudable efforts to serve your Country, and I wish you could infuse your liberal spirits into the ruling powers to let each nation or individual enjoy the benefit of any local advantage they may possess.”<sup>26</sup>

Powel counted on the expansion of the market economy in Pennsylvania to create wealth and to add value to his breeding experiments. As Powel said to an Englishman from whom he had purchased prize animals, “I believe that an extensive market will eventually be opened in this Country for Improved Short Horns. You will perceive that when the landholders cultivate their own Estates the temptation to improvement when the fact of superiority shall have been established is very great.” Still, there were economic and social barriers in Pennsylvania that prevented quick adoption of improved livestock by farmers of more middling circumstances or moderate incomes. Powel supposed in 1826 that “the cheapness of land, and consequent low price of provisions make

<sup>26</sup> John H. Powel to Thomas Chase, Dec. 11, 1824, Powel to Mr. Smallwood, Jan. 21, 1825, Powel to Henry Watson, Feb. 9, 1826, and Powel to Guy Bigelow, Mar. 9, 1826, all in Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers. “Wye Comet,” *Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 25, 1826. Jonas Whitaker to Powel, Feb. 9, 1826, box 8, folder 8, Powel Family Papers.

the high prices of improved stock the greatest obstacle to their introduction." A home market in domestic animals was the avenue for national success.<sup>27</sup>

Powel's views about the spread of Shorthorn cattle breeding was linked to his distaste of federal tariffs. His background as a global merchant explains why he maintained the political view that free trade was a force that would liberate America from the grip of European powers and that protective tariffs on finished imported goods would actually hurt American farmers. In December 1824, during a year in which the U.S. Congress passed the most protective tariff yet, Powel wrote, "I am largely concerned in the landed interest of this country and am one of that set of politicians who would rather pay our British kinsmen to file pins and manufacture cloths whilst we clear our forests grow wheat and manufacture hardy children. I am thus arduously employed in all that can effect improvement of farm stock and good husbandry." Again, in 1826, he argued that domestic animals "shall make us independent in fact, of foreign supplies of certain raw materials," which would create a home market and obviate the need for "imposts upon trade, and shackles upon our industry" and allow the United States to "obtain independence of manufacturers from abroad." What is important is not just Powel's view that the nation should remain largely agrarian and avoid the political ills of cities built by factory labor, but that he conceived of a future without federal tariffs sustained by the fruitful produce of livestock, fields, and forests.<sup>28</sup>

Though Powel stressed his patronage efforts and denied that he was making a profit, it is clear that the improvement of fancy cattle and sheep helped him to compensate for expenditures or even to increase his personal wealth. The ownership of purebred cattle brought him earnings through stud fees and sales of pedigreed stock. Indeed, Powel earned \$500 a year from just one bull's mating at \$8 to \$10 per cow. In the course of one year, he earned \$3,400 from calves he sold to other farmers across Pennsylvania and in the eastern states. He grossed an average of \$320 per Shorthorn when he sold twenty-one of his herd in 1830. Powel's sale of cattle and sheep in 1837 totaled an immense sum of \$14,980.<sup>29</sup>

Powel's patronage, promotion, and breeding of Shorthorns can be

<sup>27</sup> John H. Powel to Charles Champion, Jan. 3, 1825, and Powel to Mr. Rusby, Feb. 11, 1826, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers.

<sup>28</sup> John H. Powel to Jonas Whitaker, Dec. 20, 1824, and Powel to Jonas Whitaker, Jan. 14, 1826, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers.

tracked through geography as well as the money trail. He sold stud fees or breeding animals to farmers in New York, Kentucky, Virginia, and South Carolina. In the spring of 1826, for example, Powel sold his Shorthorn bull "Wye Comet" to Henry Watson of East Windsor, Connecticut, who offered the bull at a five-dollar stud fee (still quite pricey) to other Connecticut farmers. The backcountry of Maine was also populated with Powel's livestock: "I sent three half bred males into the wilderness of Maine. I placed my bulls for many seasons in different counties, to husband native cows."<sup>30</sup> Powel helped to extend the market for Durham Shorthorn bulls as far he could.

Powel shuttled his Shorthorns between northern freehold farmers, middle-state landholders, western speculators, and southern slave planters. He argued that certain breeds could maintain their purity over generations of breeding within a particular environment and be tailored to suit different labor systems. The selection of a particular cattle breed to fit each zone was important. He realized that the "properties, of farm stock" was a "subject . . . more important to . . . the eastern, middle, and western States" than the southern states because livestock there involved "the application of three-fourths of the product of their labours, and of their lands." Still, after the South Carolina Agricultural Society had contacted him about livestock in 1824, Powel assisted in the importation and delivery of Tuscany cattle to South Carolina.<sup>31</sup>

Though Powel conceded that he had "the same feeling about my pets, as that which animates the gentlemen of the South about their turf horses," his advice to southern planters was specific to economic and environmental concerns, not merely those of social status. He told them, "[I do] not recommend pure Short Horns for the climate of Carolina, and I am assured, the Devons are less fitted for the circumstances, in which Neat Cattle in the *Southern Country* must be placed, than many other breeds which I could name." Instead, "[I have in my] possession, an imported Ayrshire cow, as she is called, from which I am endeavouring to obtain a 'variety' mixed with the Short Horns, particularly adapted for the pur-

<sup>29</sup> For the figure of Powel's bull earning \$500, see Lemmer, "Spread of Improved Cattle," 79–93, 81. For the \$3,400 figure in 1825, see John H. Powel to J. J. Vanderkemp, June 23, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers. For the 1837 sale of cattle and sheep, see "Great Sale of Imported Cattle," *Farmers' Cabinet, and American Herd-Book* 2 (1837): 56, microfilm ed.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in McGaw, "Specialization and American Agricultural Innovation," 143–44.

<sup>31</sup> John H. Powel to Jonathan Roberts, "On the Importance of Neat Cattle to Our Manufactures and Comfort—Their Various Products, &c.," reprinted in *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society*, 41–46.

poses of the Southern States uniting great milking properties with vigor & speed for the yoke.” Geographically, Powel’s position in Philadelphia allowed him to be a middleman in the growing market for purebred cattle.<sup>32</sup>

The quantification of the impact of breeding stock on the rest of the cattle population is difficult to assess, but historian Charles Leavitt argues that “although the total number of bulls entered in the [Shorthorn] herd books to May, 1859, was less than 0.4 per cent of the 8,035,695 non-dairy cattle in the eastern and northwestern States in 1860, they were more important than might seem at first glance. . . . [I]f they produced fifteen calves for each of the eight years during which they were available for breeding purposes they would have produced 774,360 one-fourth grade Shorthorn cattle.” Amazingly, this historian’s calculation is fairly close to the one that Powel estimated in the 1820s. He figured that a thoroughbred Shorthorn bull between eighteen- and thirty-months of age could service “25 cows” in a year. Multiplying over an eight-year period, Powel thought the bull would produce 859,470 animals, or 799,308 animals if one subtracted 7 percent for “accidents and deaths.” The mathematical growth of the Shorthorn breed in the United States was numerically significant. By the 1830s and 1840s, Ohio, Kentucky, and many of the western states had large numbers of Shorthorns.<sup>33</sup>

Unlike John H. Powel, Peter A. Browne did not own or manage a farm, nor did he personally own domesticated animals, except, possibly, horses for city use. Instead, he came to the culture of improvement and the world of animal breeding through involvement in Philadelphia’s many civic societies. Like Powel, Browne had been born in Philadelphia. Browne began practicing law in 1803 and had established himself as a prominent lawyer by 1810. Through his legal practice and a family inheritance, Browne was wealthy enough to support a number of scientific, agricultural, and philanthropic ventures beginning in the 1820s. He was prominent in the Franklin Institute and the Geological Society of Pennsylvania. He was a member of pro-tariff and manufacturing societies. He wrote a long essay on the history of Indian corn as human and animal food that appeared in pamphlet form and serially in *Farmers’*

<sup>32</sup> John H. Powel to John S. Skinner, Feb. 7, 1825, Powel to John S. Skinner, Dec. 23, 1825, and Powel to Seth Hunt, New York, Oct. 6, 1825, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers.

<sup>33</sup> Charles T. Leavitt, “Attempts to Improve Cattle Breeds in the United States, 1790–1860,” *Agricultural History* 7 (1933): 51–67; John H. Powel to unknown recipient, Dec. 11, 1824, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers.



*Cabinet*, and *American Herd-Book*, the agricultural weekly started in Philadelphia in 1836 that boasted a national audience. As a sign of his growing involvement with agricultural reform, he delivered speeches at fairs and meetings of agricultural organizations outside of Pennsylvania, including the New Castle County (Delaware) Agricultural Society and the Maryland State Agricultural Society. By the 1840s, he was active in the Academy of Natural Sciences, a civil society founded in Philadelphia that had over two hundred genteel members.<sup>34</sup>

During the late 1840s, Browne embarked on a scientific analysis of wool samples that made him famous among agricultural improvers in Philadelphia and beyond. He claimed that he had invented a “science” and then tried to dignify it with the word “trichology.” Such linguistic creativity and self-confident exuberance were not exceptional during the mid-nineteenth century, when entrepreneurs and amateurs mingled comfortably with more academically trained scientists. Browne hoped that “trichology” would stimulate and refine the practices of farmers who raised sheep for wool in Pennsylvania and across the United States.<sup>35</sup>

In contrast with Powel’s anti-tariff ideology, lawyer Browne’s strong support of the national tariff policy encouraged him to become enthusiastic about sheep breeding. He favored the highly protective and politically controversial tariff of 1828, which would limit the importation of foreign wools and manufactured woolen products. Indeed, by the 1850s Browne’s study of hair and wool received its greatest publicity from the *Plough, the Loom and the Anvil*, an agricultural newspaper funded by pro-tariff political economist Henry Carey. There Browne reasoned that if “the science of Trichologia can point out . . . the particular breed of sheep that produces un-shrinking fleece, and can show where, in the United States, they may be raised and kept with success,” then it will occupy “a conspicuous place in the study of *political* economy.” Browne was so enamored with the link between sheep husbandry and domestic

<sup>34</sup> Browne *Family in America*, 41–51; P. A. Browne, “To the Mechanics, Artizans, and Manufacturers of Pennsylvania,” *Philadelphia Recorder*, Apr. 23, 1825; Sinclair, *Philadelphia’s Philosopher Mechanics*, 32, 35–37, 51–60; “An Essay on Indian Corn, Delivered by Peter A. Browne, Esq. L.L.D., before the Cabinet of Natural Science of Chester County, Pa.,” *Farmers’ Cabinet*, and *American Herd-Book*, Oct. 2, Oct. 17, Dec. 1, Dec. 15, 1837, Jan. 15, 1838; Browne, *Essay on the Veterinary Art*, 1–22. For Browne’s membership in the Academy of Natural Sciences, see Peter A. Browne, “Membership File,” Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, PA; Patsy Gerstner, “The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1812–1850,” in *Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic*, ed. Oleson and Brown, 174–93.

<sup>35</sup> Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium*.

manufacturers that he proposed that Virginia planters raise sheep, erect woolen factories, and produce woolen cloth, all as a method of agricultural improvement consistent with a federal protective tariff policy. While Powel insisted that the breeding of Shorthorn cattle ensured “independence of manufacturers from abroad,” Browne argued that the growth of fine-wool sheep and the construction of woolen factories in Pennsylvania would grant farmers and manufacturers economic independence.<sup>36</sup>

Browne’s major innovation in livestock science was the microscopic examination of wool. First he measured the thinness of wool with a micrometer. One of his thinnest American samples came from Washington County, Pennsylvania, and it was 1/2186 of an inch thick. Next he placed the wool under a high-powered microscope to inspect its scales. Browne also invented a “trichometer,” a small metal tool to test the tenacity and elasticity of wool fibers. In 1849, the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture applauded this “cheap instrument” as “essential to the manufacture” of wool and useful for farmers “to select the best woolled sheep with much more certainty than can be done by the eye or hand alone, and consequently to improve their flocks by rejecting those of inferior quality.” The *Philadelphia Ledger and Transcript* informed the general public as to how “Mr. Browne’s invention furnishes the wool grower with the certain means of making the selection of breeders best calculated to increase the value of fleece, with scarcely any expense, expenditure of time, or scientific information.”<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> M. Carey, Wm. Young, B. Chew Jr., “Manufacturers’ Meeting,” *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Mar. 8, 1828; “American System Meeting,” *Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 1, 1831; “Tariff Convention,” *Niles’ Weekly Register*, Nov. 5, 1831; Joseph Hemphill et al., “Meeting of the Friends of the Protective System,” *Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania*, June 2, 1832; “Tariff Meetings. Pennsylvania,” *Niles’ Weekly Register*, June 9, 1832; Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium*, 148–49; Peter A. Browne and Montroville W. Dickeson, *Trichographia Mammalium; or, Descriptions and Drawings of the Hairs of the Mammalia, Made with the Aid of the Microscope* (Philadelphia, 1848), back cover; “Address of Peter A. Browne, LL.D. . . . 1855,” 89. For Henry Carey and Pennsylvania’s strong protectionist strains, see Rodney Morrison, *Henry C. Carey and American Economic Development* (Philadelphia, 1986), 1–2; Arnold W. Green, *Henry Charles Carey: Nineteenth-Century Sociologist* (Philadelphia, 1951), 207; Malcolm Rogers Eiselen, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (Philadelphia, 1932). Browne’s economic nationalism led him to think that American farmers could not only supply American woolen factories, but that they could sell surplus sheep’s wool to foreign nations. In 1853, he sought “to prove that, with no greater labor than is expected in ordinary agricultural or mechanical pursuits,—without interfering with any other branch of agriculture—and to the general improvement of the soil—we can produce, in the United States, fleece enough to supply all our own wants, leaving a large surplus, for exportation.” P. A. Browne, “Sheep Breeding—No. IV,” *Germantown Telegraph*, Jan. 19, 1853.

<sup>37</sup> Collections of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, Ms. 92, box 1, folder 24, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA; “Scientific Examination,”

Regular sheep farmers in Pennsylvania and elsewhere may have had less cause to need the “trichometer” because they practiced other breeding methods. The tool remained inaccessible because Browne seems not to have patented or marketed it. Moreover, microscopes with high magnification were made in Europe and were not affordable to most American farmers. Nevertheless, Browne’s quest to measure wool microscopically was not wholly impractical. Similar measuring devices are used today to ensure that woolen growers meet industrial standards.<sup>38</sup>

To disseminate the techniques of microscopy among American farmers, Browne thought it was necessary to amass a collection of wool for testing and comparison. Consequently, in 1848, he called upon the public to send him donations of wool samples from sheep, goats, or other fur-bearing animals. As the collection grew, Browne glued the loose samples of wool into bound volumes. For example, Alonzo L. Bingham of Vermont, who exhibited French Merino rams at the 1851 Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society fair, donated to Browne’s collection. From Colonel Wade Hampton, he obtained samples of the Cashmere and Angora goats (originally from Asia) that Hampton had bred on his farm in South Carolina. He collected wool samples from a Dr. Davis who had exhibited an Angora goat ram at the 1854 Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society fair. The reach of his collection was global. Browne’s volume of “Foreign Sheep” was comprised of Irish sheep, Russian sheep, Cape of Good Hope sheep, Hindostan sheep, and Egyptian sheep. He received samples of Saxony sheep directly from German Silesia and some hairs from a Tibetan goat at the London Zoological Garden.<sup>39</sup>

Foreign accolades followed on the heels of national acclaim. After Browne placed an “invitation to all owners of fine-wooled sheep” to send him samples for “his collection of hair and wool, from every species of the animal kingdom,” he presented some of these to the industrial exhibition in 1851 at the London Crystal Palace. There he was listed as a wool “pro-

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*Philadelphia Ledger and Transcript*, Mar. 7, 1849, in “Correspondence File,” Browne Pile Collection, Academy of Natural Sciences.

