THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Portait of William Henry, painted by Benjamin West. Courtesy of the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection. Scott Paul Gordon's article, "The Ambitions of William Henry," argues that Henry was much more than a gunsmith and, indeed, was not a gunsmith for most of his life. In doing so, he gives us a look at economic complexity of early America.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (ISSN 0031-4587) is published each quarter in January, April, July, and October by THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. Periodicals postage paid at Philadelphia, PA and additional mailing offices. **Postmaster**: send address changes to PMHB, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. **Authorization for academic photocopying**: For permission to reuse material, please access www.copyright.com or contact the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc. (CCC), 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, 978-750-8400. CCC is a nonprofit organization that provides licenses and registration for a variety of uses. **Submissions**: All communications should be addressed to the editor. E-mail may be sent to pmhb@hsp.org. Manuscripts should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Electronic submissions are welcome. For submission guidelines, visit the *PMHB* web page (http://www.hsp.org). The editor does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by the contributors.

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The full run of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is available in electronic format on JSTOR (http://www.jstor.org). Information on both print and electronic subscriptions can be found at http://shop.hsp.org/catalog/publications/pmhb/subscription. Both sites can also be accessed from the journal's website at http://hsp.org/publications/pennsylvania-magazine-of-history-biography.

THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

William Penn and the Origins of Judicial Tenure during Good Behavior

WILLIAM PENN IS, of course, best known for founding Pennsylvania as a safe haven for Quakers and for his commitment to religious tolerance in general.[1] Unexplored in the vast amount of secondary literature on this iconic figure is his role in the origins of judicial tenure during good behavior, the institutional safeguard by which a judge can be removed for serious cause only that, together with adequate and secure judicial compensation, helped make the judiciary an independent and coordinate branch of government. In fact, two influential articles on judicial tenure in New Jersey, Donald L. Kemmerer's "Judges' Good Behavior Tenure in Colonial New Jersey" and Jerome J. Nadelhaft's "Politics and the Judicial Tenure Fight in Colonial New Jersey," do not say a word about Penn, even though he was one of the early proprietors of that colony.[2] J. Paul Selsam likewise overlooks Penn's contributions to judicial independence in his important article about the history of judicial tenure in Pennsylvania, and Joseph H. Smith's oft-cited

[1] See, e.g., Edwin B. Bronner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment": The Founding of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1962); Melvin B. Endy Jr., *William Penn and Early Quakerism* (Princeton, NJ, 1973); Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1987).

[2] Donald L. Kemmerer, "Judges' Good Behavior Tenure in Colonial New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 16 (1938): 18–30; Jerome J. Nadelhaft, "Politics and the Judicial Tenure Fight in Colonial New Jersey," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 28 (1971): 46–63.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
Vol. CXXXVI, No. 3 (July 2012)

1976 article "An Independent Judiciary: The Colonial Background" is similarly silent about Penn's role.[3]

The most celebrated guarantee of judicial tenure during good behavior is found in Article III of the US Constitution, which provides that federal judges "shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour."[4] The origins of Article III have traditionally been traced back to the judicial tenure provision of the 1701 English Act of Settlement. No one talks about William Penn's contributions to the subject, despite the fact that he appears to have anticipated by two decades, in organic laws in both New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the English Act of Settlement in recognizing the importance of judicial tenure during good behavior.[5]

* * *

The framers of the US Constitution memorialized in the nation's organic law secure tenure, adequate and stable compensation, and separate institutional status for federal judges to help ensure that they would be independent of political pressure. John Adams was largely responsible for articulating in a systematic fashion what may be fairly called the political theory of an independent judiciary.[6] He wrote in his influential 1776 pamphlet *Thoughts on Government*:

[3] J. Paul Selsam, "A History of Judicial Tenure in Pennsylvania," *Dickinson Law Review* 38 (1934): 168–83; Joseph H. Smith, "An Independent Judiciary: The Colonial Background," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 124 (1976): 1,104–56. Smith mentions Pennsylvania's 1682 Frame of Government, but only in passing: "Some evidence shows that in the early period of this proprietary colony judicial commissions were issued during good behavior, but by the early eighteenth century tenure had become at pleasure." Ibid., 1,112–13. See also *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680–1684: A Documentary History*, ed. Jean R. Soderlund et al. (Philadelphia, 1983), an otherwise useful annotated documentary history of the founding of Pennsylvania, which likewise misses the judicial tenure issue. Similarly, historian Gary B. Nash neglects it in "The Framing of Government in Pennsylvania: Ideas in Contact with Reality," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 23 (1966): 183–209.

[4] US Const. art. III, sec. 1. The origins of Article III are presently receiving much scholarly attention. See, e.g., Scott Douglas Gerber, *A Distinct Judicial Power: The Origins of an Independent Judiciary, 1606–1787* (New York, 2011); and James E. Pfander and Daniel D. Birk, "Article III and the Scottish Judiciary," *Harvard Law Review* 124 (2011): 1,613–87.

[5] Some scholars are currently calling for the abolition of life tenure for federal judges. See, e.g., Roger C. Cramton and Paul D. Carrington, eds., *Reforming the Court: Term Limits for Supreme Court Justices* (Durham, NC, 2006); contrast with Sandra Day O'Connor Project on the State of the Judiciary, Georgetown University Law Center, http://www.law.georgetown.edu/judiciary/. I will leave to others the debate over whether judicial tenure during good behavior is good public policy for the United States in the twenty-first century. My objective in this article is to say something new about its origins.

[6] Adams, the American founding's most sophisticated political theorist, was not writing on a blank slate. Rather, he was tying together centuries of political theorizing about government institu-

> The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society depend so much upon an upright and skillful administration of justice, that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislative and executive, and independent upon both, that so it may be a check upon both, as both should be checks upon that. The judges, therefore, should be always men of learning and experience in the laws, of exemplary morals, great patience, calmness, coolness, and attention. Their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should not be dependent upon any man, or body of men. To these ends, they should hold estates for life in their offices; or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior, and their salaries ascertained and established by law. For misbehavior, the grand inquest of the colony, the house of representatives, should impeach them before the governor and council, where they should have time and opportunity to make their defence; but, if convicted, should be removed from their offices, and subjected to such other punishment as shall be thought proper.[7]

The "good behavior" clause was challenged only once during the course of the Federal Convention of 1787. John Dickinson attempted to include "address" as a means of removing federal judges, the practice by which the legislature may request that the executive discharge a particular judge, even if the judge had done nothing wrong. He moved to place language stipulating that federal judges "may be removed by the Executive on the application by the Senate and House of Representatives" after the good behavior clause. The motion was defeated seven to one. Gouverneur Morris called the proposal a "contradiction in terms," because it would have subjected judges otherwise serving during good behavior to removal without trial. James Wilson complained that under Dickinson's proposal,

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tions that preceded him. See Scott D. Gerber, "The Political Theory of an Independent Judiciary," *Yale Law Journal Pocket Part* 116 (2007): 223–28; Scott D. Gerber, "The Court, the Constitution, and the History of Ideas," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 61 (2008): 1,067–126; and Gerber, *Distinct Judicial Power*.

[7] John Adams, *Thoughts on Government* (1776), in *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, 10 vols. (Boston, 1850–56), 4:193, 198–99. Adams was in Europe on a diplomatic mission during the Federal Convention of 1787, but, as Zoltan Haraszti concludes in his landmark study of Adams's bibliographic influences, Adams "exerted an enormous influence on the debates of the Federal Convention." Zoltan Haraszti, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Cambridge, MA, 1952), 31. Nowhere was Adams's influence greater than on Article III. See Gerber, *Distinct Judicial Power*. *Thoughts on Government* was not Adams's first discussion of judicial independence, but it was his most systematic and his most influential. Adams had been writing about the need for an independent judiciary since at least January and February of 1773, when he engaged in a series of exchanges on the matter in the Boston press with William Brattle, a Tory. See *Papers of John Adams*, ed. Robert J. Taylor et al., 15 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1977), 1:252–309.

"Judges would be in a bad situation if made to depend on every gust of faction which might prevail in the two branches of our Govt." Edmund Randolph opposed it "as weakening too much the independence of Judges."[8]

The debate over the ratification of the US Constitution found Federalists and Anti-Federalists in rare agreement about the necessity of life tenure for judicial independence. Alexander Hamilton, writing as "Publius" in "Federalist No. 78," insisted:

> If, then, the courts of justice are to be considered as the bulwarks of a limited Constitution against legislative encroachments, this consideration will afford a strong argument for the permanent tenure of judicial offices, since nothing will contribute so much as this to that independent spirit of judges which must be essential to the faithful performance of so arduous a duty.[9]

James Madison agreed. He wrote in "Federalist No. 51" that "the permanent tenure by which the appointments are held in that department must soon destroy all sense of dependence on the authority conferring them."[10] Robert Yates, a leading Anti-Federalist writing under the pseudonym "Brutus," likewise considered tenure during good behavior "a proper provision," while Melancton Smith, writing as "The Federal Farmer," maintained, "it is well provided, that the judges shall hold their offices during good behaviour."[11]

Scholars of American constitutional history frequently trace the origins of the good behavior clause of Article III to the 1701 English Act of

[8] In *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, ed. Max Farrand, 4 vols. (New Haven, CT, 1911), 2:428–29.

[9] Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist No. 78," in *The Federalist Papers: Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay*, ed. Clinton Rossiter (New York, 1961), 469.

[10] James Madison, "Federalist No. 51," in *Federalist Papers*, 321.

[11] Brutus, "XV" (Mar. 20, 1788), in *The Antifederalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates*, ed. Ralph Ketcham (New York, 1986), 305; Federal Farmer, "The Judiciary" (Jan. 18, 1788), in *Letters from The Federal Farmer to the Republican*, ed. Walter Hartwell Bennett (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1978), 99. It is impossible to know for certain whether Melancton Smith was "The Federal Farmer" and Robert Yates was "Brutus," but the majority of historians who have studied the question currently believe this to be the case. See, e.g., Robert H. Webking, "Melancton Smith and the *Letters from the Federal Farmer*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 44 (1987): 510. In any event, as Pauline Maier notes in her recent book on the ratification debates, "the influence of serial essays on the Constitution turned far more on what they said than on who wrote them." Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788* (New York, 2010), 82.

Settlement.[12] The Act of Settlement was intended to secure Protestant succession to the English throne and to help ensure a parliamentary system of government, but its significance to the history of American constitutionalism is found in the judicial tenure provision, which provided statutory form to a practice that had been put into effect, albeit temporarily, by the English Civil War of 1642–51.[13] Although the 1701 act provides for tenure during good behavior, it permits removal by address—rather than solely by impeachment—a practice that one legal historian colorfully calls a "safety-valve" theory of judicial independence.[14]

Scholars' concentration on the English Act of Settlement is perfectly understandable for at least two significant reasons. First, the 1701 act represents the "greatest landmark" in a history of the tenure of English judges that is so complicated that even Frederic W. Maitland, the preeminent authority on English legal history, misunderstood it.[15] Second, and perhaps most important, the 1701 act, and the relative security of tenure that it brought to the English judiciary, played a dramatic role in the prerevolutionary debates about the imperial constitution and the rights of the colonists under it. Indeed, in January and February of 1773 John Adams framed his celebrated opposition to proposed payment of the salaries of the judges of Massachusetts Bay by the English crown in these terms.[16] And while a number of scholars recognize that, prior to 1701, there were interesting developments with respect to judicial tenure in both England and America, most tend to recite the 1701 Act of Settlement without

[12] See, e.g., Paul D. Carrington and Roger C. Cramton, "Original Sin and Judicial Independence: Providing Accountability for Justices," *William and Mary Law Review* 50 (2009): 1,112; David P. Currie, "Separating Judicial Power," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 61 (1998): 7–10.

[13] 12 & 13 William III, c. 2 (Eng.). For a useful history of the 1701 English Act of Settlement that focuses on the judicial tenure provision, see C. H. McIlwain, "The Tenure of English Judges," *American Political Science Review* 7 (1913): 217–29. See generally David Lemmings, "The Independence of the Judiciary in Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Life of the Law: Proceedings of the Tenth British Legal History Conference, Oxford 1991*, ed. Peter Birks (London, 1993), 125; and Martin Shapiro, "Judicial Independence: The English Experience," *North Carolina Law Review* 55 (1977): 577–652.

[14] Barbara Aronstein Black, "Massachusetts and the Judges: Judicial Independence in Perspective," *Law and History Review* 3 (1985): 162. The pertinent part of the 1701 act provides: "Judges Commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint* and their salaries ascertained and established but upon the Address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them."

[15] See McIlwain, "Tenure of English Judges," 217–18 ("Few subjects so important in English legal or constitutional history have been treated more vaguely than this. In one well-known constitutional history it is said that 'until 1701 the judges held office at the royal will,' and even Maitland says that judges of the Stuart period 'all along . . . held their offices *durante bene placito*.' Both of these statements are very wide of the mark."). See also Smith, "Independent Judiciary," 1,110.

[16] See *Papers of John Adams*, 1:252–309.

affording much attention to what came before it.[17] But as this article will now chronicle, William Penn appears to have anticipated by two decades, in organic laws in both New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the English Act of Settlement on the importance of judicial tenure during good behavior.

* * *

In 1664 King Charles II bestowed New Jersey upon his brother James, Duke of York, who in turn awarded it in 1664/65 to two of his friends, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, as tenants in common. The province was named in honor of Carteret, who had been governor of Jersey Island in the English Channel. Although William Penn is best known as the founder of Pennsylvania, his connection to the New World began in New Jersey, as he was among a group of prominent Quakers who in 1676/77 purchased the province of West New Jersey, which had been partitioned from East New Jersey a few months earlier.[18] In 1682 Penn also became one of the proprietors of East New Jersey.[19] It was in East New Jersey where Penn's involvement with judicial tenure during good behavior was initially demonstrated.

There were, of course, organic laws—charters and constitutions—for New Jersey from the beginning, but the Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East New-Jersey of 1683 is of most immediate interest. This particular organic law envisioned a government that consisted of a governor, who would serve for life, and a "great Council, to consist of the Four and Twenty Proprietors, or their Proxies in their Absence, and One Hundred Forty four to be chosen by the Freemen of the Province."[20] The

[17] Barbara Aronstein Black, for one, mentions that, in or about 1690, Increase Mather, as an agent for the colony of Massachusetts Bay, recommended to British officials that tenure for Massachusetts justices of the peace be "*quamdiu se bene gesserint*" (i.e., during good behavior). See Black, "Massachusetts and the Judges," 136n136.

[18] See, e.g., John E. Pomfret, *Colonial New Jersey: A History* (New York, 1973), 304 ("William Penn's biographers have tended to neglect his important involvement in the founding of West New Jersey, thus missing the dawn of his interest in America as well as a significant aspect of New Jersey and Quaker history."), 31, 40. The formal petition did not occur until 1680, although the two halves operated separately beginning in 1676. See Grant of 1680, reprinted in, among other places, *Sources and Documents of United States Constitutions*, ed. William F. Swindler, 9 vols. (Dobbs Ferry, NY, 1973), 6:409–13. For the general history of New Jersey during the proprietary period, see John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609–1702* (Princeton, NJ, 1956); and John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609–1702* (Princeton, NJ, 1962).

[19] See, e.g., Pomfret, *Province of East New Jersey*, 137.

[20] The Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East New-Jersey of 1683 is reprinted in, among other places, *Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey, 1664–1964*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, NJ, 1964), 109–25.

representatives of the freemen served for three years. Twelve of the proprietors, or their proxies, were required to assent before any bill became a law.