<sup>38</sup> In 1880, William McMurtrie, professor of chemistry at Illinois Industrial University, conducted a “scientific examination of the fineness, textile strength, and felting properties” on behalf of an act of the U.S. Congress. See *Report upon an Examination of Wools and Other Animal Fibers . . . Made under the Direction of the Commissioner of Agriculture* (Washington, DC, 1886), 8–10.

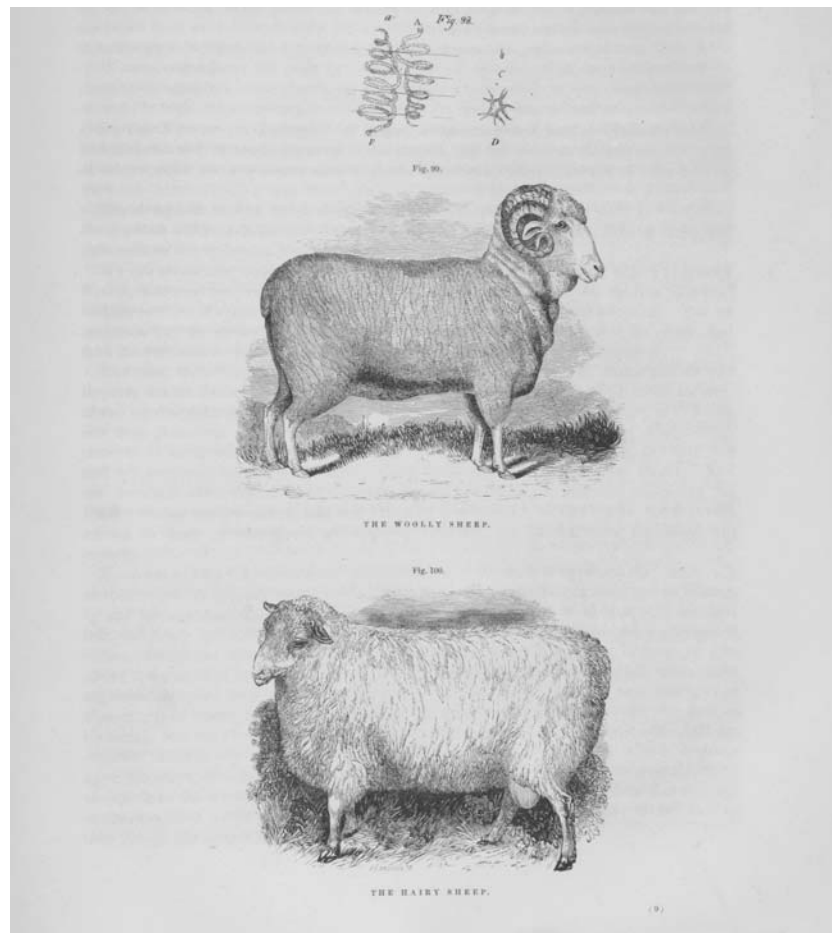
<sup>39</sup> Browne and Dickeson, *Trichographia Mammalium*, back cover; P. A. Browne to Hon. Robert R. Reed, Mar. 1, 1850, in “The Wools of Various States and Countries Compared,” *Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* 2 (1850): 688–91. For Alonzo Bingham’s wool, see William Jessup to Peter A. Browne, Oct. 30, 1851, and Charles B. Trego to Browne, Nov. 1, 1851, in “Correspondence File,” Browne Pile Collection.

ducer" from Philadelphia. After the fair, the British asked Browne to contribute American wool samples to a "universal trade-museum."<sup>40</sup>

Browne's collection added a new wrinkle to the global dialogue over nineteenth-century animal breeding. While other sheep breeders in the Euro-American world hitherto had classified sheep breeds by the *length* of their wool (e.g. longwools vs. shortwools), Browne included *fineness* of wool (e.g. hairy vs. woolly) as a classification scheme. Superimposing this new classification on top of preexisting ways to classify sheep, Browne's taxonomy was essentially based on the idea of pure-breeding. His hairy-woolly sheep division led to a "golden rule" of breeding: "The sheep-breeder should never cross the two species of sheep, viz: the hairy sheep and the woolly sheep."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For Browne's collection of hair and wool, see Browne Pile Collection. Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium*, frontispiece. For national attention given to Browne's collection, see *Minutes of the Farmers' Club of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, *A Record of Seventy Years, 1849–1919* (Philadelphia, 1920), 31–32; *First Annual Report of the Transactions of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society* (Harrisburg, PA, 1854), 17, 22, 31; "Philadelphia, May 8th, 1850 . . . P. A. Browne"; "State Agricultural Society"; "Sheep Breeding—No. I"; "Sheep Breeding—No. II"; and "Sheep Breeding—No. III," all in *Germantown Telegraph*, May 15 and Nov. 27, 1850, Dec. 1, Dec. 15, and Dec. 29, 1852; B. P. J., "Fair of the Maryland State Ag. Society," *Cultivator* 7 (1850): 387–88; [Peter Browne], "Lecture on Hair, Wool and Sheep Breeding," *Southern Planter* 11 (1851); P. A. Browne, "On Wool-Growing. To the President, Vice-President, and Members of the Wool-Growers' Association of New-York," *Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* 8 (1856): 610–13. For the possibility that Browne visited the U.S. Congress, see "Wool in the United States," *Scientific American*, Dec. 20, 1851. For Browne's role in London's Industrial Exhibition, see *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into Which the Exhibition Was Divided* (London, 1852), 157–59; *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations. Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 3, *Foreign States* (London, 1851), 1431–35; "Exhibition of American Wool at the World's Exhibition," *Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* 3 (1851): 439–40; "American Wool," *Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* 6 (1854): 582; "American Wool in England," *New England Farmer* 7 (1855): 452; "American Wool in England," *Southern Planter* 15 (1855): 383.

<sup>41</sup> P. A. Browne, "On Sheep Breeding," in *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1851*, part 2, *Agriculture* (Washington, DC, 1852), 75–96; Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium*, 158. The attention to wool fineness, by itself, was not what made Browne's classification unique; it was actually the link between fineness and *species* differences. Writing before Browne, British veterinarian William Youatt also regarded fineness as a "property" of wool that was "of greater importance than any other;" see *Sheep: Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (London, 1837), a book that was republished multiple times in the United States. To compare sheep classification schemes, see John Luccock, *An Essay on Wool, Containing a Particular Account of the English Fleece. With Hints for Its Improvement, Addressed to the Grower, Dealer, and Manufacturer* (London, 1809), 137–92; Robert Bakewell, "On the Influence of Soil and Climate upon Wool," *Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal* 3 (1815): 224–46; David Low, *On the Domesticated Animals of the British Islands: Comprehending the Natural and Economical History of Species and Varieties; The Description of the Properties of External Form; and Observations on the Principles and Practice of Breeding* (London, 1846), 41–206; Luke A. Morrell, *The American Shepherd: Being a History of the Sheep, with Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (New York, 1845).



Woolly and hairy sheep, from Peter A. Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium* (Philadelphia, 1853), following p. 152.

Browne's development of a hairy-woolly sheep taxonomy is significant because American sheep breeders and woolen manufacturers looked to simplify the complex process of supplying woolen factories with raw materials. According to Browne, hairy sheep would give manufacturers fleeces that produced worsted cloth, flannel, hose, blankets, and carpets, while woolly sheep would produce fleeces for felted hats and fine woolen cloth. By 1845, industrialization in the United States had led to the erection of 1,039 woolen factories; many of them were mechanized with carding, spinning, or weaving machines. The kinds of physical tests that

Browne conducted on *all* of his specimens—not just those from “lower animals”—were inspired partly by the new technical practicalities of wool manufacturing. Wool staplers, the skilled manufacturers who already sorted wool according to length, had begun to assign value to wool based on its fineness. When Browne measured his samples’ length with a micrometer, tested them for tenacity, observed them under a microscope, and ascertained their fineness, he did so in relation to wool and woollen producers. Measurements of wool—length, tenacity, number of scales, width of fiber—resonated with wool growers and manufacturers of the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>42</sup>

Among historians, however, Browne has gained the most notoriety for his contribution to ideas about racial science and the theories of physiological differences that emerged in the nineteenth century. This is no surprise, given that Browne assembled human hair—including the hair of fourteen American presidents, lunatics, albinos, Native Americans, Africans, and Asians from across the globe—into the first ten bound volumes of his collection. Browne’s interest in hair went beyond the barnyard and encompassed ethnological questions about the origin and progress of mankind. In particular, as historian William Stanton depicts in a short biography, Browne theorized that animals and humans could be divided into races based on the “scientific” measurement of their hair. Browne promised that his science would “shed new light upon the ethnological problem of the unity of the human species.” During the 1840s, Browne was an associate of the infamous craniologist Samuel Morton, a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia and the author of *Crania Americana* (1839). Mimicking Samuel Morton’s use of skulls to speculate about the different origins of blacks and whites, Browne utilized human hair as an anthropometric measurement of racial difference. Morton may have been placed on an academy committee to help Browne perform scientific tests on his hair and wool specimens. Morton also probably approved of the two papers that Browne gave at meetings of the American Ethnological Society.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Browne, “On Sheep Breeding,” 75–96; “Woollen Manufactures in the United States,” *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 14 (1846): 105; John Goulding, *Statistics of the Woollen Manufactories in the United States. By the Proprietor of the Condensing Cards* (New York, 1845); Arthur H. Cole, *The American Wool Manufacture*, 2 vols. (New York, 1968); Elizabeth Hitz, *A Technical and Business Revolution: American Woolens to 1832* (New York, 1986).

<sup>43</sup> For Samuel Morton, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1996), 62–101. For Morton’s assistance to and praise of Browne’s work, see *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, vol. 5, 1850–’51 (1852; repr. New York, 1970), 2, 34, 53, 56, 62,

Through his purportedly “scientific” measurement of wool and hair, Browne constructed a polygenetic order with deeply racial implications. By 1853, Browne had arranged human hair into three “species” of mankind based on race—cylindrical hair (Native American), oval hair (Caucasian), and eccentrically elliptical hair (African). His most outrageous claim may have been that Africans had wool, not hair, on their heads. Browne’s theories of race gave fodder to proslavery activists in the 1850s, many of whom were searching for scientific justifications for the enslavement of blacks and seized upon Browne’s characterization of African hair as evidence that Africans were an inferior race. John Campbell, another Philadelphian, reprinted one of Browne’s works, along with a piece of Morton’s writings, in an 1851 book entitled *Negro-Mania: Being an Examination of the Falsely Assumed Equality of the Various Races of Men*. A writer in New York City charged that Browne had created a “new science to sustain slavery.” Josiah Nott of Alabama, the infamous physician who promoted the idea (contrary to the Bible) that human races had been created separately, corresponded with Browne.<sup>44</sup>

Although southern and proslavery advocates of the 1850s gave political traction to Browne’s scientific ideas, Browne seems not necessarily to have pursued fame solely among groups concerned with ethnology. His audiences were more varied than the technical or polemical writers and included northerners and southerners, men and women, wealthy and common people. Moreover, while the lack of Browne’s outgoing correspondence prevents us from knowing exactly what he thought about John

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145–46; Morton “Notes on Hybridity, Designed as a Further Supplement . . .,” *Charleston Medical Journal* 6 (1851): 301–8; William Stanton, *The Leopard’s Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–59* (Chicago, 1966), 145–54; Lester Stephens, *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815–1895* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), 190–91. For Browne’s papers at the American Ethnological Society, see “The Hair and Wool of the Different Species of Man,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 27 (1850): 451; “Hair of Different Races of Men,” *Scientific American*, May 3, 1851.

<sup>44</sup> Browne, *Trichologia Mammalium*, passim; Josiah Nott to Peter A. Browne, Aug. 26, 1849, and Mar. 25, 1850, “Correspondence File,” Browne Pile Collection; Computer Database of Browne Pile Collection; C. Glen Peebles, *A Review (Written about Two Years Ago, Is Here Published) by C. Glen Peebles (of New York,) of a New Science to Sustain Slavery Discovered by Peter A. Browne, LL.D., (of Philadelphia,) and published under the Patronage of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* entitled “*Trichologia Mammalium*” ([Philadelphia], 1856); John Campbell, *Negro-Mania: Being an Examination of the Falsely Assumed Equality of the Various Races of Men* (Philadelphia, 1851), 339–64; “Art. V.—Negro-Mania,” *DeBow’s Review of the Southern and Western States. Devoted to Commerce, Agriculture* 2 (May 1852): 507ff; Josiah Nott, “A Summary of the Latest Scientific Facts Bearing upon the Question of Unity or Plurality of Species,” in *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races . . . From the French of Count A. de Gobineau*, trans. H[enry] Hotz (Philadelphia, 1856), 463–512.

Campbell's *Negro-Mania*, William Harned commiserated with Browne about his inclusion in that proslavery tract: "I regret to see that Campbell has dragged you into his service, in his infamous book, entitled, 'Negromania.' I have seldom met with a volume so essentially wicked & inhuman."<sup>45</sup>

The wider point ought to be made, however, that nineteenth-century agricultural reformers frequently utilized words like "mongrels" and concepts such as "amalgamation" in reference to the animal world, regardless of what they thought about the differences between individuals and groups of human beings. American breeders and gentleman farmers existed in a parallel linguistic and social universe that borrowed much from racial theorists of the mid-nineteenth century. For instance, though Powel mainly had a practical interest in breeding, for explanatory purposes he did deploy analogies between the animal kingdom and human societies: "An English breeder of Cattle or any man in America who possesses the pure blood of the Improved Durham Short Horns may calculate with as much precision upon the peculiarities of form and properties to which I have adverted as he could decide that the offspring of natives of Africa would have hair closely curled and sable skin upon his face." Powel also asked, "How are races improved? How are they impaired?"<sup>46</sup> When Browne chaired the committee that judged sheep at the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society fair in the 1850s, he expressed disapproval of examples of "amalgamations wool." The emergence of racial science during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries affected the ways that Europeans and Americans thought about the breeding of domestic animals.<sup>47</sup>

Still, urban agriculturalists and livestock breeders remained distinct in at least one way from the intellectual controversies of natural historians and ethnological investigators. Farmers and breeders were practical men seeking to improve livestock, not simply to categorize them. Browne went further than Powel, arguing that inherent and categorical racial differences could be proven through scientific measurements of the hair of

<sup>45</sup> William Harned to Peter A. Browne, Mar. 12, 1850, "Correspondence File," Browne Pile Collection.