The governor was assisted in the performance of his executive responsibilities by a "common Council, consisting of the Four and Twenty Proprietors, or their Proxies, and Twelve of the Freemen." The freemen who sat on the common council were chosen by the great council and served one-year terms. The common council sat in three standing committees.

With respect to the judiciary, Article VIII of the Fundamental Constitutions provided that the power of appointing judges resided with the governor and the common council. Judicial terms appeared to be for life during good behavior: "upon any Malversation or Accusation, they shall be liable to the Examination and Censure of the great Council, and if condemn'd by them, the Governor and Common Council must Name others in their place." This was a far cry from the way judges were treated under New Jersey's first organic law, the Concessions and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New-Jersey of 1664/65, which instructed the governor to "punish" judges and other government officials who "swerv[ed] from the laws" or acted "contrary to their trust" and authorized him "to nominate and commissionate" judges and "all other civil officers" to terms at his "pleasure."[21]

William Penn was not solely responsible for the Fundamental Constitutions of 1683,[22] and pursuant to Article X, the governor, "in Conjunction with four Proprietors," sat as an appeals court, and the organic law made no mention of judicial compensation. Moreover, the Fundamental Constitutions was never put into effect. Penn and the other proprietors had agreed that it would not become operational until accepted by the general assembly, and the general assembly instead declared its continuing allegiance to the Concessions and Agreements of 1664/65.[23] In short, Penn's contribution to judicial independence in New Jersey should not be overstated. This said, constitutional development occurs in fits and starts, rather than in one fell swoop, and it is difficult to deny the significance of the gesture made in East New Jersey in 1683—modest

[21] The Concessions and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New-Jersey of 1664/65 is reprinted in, among other places, ibid., 51–66.

[22] Ibid., 18.

[23] Ibid., 17–19.

though it was—to secure judicial independence with the guarantee of judicial tenure during good behavior.

The same may be said about Pennsylvania, the colony with which William Penn is most closely associated. In fact, Penn quickly became preoccupied with Pennsylvania, which was awarded to him by King Charles II in 1680/81 as repayment for a debt the king owed to Penn's father.[24] Penn arrived in Pennsylvania in 1682 to serve as governor, bringing with him the province's first Frame of Government, which he had written.[25] The 1682 Frame of Government mandated that the government of Pennsylvania was to consist of three bodies: a governor (Penn and his heirs or assigns), a provincial council, and an assembly. The latter two bodies were selected by the freemen. Members of the seventy-two-person council served for one- to three-year terms; members of the two-hundred-person assembly served for one year.[26] The legislative power was lodged in the governor, the council, and the assembly, with the latter passing or rejecting bills "prepared and proposed" by the governor and the council. The executive power resided with the governor and the council. For example, Article VIII provided "That the Governor and provincial Council shall take care, that all laws, statutes and ordinances, which shall at any time be made within the said province, be duly and diligently executed."

The 1682 Frame of Government contained a hint of an independent judiciary.[27] More specifically, Article XVII specified that the judicial power was to be conferred upon a separate institution—"standing courts

[24] See, e.g., Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 3 vols. (New Haven, CT, 1937), 3:278–81.

[25] William Markham, Penn's cousin, had served as governor in Penn's stead for the first year of the province's existence and had been instructed by Penn to, among other tasks, erect courts. See, e.g., Frank M. Eastman, *Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania: A History*, 3 vols. (New York, 1922), 1:72. The 1682 Frame of Government is reprinted in Benjamin Perley Poore, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the United States*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1878), 2:1,518–27.

[26] The assembly for the first year consisted of all the freemen of the province.

[27] There were hints of judicial independence in almost all of the colonies. For example, Johan Printz, the third governor during Delaware's Swedish period, requested in 1647 that his superiors in Europe send him a secretary who could "attend to the judicial business." Quoted in Leon deValinger Jr., "The Development of Local Government in Delaware, 1638–1682" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1935), 6. Of course these were only modest gestures—Pennsylvania's were more generous than most—and colonial judiciaries remained far from independent. Among the Declaration of Independence's list of grievances against King George III was that "he has made judges dependent upon his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount of their salaries." Declaration of Independence para. 11 (US 1776).

of justice"—established by the governor and the council. The appointment process was the reverse of that later enumerated in the US Constitution of 1787: the council nominated judges and the governor confirmed or rejected them. The freemen nominated justices of the peace and the governor confirmed or rejected them. Tenure was for a one-year term only. However, an apparent contradiction was provided in the very next article: if expediency required it, Penn (he was mentioned specifically by name in Article XVIII, unlike in Article XVII) could appoint judges and justices of the peace "for so long time as every such person shall well behave himself in the office."

In March of 1683 the council, dominated by Penn's wealthy friends, and the assembly, composed of a more disparate array of freemen, convened.[28] The members of the council and assembly were reduced from seventy-two to eighteen and from two hundred to thirty-six, respectively. In a sign of the political discord to come, the assembly did not fully approve of the 1682 Frame of Government. Instead, it drafted and adopted, with Penn's cooperation, a second Frame of Government. The 1683 document reiterated that the government of Pennsylvania was to consist of three bodies: a governor (Penn and his heirs or assigns), the provincial council, and the assembly.[29] The judiciary was not mentioned as a separate institution of government.

Penn argued successfully for the power to veto legislation, insisting that the charter of 1680/81 had conferred this privilege upon him. But he agreed not to take significant legislative action without the "advice and consent" of the council. The assembly, determined to gain for itself the power to initiate legislation, was temporarily satisfied with the "Privilege of conferring" with the governor and the council on lawmaking.[30]

The most significant change with respect to the judiciary was found in Article XVI, which provided life tenure for judges during good behavior. As noted above, the 1682 Frame of Government was inconsistent on this point. Justices of the peace continued to serve for one-year terms. Article XXVIII of what was called "Laws Agreed Upon in England, &c" made clear that judges could not be members of other institutions of government, stating, "no such person shall enjoy more than one public office, at one time." This provision was adopted along with the 1682 Frame of

[28] The first assembly to ever convene in Pennsylvania met in Chester in December 1682.

[29] The 1683 Frame of Government is reprinted in *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:1,527–31.

[30] Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York, 1976), 38–39.

Government and seems to have remained in force under the 1683 frame.

Political practice, however, differed markedly from constitutional mandate. Five of the nine judges of the first court session conducted in Pennsylvania were also members of the provincial council. For the second session, this ratio had increased to seven of ten.[31] Moreover, Penn and the council exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction in judicial matters, sat as a court of admiralty, tried makers of bad money, and presided over a witch trial and an impeachment trial.[32] Revealingly, the impeachment trial concerned Nicholas More, the first chief justice of Pennsylvania *and* a member of the assembly. When asked to appear before the impeachment tribunal, More replied, "in what capacity?"[33] Relatedly, the council records reveal that two-year commissions were conferred upon More and other judges, which conflicts with the life-tenure provision of the active constitution.[34]

Penn returned to England in 1684 to make his case to the crown that the "lower counties" of Pennsylvania (today, Delaware) belonged to him rather than to Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland. Penn remained in England for the next decade and a half—through the turmoil surrounding the reign of his close friend James II, the Glorious Revolution and ascendency to the throne of William and Mary, and the

[31] See George P. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania: A History* (New York, 1926), 171.

[32] See William H. Loyd, *The Early Courts of Pennsylvania* (1910; repr., Littleton, CO, 1986), 63 ("The exercise of judicial functions by the governor and council was strictly in accordance with the custom in other proprietary and royal provinces, and that judicial and executive functions were found incompatible in Pennsylvania so early in its history is a clear indication of the rapid growth of a democratic and progressive spirit in that province."). Penn's 1680/81 charter did not confer upon him jurisdiction in admiralty matters, but he nevertheless sometimes acted in those concerns, including by convening a special session of the assembly in 1700 to enact laws punishing piracy and enforcing the laws of navigation and trade. The 1680/81 charter is reprinted in *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:1,509–15.

[33] Quoted in Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania Colonial Cases: The Administration of Law in Pennsylvania prior to A.D. 1700 as Shown in the Cases Decided and in Court Proceedings* (Philadelphia, 1892), 27–29, 32–38, 39–48.

[34] *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, 10 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1852), 1:120–21. The fact that Penn and his councillors refused to convict More of the assembly's charges that More had abused his judicial office evidences the tension between the executive and the assembly over control of Pennsylvania's courts. See, e.g., Eastman, *Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania*, 1:127–35. Another illustration of the conflict between the executive and the assembly over the judicial power is when John White, a one-time speaker of the assembly, insisted that the legislators "were the supreme Judges of this Government." Quoted in G. S. Rowe, *Embattled Bench: The Pennsylvania Supreme Court and the Forging of a Democratic Society, 1684–1809* (Newark, NJ, 1994), 36. See also Lawrence Lewis Jr., "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," *Report of the First Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Bar Association* 1 (1895): 393.

imperial reorganization of the 1690s. The situation became so bleak for Penn that in 1692 King William and Queen Mary revoked his right to govern Pennsylvania and made the royal governor of New York the governor of Pennsylvania as well. Penn was restored to his proprietorship in 1694 after William and Mary were convinced they could trust him.[35]

Pennsylvania was governed chaotically during Penn's long absence. Once Penn's problems in England were resolved, he reappointed his cousin William Markham deputy governor of the province. Markham quickly yielded to pressure from an increasingly restless assembly, led by its powerful speaker, David Lloyd, and agreed in 1696 to a new constitution. Penn never formally approved this new constitution, but he never questioned it.[36]

Under the 1696 Frame of Government—also known as the Markham Frame—more power was conferred upon the assembly, most notably the power to "prepare and propose to the Governor and Council all such bills as they or the major part of them, shall, at any time, see needful to be passed into laws."[37] This power previously had resided with the governor and the council. No mention was made of the judiciary's appointment, tenure of office, or compensation.

Penn returned to Pennsylvania in late 1699. While pleased to see that the province had prospered economically during his lengthy absence, he was dismayed to find himself confronted with a political elite who appeared little concerned with his proprietary rights. He quickly learned that he would have limited opportunity to try to protect his interests while in Pennsylvania itself; a bill had emerged in Parliament calling for the unification of the charter and proprietary colonies. Penn felt compelled to return to England to defend his claim to Pennsylvania. At a minimum, he wanted to ensure that he received a fair price for his lands.[38]

Before Penn left for England, he was forced to address the assembly's demand for a new frame of government. The assembly, the institution of Pennsylvania's government closest to the people, was not satisfied with the structure of government in the province. In 1701, Penn wrote a new frame of government, called the Charter of Privileges, which made the assembly the lawmaking body of the province, with the council exercising

[35] See, e.g., Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, 43–46.
[36] See, e.g., Isaac Sharpless, *Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History* (Philadelphia, 1911), 82.
[37] The 1696 Frame of Government is reprinted in *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:1,531–36.
[38] See, e.g., Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania* 63–80.

only an advisory role.[39] The 1701 charter was otherwise remarkably silent about the structure of government—and, like the 1696 Frame of Government before it, it made no mention of the judiciary's appointment, tenure of office, or compensation. In fact, with the exception of a brief reference to the power of the judges of the county courts to recommend to the governor three persons "to serve for Clerk of the Peace for the said County," the charter said nothing about the judiciary.

The 1701 charter's silence on the judicial power did not mean that Pennsylvanians were unconcerned about the matter. The debate over judicial independence was perhaps more vigorous in Pennsylvania than in any colony aside from Massachusetts and New York. Penn's early endorsement of judicial tenure during good behavior informed the most significant of the debates. Speaker David Lloyd, who believed judges should be afforded life tenure to avoid undue influence by the executive, spent much of the first decade of the eighteenth century sparring over control of the courts with Deputy Governor John Evans, who maintained that judges should have permanent salaries so as to avoid undue influence by the legislature.[40] Their dispute colored the battle over the Judiciary Act of 1706, in particular; page after page of the provincial minutes were filled with point and counterpoint between the two strong-willed men. On one occasion, Lloyd invoked the abandoned 1682 Frame of Government as precedent for his position, while Evans alluded to the practice of both Pennsylvania itself and the other colonies in British America to support his view.[41] The stalemate forced Evans to issue an ordinance in 1706/07, pursuant to the proprietor's authority in the 1680/81 charter, reestablishing the courts in the province.

The issue of judicial tenure during good behavior received renewed attention with the debate over the proposed Judiciary Act of 1759 specifying judicial tenure during good behavior—albeit subject to removal by address of the assembly—and annual salaries for judges. Benjamin Franklin, the most celebrated Pennsylvanian of them all, argued for the bill as a member of the assembly's committee on grievances. As David Lloyd had done before him, Franklin invoked an earlier constitution—the 1682 Frame of Government written by William Penn—for support:

[39] The 1701 Charter of Privileges is reprinted in *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:1,536–40.

[40] See, e.g., *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 2:273, 275, 277, 283, 291, 298, 304, 305, 313, 314, 321, 322–23, 325, 336–37, 340, 351, 352. The assembly also wanted judges removable by address of the assembly.

[41] Ibid., 304, 298, 283.

> By Virtue of the said Royal Charter, the Proprietaries are invested with a Power of "doing every Thing which unto a compleat Establishment of Justice, unto Courts and Tribunals, Forms of Judicature, and Manner of Proceedings do belong." It was certainly the Import and Design of this Grant, that the Courts of Judicature should be formed, and the Judges and Officers thereof hold their Commissions in a Manner not repugnant, but agreeable, to the Laws and Customs of England; that thereby they might remain free from the Influence of Persons in Power, the rights of the People might be preserved, and their Properties effectually secured. That the Grantee William Penn, understanding the said Grant *in this Light*, did, by his original Frame of Government, covenant and grant with the People, That the Judges, and other Officers should hold their Commissions during their good Behavior, and no longer.[42]

Franklin went on to point out that, notwithstanding the necessity of judicial tenure during good behavior in order to better protect the people's liberties, the governors of Pennsylvania had been appointing judges to terms "to be held during their Will and Pleasure."[43]

The Judiciary Act of 1759 was passed in September of that year, but was disallowed by the crown in council in 1760.[44] Between the repeal in 1760 and 1776, when Pennsylvania's first state constitution went into effect, a number of pamphlets were published that called for an independent judiciary. The most powerful argument was almost certainly *A Letter to the People of Pennsylvania* (1760), penned by Joseph Galloway, an anti-Proprietary member of the assembly and the principal draftsman of the 1759 judiciary bill. Galloway opened his pamphlet with the standard Lockean account of the chief purpose of government: "to secure persons and properties of mankind from private injuries and domestic

[42] Benjamin Franklin, "Pennsylvania Assembly Committee: Report on Grievances" (Feb. 22, 1757), in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (New Haven, CT, 1959–), 7:141. A decade later, Franklin would again make known his thoughts on the importance of an independent judiciary:

> Judges should be free from all influence; and therefore, whenever Government here will grant commissions to able and honest Judges during good behaviour, the Assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions: But at present they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an unjust Judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) but by starving him out.

Benjamin Franklin, "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768" (printed in *London Chronicle*, Jan. 5–7, 1768), in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 15:9. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* are available online at http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/.

[43] Benjamin Franklin, "Report on Grievances," in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 15:141.

[44] *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682–1801*, ed. William Stanley Ray (Harrisburg, PA, 1898), 5:465.

oppression." He then proceeded to devote sixteen pages to convincing his readers of the importance of an independent judiciary in Pennsylvania. Galloway maintained that the impartiality of the judicial branch was necessary for the protection of personal and property rights: "the men who are to settle the contests between prerogative and liberty, who are to ascertain the bounds of sovereign power and to determine the rights of the subject, ought certainly to be perfectly free from the influence of either." He opined that love of promotion was a likely influence on the current Pennsylvania judiciary and that men who would accept tenure at the pleasure of the executive were servile in nature and ultimately dependent on the executive. He provided numerous examples of how the same was true in England before English judges were afforded lifetime tenure during good behavior. He insisted that what was appropriate for judges in England was equally appropriate for judges in Pennsylvania: "From whence it follows that this right of the people to have their judges indifferent men and independent of the crown is not of a late date but part of the ancient constitution of your government and inseparably inherent in the persons of every freeborn *Englishman*." He concluded his letter with the following warning:

> Be assured, if a privilege thus justly founded, so often ratified and confirmed, if an impartial and independent administration of justice is once wrested from your hands, neither the money in your pockets, nor the clothes on your backs, nor your inheritances, nor even your persons can remain long safe from violation. You will become slaves indeed, in no respect different from the sooty *Africans*, whose persons and properties are subject to the disposal of their tyrannical masters.[45]

John Dickinson, the so-called penman of the American Revolution, concurred in one of his acclaimed *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*:

> As to the "administration of justice"—the judges ought, in a well regulated state, to be equally independent of the executive and legislative powers. Thus in *England*, judges hold their commissions from the crown "*during good behavior*," and have salaries, suitable to their dignity, *settled* on them by parliament. The purity of the courts of law since this establishment, is a proof of the wisdom with which it was made. But in these colonies, how fruitless has been every attempt to have the judges appointed "*during good*

[45] Joseph Galloway, "A Letter to the People of Pennsylvania, &c," in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776*, ed. Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 1:256, 257, 259, 266–67, 272.

> *behavior*"? Yet whoever considers the matter will soon perceive, that *such commissions* are beyond all comparison more necessary in these colonies, than they are in *England*.[46]

Nothing changed, as the heirs of William Penn (who had died in England in 1718) strongly objected to the good behavior provision on the grounds that it both interfered with their charter rights and would allow ineffective judges to remain in office.[47]

* * *

Thanks in large part to the hard work of state archivists and historical societies in compiling colonial and early state law records, we are in the midst of a golden age of scholarship about early American law.[48] In the apt words of Princeton University's Stanley N. Katz, there now exists "a Colonial Legal History."[49] Of course, this does not mean that there will not be differences of opinion about the meaning of the historical record. Some historians, for example, might object to the emphasis in this article on organic laws that were never put into full effect—especially the Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East New-Jersey of 1683 and the 1682 Pennsylvania Frame of Government. But even rejected frames of government take a place in the overall treasure of human thought and contribute to the development of political institutions. Indeed, many of the classic works of political philosophy—from Aristotle's *Politics* to Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*—are theoretical discourses about how political institutions should be set up.[50] Just as an architect needs the idea for a new building before it can be constructed and used by others, constitutional framers must formulate the idea for a new type of political institution before they establish it. Not surprisingly, the latter process takes time and will be costly to effect within any political landscape, developing through fits and starts, and from var-

[46] John Dickinson, "Letter IX," in *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (1768), reprinted in *Empire and Nation*, ed. Forrest McDonald, 2nd ed.(Indianapolis, IN, 1999), 50–53.

[47] Loyd, *Early Courts of Pennsylvania*, 98.

[48] See Scott D. Gerber, "Bringing Ideas Back In: A Brief Historiography of American Colonial Law," *American Journal of Legal History* 51 (2011): 359–74.

[49] Stanley N. Katz, "Introduction to Forum: Explaining the Law in Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 49 (1993): 6.

[50] See Aristotle, *The "Politics" of Aristotle*, trans. Peter L. Phillips Simpson (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997); M. de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, ed. and trans. Anne M. Cohler et al. (New York, 1989).

ious fragments that others invariably created in the past. Put more concretely, the 1683 Pennsylvania Frame of Government, the organic law that quickly superseded the 1682 frame, also provided life tenure for judges during good behavior, and the 1683 frame remained in effect in Pennsylvania for more than a decade. William Penn clearly understood how important judicial independence was, memorializing as he did in the 1683 Pennsylvania Frame of Government the idea of judicial tenure during good behavior embodied in the 1682 Pennsylvania frame and in the 1683 East New-Jersey Fundamental Constitutions.[51]

Other scholars might object to this article's reading of the text of both the Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East New-Jersey of 1683 and the 1682 Pennsylvania Frame of Government. With respect to the 1683 organic law of East New-Jersey, it could be argued that the provision at issue—"upon any Malversation or Accusation, they shall be liable to the Examination and Censure of the great Council, and if condemn'd by them, the Governor and Common Council must Name others in their place"—is about the standard for removing a judge who misbehaves rather than about judicial terms of office. Turning to the organic law of Pennsylvania, it could be argued that Article XVIII of the 1682 Frame of Government was purely a one-shot deal; the province at this early point in its history needed judicial offices filled quickly, and also needed some stability in the offices. Penn was therefore going to hand-pick this first round of judges, and he would choose only those worthy of life tenure. But when any of the offices came vacant in the future, the next incumbent, per Article XVII, would have a one-year term. The full text of Article XVIII provided:

> But forasmuch as the present condition of the province requires some immediate settlement, and admits not of so quick a revolution of officers; and to the end the said Province may, with all convenient speed, be well ordered and settled, I, *William Penn*, do therefore think fit to nominate and appoint such persons for judges, treasurers, masters of the rolls, sher-

[51] It was, of course, in Penn's self-interest that judges be dependent on him. But Penn was not alone among governors in early America in recognizing the significance of an independent judiciary. For example, in 1781 North Carolina governor Thomas Burke objected to a court bill that would have given him too much power over the judiciary. See "Questions and Propositions by the Governor" (July 25, 1781), in *The State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, 26 vols. (1886–1907; repr., Wilmington, NC, 1993), 19:855, 862–63; and Scott D. Gerber, "Unburied Treasure: Governor Thomas Burke and the Origins of Judicial Review," *Historically Speaking* 8 (2007): 29–30.

> iffs, justices of the peace, and coroners, as are most fitly qualified for those employments; to whom I shall make and grant commissions for the said offices, respectively, to hold to them, to whom the same shall be granted, for so long as every such person shall well behave himself in the office, or place, to him respectively granted, and no longer. And upon the decease or displacing of any of the said officers, the succeeding officer, or officers, shall be chosen, as aforesaid.

The problem with this type of text-based argument is that it overlooks two important facts. In New Jersey, the removal standard in the 1683 organic law was consistent with a system in which judges served for life during good behavior, and it was also much less punitive toward the judges than the 1664/65 law that preceded it (an organic law under which judges did not serve for life during good behavior). Furthermore, in Pennsylvania, two of that province's strongest proponents of judicial tenure during good behavior—David Lloyd and Benjamin Franklin—read Article XVIII in the broader fashion suggested by this article: as precedent for judicial tenure during good behavior. Moreover, an overly legalistic, text-centered reading of Article XVIII of the 1682 Pennsylvania Frame of Government would neglect the structuralist significance of Article XXVIII of the Laws Agreed Upon in England, &c: the codification of the separation of powers idea forbidding judges from serving in other institutions of government. As scholars have chronicled elsewhere, the emerging prohibition against plural officeholding in early America went hand in hand with the rise of judicial independence.[52]

In short, monolithic explanations for historical events—especially linear ones—should be resisted.[53] In fact, judges served for seven-year terms under both the New Jersey Constitution of 1776 and the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776.[54] The purpose of the present article is not to argue that William Penn is solely responsible for the most famous of all institutional

[52] See Gerber, *Distinct Judicial Power*, 84–85, 89n7; and Ellen E. Brennan, *Plural Office-Holding in Massachusetts, 1760–1780: Its Relation to the "Separation" of Departments of Government* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1945).

[53] See generally Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, MN, 1980).

[54] The New Jersey Constitution of 1776 is reprinted in, among other places, *Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey*, 155–63. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 is reprinted in, among other places, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:1,540–48. Judges served during good behavior under the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790, but they remained removable by address. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 is reprinted in, among other places, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:1,548–57.

solutions to the political theory of an independent judiciary, but simply to point out Penn's previously overlooked contribution to the subject.[55]

It is necessary to close by suggesting why Penn appears to have endorsed life tenure for judges in the organic laws of the two colonies in which he had a proprietary interest. The most likely explanation is Penn's longstanding commitment to individual liberty. For example, Penn concluded a lengthy preface to Pennsylvania's 1682 Frame of Government with a concise statement of his vision of the purpose of government. It is a vision that rings throughout the history of American constitutionalism:

> we have (with reverence to God, and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the *frame* and *laws* of government, to the great end of all government, viz: *To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power*; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable, for their just administration: for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy: where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted; then where both meet, the government is likely to endure.

Penn's dedication to individual liberty was likewise evident in New Jersey. Julian P. Boyd and Bernard Bailyn have concluded that, due in large part to Penn's efforts, New Jersey's commitment to individual rights was manifested earlier than that of any other of the original thirteen states.[56] Both point to the Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New-Jersey of 1676/77.[57] Boyd was particularly taken by the "eloquent affirmations of human rights" in that organic law, the articulation of which he credited primarily to Penn.[58]

[55] I am certainly not arguing that Penn came up with the idea of life tenure for judges during good behavior. As a well-educated English elite, Penn was surely aware that English judges sometimes were commissioned *quamdiu se bene gesserint* during the English Civil War. Benjamin Franklin's defense of Pennsylvania's 1759 judiciary act indicated that he thought Penn was aware of it. I thank Gordon Wood for mentioning this point to me.

[56] See Boyd's introduction to *Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey*, 12; and Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 195–96.

[57] The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New-Jersey of 1676/77 is reprinted in, among other places, *Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey*, 71–104.

[58] See also Richard S. Field, *The Provincial Courts of New Jersey, with Sketches of the Bench and Bar* (New York, 1878), 27 ("A more beautiful fabric of free government was never reared. It should be for ever embalmed in the memory of Jerseymen."). Boyd acknowledges that some scholars

With the notable exception of religious freedom—the liberty Penn most famously embraced—the said "fundamentals" guaranteed by the West New-Jersey Concessions and Agreements all concerned fair judicial process: the right to trial by jury in criminal and civil cases; a defendant's right to be apprised of the charges against him; the right to be protected from false witnesses; and the right to attend the trials of others. The trials themselves were "heard and decided by the virdict of judgment of twelve honest men of the neighborhood." Jurors were assisted by "three justices or commissioners," but the jurors themselves were imbued with the decision-making authority. The judicial power therefore appeared surprisingly independent: a characteristic, as this article has endeavored to demonstrate, Penn later tried to repeat in other organic laws for New Jersey and Pennsylvania by providing for judicial tenure during good behavior.

The framers of the US Constitution repeated it too, and for the same reason that Penn did: a commitment to liberty.[59] And while John Adams is properly awarded prominence of place for articulating, in his 1776 pamphlet *Thoughts on Government*, the political theory of an independent judiciary that the framers later inscribed into Article III,[60] we can better understand why they would do so after exploring Penn's ideas on the subject: ideas that were memorialized in several organic laws in seventeenth-century New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

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dispute whether Penn should receive the entire credit for drafting the document (*Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey*, 17). See generally John E. Pomfret, "The Problem of the West Jersey Concessions of 1676/7," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 5 (1948): 95–105 (discussing Edward Byllynge's contribution); and Nash, "Framing of Government in Pennsylvania," 193 (emphasizing Penn far more than Byllynge and concluding that there is "little doubt" that Penn's ideas about individual rights were at the heart of the Concessions and Agreements).

[59] See Gerber, *Distinct Judicial Power*.

[60] See, e.g., Gerber, "Political Theory of an Independent Judiciary."

The Ambitions of William Henry

HISTORIANS HAVE TRAPPED William Henry of Lancaster (1729–86) in the identity of gunsmith. Though meant as a compliment—most accounts portray Henry as the most important gunsmith in the "rifle-making hub of colonial America," Lancaster County—this confinement is ironic, since Henry escaped this occupation as soon as he was able. The term gunsmith, then as now, could describe men who repaired guns, who produced specialized gun parts (such as barrels or locks), who created an entire gun from scratch (lock, stock, and barrel), or who ran a factory that employed other men. Henry seems not to have engaged in any of these activities after 1760. By the last decade of his life, Henry had achieved a level of financial security (and apparently embodied the virtuous independence thought to derive from it) that led his peers to entrust him with positions of responsibility and that left Henry free to accept them. He served first in local and state governments and was later appointed an administrator and financier for the Continental army and elected twice to the Continental Congress. We have failed to register the shape of his career, the magnitude of his transformation; instead, historians have imagined that during all these varied activities, Henry continued to work as a gunsmith. Indeed, the belief that Henry "was engaged in the manufacture of firearms for over thirty years," that he produced the rifles or muskets carried by soldiers from the French and Indian War through the Revolution, has been central to stories about him.[1]

For their careful and helpfully skeptical readings of earlier drafts of this essay, I am extremely grateful to Kitty Bancroft and Bob Lienemann. I also thank Tamara Gaskell, Rachel Moloshok, and the anonymous reviewers for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for their comments and criticisms.

[1] Joe Kindig Jr., *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in Its Golden Age* (New York, 1960), 72; De Witt Bailey and Douglas A. Nie, *English Gunmakers: The Birmingham and Provincial Gun Trade in the 18th and 19th Century* (New York, 1978), 13; *Henry of Boulton: A Pennsylvania Gunmaking Family and Its Firearms* (Nazareth, PA, 1988), 5. For Lancaster as the center of colonial riflemaking, see J. Wayne Heckert and Donald Vaughn, *The Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle: A Lancaster Legend* (Ephrata, PA,1993), 1; M. L. Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America: The Impact on History and Technology, 1492–1792* (Washington, DC, 1980), 437; Alexander Rose, *American Rifle: A Biography* (New York, 2008), 15–16, 21; John Walter, *The Rifle Story: An Illustrated History from*

The belief that Henry was a career gunsmith has flourished due to confusion over his role during the Revolutionary War. As a procurement officer for the Continental army and for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Henry was responsible for obtaining working guns and dispersing these guns to the troops, and a substantial correspondence survives in which army leaders beg him for guns. These requests have been taken as evidence that Henry continued to work as a gunsmith, still practicing in the 1770s the skills he had learned as an apprentice gunsmith in the 1750s. Collectors have searched for the Revolutionary War guns that Henry must have produced, but no example of Henry's work is known to have survived—a "curious" fact only if one believes that Henry was producing a large number of rifles over a long period of time.[2] But to believe that during the Revolution Henry produced the guns that others requested of him one must isolate these requests for guns—as researchers focused on early America's gun trade have done—from the many other requests that he received: for shoes, for flour, for spontoons, for cartouche boxes, for hats. This wider context suggests that in the 1770s Henry was no more a gunsmith, directly involved in the making or repairing of guns, than he was a cobbler or a miller. He was a high-level procurement officer who purchased and financed the production of guns precisely as he purchased and financed the production of shoes. Henry may have been a skilled craftsman in the 1750s, but by the 1770s he was a bureaucrat struggling to orchestrate large-scale production of items to keep America's armies in the field.

An unusual amount of information about Henry survives because his family, proud of his Revolutionary War service, preserved a vast mass of his papers. These materials ensured that while most colonial gunsmiths

1776 to the Present Day (London, 2006), 20. Even Michael A. Bellesiles, who distorted evidence to insist on the "surprisingly low number of gunsmiths" and guns "in early America," calls Lancaster County "the great exception" to this picture (*Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* [New York, 2000], 107). For the controversy over *Arming America*, awarded the Bancroft Prize in 2001 and then stripped of it in 2002, see James Lindgren, "Fall from Grace: *Arming America* and the Bellesiles Scandal," *Yale Law Journal* 111 (2002): 2195–249, and Clayton Cramer, "Why Footnotes Matter," *Plagiary: Cross-Disciplinary Studies of Plagiarism, Fabrication, and Falsification* 1 (2006): 149–77, at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/p/pod/dod-idx?c=plag;idno=5240451.0001.016.