<sup>46</sup> John H. Powel to Charles Roberts, Pennsylvania Hospital, July 27, 1824, Letterbook, 1824–1826, Powel Family Papers; John Hare Powel, *Reply to Col. Pickering's Attack upon a Pennsylvania Farmer* (Philadelphia, 1825), 9. For the Victorian interest in "mongrels" and "hybrids," see Harriet Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), esp. 85–120.

<sup>47</sup> *First Annual Report of the Transactions of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society*, 65–66.



humans and animals, but the strong prejudices that both gentlemen held on the differences between human races were parallel to (and not always coterminous with) their views on the distinctions separating the different families and breeds of cattle or sheep. If the new taxonomies created by animal breeders were symbolic representations of a new racial order, then they were also useful technologies to elevate profits of the ordinary farmer and manufacturer. At least for nonslaveholding animal breeders like Powel and Browne, scientific taxonomy was largely promoted as a means to an economic end.

### *Conclusion*

The efforts of John H. Powel and Peter Browne of Philadelphia in the realm of animal breeding were representative of the larger political movement for “internal improvement” that swept Pennsylvania and the American nation beginning in the 1820s. Urban gentlemen placed themselves at the head of the institutions that promoted agricultural improvement. By linking physical changes in livestock with the political levers of economic development, such as transportation, geological investigation, and tariffs, the improving farmers of Philadelphia sought to encourage new methods of animal breeding and new practices in agricultural production.

Animal breeding can shed light on many aspects of the history of Pennsylvania, the United States, and the world. First, animal breeding was transatlantic from start to finish. Beginning with the voyages of Columbus, the movement from Europe to North America of domesticated animals long preceded the conscious and deliberate work of Powel and Browne. The livestock breeding conducted in nineteenth-century Philadelphia was an extension of the globalization of purportedly discrete and distinctive animal breeds that had been shaped by human intentions as well as natural circumstances. Historians have now begun to historicize the movements of animals and plants, as well as humans and ideas, across the globe, though the peculiar characteristics of the movement and evolution of domesticated animals are only recently coming to be addressed. Improvements to agriculture were appealing during the nineteenth century because of the assumption—often a fervently held belief—that animals and plants could be transported to different countries. Rather than being insular farmers, American breeders looked beyond the local hori-

zon, considered markets as abstractions with the power to shape local environments, and asserted that domesticated animals were devices that helped the nation's farmers expand the home and global market.

Second, animal breeding was an object of scientific exploration within the American culture of improvement. In early republican Philadelphia, science was embedded in the larger concept of "useful knowledge." Eminently practical gentlemen, animal breeders sought to acquire the tools or principles that could lead them to analyze the economic risks and benefits involved in reshaping the animal world. The quest for control over the chaotic forces of circumstance or the greater understanding of the mysterious laws of nature was an important part of American improvers' sense of personal, indeed national, identity. As historians of Darwin have long known, animal breeders were keen observers of the so-called "laws" of variation, domestication, climate, and consanguinity, and their efforts paralleled, if not equaled, those of racial theorists. Historians, however, have only recently started to come to terms with the fact that many nineteenth-century breeders claimed that certain breeds of livestock were "manufactured" or "created" instruments of national progress. The blurring of the boundary between nature and technology—animal and machine—has important ramifications for the histories of science and technology.<sup>48</sup>

Lastly, animal breeding reveals the social character of America's culture of improvement. Unlike their counterparts in Boston, Philadelphia's elite farmers were not wary of the future. They were deeply invested in visions of material and economic progress. Thus, Powel and Browne can hardly be classified as social radicals. Their views of the economic benefits of internal improvements and the plasticity of the nature of domesticated animals did not lead them to promote radical changes in the social structure. Neither man wanted to interfere with the existence of slavery as a domestic institution in the United States. The sense of economic dynamism without drastic social change, the confidence in technology to achieve economic prosperity, and the clarity of physical differences in nature appealed to Philadelphia's gentlemen in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>48</sup> Edmund Russell, "Evolutionary History: Prospectus for a New Field," *Environmental History* 8 (2003): 204–28.

## *“In the hearts of those whom you serve”: The Teachers for West Africa Program*

THE UNITED STATES' FOREIGN RELATIONS have always incorporated both *realpolitik* and nobler ideals of the American character. In the years following World War II, America's foreign policy weighed the relative merits of these two approaches and reassessed the efficacy of a reliance on military power or economic coercion. On January 25, 1952, at the annual meeting of the Washington chapter of the Roosevelt Day Dinner, Brien McMahon, Democratic senator from Connecticut, proposed to send young Americans as “full-time missionaries of democracy” to what would later be known as the Third World.<sup>1</sup> Engaged at the time in a cold war with the Soviet Union and a hot war on the Korean Peninsula, the United States had been searching for another way to aid nations in their anticommunist struggles. Policies similar to McMahon's had been part of the national security discussion within the Truman administration, but this appears to have been the first time a major political figure outlined such a proposal in a truly public forum. As the 1950s progressed, Americans focused on counteracting their country's negative image abroad. In 1957, for example, Senator Hubert Humphrey introduced the first Peace Corps bill. “It did not meet with much enthusiasm,” he later recalled.<sup>2</sup> But McMahon's and Humphrey's ideas eventually came to fruition with the support of a sympathetic new young president, John F. Kennedy, and the Peace Corps was established in 1961.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, other industrialized countries also formed volunteer organizations to aid the developing world, such as the Canadian University Services (CUSO), the British Voluntary Service (VSO), and the Netherlands' Jongeren Vrijwilligers Programma (JVP).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Point Four ‘Hoe Army’ Sought by M'Mahon,” *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Hubert H. Humphrey, *The Education of a Public Man: My Life and Politics* (Garden City, NY, 1976), 250.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need Is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 114–15.

What is not as well-known, however, is the story of other, less-publicized American organizations that also sent volunteers to the developing world, especially to those new countries formed during the period of decolonization. Examples here included the Volunteer Teachers for Africa (VTA), formed by Harvard University students, and the Teachers for East Africa program, sponsored by Teachers College at Columbia University. These volunteer teacher organizations were part of the postwar evolution of nonmissionary teacher programs. One such organization, the African-American Institute (AAI), sent the “first secular American teachers in postwar Africa . . . to Ghana and Nigeria in 1955.”<sup>4</sup> The AAI would later help train another small overseas teacher program, one that was located in eastern Pennsylvania. It was funded by the country’s largest chocolate manufacturer and administered by a private denominational college located about ten miles away. Its creation stemmed not from any overt political considerations but from the unique organizational culture and history of each of these two institutions. The Hershey Chocolate Company and Elizabethtown College were both founded in the 1890s and shared similar cultural and religious backgrounds.

*Milton S. Hershey: A Legacy of Philanthropy*

Milton S. Hershey made his initial fortune manufacturing caramel candy in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In 1900 he sold his caramel company to a competitor and shifted his focus to the Hershey Chocolate Company, which he had established in 1894. Hershey’s plans were to begin large-scale production of chocolate for mass consumption. He purchased an initial 1,200 acres of farmland approximately thirty miles northwest of Lancaster, and groundbreaking on a new factory and town began in 1903; the town would eventually be named after Milton Hershey. The Hershey Chocolate Company soon expanded production, and sales spread throughout the country, helping Hershey fulfill his vision of creating an industrial utopia. Hershey’s concept was “to build his business to support the town—not the other way around.”<sup>5</sup> With his enterprise thriving, Hershey and his wife, Catherine, set up a trust fund in 1909 to establish a school for orphaned boys. The Hershey Industrial School (now known

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 16.

<sup>5</sup> Joël Glenn Brenner, *The Emperors of Chocolate: Inside the Secret World of Hershey and Mars* (New York, 1999), 90.

as the Milton Hershey School) further benefitted from his philanthropy. In November 1918, Hershey secretly transferred his Hershey Chocolate Company stock into a trust and named the industrial school the beneficiary. This arrangement, in effect, made the school the majority shareholder in a company of national prominence, a situation that continues to this day. Hershey's generosity came not after his death, but while he had almost twenty-seven years remaining in his life. Hershey's approach to commerce, which was best reflected in a sign he had in his office that read "Business is a Matter of Human Service," reflected his Mennonite heritage and the belief that one must live the scriptures in one's daily life.<sup>6</sup>

### *Elizabethtown College: A Tradition of Service*

Members of the German Baptist Brethren, later known as the Church of the Brethren, founded Elizabethtown College in 1899; the group is descended from the Anabaptist and Pietist tradition established in Germany in the early eighteenth century.<sup>7</sup> A pacifist church, the Brethren have a tradition of missionary work abroad, dating back to the establishment of a mission in Denmark in 1876. The church formed other mission stations in India (1895), China (1908), and Nigeria (1922).<sup>8</sup> Brethren missionaries approached their work in the spirit of the social gospel and emphasized education, medical care, and vocational training, in addition to evangelizing. As an adjunct to this missionary endeavor, the Brethren also began practicing a secular approach to foreign volunteer service during and after World War II. Conscientious objectors and others wishing to serve humanity volunteered for the Brethren Service. One of the more well-known endeavors of this program was the Heifer Project, which sent live animals to war-torn Europe and elsewhere both during and after the war.<sup>9</sup> These twin themes of missionary and secular service later found their expression in a project to send American teachers to Africa.

<sup>6</sup> Michael D'Antonio, *Hershey: Milton S. Hershey's Extraordinary Life of Wealth, Empire, and Utopian Dreams* (New York, 2006), 169, 114.

<sup>7</sup> For a complete history of the college, see Chet Williamson, *Uniting Work and Spirit: A Centennial History of Elizabethtown College* (Elizabethtown, PA, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> *The Brethren Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1983–84), s.v. "Missions."

<sup>9</sup> J. Kenneth Kreider, *A Cup of Cold Water: The Story of Brethren Service* (Elgin, IL, 2001), 131–49.

*The Teachers for West Africa Program, 1961–72*

Samuel F. Hinkle began working for Milton S. Hershey in 1924 when he was hired as a chemist. Rising through the executive ranks, he became president in 1956 of what by then was known as the Hershey Chocolate Corporation; he remained in that position until his retirement in 1965. A protégé of Milton Hershey, Hinkle understood that the company's purpose was nobler than maximizing shareholder wealth and that it was his responsibility to further its mission of human service.<sup>10</sup> For Hinkle, that service extended well beyond the town of Hershey.<sup>11</sup> Nigeria, Ghana, and the other West African nations were major sources of cocoa beans for Hershey's chocolate production. Regarding Nigeria and Ghana, Hinkle wrote in his unpublished memoir, "These two countries were the most important sources of cocoa beans not only in West Africa, but in the entire world insofar as Hershey was concerned."<sup>12</sup> Hershey purchased the cocoa beans on the open market, as the company did not own or manage its own cocoa plantations.

In an effort to give back to those countries, Hinkle announced at a May 29, 1961, luncheon held at Elizabethtown College that "For some time I have been thinking about the possibility of a project in which Hershey Chocolate Corporation would give financial support to Elizabethtown College for a program of sending teachers to Ghana and Nigeria in Africa."<sup>13</sup> He selected Elizabethtown College "because of its location near Hershey, and due to the experiences which the Church of the Brethren already had amassed in missionary activities in Africa, [it] seemed to be ideally suited to this undertaking."<sup>14</sup> Assisting Hinkle in this endeavor was Hinkle's boyhood friend, Dr. A. C. Baugher.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. A. C. Baugher was born Charles Abba Baugher, but he preferred to reverse the initials of his first and middle name and thus was known as

<sup>10</sup> Brenner, *Emperors of Chocolate*, 230.

<sup>11</sup> Hershey Community Archives Web site, "Samuel F. Hinkle," <http://www.hersheyarchives.org/resources> (accessed Nov. 13, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Hinkle, unpublished memoir, 1968, 620, Hershey Community Archives, Hershey, PA.

<sup>13</sup> A. C. Baugher, "Report on the Elizabethtown College African Program" (typescript, June 1, 1962), 2, Teachers for West Africa Program files, Elizabethtown College Archives, High Library, Elizabethtown, PA (hereafter TWAP files).

<sup>14</sup> Hinkle, memoir, 657–58.

<sup>15</sup> James M. Berkebile, "Teachers for West Africa Program: Program Report, 1961–1972" (typescript, 1972), 2, TWAP files.

A. C. for most of his life.<sup>16</sup> Baugher was a graduate of Elizabethtown College and, as a student, had been a member of the volunteer mission band beginning in 1916. An elder in the Brethren Church, he served as president of Elizabethtown College from 1941 until 1961, and he was an embodiment of the college's motto, Educate for Service. Baugher was preparing to begin his retirement from the college when Hinkle announced his intentions at the 1961 commencement luncheon. Baugher, instead of retiring, extended his career in education by serving as the program's first administrator.

Following this proposal, Hinkle and Baugher met with officials at the United Nations and the State Department to determine the enterprise's feasibility. After receiving positive endorsements from these two organizations, Baugher contacted the ambassadors of Ghana and Nigeria, the Peace Corps, and the African-American Institute regarding Elizabethtown College's ability to administer the program; he was assured by them of the program's viability. On October 25, 1961, the Elizabethtown College Board of Trustees voted to accept the proposal, and Hershey presented a grant of \$250,000 to the college on November 1, 1961, to fund the endeavor.<sup>17</sup> An advisory committee formed with key oversight members, including Dr. Roy E. McAuley, then president of Elizabethtown College, and Dr. John O. Hershey, president of the Milton Hershey School.

The program was initially called the Elizabethtown College African Program. However, in Africa the term "college" generally referred to high school-level teacher education institutions.<sup>18</sup> Baugher decided to change the program's name to avoid any misunderstanding and to make clear that the teachers being sent to Africa were university and college graduates. After consulting a number of individuals working for other overseas programs in Africa, he decided in September 1961 that henceforth the venture would be named the Teachers for West Africa Program, often shortened to TWAP; it kept that name until it ended in 1972.

On the mild summer morning of August 13, 1962, twenty-seven young teachers boarded a nine o'clock bus in Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, bound for New York City. These young men and women had just finished a weeklong orientation and training session held at

<sup>16</sup> *Brethren Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Baugher, Charles Abba."

<sup>17</sup> Berkebile, "Teachers for West Africa Program," 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

Elizabethtown College and were the first group of teachers to be sent on a two-year commitment to the new African countries of Nigeria and Ghana. The teachers at the orientation came from two different overseas programs. Baugher had interviewed eighty-five prospective candidates for TWAP and selected only seven teachers for that first year. His concern was to send the best candidates possible to establish the program on a strong footing with the host countries. The African-American Institute (AAI), a nonprofit organization based in New York City, sponsored another twenty teachers. Grants from the Ford Foundation and USAID initially funded AAI, which was experienced in teacher placement in Africa and had an office in Lagos, Nigeria, to assist TWAP in the field. Harry Heintzen, director of teacher placement for AAI, was an instructor at the Elizabethtown College orientation. TWAP eventually covered the expenses for four of the twenty AAI teachers.<sup>19</sup>



Samuel Hinkle (near right) greets Donald Maxwell and Carol Maxwell (left). Also shown are A. C. Baugher (far right), Harry Heintzen (right rear), and two unidentified teachers. The photograph was taken at the first teacher orientation program held at Elizabethtown College in August 1962. Courtesy of the High Library, Elizabethtown College.