[2] Whitfield J. Bell Jr., "William Henry (1729–1786)," in *Patriot-Improvers: Biographical Sketches of Members of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1997), 1:349. In 1960, Henry J. Kauffman found "complete agreement among informed collectors that [a] musket [at the Lancaster County Historical Society] was made by Henry about the time of the American Revolution" (*The Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle* [New York, 1960], 91–92). Only this gun's lock, perhaps dating from the 1750s, is now attributed to William Henry of Lancaster.

remained in or sunk into obscurity, Henry stayed visible to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians. When Henry's family members began to write narratives of their accomplished ancestor, they too construed him as a career gunsmith. They saw him through the lens of four subsequent generations of Henry gunmakers who spent most of their working lives in the rifle business. This model of the Henrys as professional gunsmiths was firmly established when John Woolf Jordan, a Henry descendant and a librarian at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for forty years, began researching William Henry in the 1870s. Jordan's research was shaped by constant conversation, extending over forty years, with his gunsmith cousins, James and Granville Henry, who naturally understood their famous forefather to be a patriotic gunsmith like themselves.[3] Henry was a useful figure for those eager to honor the early American gunsmith, and recent historians have advanced Jordan's heroic narrative; both Jerome Wood and Mark Häberlein, for example, refer to "William Henry, Lancaster's master gunsmith" or to "the gunsmith William Henry" when they discuss his activities during the Revolution as if, during these years, he remained involved in the same gunmaking activities he had been during the 1750s. A variety of factors, then, have conspired to promote the image of William Henry as a gunsmith who, as William Heller wrote, "established a factory in 1752 for the making of firearms" and whose "muskets and rifles were in great demand during the Revolutionary War."[4]

Discarding the picture of Henry as a career gunsmith enables us to look anew at his remarkable career. As Rosalind Beiler has written of Caspar Wistar, William Henry's "success was not a foregone conclusion." One means of raising oneself from "craftsman" to "gentleman"—land

[3] The standard biography, Francis Jordan Jr., *The Life of William Henry, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1729–1786: Patriot, Military Officer, Inventor of the Steamboat* (Lancaster, PA, 1910), written by a great-great-grandson, relied on a grandson's earlier study: Mathew S. Henry, "The Life of William Henry" (typescript, 1860), American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. The four subsequent generations of Henry gunmakers were William Henry II (1757–1821); his sons J. Joseph Henry (1786–1836) and William Henry III (1794–1878); James Henry (1809–95), only child of J. J. Henry; and James Henry's son, Granville Henry (1832–1912). The vast correspondence of John Woolf Jordan with James and Granville Henry is at Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE; Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, PA; and Jacobsburg Historical Society, Boulton, PA.

[4] Jerome H. Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790* (Harrisburg, PA, 1979), 146, 153; Mark Häberlein, *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820* (University Park, PA, 2009), 141; William J. Heller, *History of Northampton County (Pennsylvania) and the Grand Valley of the Lehigh*, 3 vols. (New York, 1920), 1:141.

speculation—seems not to have been part of Henry's social transformation.[5] It was very unlikely in colonial Pennsylvania that a gunsmith would rise above his status as a mechanic, let alone rise to positions of public responsibility. The career of Matthias Roesser (1708–71), with whom Henry apprenticed in the 1740s, is instructive. Roesser seems to have had a long career in his trade. The inventory taken at his death indicates that he was capable of producing every aspect of a rifle, though he may not have regularly used the full range of these skills. Like many gunsmiths, Roesser diversified his activities to make ends meet. Listed on Lancaster's tax roll in 1759 and in 1770 as a gunsmith, Moravian church registers consistently identify him as *schlosser*, or locksmith. Two of his sons became gunsmiths, one moving from Lancaster to Hagerstown and then Mercersburg in search of work. Roesser typifies Lancaster's gunsmiths in the years before the Revolution. These men made a living at their trade and trained the next generation, but none escaped the intense daily labor required of the gunsmith. Although Joe Kindig's *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in Its Golden Age* (1960) taught writers to emphasize the artistry of the eighteenth-century rifle (and the varied skills that gunsmiths needed to work in multiple media: wood, iron, and brass), the gunsmith's trade involved "long hours and hard work": forging and welding barrels; crafting locks, each with many parts; carving stocks from aged curly maple; and constant repair work, especially the "freshing" of worn barrels.[6] William Henry managed to leave all this—the forging, the hammering, the sawing, and, above all, the filing—behind. How did he succeed at moving beyond gunsmithing?

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[5] Rosalind J. Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750* (University Park, PA, 2008), 3; Melissah J. Pawlikowski, "Agency and Opportunity: Isaac Craig, the Craftsman Who Became a Gentleman," in *Pennsylvania's Revolution*, ed. William Pencak (University Park, PA, 2010), 231–57.

[6] Kindig, *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle*, 9; Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York, 1950), 154. An influential film, *Gunsmith of Williamsburg* (1969), revealed the expertise involved in crafting each aspect of a rifle: the film also demonstrates, if inadvertently, the intense physical labor of gunsmithing. For Roesser, see Henry Kauffman, *The American Gunsmith* (Morgantown, PA, 1998), 11; Lancaster Congregational Catalogs, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA; Lancaster County Tax Lists, Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, PA. For many years researchers debated whether the colonial gunsmith "by virtue of his isolation and the primitive conditions under which he lived and worked, was forced by circumstances to become a self-reliant and truly individualistic craftsman" or whether he used locally produced or imported components (Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America*, 244). See also Henry J. Kauffman, "Jacob Dickert, Rifle Maker," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 40, no. 2 (1990): 75.

William Henry's father seems to have been a gunsmith. A John Henry, who died in Lancaster in the mid-1740s, possessed gun barrels, locks, and "a parcel of Small to[o]ls for Making of Guns." Henry noted in a short spiritual memoir that after his father died, he "came to Lancaster and entered apprenticeship with Matth. Roeser, to learn the trade of gunsmith." His memoir makes almost no other mention of his gunsmithing activities, although it does reveal, in passing, that his house in the center of Lancaster included a "workroom," presumably the space he used to repair or craft rifles (and later, as we will see, to work on inventions).[7] The few documents that refer to William Henry during the 1750s describe him at work repairing—not manufacturing—guns. This is not surprising, since, as many historians suggest, the primary labor of most gunsmiths at this time involved the maintenance rather than the production of firearms. When in June 1756 Captain Joseph Shippen led a company of Pennsylvanians from Lancaster to Shamokin to build Fort Augusta, he took "Wm Henry with" him "to repair" his men's weapons: Henry was ordered "to do every Thing with regard to the Pennsylvanian arms." The variety of gunsmithing skills that Roesser had taught Henry are evident from Shippen's remark that Henry had "taken a great deal of pains to rectifie [the arms], & bore & straiten the Barrels." A receipt for payment to Henry for some of "the Work done by himself and Men at Harris's Ferry and Shamokin" identifies him simply as "Mr. William Henry, of Lancaster County, Gun Smith," and this occupational label accompanies most of the references that survive from this period; in 1754 a Moravian diarist recorded the arrival at Shamokin of "a gunsmith from Lancaster" named "Billy Henry." Another receipt, which carries William Henry's certification that Henry Willis of York had been paid for "thirty five Days use of his Boreing Mill and gun Smith Shop at ten Shillings per Day," suggests that working for Shippen confronted Henry—who surely possessed equipment to bore barrels by hand—with a quantity of work, and an urgent deadline, that made it desirable to use water power instead.[8]

[7] John Henry Inventory [May 27, 1747], Lancaster County Historical Society; William Henry, "Memoir" (1786), ed. Scott Paul Gordon, in Gordon, "Entangled by the World: William Henry of Lancaster and 'Mixed' Living in Moravian Town and Country Congregations," *Journal of Moravian History* 8 (2010): 44–45. Henry recorded that his father (who was named John Henry) died "in my fifteenth year," which would suggest he died in 1744 or 1745. At the end of his own life, Henry may have misremembered the date of his father's death; or, this inventory may have been taken a few years after Henry's father's death or not be that of Henry's father.

[8] Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, June 2, 1756, in "Military Letters of Captain Joseph Shippen of the Provincial Service, 1756–1758," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 36

It is important to consider the significance of the place, Lancaster, where Henry spent these early years as a gunsmith. Henry did not live in one of Pennsylvania's many small towns or villages, nor was he working in a communal, egalitarian Moravian settlement (as his eldest son would). Lancaster was a highly competitive and cosmopolitan environment. Founded in 1730, Lancaster quickly became the largest inland town in colonial America, with some two thousand inhabitants in 1755 and over three thousand a decade later. The unexpected annihilation in July 1755 of Edward Braddock's army as it marched on Fort Duquesne, however, reminded residents that, unlike the eastern urban communities such as Philadelphia that they emulated, Lancaster was situated in Pennsylvania's backcountry. "Women from Carlisle, Lancaster, and Reading," provincial secretary Richard Peters reported in October 1755, were "leaving their Families" to flee to Philadelphia. "Who can dare to Stay on their Plantations betwixt here and Philadelphia," wondered Edward Shippen, Lancaster's leading citizen, "if [the] enemy Should take possession of this town and destroy the People"? Lancaster's residents believed that the Indians planned to make "Winter Quarters at Lancaster," and at one point rumors spread that "1500 French and Indians had burnt Lancaster Town to the Ground." But if during wartime Lancaster was a vulnerable frontier town, its size and its prosperity, which stemmed from the town's central role in the Indian trade, differentiated it from other backcountry communities. Lancaster merchants such as Joseph Simon—who would take William Henry on as a business partner—funded ventures that sent goods and food west and received in turn the furs that were sent to partners in New York, Philadelphia, and London. Thomas Barton, Lancaster's Anglican minister, described the town as a "very respectable & wealthy Place," but of course only a small portion of its population was prosperous. Lancaster was diverse economically, as well as ethnically and religiously; the Jewish population was large enough to sustain a kosher

(1912): 386; William Clapham to Robert Hunter Morris, June 11, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives* (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, PA, 1852–1935), 1st ser., 2:664; "Provincial Commissioners: Orders for Payment," in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (New Haven, CT, 1959), 7:27; Shamokin Congregational Diary, Apr. 20, 1754, Moravian Archives; Norris of Fairhill Manuscripts, box 33, Loan Office Accounts, 1743–1758, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. That Henry traveled across the Susquehanna to do this work suggests that Lancaster County had no boring mill at this time. For repairing versus making guns, see Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America*, 244; Jim Mullins, *Of Sorts for Provincials: American Weapons of the French and Indian War* (Elk River, MN, 2008), 41. Despite a family legend, Henry was not the armorer for Braddock's 1755 expedition: see Scott Paul Gordon, *Two William Henrys: Indian and White Brothers in Arms and Faith in Colonial and Revolutionary America* (Nazareth, PA, 2010).

butcher; a wide variety of trades and craftsmen flourished; and, perhaps most important to Henry's early career, the town had a visible elite tied to the provincial government through marriage and business interests.[9]

The sons of William Penn and their supporters have not fared well with many historians, who have exposed the proprietors' 1737 scheme to defraud the Delaware Indians of land and have sided with Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Assembly in their decades-long struggle with the arrogant Thomas Penn. But in the 1750s the Proprietary Party was the ruling elite in Pennsylvania, and nobody expected this fact to change. Most ambitious young men in colonial Pennsylvania would have aspired to join this elite, represented in Lancaster by a group of English-speaking families—Shippens, Burds, Atlees, and Yeateses—who intermarried and promoted one another through patronage and trade. All these families owned pews in Barton's Anglican St. James Church; Barton described them to a supervisor in England as "people puffed up with a notion of their superior knowledge, fortunes and families [who] seem apprehensive of ranking with the meaner sort." William Henry prudently rented a pew in Barton's church in 1759 for thirty shillings a year. Renting this pew reveals how Henry chose to dispose of some of the disposable income that he had earned as a gunsmith.[10]

Henry's choice of the Anglican Church is significant. His memoir indicates that he was "trained" in the Presbyterian Church. He came to Lancaster in the mid- to late 1740s, apprenticed to the Moravian Roesser

[9] Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, quoted in Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988), 334; Edward Shippen to William Shippen, Nov. 29, 1755, in Shippen Family Papers, 1671–1936, reel 3, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; "Extract of a Letter from Bohemia, in Cecil County, Maryland, November 10, 1755," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1755; "At a Council held at Philadelphia," in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, in *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, ed. Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg, PA, 1838–53), 6:673; Thomas Barton to Daniel Burton, Nov. 16, 1764, quoted in James P. Myers Jr., *The Ordeal of Thomas Barton: Anglican Missionary in the Pennsylvania Backcountry, 1755–1780* (Bethlehem, PA, 2010), 212. For eighteenth-century Lancaster, see Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads* and Häberlein, *Practice of Pluralism*.

[10] G. B. Warden, "The Proprietary Group in Pennsylvania, 1754–1764," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 21 (1964): 367–89; Stephen Brobeck, "Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Proprietary Gentry," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 33 (1976): 410–34; Thomas Barton to Philip Bearcroft, Dec. 6, 1760, Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Letter Books, ser. B, vol. 21, no. 8, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, UK; H. M. J. Klein and William F. Diller, *The History of St. James' Church* (Lancaster, PA, 1944), 78. For recent accounts of the Penns, see Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, and Steven Craig Harper, *Promised Land: Penn's Holy Experiment, the Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600–1763* (Bethlehem, PA, 2006).

and, after a brief involvement with Quakers, joined the Moravian Church in 1765. But Henry did not join the Moravians during his apprenticeship or in the decade after, a choice that may have been determined by Henry's social aspirations. In the 1740s and 1750s the Moravians were, as Henry himself recalled, a "despised people." When in 1745 the Moravian Laurentius Nyberg hosted a synod in Lancaster's courthouse, townspeople cursed him as "the Wounds-preacher, the Blood-Preacher," and an angry woman pelted Bishop Augustus Spangenberg with mud. In 1756, the Proprietary spokesman and provost of the College of Philadelphia, William Smith, contended that it would be a "disgrace" to elect to office any Moravians, who befriended enemy Indians and "for ought we know may be Popish"; the previous year, Shippen tried to stop the governor from appointing two Moravians as magistrates, since they were "men not of a suitable Turn for such a Station." Henry joined the Moravian Church only after an internal struggle that pitted his spiritual yearnings against his social aspirations: "I reproached the dear God with all that I had already had to endure, since I had left the Anglican Church and gone to the Quakers, and [said] that it would be much worse if I were to join this despised people; surely he would not want me to prostrate myself again."[11] Although Henry does not elaborate on what he "endure[d]" after leaving the Anglican Church, his discussion reveals his awareness of the different social rankings of Lancaster's various churches. By attending the English-speaking Anglican Church in the 1750s, Henry set himself apart from the German-speaking gunsmith community in which he had apprenticed.