<sup>19</sup> Holly Whiting (formerly Harriet Elwood, AAI assistant in 1962, Lagos, Nigeria), e-mail message to the author, Nov. 27, 2007; Berkebile, "Teachers for West Africa Report," 7–8.



After leaving Elizabethtown, the entire group of teachers and administrators spent another seven to ten days in New York City touring the United Nations and AAI offices. According to TWAP teacher Donald Maxwell, they had to wait about ten days to receive their visas to Nigeria. If Baugher had had a better understanding of the Nigerian custom of *dash*, then the wait for the visas might have been shorter.<sup>20</sup>

**TEACH IN NIGERIA OR GHANA?**  
**It's possible:—If you . . . . .**

1. Are a graduate with a strong major in one of the following: a. chemistry, b. physics, c. biology, d. engineering, e. mathematics, f. French, or g. have a Master's Degree in English.
2. Are a U.S. citizen, in good health, less than 55 years of age, desire to teach at the secondary school or junior college level.
3. Are single; or are married and with no more than one child.

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**TEACHERS FOR WEST AFRICA PROGRAM**  
**Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, Pa. 17022**

Advertisement from the Feb. 5, 1965, issue of Franklin and Marshall's *College Reporter*. Advertisements were placed in numerous college and university newspapers across the country during the program's history. Courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA.

Sadly, A. C. Baugher died unexpectedly of a heart attack on November 2, 1962. The advisory committee turned to Dr. James M. Berkebile, professor of chemistry at Elizabethtown College, to be the interim program director. Berkebile was a long-time educator, having begun his career as a science teacher in Galena, Ohio, in 1935. He later earned a PhD in chemistry from Ohio State University. Berkebile came to Elizabethtown College in 1957 from McPherson College, where he had been a professor and department chairman. The son of missionaries to India and an ordained minister in the Church of the Brethren, Berkebile took a leave of absence from 1959 to 1961 to serve as a science education advisor in Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> It was likely that his overseas work in Taiwan helped shape his decision to accept the position as the program's permanent director in

<sup>20</sup> Donald Maxwell, telephone conversation with the author, Nov. 13, 2007. *Dash*, as Ferial Haffajee facetiously wrote, is a "quaint custom of expressing gratitude in anticipation of services about to be rendered." Ferial Haffajee, "Now to be a Nigerian," Commonwealth People's Forum, [http://ipsnews.net/focus/tv\\_abuja/02122003/page\\_8.asp](http://ipsnews.net/focus/tv_abuja/02122003/page_8.asp) (accessed Dec. 3, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> "Dr. James M. Berkebile to Retire from Elizabethtown College Staff," *Elizabethtown Chronicle*, July 24, 1975.

January 1963. As director, he hoped to have a greater effect on the world through TWAP.<sup>22</sup>

Although the primary impetus for the program came from Hinkle and Baugher, the teachers who joined TWAP were at the forefront of the 1960s movement of social involvement, both at home and abroad. President John F. Kennedy's call to "ask what you can do for your country" was answered by many young people who joined such organizations as the Peace Corps and other secular and religious-based programs. Although the program was not designed to be a Church of the Brethren endeavor, many of the teachers were inspired by the sentiment of service. Donald Maxwell, for example, was a recent college graduate who had an interest in foreign cultures and travel. From Reinholds, Pennsylvania, he served in the U.S. Army for three years and was stationed overseas in South Korea, from where he also traveled to Japan. Maxwell entered Franklin and Marshall College in 1958 and graduated in 1962 with a bachelor's degree in English at the age of twenty-five. TWAP was a perfect avenue to serve overseas without U.S. government or church affiliation, which was a factor in his decision to join the program.<sup>23</sup> He and his wife, Carol, taught at the Methodist Boys High School in Lagos, Nigeria, from 1962 until 1964.

Under TWAP, the host country paid the teachers' salaries. The program covered travel expenses, shipping costs, and other expenditures, such as health insurance. After the first school year was completed, the teachers received travel money either to return to the United States to visit home or to travel wherever they would like while school was on hiatus. Many teachers chose to travel to Europe while on summer break. The program gave educators a stipend upon the completion of their two-year commitment to help them re-establish themselves once they returned home, or they could use that money for further travel. The teachers' housing was provided by the host country. As to be expected in a developing nation, there was variation in the quality of the housing, as access to water and electricity were often problematic and depended on one's location.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Leland Ray Berkebile (son of James M. Berkebile), telephone conversation with the author, Dec. 4, 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Maxwell, telephone conversation with the author, Nov. 13, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> On the program's financial arrangements, see Berkebile, "Teachers for West Africa Program," 76; for living arrangements, see newsletter *Whadoyahear*, both in TWAP files.

TWAP began to find firm footing after Berkebile took over full-time administration of the program, and its goal was to send up to twenty-five teachers a year to Nigeria and Ghana. In 1963, twenty-seven teachers went overseas, with two of the teachers unable to complete their two-year contracts. Berkebile's tasks included reviewing applications, traveling to various colleges and universities to interview potential candidates, administering day-to-day operations, and visiting Nigeria and Ghana for a few weeks every year to meet with the teachers at their various schools. This overseas travel also helped Berkebile maintain contacts with the school principals and government officials of Nigeria and Ghana who were involved in the program.<sup>25</sup>

In an effort to maintain communication with and among the teachers, Berkebile started a newsletter titled *Whadoyahear*, which he issued on a regular basis. He sent the newsletter to the teachers in Africa and to their families in the United States. The purpose of the newsletter was to exchange information and, in all likelihood, to help teachers combat the feelings of isolation some of them undoubtedly experienced at times. The newsletters also provided a window into the trials and tribulations that teachers often faced in their personal and professional lives. Using excerpts from teachers' letters, *Whadoyahear* discussed the everyday struggles teachers dealt with, such as scorpions, green mamba snakes, and other environmental hazards not generally found in the United States. When twenty-two-year-old Grace McIlvain, a TWAP teacher from 1963 to 1965 at the Abeokuta Girls School in Nigeria, wrote, "Truthfully, I was so overwhelmed . . . I decided you would not want to hear how I was getting along!" Berkebile reassured her, "Grace, remember that a lot of us do some whistling in the dark!"<sup>26</sup> From the small town of Madison, Kansas, McIlvain was a 1963 graduate of the University of Wichita with a degree in music education; she survived a severe case of hepatitis during her last year in the program. Living in a developing country took some adjustment, and, in most cases, the teachers appeared to have weathered their encounters with malaria, hepatitis, and other health woes with as positive an attitude as possible under the circumstances. "I got sick with malaria only five times," Stanley Aultz wrote, "the last three times I knew what it was and took care of it myself before it got out of control and I missed no

<sup>25</sup> Berkebile, "Teachers for West Africa Program," 32, 44–46.

<sup>26</sup> Grace McIlvain-Berkebile correspondence, *Whadoyahear*, Nov. 1963, 6, TWAP files.

class time.”<sup>27</sup> Aultz was twenty-six years old and had recently finished an MA in French at Miami University in Ohio when he joined the program in 1966. Not all of the teachers were as lucky as Aultz, and a few of them were unable to fulfill their two-year obligation. Seven teachers returned home before completing one school year, and in an extremely sad instance, a TWAP teacher committed suicide while overseas in his host country.



Grace McIlvain (right) in 1964, with roommate and fellow teacher, Maryagnes Thompson, a Peace Corps volunteer who later was a TWAP teacher from 1965 until 1968. Courtesy of the High Library, Elizabethtown College.

An example of a common experience for many teachers is found in a 1968 issue of *Whadoyahear*, in which Janet Parry in Ghana wrote to Berkebile “that it was finally my turn to join the ranks of that one-third of all TWAP teachers who are robbed within their two years here.”<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, it was too late for Parry, a Wellesley College graduate, to have read a 1965 *Whadoyahear* issue where Berkebile advised: “all teachers should get a dog. At least, he would awaken you by his barking if

<sup>27</sup> Stanley Aultz, e-mail message to the author, June 22, 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Janet Parry, *Whadoyahear*, Sept. 1968, 5, TWAP files.

someone enters your home at night.”<sup>29</sup> The newsletter served as a forum for teachers to exchange practical information that would help them adapt to their living and working conditions.

Of special concern to the program in the mid-1960s was the political situation in Ghana and, especially, Nigeria. Ghana, a British colony since 1821, gained its independence in 1957. In 1966, the Ghanaian army overthrew the government of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah in a nonviolent coup, although the change in government did not greatly affect TWAP and the other expatriate teachers serving in Ghana at that time.<sup>30</sup> However, the political turmoil and war in Nigeria did cause great concern for the teachers, their families, and the TWAP administrators. A former colony of Great Britain, Nigeria gained its independence in 1960. More ethnically diverse than Ghana, Nigeria was also a more fractious political entity. In January 1966, army officers, mostly from the Igbo ethnic group, overthrew the government in a violent coup that saw the assassination of the federal prime minister and other government officials. Another coup followed in July 1966, and the political situation remained tense until May 1967, when Igbo secessionists in Nigeria’s eastern region declared independence. A civil war then ensued that saw the defeat of the “Republic of Biafra” in 1970.<sup>31</sup>

A number of TWAP teachers had to leave parts of Nigeria during the civil war. Dave Verbeck, who, with his wife, Marilyn, a licensed practical nurse, had joined TWAP in 1965, wrote to Berkebile on July 13, 1967, that “There have been a lot of troops moving in the Oturkpo area lately and the likelihood of conflict increased. . . . We received your letter telling us to be out of the area by August 15, and we are now out of the area.”<sup>32</sup> On July 26, 1967, teacher Doug Shaw wrote to Berkebile that he “left Oturkpo on July 15 with my Principal to travel to Kaduna. . . . Well the situation as of now is that I’m terminating my contract with Wesley High School (with sincere regrets). Dr. Eikenberry is helping to find another job here in the north (probably in a government school).” On a more uplifting note, he added that “on August 5th I shall be married to Susan


<sup>29</sup> James M. Berkebile, *Whadoyahear*, Nov.–Dec. 1965, 12, TWAP files.

<sup>30</sup> U.S. Department of State Web site, “Background Note: Ghana,” <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2860.htm> (accessed Dec. 13, 2007).


<sup>31</sup> U.S. Department of State Web site, “Background Note: Nigeria,” <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2836.htm> (accessed Dec. 13, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Dave Verbeck, *Whadoyahear*, Aug. 1967, 3, TWAP files. Verbeck had served in the Brethren Voluntary Service after graduating from Manchester College in Indiana.

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Elizabethtown College  
Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania 17022  
Phone: 717-367-2336 or 1151

Front and back pages of a four-page TWAP brochure. Roberta Dudas taught biology at Our Lady of Apostles School in Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria, from 1964 to 1966. Richard Maze (far lower left) taught at the Ghana Secondary School in Koforidua from 1966 to 1968. Stanley Aultz (upper right) taught at the Memorial Secondary School in Cape Coast, Ghana, from 1966 to 1969. Courtesy of the High Library, Elizabethtown College.

Williams from Birkenhead, England.” Shaw, a 1965 graduate of Elizabethtown College, met Williams, a British teacher, when both of them were instructors at Wesley High School. The couple fled the civil conflict in that area and later obtained teaching positions in Bauchi, Nigeria, albeit at separate schools. Their daughter, Elizabeth, was born in Bauchi in 1967.<sup>33</sup>

TWAP continued its work until 1970 when change came that was closer to home. At a Tuesday morning breakfast on November 17, 1970, at the Hershey Motor Lodge, Hershey officials informed Berkebile and Elizabethtown College president Dr. Morley J. Mays that “the Corporation was ready to begin phasing out the Teachers for West Africa Program.” Mays reported in a memo that “Dr. Hershey reassured me that there was absolutely no dissatisfaction with the program or our administration of it.” Mays also noted, “finally Dr. Hershey pointed out that the present members of the Board may have other things which are of greater personal interest to them. TWAP was the brain child of Dr. Hinkle and Dr. Baugher and it is obvious that Dr. Hinkle no longer carries the favor of the Corporation.”<sup>34</sup> Hinkle had retired in 1965 and was no longer chairman of the company. It was understandable, then, that new executives made different decisions regarding the company’s future, which included evaluating past programs begun under a former chairman. Challenges to its fiscal resources related to Hershey’s expansion during the 1960s were also a factor. In a memo to participants in the program, Berkebile noted that “financial reasons and a rechanneling of philanthropies in a diversification process” were considerations in Hershey’s decision to end its funding of TWAP.<sup>35</sup> Efforts to secure funding from other agencies, such as the Ford Foundation and USAID, went for naught. Consequently, a two-year phaseout was instituted and TWAP ceased operations on December 31, 1972.

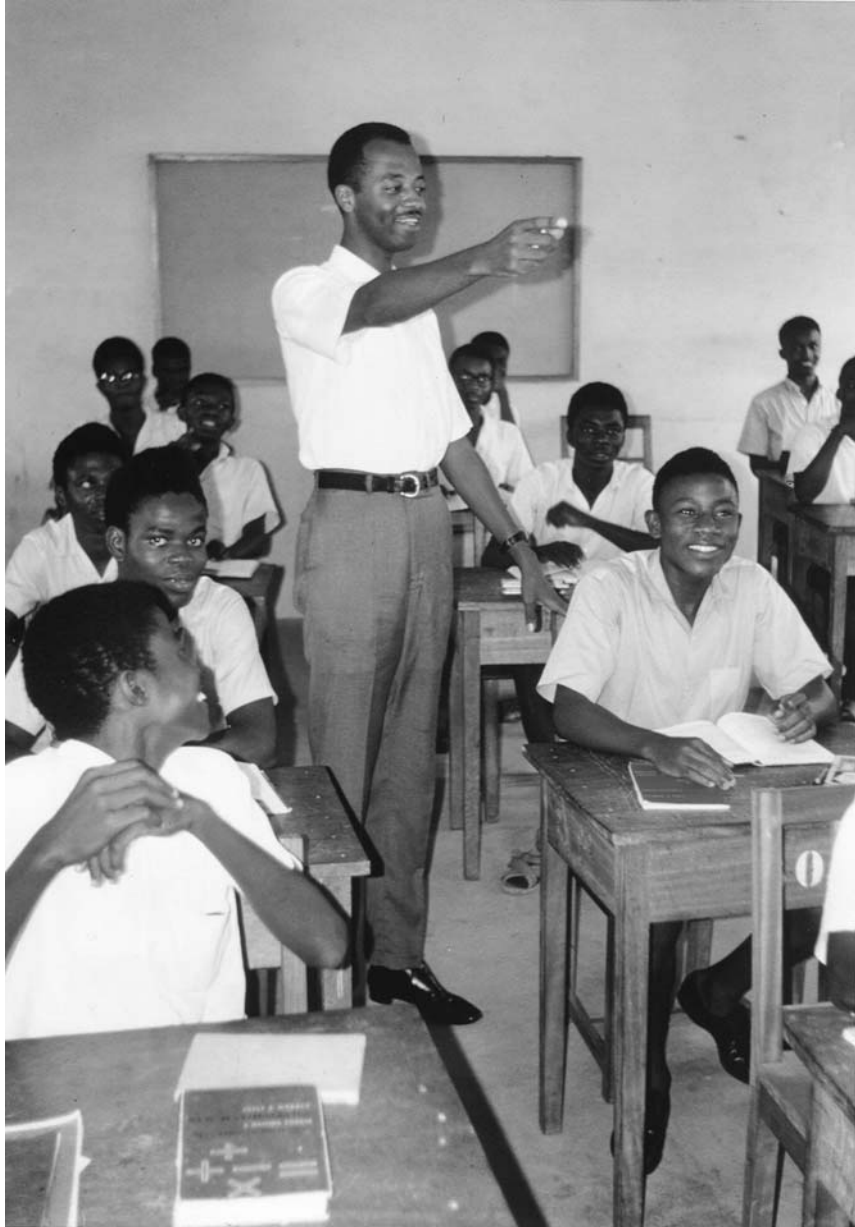
At the end of 1972, TWAP’s budget held a balance of \$786.89.<sup>36</sup> The Hershey Foods Corporation, as it was now known, contributed nearly \$1,000,000 to TWAP from 1961 until 1972. Originally started as a two-

<sup>33</sup> Doug Shaw, in *ibid*; Doug Shaw, telephone conversation with the author, July 10, 2009. The family returned to the United States in 1968 and settled in Manheim, Pennsylvania, where he taught sixth grade mathematics for thirty years.

<sup>34</sup> Morley J. Mays, Teachers for West Africa Program, memo, n.d., TWAP files.

<sup>35</sup> Jack H. Morris, “Hershey’s Troubles,” *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 18, 1970; James M. Berkebile, Teachers for West Africa Program, memo, n.d., TWAP files.

<sup>36</sup> James M. Berkebile to John O. Hershey, Jan. 3, 1973, TWAP files.



Walter Elkins Jr. from Memphis, Tennessee, a former Peace Corps volunteer, taught mathematics at Ghana National College in Cape Coast from 1966 to 1968 as a TWAP teacher. Courtesy of the High Library, Elizabethtown College.



year program, TWAP continued to operate on a year-to-year basis well beyond the term originally envisioned by Hinkle and Baugher in 1961. TWAP's accomplishments may be summarized by the following numbers: a total of 238 teachers, 63 of whom held a graduate degree, from 144 different institutions taught in fifty-one different schools in Nigeria and seventy-one schools in Ghana. The ratio of female to male teachers was almost even, with only a few more men than women. The 238 teachers came from thirty-four states and five other countries. Pennsylvania provided 27 teachers, followed by New York with 25; California and Michigan were next with 16 each. While Elizabethtown College contributed 7 teachers, the University of Michigan contributed the most with 10. Of note is that a total of thirty-seven children were with their teacher-parents in either Nigeria or Ghana, and almost half of them were born in Africa.<sup>37</sup>

### *TWAP in Historical Perspective*

The Teachers for West Africa Program was not only a product of its time in American history but also of the founding ideals of the Hershey Chocolate Corporation and Elizabethtown College. "I think of the TWAP project and the vision that sponsored it as clearly progressive. The vision was grand, even if the implementation was somewhat modest compared to the Peace Corps," wrote Donald Maxwell. "It was a vision similar to Milton Hershey's own, so Hershey's financial backing was a natural." Milton S. Hershey established the corporation's philanthropic nature from its beginning, while the college, from its earliest years, centered on the training of "teachers and preachers."<sup>38</sup>

The convergence of these two organizations to establish TWAP, roughly sixty years after they were founded, occurred at a time in the nation's history when the idea of helping to change the world for the better was at the forefront of American foreign policy. Like the Peace Corps, TWAP was "a lineal descendant of the missionary tradition originated by Christian Europeans," though TWAP was not under U.S. government control.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Berkebile, "Teachers for West Africa Program," 12–13, 32–51.

<sup>38</sup> Donald Maxwell, e-mail message to the author, Mar. 10, 2009; the phrase "teachers and preachers" used to describe the students to be trained by Elizabethtown College during its early years comes from former Elizabethtown College library director Nelson Bard.

<sup>39</sup> Elizabeth A. Cobbs, "Decolonization, the Cold War, and the Foreign Policy of the Peace

The effectiveness of the TWAP endeavor is difficult to separate from the other American and international programs that sent teachers to Ghana and Nigeria. For the young students in those countries, it probably was not important to them whether their teacher was from TWAP, the Peace Corps, or some other foreign teacher program. In fact, the average Nigerian and Ghanaian initially thought that most such volunteers were connected with the Peace Corps.<sup>40</sup> To make matters even more confusing for the African students, the expatriate teachers from those various programs often roomed together and taught at the same schools. According to Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, nearly 675,000 Ghanaians had American teachers in the thirty-year period ending in 1991.<sup>41</sup> It is impossible to determine the percentage of Ghanaians who had a TWAP teacher during this time, but the program undoubtedly made a small contribution to this total.



Tai Solarin, principal of the Mayflower School in Ikenne, Nigeria, and James Berkebille, director of TWAP, shown here in 1963. Courtesy of the High Library, Elizabethtown College.

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Corps," *Diplomatic History* 20 (1996): 84. For a full discussion of the Peace Corps as a missionary-type enterprise, see Roger D. Armstrong, *Peace Corps and Christian Mission* (New York, 1965).

<sup>40</sup> Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need Is Love*, 177.

<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, "Diplomatic History and the Meaning of Life: Toward a Global American History," *Diplomatic History* 21 (1997): 516.

The critique of the Peace Corps and other aid programs as being instruments of American imperialism requires a balanced assessment. Whether affiliated with the United States government or not, as historian and educator Jonathan Zimmerman notes, “All educators are to some degree imperialist—just as all educators are missionaries—because they seek to bring a new idea, belief, or skill to students who might not share it.”<sup>42</sup> This interaction was a two-way process, as the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments requested teachers from abroad to help develop their education systems. The foreign teachers in those nations returned to their home countries with a better understanding of themselves and the world beyond the developed West. Regarding her TWAP experience, Grace McIlvain wrote, “I learned a great deal from those two years. I learned something about determination and perseverance.” McIlvain became an attorney and focused her practice on “representing employees in discrimination cases.” “I feel like I found a way more suited to me to act upon my idealism,” she observed.<sup>43</sup>

According to Joseph Bruchac, who, with his wife, Carol, taught at the Keta Secondary School in Ghana from 1966 until 1969, their “African experience changed [their] life for the better,” and it gave them “a wider perspective on the world . . . [and] helped [him] see American culture more clearly by seeing it from a distance.”<sup>44</sup> Kenneth Chastain, whose mother, Gladys Chastain, was TWAP’s administrative assistant, returned to Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, after teaching at the Amaniamong Secondary School in Ghana from 1969 until 1971. He became a social worker, while his wife, Carol, also a TWAP teacher, later taught at a school in the city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with a large minority student body. Kenneth Chastain remarked, “We both have remained more interested in the world beyond America. I tell people I am a citizen of the world first, then America.”<sup>45</sup> Assessing TWAP’s effectiveness, in 1972 Berkebile wrote, “Through this working together there was created a relationship of trust, confidence, respect, and appreciation for each other. And from the constant contacts we all developed an understanding of each others’ problems, hopes, and aspirations for the world in which unity

<sup>42</sup> Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad*, 208.

<sup>43</sup> Grace McIlvain, e-mail message to the author, July 19, 2009. In 2000, McIlvain was the first woman presented with the Walter E. Craig Service Award by the Arizona Bar Foundation, <http://www.hmpmlaw.com/attorneys/grace-mcilvain.aspx> (accessed July 20, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Bruchac, e-mail message to the author, June 20, 2009.

<sup>45</sup> Kenneth Chastain, e-mail message to the author, July 6, 2009.

and peace could thrive. It has succeeded in this goal for all those who took part.”<sup>46</sup>

As the 1960s progressed, the weight of historical events began to erode the optimism and idealism present at the beginning of the Kennedy administration. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King Jr., the struggle for civil rights and the accompanying civil unrest, and the tragedy of the Vietnam War all undermined the nation’s confidence. By the early 1970s, the country’s desire for volunteer programs had diminished greatly, while the economy headed towards a period of stagflation.

The volunteer spirit of the 1960s, however, was not completely extinguished during the 1970s. Stanley Aultz taught high school French in Ohio for twenty-seven years after returning from Ghana. At the end of each school year he often showed his students slides of Ghana and the other western African countries. “I was told personally by three students I had, that those talks on teaching abroad . . . inspired them to join the Peace Corps. One was sent to Senegal, one to Togo, and the third to Kenya,” he notes.<sup>47</sup> It is impossible to know how many other young people a TWAP teacher similarly inspired, but today vast numbers of non-governmental organizations work around the world, while philanthropic celebrities such as Bono, Oprah Winfrey, and Bill Gates show that the Western humanist tradition is still present. These organizations and individuals seldom realize that their endeavors are descended from organizations such as USAID, the Peace Corps, and the other, little-known volunteer organizations like TWAP. It was never the Teachers for West Africa Program’s mission to function as an aspect of “soft power” in American foreign policy. Berkebile best expressed the program’s underlying philosophy in a 1965 Christmas message to the TWAP teachers: “And long after your professional labors are forgotten, your compassion will live on in the hearts of those whom you serve.”<sup>48</sup>

*Elizabethtown College*

PETER J. DEPUYDT

<sup>46</sup> James M. Berkebile, Teachers for West Africa Program, memo, Aug. 24, 1972, TWAP files.

<sup>47</sup> Stanley Aultz, e-mail message to the author, June 22, 2009.

<sup>48</sup> Berkebile, *Whadoyahear*, Nov.–Dec. 1965, 1, TWAP files.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### *Newly Available and Processed Collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

**W**HAT FOLLOWS ARE DESCRIPTIONS of some of the collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that have either been acquired within the past year or more fully processed and are therefore more available and accessible to researchers. Full finding aids for these processed collections, and many others, can be found online at <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=35>.

#### *Recently Processed Collections*

##### **Chew Family Papers, 1659–1986**

848 boxes, 311 flat files, 36 rolls

Collection 2050

This extensive collection details seven generations of the Chew family in Pennsylvania and Maryland, as well as the Chews' connections with the Philadelphia elite. The papers touch on almost every aspect of American history. They provide a unique insight into women's history, family relationships, health, religion, legal history, the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, politics, trade, land management and settlement, industrialization, and the growth and development of Philadelphia. They also discuss the Chew family's slaves and servants.<sup>1</sup> The collection focuses primarily on Benjamin Chew (1722–1810) and his son, Benjamin Jr. (1758–1844). Both men were lawyers with large landholdings in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. Benjamin Sr. was chief justice of the

<sup>1</sup> A note on terminology: In documents that comprise this collection, the word "negro" is often used to describe individuals; similarly, the word "slave" is used to denote individuals bought and sold by the Chew family. We have retained this wording for the sake of simplicity, and because favored terminology changes rapidly, but we firmly acknowledge the problematic nature of these terms.

Supreme Court of Pennsylvania under the colonial government. Many of the materials also highlight family disputes regarding Benjamin Chew Jr.'s estate following his death in 1844. The collection is divided into twenty-nine series, most of which concern individual family members or family groups. Other series are about landholdings, Cliveden (the Chew family estate in Germantown), and the family's map collection. Some of the best items are related to nineteenth-century life in the mid-Atlantic region, and these sources include business and financial records, correspondence, and legal and personal papers.

**The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection of Benjamin Franklin Papers, 1682–1985, undated (bulk 1760–1783)**

16 boxes, 8 volumes, 1 flat file

Collection 215

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was a “renaissance man”—he was a printer, writer, politician, and inventor, and he helped establish the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, and the Pennsylvania Hospital. The papers in this collection focus on his later life, particularly when he served as a representative of Pennsylvania in England (1757–1775) and as U.S. ambassador to France (1776–1785). These materials include correspondence (the majority of it is his incoming correspondence, though there are some copies of outgoing letters and personal writings), copies of congressional orders and resolutions, French manuscripts and memoirs, certificates, notes, clippings, and ephemera. There is also a copy of Franklin's will, government documents, and writings concerning the Revolutionary War and establishing government in the thirteen colonies.

**Hopkinson Family Papers, 1736–1941 (bulk 1800–1841)**

43 volumes

Collection 1978

The Hopkinsons were a prominent political family in Philadelphia and Bordentown, New Jersey. Thomas Hopkinson (1709–1751) was a merchant, lawyer, diplomat, and lifelong friend of Benjamin Franklin. His

son, Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791), was a jurist, author, musician, and signer of the Declaration of Independence; he was also a member of the first graduating class of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1757. Francis represented New Jersey in the Continental Congress, served as chairman of the Navy Board and treasurer of the Continental Loan Office during the Revolutionary War, and was a member of the 1790 Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. George Washington also appointed him United States judge for the district of Pennsylvania. His son, Joseph (1770–1842), was a Pennsylvania congressman from 1815 to 1819, a federal judge from 1828 to 1842, and author of the anthem “Hail, Columbia.” Earlier, in 1795, he had defended those charged with treason in the Whiskey Rebellion. In 1804–05, he defended Justice Samuel Chase during his impeachment trial, and John Quincy Adams later appointed him federal judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania. He became very good friends with Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon’s brother, who left France for New Jersey in 1815. Joseph Hopkinson’s son, Oliver (1812–1905), served with the First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers and with the Fifty-first Regiment, Pennsylvania militia during the Civil War and was wounded at the Battle of Antietam. The Hopkinson Family Papers consist mostly of incoming correspondence—though the collection also has some outgoing letters—documents, manuscripts, and printed materials. All of the papers are organized in twenty-one bound volumes. Additional materials include diplomas, certificates, newspapers, personal and business letters, and correspondence with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and Joseph Bonaparte. Oliver’s Civil War letters can also be found in the collection.

### **William Duane Notebooks, ca. 1822–1835**

5 volumes

Collection 3114

Jeffersonian era journalist William Duane (1760–1835) was born in New York, educated in Ireland, and spent time in Calcutta, India, for business purposes. He returned to the United States in 1790, and he partnered with Benjamin Franklin Bache in Philadelphia to publish the newspaper *Aurora*. When Bache died, Duane took over as editor and made the

*Aurora* a pro-Democratic-Republican Party newspaper. Thomas Jefferson even credited the paper with helping him defeat Federalist John Adams in the election of 1800. A harsh critic of the Federalists, Duane was arrested twice under the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts, but Jefferson acquitted him. Duane also published several works of his own. He retired from the newspaper in 1822 and died in 1835. The collection consists of five handwritten volumes of notebooks that Duane had bound together for his son. They date from 1822 to 1835 and discuss topics such as banking, politics, religion, philosophy, book reviews and proposals, letters to the editor, and original essays. Duane wrote about the histories and religions of Greece, India, and Egypt, took notes on sixteenth-century Italian authors and economists, and discussed history and mythology.