Henry made himself eligible, in effect, for continued patronage from Lancaster's elite. He must have impressed the Shippens with his gunsmithing work during the summer of 1756. Two summers later, during General John Forbes's expedition, Henry acted again as armorer, this time for Virginia troops, and traveled to Winchester to repair arms. He reported to William Byrd that he "does not think the old Guns, (about 320) are fit for Service, for they have been in the Magazeen . . . ever since the Reign

[11] Henry, "Memoir," 50; William Smith to William Vernon, quoted in Laurie M. Wolfe, "William Edmonds," in *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, *1757–1775*, ed. Craig W. Horle (Harrisburg, PA, 2005), 457–58; Edward Shippen to William Allen, June 17, 1756, Shippen Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For Henry and the Moravian Church, see Gordon, "Entangled by the World," 7–52. For attitudes toward eighteenth-century Moravians, see Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2007).

of King William." George Washington, then a colonel in Virginia's militia, commanded Henry to "set about cleaning and putting all the Virginia Arms in the best repair you can," specifying how Henry should prioritize his work ("Such Pieces as want Locks, or in other respects much repair, let be your last care") and how to pack the guns. A recently discovered document, which reveals that in 1762 Henry owned land along the road that Forbes carved on his march toward Fort Duquesne (in what is now Bedford, Pennsylvania), suggests that Henry may have received land in compensation for his service as armorer to Forbes.[12]

A position of responsibility, such as armorer, could be a career maker. Henry may have "lobbied" for this assignment, as Carlisle's elite did for military contracts at this time. Certainly he could not have received any such patronage without the support of Lancaster's elite. Edward Shippen, who as paymaster and commissary of British and provincial troops under Forbes and Colonel Henry Bouquet "work[ed] tirelessly . . . to organize the resources" of the Lancaster region, may have recommended Henry. Henry had served Shippen's son in summer 1756, as we have seen, and in the following spring Joseph Shippen again patronized Henry, who sent various fabrics to Fort Augusta: "green Thread," "3 pair of Britches," and large amounts of linen, dyed green. These brief traces reveal a continuing relationship between the powerful Shippens and the young Henry. Edward Shippen even trusted Henry to carry important letters to England when Henry traveled there in 1760.[13]

[12] Memoranda, June 12, 1758, in *The Forbes Expedition*, in *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. S. K. Stevens et al. (Harrisburg, PA, 1951–94), 2:79; William Byrd to John Forbes, June 23, 1758, in *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series*, ed. W. W. Abbot et al. (Charlottesville, 1983–95), 5:236n3; George Washington to [William] Henry, Armourer, June 24, 1758, in *Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series*, 5:240; "No. 2965: William Henry Hath Made Application for three hundred Acres of Land . . . Dated Philadelphia this Third Day of March 1767," Private Collection. See also Records of the Land Office, Warrant Applications Register, West Side Applications Register, 1766–1769, RG-17, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA. At his death, Henry seems to have owned a "lot" in "Fredericks Town," which his family tried to sell (William Henry [II] to Ann Henry, July 12, 1787, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[13] Judith Ridner, *A Town In-Between: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Early Mid-Atlantic Interior* (Philadelphia, 2010), 89; Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads*, 176; Receipt, James Burd and Joseph Shippen to William Henry, Apr. 15, 1757, Burd-Shippen Papers, ser. 5: Receipts, American Philosophical Society; see also a payment to William Henry, for Sundries for the Use of Fort Augusta, Oct. 11, 1758, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser., 6:4881. Shippen told a friend that "Mr. William Henry" had "left this Borough yesterday morning to…sail from Philadelphia to London": Shippen to William Logan, Dec. 8, 1760, Shippen Family Papers. For Edward Shippen as patron, see Wayne L. Bockelman, "Local Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Lancaster," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (1973): 45–74.

These varied connections with the Shippen family are suggestive. It seems that Henry realized he could use his gunsmithing skills to forge cultural and political connections. This is not an obvious thing for him to have done. Henry could have used his gunsmithing expertise, as other Lancaster gunsmiths did, to produce and repair arms from his Lancaster shop for a primarily local clientele and eventually earn a reputation as a master gunsmith. Such a career could have sustained him over the course of his working life. But Henry seems to have recognized early on that the path to advancement in colonial Pennsylvania was through providing services, on a larger scale, to elite clients. Presumably through a combination of individual initiative and help from others, who perhaps preferred to patronize an English-speaking, rather than a German-speaking, gunsmith, Henry secured high-visibility gunsmithing positions that led to further patronage. Such positions involved risk, since further patronage would be withheld if the jobs were not done well; these assignments also required Henry, perhaps for the first time, to hire and supervise others. It is notable that, even while he was practicing the gunsmith's trade, Henry was diversifying the ways he could help the Shippens and, more generally, the colonial government, by supplying Fort Augusta with other necessary items, such as linens and clothes. This early instance of Henry acting as a trader reinforces the possibility that he aimed to make himself into a man who could be relied on to undertake major and varied tasks. Henry used his gunsmithing, in effect, as a means to form connections with the Proprietary elite in Lancaster, to insert himself into a patronage network.

Henry's marriage, too, may have helped him join Lancaster's cultural elite. Ann Henry (1734–99), the daughter of New Jersey Quakers, came to Lancaster when her widowed mother remarried Joseph Rose, an Irish immigrant who became a Lancaster lawyer in 1750. A "good Greek & Latin scholar" and a "deep read lawyer," Rose had a large library by which William Henry educated himself, and, it is likely through acquaintance with him that Henry met his wife. The 1756 marriage allied the gunsmith with the educated lawyer, but Ann Henry contributed more than family ties. She was a "seeker," dissatisfied with the religion in which she had been raised, and it was she who first visited the Moravian church where the Henrys found a spiritual home. She bore thirteen children between 1757 and 1777, seven of whom reached adulthood. In 1777, when the British occupied Philadelphia and Pennsylvania's government settled in Lancaster, Ann Henry's home became the residence of both state treas-

urer David Rittenhouse and Thomas Paine. In 1786, after her husband's death, Ann Henry became Lancaster County's treasurer, carrying out all necessary duties and receiving a salary. She continued in this position until 1791.[14] This was an extraordinary position for a woman in Revolutionary America, and the willingness of local and state authorities to entrust her with this responsibility—which, being both public and financial, challenged conventional attitudes towards women's proper roles—suggests that men such as Rittenhouse had gained confidence in her abilities during their acquaintance with her and her husband in the previous decades.

Henry's other activities in the 1750s reveal his social aspirations. When he involved himself in Lancaster's Juliana Library Company, organized in 1759 and incorporated by Thomas Penn in 1763, Henry emulated Lancaster's elite. Shippen, Barton, and Ross all served on the library's original board of directors, which by 1761 also included the physician Samuel Boude and the lawyer William Atlee. Joining the Library Company was a good strategy to gain business connections or social standing; Joseph Simon, Henry's partner, joined despite his inability to read or write. By 1766, Henry was on the board of directors, and the library itself was moved to his home. The extraordinary *Death of Socrates* (1756), which Henry commissioned from the young Benjamin West, also signals Henry's attempt to ally with the Proprietary group; the painting sides with the Proprietary Party in its struggles with the Quaker-led assembly over efforts to arm the backcountry during the early months of the French and Indian War. The simple fact of this commission testifies to Henry's desire to emulate his "betters" in the Lancaster pecking order. At a time when few eighteenth-century craftsmen, as Harry Rubenstein writes, "could afford the cost of a painted portrait," Henry had West produce portraits of himself and of his wife—and an historical subject, unprecedented in colonial America. The *Socrates*'s history reveals much about Henry's connections at this period. William Smith saw the picture in Lancaster and, impressed, launched West on a European career

[14] John Joseph Henry, Genealogical note (ca. 1808?), William Henry Papers, 1759–1826, 2:132, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Henry, "Life of William Henry," 2. There is no reliable account of Ann Henry, but see Adelaide Brooks Hall, "Ann Wood Henry, 1732–1798," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 64 (1960): 223–26, and George Steinman, "Ann Wood Henry: Lancaster County's Woman Treasurer," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 1 (1896): 69–71.

that culminated in West's tenure as president of Britain's Royal Academy.[15] Perhaps Smith was familiar enough with Henry to have visited his house and noticed the unusual painting. More likely, news of the painting drew Smith to Henry's house. *The Death of Socrates* both reveals Henry's atti-

Benjamin West's *Death of Socrates.* Courtesy of the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection.

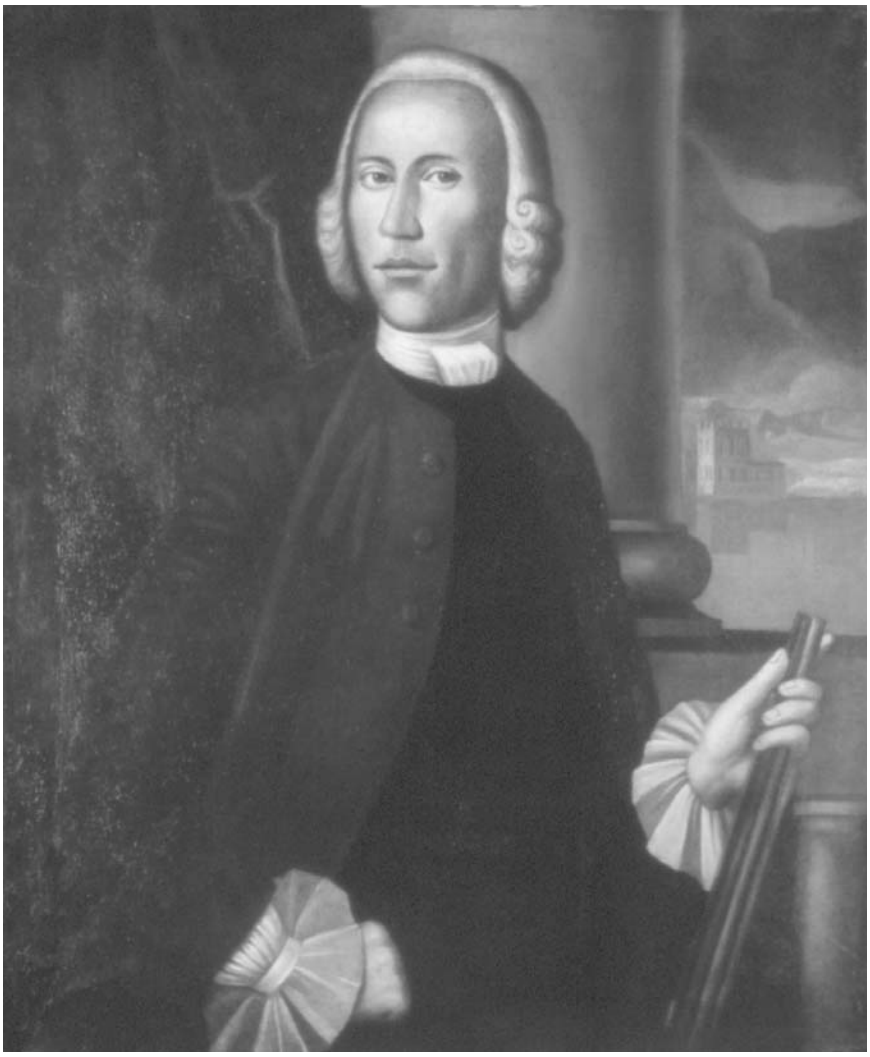
[15] Charles I. Landis, "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 43 (1919): 24–52, 163–81, 228–50 (for Simon's illiteracy, see "Simon Gratz, Joseph Gratz, and Jacob Gratz, Administrators of Michael Gratz, deceased, v. Levi Philips, Leah Philips, and Beliah Cohen," in *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, comp. William Rawle, Esq., Charles B. Penrose, and Frederick Watts [Harrisburg, PA, 1830], 1: 340); Scott Paul Gordon, "Martial Art: Benjamin West's *The Death of Socrates*, Colonial Politics, and the Puzzles of Patronage," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 65 (2008): 65–100; Harry R. Rubenstein, "With Hammer and Hand: Working-Class Occupational Portraits," in *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850*, ed. Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher (Baltimore, 1995), 179; John Galt, *Life and Studies of Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy of London, prior to His Arrival in London* (Philadelphia, 1816), 50–51. The *Socrates*, which remained in the Henry family from 1756 to 1989, was bequeathed to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the will of Mary Henry Stites (1908–89).

tudinal alignment with Lancaster's Proprietary elite and served as a catalyst to forge closer ties with them.

Both Henry's activities as a "mechanic" and his cultural aspirations, then, gained him attention and patronage from Lancaster's elite. West's 1756 portrait of Henry registers the tension between Henry's occupation as gunsmith and his aspirations to join his betters. Henry appears as a gunsmith, holding the sort of firearm that he had been trained to repair and produce. But his attire points in a different direction. The high collar, elaborate cuffs, and elegant wig testify to cultural ambitions that do not typically follow from the "craftsman" identity of gunsmith. This odd juxtaposition is evident when one compares West's painting with John Singleton Copley's 1768 portrait of another craftsman, the silversmith Paul Revere. In Copley's painting, the open collar, exposed sleeves, and natural hair (no wig), signal Revere's working-class credentials.[16] The Henry portrait suppressed these features; it displays, instead, Henry's cultural aspirations beyond gunsmith.

I am not suggesting that Henry in the 1750s wanted to shed his identity as gunsmith because he already aimed at the sort of public roles he would play in the 1770s and 1780s. The desire to sweat less at the forge was motivation enough. Most eighteenth-century individuals worked with their hands, but few would have chosen to do so if they had an alternative. Henry harbored no disgust toward a life of labor or the occupation of a gunsmith; long after he left the trade, he apprenticed his eldest son to an accomplished riflemaker and, a decade later, sent a younger son to apprentice with this older brother. But many others openly disdained those who worked with their hands—in 1769 William Henry Drayton disparaged men who "knew only . . . how to cut up a beast in a market to the best advantage" or "to cobble an old shoe in the neatest manner"—and craftsmen recognized that they were valued less than those who worked with their heads. Copley noted in 1767 that Americans considered painting only "a usefull trade . . . like that of a Carpenter tailor or shewmaker, not as one of the most Noble Arts in the world." The examples of Copley and Henry show that those who performed manual labor could become merchants or even gentlemen, but no

[16] The portraits of Ann and William Henry are in the Philadelphia History Museum. Copley's painting is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., Carol Troyen, and Trevor J. Fairbrother, *A New World: Masterpieces of American Painting, 1760–1910* (Boston, 1983), 198.



William Henry. Portrait by Benjamin West. Courtesy of the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection.

Ann Henry. Portrait by Benjamin West. Courtesy of the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection.

social mobility was possible if, as Carl Bridenbaugh put it, they "clung to leather-apron ways and appearances."[17]

While it is difficult to know Henry's ambitions in these years, whether he hoped merely to leave the forge for the shop or imagined occupying positions of authority in Lancaster, he surely recognized that any advancement in colonial Pennsylvania would require him to transcend the occupation of gunsmith. Benjamin Franklin, who retired from his printing business at age forty-two, had shown the way. Franklin recalled that it was only when he "disengag'd . . . from private Business" that "the Publick, now considering me as a Man of Leisure, la[id] hold of me for their Purposes." The logic is explained well by Gordon Wood: those "who had occupations and had to work with their hands for a living lacked the proper qualifications for virtuous and disinterested public leadership." Henry may have had his eye on Franklin—and on his strategy for climbing out of his identity as mechanic—all along. In 1768, Henry asked Cadwalader Evans to send a "draft" of one of his inventions to Franklin, then in London.[18] Whether he deliberately emulated Franklin or not, the arc of Henry's career resembles Franklin's: he began as a mechanic, established cultural credentials in Lancaster by involving himself in a library company and working on a variety of inventions, and devoted the latter part of his life to public service in the Revolutionary cause. Both Henry and Franklin left their early occupations as mechanics as soon as possible, and Henry was no more a career gunsmith than Benjamin Franklin was a career printer.