### **Fahnestock Family Papers, 1849–1873**

10 volumes

Collection 1269

George Wolff Fahnestock (1823–1868) was born in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, to Benjamin A. Fahnestock, a pharmaceutical manufacturer, and Anna Maria Wolff. George was one of four children, though only he and his sister Mary Elizabeth survived to adulthood. In 1829, the Fahnestock family relocated to the Pittsburgh area. In 1846, George, who was then living in Baltimore, married Grace Sarah Ensey, with whom he had a daughter, Grace Ensey Fahnestock. The family moved to Philadelphia in 1849, and George began focusing on his literary and scientific pursuits. He was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences and the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, he published several books, and he collected thousands of rare books and pamphlets. Sadly, George and his daughter were killed in 1868 when their steamboat, the *United States*, struck the steamboat *America* on the Ohio River and burst into flames. The Fahnestock Papers include George's diaries from 1862 to 1867, Anna's diaries from 1869 to 1873, a business account book from George's estate, and a scrapbook of clippings about the steamboat accident. George's diaries are very detailed. Topics discussed include weather, overseas travels, attending an 1862 reading by Charles Dickens in London, personal business, and Civil War battles. Anna's diaries mention her son's and granddaughter's deaths and personal and family matters.



**John H. Redfield, meteorological observations, 1862–1894**

8 volumes, 1 box, 1 flat file

Collection 3116

John H. Redfield (1815–1895) was one of the scientists who established the New York Lyceum of Natural History, and he served as corresponding secretary for that institution. His father, William, was a well-known scholar who studied hurricanes, and John moved to New York City in 1827 to work alongside him. John relocated to Philadelphia in 1861 and was a conservator for the Herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences. The collection includes thirty-two-years' worth of meteorological recordings in Philadelphia (temperature, barometric pressure, wind direction and force, weather, and daily events), notes on the Civil War, discussion of governmental affairs, including elections and presidential deaths, personal and family matters, and newspaper clippings. Redfield made special mention of meteors, cyclonic movements, and even an earthquake in Philadelphia.

**J. Hampton Moore Peace Jubilee Celebration Collection,  
1898–1899 (bulk 1898)**

8 boxes

Collection 941

Many images come to mind when one thinks of the Spanish-American War, such as the explosion of the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, or Commodore George Dewey's annihilation of the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. After the quick American victory over the Spanish between April and August 1898, the once isolationist United States emerged as an imperial power on the world stage. It acquired Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from a vanquished Spain. This unique collection documents how Philadelphia celebrated the "splendid little war." Joseph Hampton Moore (1864–1950), a congressional representative and later mayor of Philadelphia, served as secretary of the finance committee for the Peace Jubilee in 1898. The Jubilee, which occurred October 25–28, 1898, commemorated the end of the war and included military, civic, and naval parades. Philadelphia received national attention because it was the first city to hold such an event. The collec-

tion contains photographs, circulars, correspondence, and documents associated with Moore's involvement in the celebration, as well as photographs of President William McKinley, who attended the ceremonies. Other materials include order forms, tickets, and a list of people who contributed to the Jubilee.

**Sarah Cresson transcriptions of James Parker letters and documents,  
ca. 1916**

1 box, 2 volumes

Am .0683 / Collection 467

This collection consists of records between or pertaining to James Parker and Benjamin Franklin between the years 1739 and 1775. The transcriptions came from the Franklin letter books of the American Philosophical Society. James Parker (1714–1770), born in Woodbridge, New Jersey, was one of the nation's most well-known printers, and Franklin employed him in the 1730s in Philadelphia. Parker moved to New York City in 1742, and Franklin helped him establish the *New York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy*. Parker opened New Jersey's first printing house in Woodbridge in 1751. He was also controller and secretary of the General Post Office of the British Colonies in 1756, and he became government printer of New Jersey in 1758. The materials in this collection include published newspapers, books, almanacs, and magazines. It also contains agreements, bonds, bills, and other legal and business papers.

**The Plastic Club Records, 1888–2007**

52 boxes, 47 volumes, 11 flat files

Collection 3106

The Plastic Club, founded in 1897 by Emily Sartain of the Philadelphia School of Design (later the Moore College of Art) and other female artists, is one of America's oldest art organizations for women. The term "plastic" refers to the state of any unfinished piece of artwork. The club encouraged collaboration and promoted women's artwork, held exhibits, offered art classes, and hosted social events, such as its annual masquerade party. Numerous prominent and nationally known women artists

were club members. The club's original location was 10 South Eighteenth Street, but it moved to 247 South Camac Street in the early 1900s; it is still located there today. During the world wars, the club participated in bond drives, supplied food and clothing to wounded soldiers, and held art classes for wounded servicemen at USO installations in Philadelphia. The collection includes administrative and member records, correspondence, annual reports, exhibition catalogs, scrapbooks, photographs, newspaper clippings, original artwork, and catalogs from New York and Philadelphia art galleries.

**Thelma McDaniel Collection, 1935–1989**

6 boxes (237 folders), 1 flat file

Collection 3063

Thelma McDaniel was a Philadelphia resident who collected radical literature on the civil rights, black power, and Communist movements in the United States, as well as African solidarity movements abroad. In the post–World War II era, the Communist Party supported racial equality and became more involved in African American community-based groups in Philadelphia. This collection offers little information about McDaniel herself or her involvement with these movements and organizations. She gathered a diverse array of pamphlets and flyers from local organizations, journals, newsletters, magazines, newspaper clippings, posters, broadsides, brochures, and photographs. She assembled materials related to Malcolm X, the Vietnam War, and the March on Washington, publications of local and national civil rights organizations, such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), and documents from the Black Liberation Army and the Philadelphia Black Panther Party. The McDaniel papers focus on the political and sociocultural aspects of civil rights and black power movements and demonstrate how African Americans and whites became involved in radical movements for equality.

*Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

ERIC KLINEK AND  
HSP ARCHIVES STAFF



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World.* By CARLA GARDINA PESTANA. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 312 pp. Illustrations, suggestions for further reading, notes, index. \$39.95.)

This rewarding book is the product of a deep, comprehensive reading of the literature on the Atlantic world between Columbus's voyages and the American Revolution. Pestana centers her narrative on the British Empire and religion. Along the way, however, she shows how British religion and politics were forged in negotiation with Irish, African, and American peoples and in the context of disputes over faith in England, Wales, Scotland, and the colonies. *Protestant Empire* is a highly successful overview that will reveal new information and insights even to specialists in the field.

Pestana opens by comparing European, Native American, and African spirituality in the year 1500. She also gives a thorough, comparative treatment of the course of the Reformation in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, demonstrating that the Reformation created new religious cultures just at the beginning of European expansion into the Atlantic world.

The English exported their religious customs and conflicts to the New World, but churches based on local authority fared better there. The New England Puritans were the most successful. Pestana intriguingly argues that, across England and the colonies, a process of "puritanization" occurred in the mid-seventeenth century, with associated skepticism regarding hierarchy and increased emphasis on doctrinal purity (87). The English Civil War also permitted sectarianism and the politicization of religious difference to flourish, although the Restoration led to a temporary reassertion of the Church of England's dominance. But pluralism could not be effectively checked, especially in the colonies. Engagement with and conversion of Africans and Native Americans added to the variety and novelty of English Atlantic religion.

Tensions between the English colonists and Native Americans, and between Protestants and Catholics, bore bitter fruit in the late seventeenth century. Conflicts such as King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion had strong religious overtones. The Glorious Revolution expelled the Catholic King James II from the throne, with cascading consequences throughout the colonies. When the Glorious Revolution inaugurated centuries of war between England and Catholic France (and sometimes Spain), Protestantism became even more central to the cultural identity of the English everywhere.

The Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century led to a "perplexing

combination of division and unity" (212). Transatlantic connections between evangelicals became stronger, while the revivals stoked local divisions and undermined established churches. Ultimately, the evangelical movement helped achieve unprecedented national church-state separation in the United States. But even after the American Revolution, Britain and the United States featured similarly prominent roles for religion.

Specialists will no doubt find fault with parts of Pestana's account, or they will discover that she has not plumbed every possible text on this vast subject. But this is a remarkably learned survey of religion and empire in the British Atlantic world. It is a sign of the maturation of the field of Atlantic history that a synthesis such as this can now be written.

*Baylor University*

THOMAS S. KIDD

*Let This Voice Be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolitionism.*

By MAURICE JACKSON. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 400 pp. Illustrations, notes, primary sources, index. \$45.)

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of scholarly interest in Anthony Benezet, the mid-eighteenth-century Quaker champion of a host of humanitarian causes and social reforms, antislavery being foremost among them. Benezet figures prominently in Christopher Leslie Brown's prize-winning study of the origins of British abolitionism, *Moral Capital* (2006), and various facets of his thought and work have been the subject of numerous journal articles. Now Maurice Jackson has published the first book-length study of the man since George S. Brookes's *Friend Anthony Benezet* (1937).

*Let This Voice Be Heard* is not a full biography of its subject. Rather, as its subtitle indicates, it focuses on Benezet's abolitionism and its legacy throughout the Atlantic world. The book divides into two halves. After setting the stage in chapter 1, Jackson devotes each of the next three chapters to delineating the sources of Benezet's abolitionist ideology. Jackson portrays Benezet as having combined a Quaker tradition of antislavery with the natural rights philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment and research in the published narratives of travelers who had visited Africa. Benezet's overarching goal was to demonstrate slavery's violation of Africans' fundamental humanity and equality. In the second half of the book, chapters 5 through 8, Jackson traces Benezet's influence on his contemporaries in British North America, England, France, and among prominent black men on both sides of the North Atlantic. This half details how Benezet's correspondence and writings inspired such leading figures as Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush, Granville Sharp and John Wesley, the Abbé Raynal and Olaudah Equiano.

Jackson's main contribution is to situate Benezet within an Atlantic framework, where he rightly belongs. Otherwise, *Let This Voice Be Heard* recounts a story familiar to specialists and leaves a number of important issues unexplored. For instance, Jackson writes that "we can easily understand why [Benezet] joined the Quakers" (9), despite the fact that his father and a few siblings opted instead for the Moravians after the family settled in Pennsylvania in 1731. Jackson also proleptically locates Benezet within an "antislavery movement" (44) stretching back to the seventeenth century, whereas most current scholarship would hold that there was no coherent "movement" prior to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Jackson thereby passes over the question of exactly why such a movement emerged when it did and what Benezet's role was therein. Most important, Jackson offers little insight into Benezet as a Quaker—his life's most important affirmation—either in terms of his personal faith or his extensive involvement within the Society of Friends' structure of meetings and committees, which could have been gleaned from extant records. Finally, the case for Benezet's popular influence in the second half of the book is more asserted than proved. While testimonies to Benezet's impact from the likes of Rush and Sharp are well documented (and well known), Jackson has not established his broader claims that Benezet inspired "the masses" (137) or "had done much to change opinions about slavery in the mainland colonies and in Britain" (153) by the end of his life. His conventional, top-down research strategy simply cannot reveal the attitudes of anyone other than the articulate leaders whose writings he cites.

*College of Staten Island  
and the Graduate Center, CUNY*

JONATHAN D. SASSI

*Citizen Bachelors: Manhood and the Creation of the United States.* By JOHN GILBERT MCCURDY (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 272 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$35.)

*Citizen Bachelors* studies how unmarried men went from being objects of state-sponsored supervision—like unmarried women subject to criminalization and severe taxation—to fully enfranchised citizens with all the privileges of manhood, "including personal, sexual and political liberty," in the early United States (2). Studying bachelors primarily in the context of the family, earlier historians have identified the turn of the twentieth century as the "age of the bachelor." They emphasized how, in the nineteenth century, young unmarried men flooded cities, lived for the first time away from parental supervision, delayed marriage, and developed a subculture that allowed for the emergence of a bachelor identity. Sidestepping the familiar heteronormative family focus, McCurdy discovers more important changes that began in the late 1600s. He demonstrates how key

legal developments in the eighteenth century coordinated with the American colonies' transition to political independence. Our contemporary view of bachelorhood emerged as a consequence of these significant legal and political changes.

McCurdy maintains that "Early American bachelor sexuality . . . cannot be confined to a simple homosexual/heterosexual divide because it often contravened and confused this anachronistic division." Furthermore, "being homosexual is not simply about sex acts" but also "about the disavowal of traditional marriage, the building of a subculture made up almost entirely of other men, and the assertion of a greater degree of sexual license. . . . [T]he emergence of the bachelor is integral to the history of gay men" (9–10). His careful study, however, prioritizes legal and political shifts. In the early colonies, unmarried men without means were excluded from the legal categories of mastery and subjected to communal supervision, stringent legal penalties, more severe terms of military service, and heavier taxation. McCurdy's study here is especially rich. It compares British laws with developing colonial laws, both northern and southern, and shows how, early on and differently from England, American colonies began paying differential attention to men and women. As early as the late seventeenth century, bachelors in America began enjoying more freedoms than their British counterparts, even as they continued to suffer significant penalties.

Given the emerging cultural prioritization of and legal support for benevolent fatherhood in the eighteenth century, McCurdy highlights the surprising achievement of single men, who ascended—regardless of class status—to the rank of citizen by century's end. And indeed, McCurdy argues, it was the ideology of the "affectionate patriarch" that paved the way. By midcentury, "the husband/bachelor dichotomy became so great that legal considerations of wealth and age fell away," resulting in the extension of bachelor laws to men with means (75). As unmarried men as a class contributed more taxes and more military service than their married counterparts, both categories came to be seen as contributing essential community service. Simultaneously, bachelors were "separated out from other dependents" (162). In this shift that crucially coordinated with the American Revolution, "bachelor laws all but disappeared within a few years of the creation of the United States" (163). McCurdy convincingly establishes the centrality of the bachelor to the consolidation of American citizenship through an increasingly inclusive category of white, manly independence.

*Vanderbilt University*

DANA D. NELSON



*Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution.* By BENJAMIN L. CARP.  
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 352 pp. Illustrations, appendix,  
notes, bibliography, index. \$21.95.)

At the end of *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955), Carl Bridenbaugh declared, “The primary role of the cities in the attaining of American independence was preparatory” (425). In a bold reimagining of Bridenbaugh’s study, Benjamin L. Carp arrives at much the same conclusion, but for reasons very different from Bridenbaugh’s and only after blazing his own unique path through the edifices and urban terrains of mid-eighteenth-century British North America.

Carp’s admiration for Bridenbaugh is readily apparent. He takes both Bridenbaugh’s chronology (1740s–70s) and cities (Boston, New York, Newport, Charleston, and Philadelphia) as his own. But whereas Bridenbaugh explored the social and cultural development of those cities—the “revolt” of his title alluding to the American Enlightenment—Carp focuses concertedly upon political mobilization. More innovatively still, Carp organizes each of his five chapters around distinctive, contested urban spaces: Boston’s waterfront; New York’s taverns; Newport’s places of worship; Charleston’s homes and domestic environments; and Philadelphia’s State House and streets.