In late 1760, carrying letters from Edward Shippen, William Henry sailed for London. The trip stemmed, Henry stated, from a "partnership in the iron business" established in 1759 "with a gentleman in Lancaster." Thomas Barton wrote that Henry "goes to England to settle a Correspondence & Trade, & intends to return in the Spring." John Joseph Henry remembered that his father, "having made a tolerable fortune,"

[17] John Singleton Copley to [Benjamin West or Captain R. G. Bruce], 1767, in *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739–1776* (Boston, 1914), 65–66; William Henry Drayton in *South Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1769, quoted in Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (New York, 2009), 22; Bridenbaugh, *Colonial Craftsman*, 158.

[18] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography*, ed. Daniel Aaron (New York, 1990), 116; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 21–22 (cf. 27, 350; also Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* [New York, 2004], 55–56); Cadwalader Evans to Benjamin Franklin, June 11, 1769, in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 16:156.

"entered into trade." He had not made enough money as a gunsmith to abandon business altogether; he could not become a gentleman as the printer Franklin had. But, as Thomas Doerflinger notes, "merchants had higher status than artisans" because "they used their brains instead of their hands to make money," and Henry was stepping out of one identity into another. In early 1761, Joseph Shippen, in London and eager to hear from his family, wrote to his father that he hoped that "Mr. Wm Henry the Gunsmith . . . has taken Care of my Letters," indicating that he still thought of Henry as a gunsmith.[19] But at that very moment, Henry was fashioning himself into something different.

Joseph Simon (1712–1804), one of Lancaster's "principal Merchant[s]," according to Barton, helped Henry leave his occupation of gunsmith. Simon was forty-seven years old, and Henry had just turned thirty. Simon likely provided much of the needed capital, receiving in exchange the benefits of the social connections that his young partner had accumulated. Moravian records document a fire in "the store house and shop of Joseph Simon, the Jew, & the buildings that belonged to it" in December 1764:

> All of it burned to the ground. Since the wind was still and snow was on the roofs, the fire could not spread further, even though it was quite large and the people were fighting it mightily, otherwise the whole row of houses from the corner to the courthouse would have been endangered. William Henry who is associated with Simon was also a victim of this. They suffered losses of £3,000 although many goods could still be carried out of there, but much of that was also looted.

This report registers the community's perception that the store belonged to *Simon*, with whom Henry was "associated." The report's tally of the men's losses provides some measure of the capital that had been invested in the store. Like many wealthy men in colonial America, Simon and Henry also functioned as de facto banks—as a source of credit—for many of Lancaster's leading citizens; Barton, for example, drew his ministerial

[19] Henry, "Memoir," 46; Thomas Barton to Philip Bearcroft, Dec. 6, 1760; John Joseph Henry, *An Accurate and Interesting Account of the Hardships and Sufferings of that Band of Heroes, who Traversed the Wilderness in the Campaign against Quebec in 1775* (Lancaster, PA, 1812), 215; Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1986) 37; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, Mar. 17, 1761, Shippen Family Papers, 10:68.

salary from Simon and Henry. The partnership persisted throughout the 1770s and perhaps into the 1780s.[20]

By partnering with Simon, Henry inserted himself into, and gained access to, a trading and communication network that reached across the Atlantic and also into western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Country. Simon had a stake in many enterprises. He partnered in 1757 with Samuel Boude in a potash business; in 1759 with the German blacksmith John Miller to make horsebells and beaver traps; and with Miller and Mordecai Moses Mordecai to produce distilled liquors and other spirits. By 1764 he and Benjamin Nathan opened a store in Heidelberg (now Shaefferstown, Pennsylvania) that sold clothing, ironware, gunpowder, and glass. He received government contracts during the French and Indian War and again during the Revolutionary War. Most crucial was Simon's involvement in the western Indian trade. Simon owned a house in Carlisle and, by 1760, had a store at Fort Pitt. He purchased goods from Philadelphia merchants and sent them west through Lancaster and Fort Pitt to the Ohio Country, where his men would trade with settlers and Indians. The furs they purchased would pass back through Lancaster on their way to Philadelphia and across the Atlantic. One load in 1762 included 975 fall deerskins, 501 raccoon pelts, 279 summer deerskins, and 173 beaver pelts.[21]

Simon and Henry's "iron business" imported a variety of merchandise from England. A 1762 advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* listed some two hundred items, including anvils, brass candlesticks, scythes, compasses, "childrens knives," enameled or paper instrument cases, brass mortars and pestles, silver matches, coffee mills, "and numerous other articles, too tedious to mention." The partners supplied parts to local gunsmiths, including Henry's younger brother; a 1765 invoice shows that

[20] Thomas Barton to William Johnson, July 22, 1767, in *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, NY, 1921–65), 5:604–5; Lancaster Congregational Diary, Dec. 21, 1764, Moravian Archives; Diane E. Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807* (University Park, PA, 2008), 47. A translation mistake led earlier writers to claim that in 1759 the business relation was dissolved, rather than established (Jordan, *Life of William Henry*, 34) and even recent writers (James B. Whisker, *Arms Makers of Colonial America* [Selinsgrove, PA, 1992], 103) state that the partnership dissolved in the 1770s. But Joseph Simon continued to have an account with Simon & Henry in 1783 and the Philadelphia merchant John Morton requested money from "Simon & Henry, Merchants, Lancaster" in 1784 (Henry Family Papers, 1758–1909, Acc. No. 1209, box 11, folder 8, Hagley Museum and Library).

[21] For Simon, see Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads*, 133–35, and David Brener, "Lancaster's First Jewish Community, 1715 to 1804: The Era of Joseph Simon," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 80 (1976): 211–322.

John Henry obtained 340 cocks, 359 cock pins, 350 tumblers, 258 fuzee main springs, 225 forged breeches, 492 filed side pins, and 700 forged side pins. Other surviving records offer a glimpse at the sort of items that other customers purchased from Simon and Henry: in 1767 and 1768, Captain John Stewart purchased brass knob locks, hinges, pulleys, buttons, a shovel, and a frying pan; in 1765, Colonel James Burd purchased nails, a chisel, a half-inch auger, and an iron lock; in 1767, Adam Simon Kuhn and others purchased (in bulk) nails, screws, and springs "for the Use of the [Lutheran] Church"; and in 1769, the Juliana Library Company ordered "tin and pewter work."[22] These few invoices demonstrate that a variety of Lancaster's citizens, elite and ordinary, and from different religious backgrounds, patronized Simon and Henry.

It seems unlikely that Henry was still working as a gunsmith at this time, and no document that has survived refers to Henry as a gunsmith after 1761. William Henry may have helped establish his brother John as a gunsmith, however, perhaps transferring the tools he had used and directing customers his way. Jasper Yeates patronized Simon and Henry for "Metal Jacks for the Window Blinds," for "Hinges" and nails, for a "Blade for a Wood Saw," and for quires of paper. But when Yeates needed a gunsmith's help—for mending locks or for "making a pair of Bullet Moulds for my Pistols"—he went to *John* Henry. A 1765 Lancaster tax list identifies John Henry as a "gunsmith"; it records William Henry as an "ironmonger." The 1773 tax list, again noting John Henry as "gunsmith," describes "William Henry, Esq." as a "store keep[er]." Lancaster's authorities called on John Henry, not William, to inventory and appraise the possessions of Lancaster gunsmiths when they died.[23]

Henry had stepped out of an occupation defined by manual labor. From this point on, Henry worked with his hands as men with more leisure did, tinkering, experimenting, and inventing. Again he followed Franklin's path; "When I disengag'd myself . . . from private Business," Franklin recalled, "I flatter'd myself that, by the sufficient tho' moderate

[22] "Mr. John Henry Bought of Simons & Henry" [Jan. 24, 1765], "Captain John Stewart To Simons & Henry" [June 6, 1768], "Kuhn, Hubley, and Lowman to Simon & Henry" [May 30, 1769], William Henry Papers, 2:9–10, 13; "Col. James Burd to Simon & Henry" [Aug. 20, 1765], Burd-Shippen Papers, ser. 5: Receipts; Landis, "Juliana Library Company," 36.

[23] Daybook of Jasper Yeates, 1766–67, Yeates, Lancaster County Historical Society Collection, 1699–1934, MG-205, folder 31, Lancaster County Historical Society; Lancaster Tax [1765?], Lancaster County Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; "Returns for the Sixteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax for the County of Lancaster, 1773," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd ser., 17:458; James Chambers Inventory, Mar. 12, 1764, Lancaster County Historical Society.

Fortune I had acquir'd, I had secur'd Leisure during the rest of my Life, for Philosophical Studies and Amusements. . . . I proceeded in my Electrical Experiments with great Alacrity." Henry's experiments with the steam engine in the early 1760s are well known, as is his design for a self-regulating flue that he sent to the American Philosophical Society. He also invented the screw auger, testing his design on turnips and later creating an iron version that would bore wood. Entirely forgotten is the fact that Henry, like Franklin, experimented with electricity. In 1768, a Moravian couple from Lititz brought "their crippled daughter" to Lancaster "to have Brother Henry to try an electrification on her," and after Henry's death his children tried to recover an "Electric machine" and "artificial Magnet made by our father." John Joseph Henry remembered his father's "laboratory." In the 1760s, William Henry

> entered into trade, but his inclinations led him into chymical experiments. His evenings and mornings were devoted to the laboratory . . . . For the instruction of his children, my father would discourse upon the subjects of science and particularly of chymistry, which was his favorite theme, and in which the names of Franklin and Priestley, were sure to stand foremost.

John Joseph Henry suggests that, although his father had to spend his days in the marketplace, his "inclinations" drew him to the life of the mind. In 1783 a later visitor, Johann David Schoepf, drew the same conclusion more explicitly: "the experiments, magnetick and electrical, which employ the leisure hours of Mr. Henry in a useful and agreeable way . . . show him to be a thinking and self-examining man."[24] In his "leisure," William Henry displayed the "gentleman" he was becoming.

By the early 1760s, the wars with the Indians and French—which had increased the need for gunsmiths, as well as for arms—had ended. Nobody anticipated that a new conflict a dozen years later would generate an even more urgent need for weapons. Henry's brother John was a practicing gunsmith in Lancaster, and another brother was by 1766 at Fort Pitt repairing guns for the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. William Henry had become a prosperous merchant who had the leisure

[24] Franklin, *Autobiography*, 116; Joseph Hutchins, "The American Screw Auger," *Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 64, no. 3 (2011): 89–107; Lancaster Congregational Diary, July 31, 1768; John Joseph Henry to William Henry, Jan. 14, 1807, Miscellaneous Letters, William Henry Papers; Henry, *Accurate and Interesting Account*, 215; Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation 1783–1784: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia*, trans. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia, 1911), 2:15.

to experiment in his spare time. His business took him to Philadelphia, to York, to Bethlehem, and to Maryland. He joined the Moravian Church in 1765 and began to shoulder civic responsibilities in Lancaster as an assistant burgess, a justice of the peace, and an assistant justice of the county courts. In 1771 the colony of Pennsylvania appointed Henry to serve on its canal commission, and in November 1772 he explored the Welsh Mountains that separate the Susquehanna River from the Schuykill and the Delaware Rivers with David Rittenhouse and others.[25] Henry had no reason to think that he would ever be associated with the gun trade again.

When Lancaster County did organize again, first to protest British revenue acts and then to prepare for war, William Henry played a leading role. Taking an early public stand on the emerging crisis, he joined a committee of four others—the lawyers George Ross and Jasper Yeates, the merchant Ludwig Lauman, and the physician Robert Boyd—to sign a letter on June 28, 1770, expressing solidarity with a nonimportation policy proposed by Philadelphia's Committee of Merchants. Four years later, Lancaster County obeyed the Continental Congress and formed a Committee of Observation and Inspection to monitor compliance with the boycott on British goods, and Henry served at times as this committee's chairman and treasurer.[26] Like county committees across colonial America, Lancaster's committee slowly began to assume full governmental functions. It assumed judicial authority to try and punish citizens; it fined and disarmed non-Associators, who refused to bear arms; it raised militias; it struggled to meet the quota of muskets that Pennsylvania's assembly required from Lancaster County.

It would not be surprising if Lancaster's leaders had looked to William Henry when the need for arms became evident. Although he had not worked in the gun trade for fifteen years, he had been an armorer to Forbes when armed conflict had last galvanized Lancaster. But from the committee's minutes, one would have no idea that Henry had ever been a

[25] Scott Paul Gordon, "The Henrys and the West: Moses Henry, Gunsmith and Indian Agent," *Jacobsburg Record* 35 (2008): 6–10; Report, Jan. 30, 1773, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser., 8:6931–34.

[26] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 28, 1770. For the importance of the county committees, see T. R. Breen, *American Insurgents, American Patriots: The Revolution of the People* (New York, 2010). Only a small fraction of the minutes of the Lancaster County revolutionary committee has been published (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 13:275–99), but the rest survive in the Peter Force Collection, ser. 8D, #86, Library of Congress.

gunsmith. His name never appears as a practicing gunsmith or as an advisor on armaments. The names of dozens of gunsmiths and gunsmiths' apprentices appear in these minutes, which note that Jacob Dickert supplied rifles to Paul Zantzinger's company, that Joel Ferree would "Work & Forge, Bore & Grind a Number of good Musket Barrels," and that John Henry provided "a Mould for Casting Bullets of different Sizes to be ready for such Troops as may have occasion to march from this County." But only when the committee asked Henry's brother and others to "value certain Riffles in the hands of Mr. William Henry which shall or may be delivered out for the use of the Service of this Continent" does Henry's name appear in proximity to gun-related matters. These rifles were likely taken from non-Associators or were perhaps older weapons, much like the "Muskets & military Accoutrements," stored since the "late War," that were "a Parcel of Rubbish . . . so covered with Rust that they were thought almost unfit for Use & scarcely worth repairing." After Henry left the committee, it felt free to call on him for particular tasks—it asked "William Henry Esquire" to "assist the Committee in superintending & directing" the construction of new barracks—but it never recruited him on matters related to arms production, not even during its struggle with Lancaster's gunsmiths, whom the committee threatened to deem "Enemies to this Country" when they balked at producing muskets instead of rifles.[27]

The suspicion that the conflict between the colonies and Britain would not end quickly seems to have convinced Henry, in early 1776, to once again involve himself in the gun business. His precise role remains difficult to ascertain, but the prosperous merchant who reentered it was not the practicing gunsmith of 1758. The fact that Henry had been a gunsmith in the 1750s has tempted writers, as we have seen, to think that his activities during the Revolution continued or expanded on his earlier trade. Filling the gap in the documentary record, they have imagined that after returning from England in 1761, Henry "resumed the direction of his gun works" or "gradually expanded his gunsmithing business," and even that, to adjust to wartime production, he "increased his gun manufacturing capabilities by leasing additional space and hiring more gun-

[27] Lancaster Committee of Observation Minutes, May 23, Aug. 4, Nov. 9, Nov. 10, Dec. 11, 1775, and July 12, Aug. 24, 1776, Peter Force Collection. The subcommittee that corresponded on gunsmithing matters consisted of Alexander Martin, Thomas Clark, and William Bausman (see *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 13:511, 525, and also *Colonial Records*, 10:530).

smiths."[28] But no evidence whatsoever suggests that a Henry gun factory existed in the 1760s or early 1770s. At this point in Henry's career, few would have identified gunsmithing skills as his most valuable assets, especially given the large number of gunsmiths in Lancaster County. Far more valuable to the Revolutionary cause—and more rare—was the financial and organizational acumen that had served Henry well as a merchant.

Henry's decision to reenter the arms business must have resulted both from a sense of patriotic duty and from a recognition of financial opportunity. Several years later, asked about Lancaster County's overdue taxes, Henry noted that "it is private interests that execute Government" and that "most Men" could not do their jobs if "their Pay would not support them." In this he agreed with Nathanael Greene, quartermaster general of the Continental army, who told Congress in 1779 that "little service is to be expected from any order of Men . . . whose pay is insufficient for their support." Henry differentiated himself from "most Men," noting that he had "laid out" between "Sixty & Seventy Thousand Pound . . . in purchase of Leather and Paying Workmens Wages at the Shoe-Factory at Philadelphia, Allentown and Lancaster," for "the whole of the Factorys must have stop'd for want of Pay and Materials, if I had not supported them with Money." But he then added, "I do not even draw Commissions on the Money furnished the Factories." These remarks reveal not only the amount of money that routinely passed through Henry's hands and the size of the organization for which he was responsible. They show, too, that procurement work offered a significant source of income in commissions. Between April 1778 and August 1779, for instance, Henry earned £5,790 as a procurement officer for the Continental army, only 10 percent of which was salary, the rest deriving from a 5 percent commission he received on arms he repaired and the arms, shoes, and clothing he purchased. The following year he earned about £6,452, only 6 percent of which was salary.[29] It is unlikely that Henry conceived of such vast sums in early 1776. But he surely understood that he could be useful to the

[28] Jordan, *Life of William Henry*, 56; Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America*, 258; Heckert and Vaughn, *Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle*, 70.

[29] Henry to Joseph Reed, Apr. 25, 1780, in Jordan, *Life of William Henry*, 116–18; Nathanael Greene to John Jay, Mar. 6, 1779, in *Papers of Nathanael Greene*, ed. Richard K. Showman et al. (Chapel Hill, NC, 1976–2005), 3:333; "The United States in Account with William Henry" [Aug. 1779], William Henry Papers, 1:30; "United States in Account with William Henry" [Aug. 1780], and "United States to William Henry C. of Hides" [Aug. 1780], box 11, folder 9, and box 11, folder 3, Henry Family Papers, Hagley Museum and Library. For the matter of commissions, see Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army* (Washington, DC, 1981), 14–15.

Revolutionary governments—much as he had been useful during the French and Indian War—in ways that promised significant reward.

William Henry ended his service to Lancaster's Committee of Observation in November 1775. He would leave Lancaster for Philadelphia a year later as a member of the first assembly elected under the 1776 state constitution—but he did not know this when, in March 1776, he offered to supply arms both to Pennsylvania and to the Continental army. Congress had formed a committee in February 1776 to "contract for the making of muskets and bayonets for the use of the United Colonies," and within two weeks it appropriated $10,000 for this purpose. William Henry won part of this contract. Congress ordered on March 29, 1776, that fifteen pounds of gunpowder be delivered to "Mr. William Henry and Co. . . . to prove the musquets he has contracted to make for the Continent." The same month, Pennsylvania appointed four men to establish a "provincial Manufactory of Gun Locks" and to "contract for the making of fire arms." Although the order implied that most of the "artificers" would be in Philadelphia, a few weeks later, on March 23, 1776, Pennsylvania "agreed with William Henry for making 200 Rifles." It is no coincidence that, also in March 1776, John Henry joined with Jacob Dickert to build a grinding and boring mill on land in Manheim Township, Lancaster County; the two men recognized the urgent demand for new arms and for components to repair damaged arms. William Henry was trying to ride this same wave in March 1776.[30]

These traces of Henry's return to the gun industry, however, provoke more questions than they answer. How, in these early years of the war, did he plan to supply these muskets and rifles? He had no active gunshop and was not offering to return to the forge. Was he proposing to direct other men's work in a factory setting? A May 1776 congressional resolution refers to a "manager of the continental factory of fire arms at Lancaster," and gunstockers working in Pennsylvania's state factory were aware of their counterparts "imploy'd in the Continental Factor[ies]" who "Constantly receive *their* Rations." George Moller claimed that at this Continental factory, men "repair[ed] and rebuil[t]" weapons rather than

[30] Febr. 23, Mar. 29, and May 23, 1776, in *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (Washington, DC, 1904–37), 4: 169, 240, 384; Committee of Congress to Abraham Hunt, Mar. 9, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, ed. Paul H. Smith (Washington, DC, 1976–2000), 3:361; "In Committee of Safety," Mar. 6 and Mar. 23, 1776, in *Colonial Records*, 10:506, 523; Lancaster County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Book S, 514–16, Office of Recorder of Deeds, Lancaster, PA.

"fabricated new" ones, but we know little more about this factory than that it operated from 1776 to 1779; who ran it remains unknown. Peter Dehaven superintended the Pennsylvania state factory of arms, which quickly expanded beyond a gunlock facility. By early 1777 Dehaven had nineteen men under his direction at a sizeable "Factory of Muskets & other Arms"—located first in Philadelphia, then at French Creek (Chester County), and finally at Hummelstown (Lancaster County)—that "Repair[ed] A Great Maney arms, & ma[d]e som New ones." (Pennsylvania had another arms factory in Allentown where, by October 1777, John Tyler had "sixteen hands Employ'd.")[31] It is possible that in early 1776 Henry established a similar gun factory in Lancaster, counting on a supply of barrels from his brother's mill. But it is also possible that by 1776 Henry had already devised the procurement system he would use several years later, meeting his promises to supply a wide range of items by purchasing others' products, perhaps even financing others' production or providing them with material. Until more evidence surfaces, we can only speculate on how Henry planned to obtain the muskets and rifles that he agreed in early 1776 to supply for the state and Continental forces. Whatever plans he had, he would have to abandon them—or turn them over to somebody else—when he left Lancaster in November to serve in the General Assembly in Philadelphia.

Henry was involved in this controversial assembly's early legislation, drafting bills for a militia law and for collecting fines from non-Associators. But after May 1777 he remained in Lancaster with his son, who had been injured in the 1775 assault on Quebec. The significant responsibilities that landed on Henry's shoulders once he returned to Lancaster suggest that his time in the assembly altered how local, state,

[31] May 23, 1776, in *Journals of the Continental Congress,* 4:384; Memorial of Gun Stockers in the State Factory, Oct. 30, 1777, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 1:733; George D. Moller, *American Military Shoulder Arms*, vol. 1, *Colonial and Revolutionary War Arms* (Niwot, CO, 1993), 148–49; Peter Dehaven to Council of Safety, Jan. 3, 1777, and John Tyler to Thomas Wharton, Oct. 31, 1777, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 1:155, and 5:731–32. John Nicholson submitted a plan for a gun factory, built near a barrel mill, that would contain nearly a dozen forges (several for forging locks, several for forging barrels, others for bayonets, ramrods, etc.), a shop for "ten Gun stockers," a casting shop for brass mountings, and another for "putting the Guns together," and he asked for a yearly £300 salary and a £5 commission for "every hundred Guns made in the Factory" (John Nicholson to Committee of Safety, June 4, 1776, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 4:767–68). For Dehaven's factories, see J. Wayne Heckert, "Rifles and Muskets on the Swatara: Clandestine Hummelstown Factory Armed the Revolution," *Kentucky Rifle Association Bulletin* 34, no 1 (2007): 3–6 (but see also *Colonial Records*, 11:48, 593, 641, 662–63); for the Allentown factory, see Eric Kettenburg, "John Tyler, Ebenezer Cowell and Sixteen Unknown Workmen," http://web.mac.com/kettenburgs/Site_2/Part_4.html.

and Continental authorities viewed him—and likely altered his sense of himself. As burgess and justice of the peace, Henry served alongside lawyers, innkeepers, and merchants. But his new roles, which involved breathtakingly complex financial operations, distinguished him from most of his contemporaries. One of Henry's fellow assemblymen had been Robert Morris, the "financier" of the Revolution who was also the "principal actor in supplying" the American war effort with arms and ammunition in its early years. Whether or not he conversed with Morris, his service in the assembly must have made Henry aware of the failed supply system on which state and Continental forces depended. Neither reorganizations nor reforms solved this "inability of staff officers to provide the army with food, clothing," and other materiel. Many felt that the only solution lay in finding "competent personnel," as Greene insisted in early 1779: the ideal procurement officer must "have a proper knowledge of the forms of business, be a man of activity and good judgment; [and be] of a fair character and of good repute."[32] Henry surely recognized that while it was crucial to ensure that adequate materiel was produced, the urgent need was for men (like Morris) who could marshal and master the finances necessary to obtain and distribute that materiel effectively.

Henry was appointed treasurer of Lancaster County in 1777, responsible for collecting and transferring vast sums of money raised through taxes and fines (he sent £1,587,147.6.3 to state treasurer David Rittenhouse, for instance, in one eleven-month period). In August 1777, Henry became the commissary of military stores for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and six months later, in April 1778, the Congress's Board of War appointed Henry the superintendent of arms and military accoutrements for the Continental army. He earned this appointment, Horatio Gates wrote, by repairing "without much Aid from the Public in the Course of the Winter . . . three Times the Number of Arms & ma[king] as many Accoutrements as the whole of the other Persons employed by Congress in these Branches within this District put together." Washington was "exceedingly glad . . . that so active a Man as Mr Henry

[32] *Journal and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Common-wealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1777); Otto Krogstrup to Nathanael Seidel, May 19, 1777, box: Letters from Lancaster, Moravian Archives ("William Henry is supposed to be in the Assembly now but cannot leave home because of his sick son"); Charles Rappleye, *Robert Morris: Financier of the American Revolution* (New York, 2010), 38, 45; Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army,* 14; E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775–1783* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1984), 51, 55; Nathanael Greene to John Jay, Apr. 15, 1779, in *Papers of Nathanael Greene*, 3:406.

is universally represented to be" had accepted the position. Throughout 1778 Henry had also supplied shoes and boots to the Continental army (Washington reported in January that "a Mr Henry of Lancaster" had offered to "contract for one, or two hundred thousand pair of shoes, annually, to be paid for in raw hides"), and on the basis of this performance he was named commissary of hides for the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland on August 5, 1779. Competence was a rare commodity among those responsible for supplying Washington's army, and by proving himself competent Henry became, as Whitfield Bell said, "one of the most influential and responsible men in Lancaster County."[33]

All these appointments licensed Henry to pay men to produce the items—shoes, guns, cartridges, hats—that state and Continental forces needed, and they obligated the governments to reimburse Henry for the funds he spent. As commissary of hides, for instance, Henry purchased leather, hired and paid workmen, and established the shoe factories at Philadelphia, Allentown, and Lancaster; he then ensured that the finished products were distributed to the military leaders who requested them. A document produced on May 10, 1780, which lists individuals making shoes for the Continental army, identifies many laborers "working at their own dwellings in Philadelphia Suburbs & Elsewhere," and notes further that some of these men, "being Master Shoemakers," have "three, or four, Hands at work" under them.[34] Some of these shoe producers were gathered in factory-like settings at the barracks and the prison, with managers overseeing them; others were working in their

[33] *State of the Accounts of the Taxes in Lancaster County* (Philadelphia, 1788); "Council Met," Aug. 22, 1777, in *Colonial Records*, 11:274–75 (the title "Commissary of Military Stores" appears only in "Wm Henrys account with the State of Pennsylvania from Sept 1777 to Sept 1st 1778," Miscellaneous Accounts, United States Accounts, 1775–1791, RG-4, Records of the Comptroller General, Pennsylvania State Archives; elsewhere this same position is called Armorer: Sept. 4, 1778, *Colonial Records*, 11:569); Horatio Gates to Henry Laurens, Apr. 21, 1778, Papers of the Continental Congress, Reports of the Board of War and Ordnance, 1776–81, 2:14, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; Washington to Horatio Gates, May 1, 1778, and Washington to Continental Congress Camp Committee, Jan. 29, 1778, in *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, ed. Philander D. Chase et al. (Charlottesville, VA, 1985–), 15:4 and 13:393; "Shoes made by Sundry Persons for the United States in Lieu of their Tour of Duty in the Militia of the State of Pennsylvania" [Jan. 14–Sept. 26, 1778] and "Shoes and other Articles made by Sundry Person in Lieu of Militia duty" [Dec. 27, 1777–Sept. 26, 1778], Henry Family Papers, box 11, folder 3, Hagley Museum and Library; Bell, *Patriot-Improvers*, 354.

[34] "A List of the Persons Drawing Rations and working at the State Prison and Elsewhere for the Continental Shoe Factory at the Barracks" [1780], Henry Family Papers, box 11, folder 3, Hagley Museum and Library. See also David L. Salay, "Marching to War: The Production of Leather Shoes in Revolutionary Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 60 (1993): 51–72.

homes, either alone or with several apprentices. Henry's job was to orchestrate this decentralized operation. He neither produced shoes himself nor operated or supervised a factory that produced shoes. He organized a vast network of producers whom he paid (and often supplied with raw materials) and from whom he received the finished products that he distributed to the militia and Continental army.

Henry used the identical model with respect to gun production for the state and for the continent. When in 1777 Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council "appointed & empowered [Henry] to employ Workmen to make Arms for the use of the Militia of [the] State," these "Workmen" were not employed—as has always been assumed—in a Henry arms factory. An account of the funds that Henry spent on behalf of Pennsylvania from September 1777 to September 1778 identifies the many independent gunsmiths from whom he procured muskets and rifles. The eight men that the Supreme Council "excused from going to Camp" as long as they could "be usefully employed in making Arms for the use of the State" and would "continue in the employ, under the direction of . . . Will'm Henry, Esq'r," functioned in this system.[35] An 1838 pension application captures the circumstances under which one gunsmith worked. In 1777 Jacob Messersmith was about to depart for militia service when John Henry appeared at his house to announce that Virginia troops in Lancaster needed their arms repaired; for the next "two to three weeks," a "guard was placed around the House & Gunshop." Henry's accounts for the Continental army record, similarly, the names of the men whom he paid "for repairing of arms" between April 1778 and August 1779. The amount of funds paid to some—£2,143 to Jacob Dickert, £5,656 to Samuel Sarjant—indicates that these individuals ran large establishments. A later invoice itemizes nine men who worked under Sarjant at a factory at Carlisle in Cumberland County.[36] The amount of

[35] "The Council Met," Aug. 22, 1777, in *Colonial Records*, 11:275 (see also Thomas Wharton to William Henry, Sept. 6, 1777, Henry Family Papers, box 11, folder 8, Hagley Museum and Library ["I hope you made a beginning to employ Workmen to Make Arms"]); "The Council Met," Dec. 5, 1777, in *Colonial Records*, 11:380. In November Henry had brought 638 stand of arms from Bethlehem "to be tried and repaired" (Nov. 6, 1777, in *Colonial Records*, 11:366).

[36] Susanna Messersmith [Jacob Messersmith], Pension Application, Sept. 1, 1838, Revolutionary War Pension Application Files, Pennsylvania, RG-15, Records of the Veterans Administration, Washington, DC; "The United States to William Henry, for repairing of Arms" [1779], Henry Family Papers, box 11, folder 1, Hagley Museum and Library; "The United States to William Henry, Superintendant of Arms and M. Accoutrements, for Monies expended for Repairing of Arms . . ." [1782], William Henry Papers, 2:49.

money provided to Dickert suggests that, in these years, it was he who ran a gun factory in Lancaster. When the Board of War praised Henry for having repaired so many more arms and made so many more accoutrements than "the whole of the other Persons employed by Congress in these Branches within this District put together," it was recognizing the success of the mixed factory and nonfactory system on which Henry was relying. Those who imagine that there was a Henry gun factory during the Revolution have failed to recognize that by 1777 he functioned not as a producer but as an orchestrator of dispersed "Hands," who generated the vast amounts of materiel that Henry obtained for state and Continental forces.[37]

Indeed, those writers who suggest that Henry's "own shop produced thousands" of guns while he was "in charge of procurement" for state and Continental forces overlook that when he became the superintendent responsible for supplying arms to the Continental army, Henry would have been explicitly prohibited from supplying Continental forces with any items of his own manufacture. Congress insisted that its supply agents "not . . . engage in or carry on any kind of trade or traffic whatever, nor make or endeavor to make . . . any other or greater emolument profit or advantage whatever by the said Office." Behavior that "mix[ed] private and public trade" was considered corruption, the very charge leveled at other executives in the supply department, including James Mease, Robert Hooper, and Thomas Mifflin.[38] Republican principles, which generated these standards and the furious denunciations when they were violated, considered private gain incompatible with public service—the capacity to serve the "Publick," as we have seen Franklin suggest, depended on possessing "Leisure," that is, on being free from any need to conduct "private Business."