In his introduction, Carp provides a narrative and analytical framework for the five urban case studies that follow. He chronicles the rise of British North American seaports as centers of commerce, seats of government, and hubs of communication. Drawing upon the insights of architectural history, Carp convincingly demonstrates that the colonial city’s “buildings, the spaces between them, and the material objects within them” comprised an instrumental “cultural landscape,” which “set the parameters of political mobilization and social change” (13). Carp notes, too, the “shadow landscapes,” in which women, nonwhites both free and enslaved, poor persons, and oppressed religious minorities “challenged the political establishment from the margins” (15). Carp explains that “would-be revolutionaries” were forced to contend with urban pluralism, social unrest, loyalist countermobilization, and the challenge of hinterland communications (13). They succeeded, when they were able, by capitalizing upon “a sense of interdependence: civic consciousness, civic responsibility, and civic power” that prevailed in North America’s largest cities (14).

Carp’s compelling choice of urban spaces makes for a vibrant and engaging read. In peninsular Boston, where no patch of ground lay more than half a mile from the water, a history of violent confrontation between townspeople and agents of royal authority fostered a spirit of solidarity and protest (25). In New York, where for a time in the early 1770s local officials granted liquor licenses at an average of one per day and where the ratio of liquor retailers to adult white men soared to thirteen to one, taverns emerged as the rallying and wrangling sites

of partisan interest (64). In Newport, where Congregationalist, Anglican, and Baptist churches, Quaker and Moravian meetinghouses, and a Jewish synagogue often stood contentiously amongst one another, a “landscape of mutual suspicion created barriers to political mobilization” before the British occupation of December 1776 (121). In Charleston, where fashion no less than fires and hurricanes compelled British North America’s wealthiest families to rebuild and refurnish their lavish homes, ostentatious consumption ran afoul of austere boycotts, destabilizing the authority of the planter class. And in Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress assembled within a magnificent State House as the people gathered on its capacious yard, *vox populi* resounded loud and clear.

Readers familiar with Carp’s “Fire of Liberty: Firefighters, Urban Voluntary Culture, and the Revolutionary Movement,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001): 781–818, know what fine work Carp makes of city spaces and their many politicized constituencies. His monograph—exciting, vigorous, and original—will sit worthily alongside urban studies such as Bridenbaugh’s and Gary Nash’s.

*University of Arizona*

BENJAMIN H. IRVIN

*The Founding Fathers Reconsidered.* By R. B. BERNSTEIN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. 256 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, further reading, index. \$17.95.)

At first glance of this title, one wonders how much more reconsideration the founders need. Most of those treated in R. B. Bernstein’s volume—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and Hamilton—have received plenty of consideration over the years. But on second look, Bernstein has something quite helpful to offer—a succinct and engaging discussion of the founders that contextualizes them both in their time and ours and shows how their actions and legacies have been interpreted in the popular and scholarly discourse.

He handles his subject in a way that will prove very useful for teaching undergraduates about “doing” history. By introducing them to three divergent, sometimes conflicting, and largely inaccurate perspectives on the founders, he demonstrates that history is more a matter of interpretation than “facts.” The first view is the one that students themselves usually hold—the popular perception of the founders as “icons of disinterested statesmanship” (iv). Bernstein immediately contrasts this with a second depiction put forth by many academics, that of the founders as “representatives of a corrupt establishment” (iv). Finally, he discusses the view of the founders as the “sole determiners of what the Constitution means” (v). Bernstein’s aim is to synthesize the scholarship of the last forty years that offers a more nuanced interpretation of the men and their world. In a respectful tone, he proposes to “take the founding fathers down from their pedestals without

knocking them down" (xi).

In four lively and readable chapters, Bernstein presents the founding from various angles. He sets the scene with a brief discussion of modern associations with the founders and how words and images of them are used in public discourse today. Moving from our context to theirs, Bernstein next surveys the founders' geographical, intellectual, and political contexts. The last two chapters are the heart of the book, as they give an overview of the founders' challenges, achievements, and legacies. He ends with one of the most controversial topics of our day—whether and how the founders should be used to interpret the Constitution and the union made more perfect.

In little more than 150 pages, he manages to draw out some of the most interesting and pivotal moments of the founding, describe them in ways that will make them accessible to students, and then show how the ideas they represented are still relevant today. The breadth of scholarly and mainstream topics and ideas Bernstein invokes to illustrate his points is truly impressive, from Jack Greene's "periphery and center," Dred Scott, originalism, and HBO to Charles Beard, Web surfing, separation of church and state, and Obama.

For all these reasons, this book is perfect for classroom use. But there is one relatively minor concern. In dispelling some myths, it is in danger of perpetuating others. Although students will come away with a new appreciation of the founders, they will also be left with the same mythological impression that a small handful of men largely acted alone. The appendix, with a partial list of other figures, does not right this imbalance. But because this book can be easily paired with other materials and its message extended to other figures, it should nonetheless be required, rather than recommended, reading.

*University of Kentucky*

JANE E. CALVERT

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. Vol. 39, *January 21 through May 15, 1783*. Edited by ELLEN R. COHN. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009. 752 pp. Illustrations, index. \$95.)

Benjamin Franklin had few lulls in his diplomatic career, but the period covered in volume 39 of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* comes the closest. This volume begins with the cease-fire between Great Britain and France on January 20, 1783, effectively ending hostilities in the American Revolution. The collapse of the Shelburne ministry and the delay in forming the Portland ministry prevented any movement on a definitive treaty. Yet diplomacy continued on a number of fronts, and the editors argue that "Franklin's skills as a diplomat continued to be vital" (lvi). Indeed, Franklin was the center of the American diplomatic universe. French and British writers bombarded him with both congratulations and

requests for jobs. "There is not a Port in France, and few in Europe, from which I have not received several Applications of Persons desiring to be appointed Consuls for America," Franklin wrote on April 15, 1783 (471). The editors wisely chose to bundle most of those letters—many of which are in French—in an editorial note. The editors provide a brief explanatory note to each letter, but not a condensed translation as in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. They have assumed that users of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* are literate in French, and they clean up or explain the poor spelling of Franklin's francophone correspondents.

Two events reveal Franklin's skill as a diplomat. In February 1783, Franklin negotiated a trade treaty with the Swedish ambassador to France, the Comte de Creutz. To accommodate Creutz's instructions, which barred him from signing a treaty before publication of a general peace treaty, Franklin agreed to a treaty with a blank date. The second event was the commissioning of a medal to celebrate victories at Saratoga and Yorktown and the French alliance. Franklin left France with the impression that Congress authorized the medal as "an official expression of gratitude to France," when, in reality, Congress gave no such permission (552).

Franklin was no stickler for forms. He could not, however, move Great Britain. "Let us now forgive and forget," Franklin wrote the Bishop of St. Asaph (349). But he could not follow his own advice in regard to the Loyalists. "The Society owes him nothing but Punishment," Franklin believed (231). He could not concede any purity of motive to the Loyalists. "Very few if any of these Pretenders had any such Principle, or any Principle but that of taking care of themselves by securing Safety with a Chance of Emolument & Plunder" (358).

In January 1783, Benjamin Vaughan implored Franklin to publish his autobiography. "Your history is so remarkable, that if you do not give it, somebody else will certainly give it; and perhaps so nearly to do as much harm, as your own management of the thing might do good" (112). Vaughan's fears were unfounded. The editors of this volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, as in the previous volumes, have made the most complex of the founders accessible to scholars. They have given enough annotation to ensure clarity without interfering with Franklin or his correspondents. This volume, as well as the series as a whole, is a model of documentary editing.

Worcester State College

ROBERT W. SMITH

*The Overflowing of Friendship: Love between Men and the Creation of the American Republic.* By RICHARD GODBEER. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. xii, 254 pp. Notes, index. \$35.)

In a puzzling departure from his earlier work, which included such groundbreaking explorations as "The Cry of Sodom" (1995; a study of homoeroticism in

Puritan New England) and *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (2002), Richard Godbeer goes to great lengths in his new book to squelch any suggestion of improper passion. His focus is on close male-male relations during the early years of the Republic, and so inevitably he addresses the topic of “romantic friendships”—those troublesome pairings that have been the focus of much recent scholarly debate. In letters and diaries from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, men talk about their intimate friends in terms that, to the modern ear, sound surprisingly erotic. Some historians feel that the words may indeed be an accurate reflection of the men’s emotional response. Godbeer gives short shrift to such speculation. “[T]his book refuses to ignore the passionate nature of many such friendships and yet insists that we not impose our own assumptions and sexual categories onto such relationships”(6). In declaring the importance of withholding judgment, Godbeer assumes an untenable stance—he presents extensive evidence of male-male emotional attachments but then insists that the only defensible conclusion is one that presumes no genital involvement. In effect, he takes a position in the debate by declaring certain speculation off limits.

One of the book’s most fascinating chapters explores the complex relationship that developed in the 1780s among three Philadelphians: John Mifflin, Isaac Norris, and James Gibson. Mifflin and Norris were at first deeply involved in a romantic friendship, one that was tested when Norris left for Europe on the traditional “Grand Tour.” Mifflin missed his absent friend with such intensity (“ . . . come, I beseech—I crave you”) that his health suffered (20). When he learned that Norris’s ship had at last docked in New York, he wrote unabashedly, “it was such a burst of pleasure to me that I scarce knew how to deport myself and I believe I behaved myself for a while as if I were a little frantic” (21). Unfortunately, in Norris’s absence, Mifflin had struck up a friendship with James Gibson, an undergraduate at Princeton. This, too, was a grand and overpowering passion, but when he tried to bring his old friend and his new friend together, they found they had nothing (except Mifflin) in common. Norris drifted away, while Mifflin pursued Gibson to Princeton, where the undergraduate abandoned his dormitory room in order to share a boardinghouse bed with his visiting friend. Godbeer has uncovered a trove of correspondence and journals documenting this intense ménage—writings describing deep and transportive passion—but he insists that whatever these young men may have written, they did not *really* mean they were sexually attracted to one another. In the absence of postings on YouTube, we have only their words to go by, and yet Godbeer insists that we not believe their words.

While there is evidence that the English language has changed in some significant ways in the last 250 years, there is no evidence that human sexual response has—and that is why we do not hesitate to make assumptions about historical heterosexuality. When, in an eighteenth-century letter, a man tells a woman that he *craves* her, we accept that word at face value and feel no compul-

sion to explain away its meaning. To insist that *crave* (which the *Oxford English Dictionary* traces in this sense back to the fifteenth century) must mean something entirely different if two men are involved is to fail to acknowledge the full range of human sexuality in all its complexity.

Through extensive and careful research, Godbeer has assembled a rich and varied collection of previously unknown homoerotic writings. That he denies that that is what they are makes this book an important part of a developing debate, and it should be read by anyone with an interest in sexuality and gender in early American history. Take from it what you will.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WILLIAM BENEMANN

*"Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer.* By MATTHEW J. GROW. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009. 368 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$40.)

Matthew Grow paints a portrait of a man who was compelled throughout his life to defend the persecuted from the powerful. Thomas Kane (1822–83) was from a wealthy and influential Philadelphia family and joined in numerous reform efforts, including the woman's rights and antislavery movements. But no project occupied Kane's time as much as his defense of the Mormons. His involvement was perhaps atypical of the day, as many nineteenth-century reformers were the ones working hard to end the theocracy and polygamy of the Mormon Church. While many reformers were also evangelicals, Kane, with an ecumenical upbringing and education, was a fundamentally antievangelical reformer who stoutly defended the Mormons from what he saw as evangelical bigotry.

Kane first encountered the Mormons in 1846, when their opponents were driving them out of Nauvoo, Illinois. Many sympathized with the Mormons, but Kane went so far as to visit them in their camps the following year. He was impressed by their sincerity and their kindness in nursing him back to health (Kane suffered from health problems throughout his life), and he formed a lasting bond with them. Determined to defend the Mormons, Kane wrote numerous newspaper editorials and worked closely with government officials to advance Mormon interests. Devastated when he learned they practiced polygamy, Kane did not slacken his efforts, which reached their apex when President Buchanan sent the army to put down a supposed insurrection in Utah in 1857. Kane received permission to act as negotiator between the Mormons and the army. He went to Panama, crossed over the Isthmus to sail to California, and traveled overland to Salt Lake City to intervene. Over the following months, Kane averted the hostilities, convinced the Mormons to accept their new territo-

rial governor, and got Buchanan to pardon the Mormon leaders.

After the Civil War, in which Kane rose to the rank of brigadier general, he worked to stem antipolygamy legislation against the Mormons. Though Kane strongly opposed polygamy, he felt that evangelical anti-Mormons were overstepping the bounds of a free society. After a visit to Utah in 1873, Kane's wife wrote a favorable account of Mormon domesticity in the hopes of forestalling pending legislation that would have revoked the Mormons' judicial power in Utah. The book likely had an effect through positive reviews, but with the direst aspects of the legislation defeated, the Kanes refused to issue a new printing of the book (they only printed 250 copies). They were likely concerned that they made polygamy look too appealing.

Grow notes at the beginning that Kane's ill health led to hypochondria and depression, which seem to have always compelled him to action in the hope of improving his health and mood. Coupled with his concerns over his small stature, Kane always felt the need to prove his manliness. Yet Grow does not overemphasize these points in explaining Kane's actions, and perhaps he should not have. Why Kane supported his causes generally, and Mormonism particularly, is not entirely clear after reading the book. Grow gives full contextualization of Kane's life, as he masterfully handles and synthesizes an abundance of materials. There is a certain lack of speculation on Grow's part, but ultimately the author provides ample information to allow the reader to draw his or her own conclusions.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

STEPHEN J. FLEMING

*Eastern State Penitentiary: A History.* By PAUL KAHAN. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2008. 128 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$19.99.)

According to its mission statement, The History Press "empower[s] history enthusiasts to write local stories, for local audiences" by offering brief, highly readable community histories. Kahan's notable contribution, *Eastern State Penitentiary: A History*, with its detailed social history and in-depth use of archives, maximizes the possibilities of the local history press, bringing its subject to life without sacrificing objective analysis or expansive research.

Eastern State Penitentiary has never lacked for exposure and chroniclers. Yet, Kahan argues that no concise, detailed history of Eastern State Penitentiary remains in print and readily available. His compact study traces the penitentiary from its opening in 1829 to its closing in 1971 in five chronological chapters. While the generalist format of this edition limits Kahan's ability to clarify how his observations and conclusions differ from those in histories of Eastern State Penitentiary written by Negley Teeters and John Shearer (1957), Laura Magnani

(1990), and Norman Johnston (1994), the value of such a compact yet far-ranging study, rich with illustrations and rare photographs, is undeniable.

Kahan begins by situating the impetus and origins of Pennsylvania prison reform within the transatlantic debates on punishment, torture, and prison design that invigorated the Enlightenment and early national periods. Local philanthropists, appalled by the filth, overcrowding, lax security, and corruption in Philadelphia's jails, joined a transatlantic chorus inspired by new ideas about the possibilities of reformatory incarceration. The resulting experiments—reorganizing Walnut Street Prison, utilizing public labor, and designing the penitentiary—helped ease public fears over increased violence and crime while it instilled pride in Pennsylvania after Eastern State emerged on the cutting edge of modern penal philosophy and design.

Books about Eastern State often contrast its early success against a later “fall” or failure and highlight the disparity between its initial promise and its devolving effectiveness. Kahan's analysis, however, urges us to see the continuity, rather than massive changes, in Eastern State's history. The second chapter demonstrates how the penitentiary's early years (1829–65) were already fraught with controversy. Problems with overcrowding, drug smuggling, gangs, and violence stubbornly persisted from its inception to its closure. Drawing from a range of sources, including published observer accounts, annual and structural reports, wardens' daily journals, and private letters, Kahan shows how “breakdowns appeared almost immediately” (47). He richly illuminates the discord, complexity, and inherent problems of merging rehabilitative and punitive regimes.

The remaining chapters emphasize these continuities while mapping out subsequent changes in prison government and discipline. In the third chapter (1866–1913), Kahan traces the retreat from separate confinement, attempts at modernization, challenges of overcrowding and idleness, and the eternal battles to prevent (inevitable) escapes and gang activity. Then, as now, officials puzzled over how to treat aging convicts and prisoners with mental illnesses; in addition, wardens' attitudes towards the prospect of rehabilitating convicts and the best use of discipline differed widely. Kahan's rich and extensive use of nineteenth-century newspaper accounts of escapes and controversies wonderfully captures the cultural fascination with Eastern State Penitentiary's legacy and inhabitants.

The concluding chapters follow Eastern State's evolution into the twentieth century, when its rehabilitative mission—all but abandoned by the end of the nineteenth century—experienced periodic revivals. Change happened most consistently after the penitentiary's population began a gradual decline that prompted “a return to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Pennsylvania System” (97). As in earlier chapters, Kahan remains attentive to how wider social forces (the fluctuating economy, the impact of parole, the rise of the Black Muslim movement) affected prison management and populations. Despite offering educational programs and allowing sports leagues, chess matches, and even pets, “life at Eastern



State could be incredibly, and randomly, violent" (102). Kahan's study draws richly from surviving oral histories of prisoners, administrators, and guards, whose diverse recollections and experiences help contribute to the mosaic of cultural memory of the penitentiary. His examination of ongoing experiments in prisoner-led initiatives (for example, his innovative archival use of prison bulletins) is particularly fascinating, and it allows a mediated glimpse into how prisoners experienced their time at the penitentiary.

I was struck by how defenders of the Pennsylvania system consistently refused to interrogate seriously their assumptions about crime and "idleness" and about which inmates (disproportionately poor, black, and immigrant) were most often assumed to be lacking in self control, discipline, and reformatory potential, even as these defenders showed a willingness to modify their beliefs about prison design and penal philosophy. Given the substantial racial imbalances that continue to structure American prisons, I would welcome explicit analysis of the underlying conceptions about race and class that influence "the Pennsylvania model" to see how they compare to competing models of incarceration.

Kahan eschews the sensationalist focus of numerous prison histories, with their anecdotal emphasis on infamous personalities, hairsbreadth escapes, and supernatural tales. He instead offers readers a well-researched, even-handed, and lively history of the penitentiary's origins and development across the centuries. Abundant photographs and engravings, detailed footnotes, and an introduction by Richard Fulmer provide additional perspectives and direct curious readers to other source material. Paul Kahan successfully brings Eastern State Penitentiary to life as a centuries-long experiment whose history has much to teach us about the challenges of reformatory incarceration.

*University of Florida*

JODI SCHORB

*Remembering Kensington and Fishtown: Philadelphia's Riverward Neighborhoods.* By KENNETH W. MILANO. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2008. 128 pp. Illustrations, further readings. \$19.99.)

*The History of the Kensington Soup Society.* By KENNETH W. MILANO. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$19.99.)

*The History of Penn Treaty Park.* By KENNETH W. MILANO. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009. 157 pp. Illustrations, further readings. \$19.99.)

In March 1876, Philadelphia's Fairmount Park was being readied for the grand Centennial celebration. Pastoral and elegant, even in early spring, the park was the perfect setting for the art galleries and exhibition halls rising along the

Schuylkill. During that same March, along the Delaware in northeast Philadelphia, the Kensington Soup Society served some 7,500 bowls of home-made soup to hungry local families and homeless men. As Kenneth W. Milano explains in *The History of the Kensington Soup Society*, there were eight such societies operating in Philadelphia during the 1860s and '70s. Dominated by sawmills, shipyards, textile mills, and carpet factories, industrial Kensington could be hard on the laboring poor, where anonymous bodies washed up too often among treeless wharves, and there was neither pastoral park nor government safety net.

While the story of the Centennial in Fairmount Park has been told many times, the same cannot be said of the parks and people of Kensington. But now, thanks to the neighborhood's own Ken Milano, three new books go far to rectify the difference. Milano writes a history column for the *Kensington Sun*, and his first book, *Remembering Kensington and Fishtown*, gathers together forty of his columns under such headings as "Olden Days," "Early Industry," "Recreations," "Biographies," and "Vignettes." His histories of the Kensington Soup Society and Penn Treaty Park are more sustained accounts, based on unique neighborhood archives spanning several centuries. Highly readable and beautifully illustrated, all three books are published by The History Press, which advertises its specialty as "community histories that national houses and university presses too often ignore." If the rapid growth of The History Press since 2004 is any indication, the idea seems to have found an audience.

Milano sometimes appears troubled by the politics of exclusion and vagaries of class and capitalism that have shaped Kensington. The neighborhood was a self-governing district until 1854, when it was incorporated with Philadelphia. Milano writes with the ambivalence of an outsider about a city whose cultural elites have variously neglected, aided, annoyed, and invaded his neighborhood, right up until the present. The history of Penn Treaty Park is a case in point. In the mid-nineteenth century, the famous treaty elm marking the site of William Penn's legendary meeting with the Lenni-Lenape in 1682 had long since blown down, its limbs scavenged for snuff boxes and parlor whatnots. But, as Milano's research reveals, a small treaty monument remained, down by the river past the Beach Street railroad—beside Neafi's shipyard and VanDusen's sawmill, buried beneath piles of lumber, and surrounded by tumbledown buildings—"to carry the great lesson of history ennobled by art into the hearts and homes of the toiling masses of Kensington" (78). Installed in 1824 by well-meaning members of the American Philosophical and Penn Societies, the monument had become a target for stone-throwing boys and "local toughs." It would not be rehabilitated until 1893, when Penn Treaty Park was established through the joint efforts of Kensington businessmen, the Philadelphia City Council, and leaders of the Fairmount Park Commission and small parks (or "fresh air") movement.

By 1910, the park was already in decay. Neglected by the "downtown elites"

who had resurrected it in 1893, the treaty site passed “into the hands of the local Kensingtonians” for good (59). When the federal government tried to establish an immigrant station beside the park in 1910 it was met with fierce resistance, in a recurrence of the anti-immigrant nativism that had fueled anti-Catholic riots in Kensington in 1844. There was less resistance when the Pennsylvania Electric Company built an enormous coal-burning plant on the park’s north side. But by the 1940s, locals had begun to call again for the park’s rehabilitation. The Fairmount Park Commission resumed control of the grounds and regular patrols were started.

The park was neglected once again in the 1960s, when Interstate 95 was bulldozed through Kensington. It would not be until 1982, the tercentennial of Penn’s landing at Shackamaxon, that the Treaty Park came into its own, undergoing a major, multiacre expansion (with the addition of two monuments) through the activism of local historians, caretakers, and community leaders.

Milano’s books each track a recurrent cycle of institutional decay, followed by revitalization movements spearheaded by local residents—most of them of European descent. He makes no mention of African American families in Kensington, or of racial conflict after the Civil War, when Camden and Philadelphia both experienced race riots and related violence. His Kensington is implicitly a white, ethnic, working-class neighborhood shaped by, what Philip Scranton has called, “proprietary capitalism,” a peculiarly intimate form of community-, church-, and family-based industrial development.

Even if Milano is disinclined to talk explicitly about race and class, his books are a rich reflection upon the ironies of industrial and postindustrial “development.” Born in Kensington, where he lives today, he pauses repeatedly over the commercial processes of gentrification that have erased, or thoughtlessly revised, the historical boundaries of a Euro-American community dating to the seventeenth century. As a boy, Milano witnessed the bulldozing of Interstate 95 and the decay of the Treaty Park. He encountered the damaged treaty monument with its hopeful and intensely ironic motto: *Unbroken Faith*. More recently, Milano has been planning a 2010 Treaty Park ceremony on the bicentennial of the treaty elm—which fell in March 1810. He has also joined the debate about the Sugar House Casino presently being built next to Penn Treaty Park. Along with other members of the Kensington History Project (Torbin Jenk, Rich Remer, John Connor), he has criticized the casino archaeologists for an inadequate analysis of a Kensington site, which contains the remains of a Jack Frost sugar refinery; a Paleolithic fishing village; a loyalist fort of Revolutionary War vintage; and a whale oil factory owned by the family of Lucretia Mott. While Milano claims he is neither for nor against casinos per se, he is clearly on the side of historic preservation.

Scholarly readers will be frustrated with the lack of footnotes in Milano’s books. Environmental historians will want to know about the destruction of

Kensington's Cohocksink Creek and Gunnar's Run. And there is much more to say about the anti-Catholic nativists who founded the Kensington Soup Society. In the end, however, Milano's histories participate openly in the resourceful, sustaining, and contradictory character of their subject. They are on my shelf next to Scranton's *Proprietary Capitalism* (1983) as a valuable corrective to studies of Philadelphia that, written far from the scene, cite neighborhoods only in passing.

*University of Iowa*

LAURA RIGAL

Call for Proposals  
“New Perspectives on Pennsylvania’s Past”  
Pennsylvania Historical Association  
2010 Annual Meeting  
October 14–16 2010  
Selinsgrove PA

The Program Committee invites proposals for the 2010 Pennsylvania Historical Association Annual Meeting hosted by Susquehanna University in Selinsgrove, PA, October 14–16. Full session proposals are encouraged relating to the conference theme “New Perspectives on Pennsylvania’s Past.” Individual paper proposals are also welcome. Program Committee members will solicit session proposals from affiliated organizations. The Program Committee is particularly interested in panel discussions that examine previously underrepresented themes and topics that challenge traditional boundaries of Pennsylvania historical scholarship. Proposals should identify session chairs and participants and provide brief professional biographical information. Note: all participants must be members of the association at the time of the meeting. The committee requests all submissions as Word documents. Inquiries and proposals may be sent by February 1, 2010, to the address below:

Dennis B. Downey, PhD  
2010 PHA Program Chair  
Department of History  
Millersville University  
Millersville, PA 17551  
[Dennis.Downey@millersville.edu](mailto:Dennis.Downey@millersville.edu)

## 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 nonwritten 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](mailto: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](mailto:gallmanm@history.ufl.edu). Judy Giesberg at Villanova University can be reached at [judith.giesberg@villanova.edu](mailto:judith.giesberg@villanova.edu).

**Deadline for submissions:** January 8, 2010.

**The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Balch Institute  
Fellowships in Ethnic and/or 20th-Century History for  
2010–2011**

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania will award two one-month Balch Institute fellowships to enable research on topics related to the ethnic and immigrant experience in the United States and/or American cultural, social, political, or economic history post-1875. The fellowships support one month of residency in Philadelphia during the 2010–11 academic year. Past Balch fellows have done research on immigrant children, Italian American fascism, German Americans in the Civil War, Pan-Americanism, African American women's political activism, and much more.

**The Historical Society of Pennsylvania**, enriched by the holdings of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, holds more than 19 million personal, organizational, and business manuscripts, as well 560,000 printed items and 312,000 graphic images concerning national and regional political, social, and family history. The Balch collections have added rich documentation of the ethnic and immigrant experience in the United States.

Next door, **The Library Company**, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731, was the largest public library in America until the latter part of the 19th century, and contains printed materials relating to every aspect of American culture and society in that period. It holds over half a million rare books and graphics, including the nation's second largest collection of pre-1801 American imprints and one of the largest collections of 18th-century British books in America.

**Together the two institutions** form one of the most comprehensive sources in the nation for the study of colonial and U.S. history and culture. The Historical Society's strength in manuscripts complements the Library Company's strength in printed materials. The Library Company's collections reflect the whole range of early American print culture, including books, pamphlets, and magazines from all parts of the country, as well as books imported from Britain and the Continent. The Historical Society's archives richly document the social, cultural, and economic history of a region central to many aspects of the nation's development. The Balch Institute collections bring the HSP strength in documenting ethnic and immigrant history, with significant holdings of ethnic newspapers, records of benevolent societies and other local and national ethnic organizations, and personal papers of prominent leaders in ethnic and immigrant communities. Both collections are strong in local newspapers and printed ephemera.

**The Stipend is \$2,000.** Fellowships are tenable for any one-month period between June 2010 and May 2011. They support advanced, postdoctoral, and dissertation research. **Deadline for receipt of applications is March 1, 2010**, with a decision to be made by April 15. Before mailing an application, visit <http://www.lcpimages.org/forms/cover sheet.htm> to fill out an electronic cover sheet. To apply, send seven copies each of a brief résumé, a two- to four-page description of the proposed research, and a letter of reference to: James Green, Library Company, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107. For more information on applying and the joint fellowship program, telephone (215) 546-3181, fax (215) 546-5167, e-mail [jgreen@librarycompany.org](mailto:jgreen@librarycompany.org). For specific information on the Balch fellowships, contact Tamara Gaskell, (215) 732-6200 x208, e-mail [tgaskell@hsp.org](mailto:tgaskell@hsp.org).

**The Library Company of Philadelphia**

*and*

**The Historical Society of Pennsylvania**

*Visiting Research Fellowships in Colonial and U.S. History and Culture for  
2010-2011*

These two independent research libraries will jointly award approximately twenty-five one-month fellowships for research in residence in either or both collections during the academic year. Named one-month fellowships support research in certain areas:

Two **Barra Foundation International Fellowships** (which carry a special stipend of \$2,500 plus a travel allowance) are reserved for citizens of other countries living outside the U.S.

Two **Balch Institute Fellowships** will support research in the HSP/Balch collections on the ethnic and immigrant experience in the United States and/or American cultural, social, political, or economic history post-1875.

**The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic** (SHEAR) sponsors two fellowships that support research in American history in the Early National period.

The **William Reese Company** supports a fellowship for research in American bibliography and the history of the book in the Americas.

**The William H. Helfand Fellowship for American Medicine, Science, and Society** supports research in that subject area to 1900.

**The Library Company's Visual Culture Program Fellowship** supports research focused on pictorial imagery in printed and graphic works from the colonial era to the early 20th century.

**The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies** (ASECS) sponsors a fellowship for research on projects related to the American 18th century.

**The Library Company's Program in Early American Economy and Society** (PEAES) offers four short-term fellowships for research in that field.

**The Library Company's Program in African American History** offers several **Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Fellowships** to support research in that field.

**THE DEADLINE FOR RECEIPT OF APPLICATIONS IS**

**MARCH 1, 2010**, with a decision to be made by April 15.

To apply please complete the online cover sheet (see below) and deliver by March 1 to *Fellowships, Library Company of Philadelphia, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107*:

7 copies of a brief résumé

7 copies of a short description of the proposed research

7 copies of a letter of reference

To fill out the online coversheet, visit

[www.librarycompany.org/fellowships/american.htm](http://www.librarycompany.org/fellowships/american.htm)

For other fellowships offered by the Library Company including long-term and dissertation fellowships please visit [www.librarycompany.org/fellowships](http://www.librarycompany.org/fellowships).