[37] Jordan's assertion that Henry had a factory "on Mill Creek, outside the Borough of Lancaster, where what is known today as the 'Old Factory Road' crosses that stream" (*Life of William Henry*, 91) is often repeated: Heckert and Vaughn claim Henry established "one of the largest manufactories of Revolutionary arms in the country" in an "old mill on Mill Creek near the outskirts of town" (*Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle*, 68). This was pure guesswork, as L. D. Satterlee noted: he concluded there was "something very mysterious about that rifle factory" (Satterlee to G. M. Shultz, Sept. 17, 1937, and Oct. 12, 1937, Henry Family Papers 1740–1989, ser. 1, box 23, Jacobsburg Historical Society).

[38] John Ward Willson Loose, *The Heritage of Lancaster* (Woodland Hills, CA, 1978), 34; Kurt Daniel Kortenhof, "Republican Ideology and Wartime Reality: Thomas Mifflin's Struggle as the First Quartermaster General of the Continental Army, 1775–1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 122 (1998): 184–85, 209.

The range of items that military leaders requested from Henry—what Timothy Pickering called "the multiplicity of your business"—confirms that these leaders did not appeal to him because they thought he was a man involved in the gun industry. They counted on Henry to undertake the financial and organizational activities that ensured that state and Continental soldiers had the items they needed. When the Board of War applauded him for producing arms, it obscured—in typical eighteenth-century fashion—the labor of the "Hands" and credited the gentleman who set them in motion. In May 1778 Pickering asked Henry to "set some of your people at work immediately" in making carbines and, a month later, to "set as many hands at work as possible in making" cartridge boxes for Washington. Charles Lukens inquired about the availability of one thousand "Small Hatchets or Tomahawks," while a year later Pickering was in search of two thousand hats. In the summer of 1779, Pennsylvania's Supreme Council even recruited Henry to purchase large quantities of "Wheat in several Mills about Lancaster" and "cause it to be Manufactured into Merchantable Flour, fit for exportation." This language registers what Henry was doing. He was *causing* things to be manufactured: shoes, spontoons, cartridge boxes, flour, and guns.[39]

The varied items that Henry caused to be produced seem to have been gathered in a store in the center of Lancaster guarded by a sentry. Christopher Marshall, the Philadelphia druggist and chemist who moved to Lancaster in 1777, frequently visited Henry's store to hear the "news of the day." Daniel Brodhead, waiting to march west in June 1778, said that he was "desirous to have the Rifles with Bayonets, which [he] had seen at Mr. Henry's Store." A month later, when General Lachlan McIntosh could not obtain in Carlisle all the six hundred muskets with bayonets that he needed, he "sen[t] at Lancaster to Mr. Henry's store for to have immediately 3 hundred muskets ready" to make up the difference. Given such constant demand for large quantities of items—including, often, requests for "all" that Henry had ("you will be pleased to pack up without delay, all the remaining cartouch boxes, bayonet belts and bayonet sheaths, also all the muskets with bayonets fit for service, in your posses-

[39] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (1973; New York, 1975), 90; Timothy Pickering to William Henry, June 8, 1778, and Pickering to Andrew Levy, May 4, 1779, William Henry Papers, 1:21, 27; Timothy Pickering to William Henry, May 26, 1778, and Charles Lukens to William Henry, Aug. 5, 1778, in Jordan, *Life of William Henry*, 97, 101; "In Council," Aug. 25, 1779, *Colonial Records*, 12:84.

sion, and send the same")—Henry's warehouse often may have seemed empty.[40]

William Henry had become, like his former patron Edward Shippen, a public servant. Far from producing muskets himself or supervising a factory where others did so, Henry spent his days sitting in court sessions, in committee meetings, or at his desk, signing the accounts and inventories drawn up by his subordinates. He deliberated about Hessian prisoners, wrote and received countless letters, issued orders to apprehend spies, and scrambled to procure materiel of all sorts for the troops. When the end of the war obviated the need for a procurement officer, Henry was twice chosen to represent Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress. In Trenton and New York during the 1784–85 and 1785–86 sessions, he worked on legislation on government finances and on the committee that drafted the 1787 Northwest Ordinance. In December 1786, however, after an illness that had lasted several months, Henry died at the age of fifty-seven in his home in Lancaster. He left such complex personal and official finances, many related to his activities during the Revolution, that his estate would not be settled until 1811—after the deaths of his wife and six of the seven children who survived him.

He died as "William Henry, Esquire." In early America, the honorific "esquire" typically attached to individuals who had served as justice of the peace or as a justice in the courts of common pleas. Henry had first served as a justice of the peace in 1758, but surviving receipts from the Lancaster tradesmen with whom he dealt suggest that the honorific was not bestowed on Henry during the 1760s. Even in the early 1770s, after Henry had become a justice in Lancaster's court of common pleas, he was rarely called "esquire." Henry's positions of responsibility during the Revolution, however, altered this pattern. Both official correspondence written to or about Henry and public announcements, such as the broadsides that list members of Lancaster's Committee of Observation, routinely dub him "esquire." More striking is that Lancaster's tradesmen who had been peers of "William Henry, Gunsmith"—the tailor George Koch,

[40] William Duane, ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, Kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster, during the American Revolution, 1774–1781* (Albany, NY, 1877), 194, 205; Daniel Brodhead to Lachlan McIntosh, June 24, 1778, in *Lachlan McIntosh Papers in the University of Georgia Libraries*, ed. Lilla Mills Hawes (Athens, GA, 1968), 29; Chevalier de Cambray to Charles Lukens, July 31, 1778, in Henry Family Papers, box 11, folder 8, Hagley Museum and Library; Timothy Pickering to William Henry, May 10, 1779, William Henry Papers, 1:41 (Jordan, *Life of William Henry*, 108–9, mistakenly ascribes this letter to Richard Peters).

the barber George Meyer, the shoemakers Francis McCabe and Peter Bier, the brickmaker Peter Albright, the Lititz candlemaker Abraham Hessler—began to distinguish him as "esquire." The furniture (six Windsor chairs, seven armchairs, two breakfast tables, a walnut couch, a chest of drawers, three looking glasses), cutlery and flatware (sets of silver teaspoons and tablespoons, china bowls and plates), and personal items (a silver watch, a landscape, and a history painting) that filled William and Ann Henry's home testify to the comfortable life they had attained. In December 1778, Henry spent £125 on a "Chair," presumably a four-wheeled post chaise, which, given the frequency with which he traveled, may have seemed a practical purchase. But possessing this item, and those that filled his home, conspicuously separated Henry from most of those with whom he lived and worked in the town of Lancaster. Although an ingenious mechanic, Henry did not attain his elite status in Lancaster by producing a commodity that his neighbors wanted or needed—his genius, it turned out, was to recognize in times of great crisis the value of a man of "judgment and integrity" who could orchestrate others' work.[41]

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[41] Receipts, and William Henry Inventory [1787], Henry Family Papers, box 10, folder 2, and box 13, folder 1, Hagley Museum and Library; Timothy Pickering to Richard Caswell, July 23, 1778, in *The Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. William Saunders and Walter Clark (Raleigh, NC, 1886–1907), 13:200.

EXHIBIT REVIEW

Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit

Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, PA, January 28–April 15, 2012; Cincinnati Art Museum, May 26–September 9, 2012; and Houston Museum of Fine Arts, October 14, 2012–January 6, 2013. Curated by ANNA O. MARLEY.

Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit. Edited by ANNA O. MARLEY. (Berkeley, CA: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in association with University of California Press, 2012. 304 pp. Illustrations, index. Cloth, $75; paper, $39.95.)

THERE ARE ELEMENTS in the life story of Henry Ossawa Tanner (1859–1937) that sound almost like Hollywood stereotypes: a strict minister father forces his son to labor in a flour mill but cannot thwart the boy's urgent wish to become a painter; a generous patron finances his flight from provincial America to cosmopolitan Paris, where he mingles with artists and contracts a near-fatal disease; success at the Paris Salon underwrites his marriage and a country house in Brittany; newer trends in painting bypass the frustrated and forgotten painter, who dies in relative obscurity.

But scratch the surface and Henry Ossawa Tanner reveals himself as no cliché: his parents were supportive of his career; he drank coffee instead of wine at those Parisian cafés; his marriage was happy; and his reputation, although it waned, has returned. In the last forty years, scholars and museum audiences—inspired by the civil rights and Black Arts movements to include African Americans in the history of American art—have paid Tanner a great deal of attention. Tanner's unique position as an African American painter in an era that saw few black artists achieve career stability, let alone international success, made him an

important subject for recent books and exhibitions, most notably a major show mounted at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1991.

Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit, which opened at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA) this spring and travels to the Cincinnati Art Museum and the Houston Museum of Fine Arts over the course of 2012, enables and encourages viewers to think more deeply than ever before about this complex, elusive, and important painter. Five spacious rooms at the Pennsylvania Academy offered dozens of paintings—many of them never or rarely shown before in public—and the accompanying catalogue, edited by PAFA curator Anna O. Marley, gathered a dozen essays on aspects of Tanner's life and work. The essays, which include a lengthy biographical overview by Marley along with shorter thematic contributions from both distinguished scholars and new voices, range from close analyses of individual paintings to broad essays situating Tanner's work in art history, religious history, and African American studies. The book looks good, too; Tanner was preoccupied with color and light, and no previous publication on the painter has conveyed that so richly.

"Modern Spirit" is the right subtitle for this exhibition, which covers the biographical bases but is primarily interested in advancing new thematic interpretations of the artist's work and life. It presents Henry Ossawa Tanner as a forthrightly modern painter—far from the kooky, preachy prude who is often presented in art historical literature. And it conveys Tanner as profoundly spiritual, both in his studio and in his global travels. That Tanner's cosmopolitan, forward-looking spirituality comes here into view owes much to our own zeitgeist, but the portrait of Tanner that emerges is one he would have recognized as a fair likeness.

* * *

Henry Ossawa Tanner was born in Pittsburgh in 1859 to parents so enamored of abolitionist John Brown that they named their son after the city of Osawatomie, Kansas, where Brown's violent raids had just taken place. His father, Benjamin Tucker Tanner, a leading figure in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, soon moved the family to Philadelphia, where Tanner enrolled at Roberts Vaux Consolidated School for Colored Students. In 1879, after the dreadful stint in the flour mill, Tanner earned a place in the classes of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where he studied with its legendary (and sometimes notorious) instructor

Thomas Eakins. Tanner's early paintings on view in the exhibit—solemn, introspective, detached portraits, painted in rich tones of black and brown, demonstrating painstaking attention to the human physical form—show the mark of his teacher's lessons. His fellow students taught more brutal lessons: some agitated for his exclusion from art classes on the grounds of race; one even recounted with gruesome humor an assault that ended with Tanner tied to his easel and unceremoniously dumped on Broad Street in front of the academy for daring "to assert himself."[1]

Professional success eluded the young Tanner, who tried to make it as a magazine illustrator only to collect more rejection slips than sales receipts; in 1889 he decamped for Atlanta, hoping to work by day as a portrait photographer and to paint at night. The venture was not a success. Thankfully, he met Bishop Joseph Crane Hartzell and his wife, Jennie Culver Hartzell, white missionaries and benefactors of Atlanta's Clark College. When the photo studio failed, Jennie Hartzell arranged an exhibition in her hometown of Cincinnati. When that failed too, she bought all Tanner's paintings for $300 and sent him on his way to Europe.

Tanner meant to go to Rome but fell in love with Paris instead—enrolling in the prestigious Académie Julian, soaking up the works of Rembrandt and Velázquez, and wandering the French countryside haunts of Jean-François Millet and the Barbizon school. His was hardly *la vie bohème*: Tanner objected to Sunday art classes and to the rampant wine drinking he observed; little wonder that he lived in a less artsy neighborhood of Paris and kept himself largely removed from the social side of the Parisian art world. A battle with typhoid fever didn't help.

In the 1890s, with his health and his professional position still very much precarious, Tanner traveled back and forth across the Atlantic—sometimes in search of commissions, other times to visit doctors. Like so many other Americans, he spent part of the summer of 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair, where he delivered a speech on "The American Negro in Art." After 1896, his career took off. That year the Paris Salon honored *Daniel in the Lion's Den* (1896), a massive and moody painting that has since been lost but which was displayed in the PAFA exhibition as a replica screenprint; the next year he scored again with *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (1896). By 1906, with his reputation established

[1] Joseph Pennell, *The Adventures of an Illustrator: Mostly in Following His Authors in America and Europe* (London, 1925), 53.

and his career on the rise, Tanner was financially solvent, and for the rest of his life his personal and professional commitments rested firmly with France. That he met and in 1899 wed Jessie Olssen, a white woman, must have in part explained his hesitation to return to an America that stigmatized their marriage. Even from abroad, Tanner's reputation continued to circulate in the United States; sales were steady, the summer sun was warm, the studio was spacious, and the accolades were regular.

* * *

As a compilation of biographical information, *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit* and its catalogue offer relatively few new facts or sources—most were uncovered during preparation for major biographies and exhibitions that debuted in the 1990s.[2] Rather, the show provides an exciting set of interpretations that helps us understand Tanner in new ways, most particularly through his ambivalent navigation of the categories of race and nation, his relationship to religion and spirituality, his role as an observer and interpreter of the Middle East, and his engagement with technology and modernity.

Previous scholars have almost uniformly placed race at the center of Tanner's story, and rightly so—throughout his life Tanner was repeatedly recognized as a black artist, both by those sympathetic to and threatened by this fact. By the turn of the twentieth century, he was a symbol of black success and a screen onto which African Americans could project their own hopes; Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois agreed on little, but both paid visits to Tanner in Paris. Even if commentators in Tanner's lifetime insisted that the French "are denational in all that concerns art," Tanner nevertheless faced obstacles in America and Europe that were real and enduring and that contributed to a sense of alienation from American culture and politics that a life lived mostly abroad only accentuated.[3] Recent scholars have puzzled over how to make sense of an artist celebrated as a racial trailblazer who nonetheless rejected being labeled as a "Negro artist" and only rarely painted scenes with visibly African American subjects.

[2] See Dewey F. Mosby, Darrell Sewell, and Rae Alexander-Minter, *Henry Ossawa Tanner* (New York, 1991); Dewey F. Mosby, *Across Continents and Cultures: The Art and Life of Henry Ossawa Tanner* (Kansas City, MO, 1995); and Marcia M. Mathews's pathbreaking biography, *Henry Ossawa Tanner: American Artist* (Chicago, 1969).

[3] Helen Cole, "Henry O. Tanner, Painter," *Brush and Pencil* 6 (1900): 97.

The essays in the exhibit catalogue advance this conversation beyond where it stood in the early 1990s. Tyler Stovall offers an archivally rich account of Tanner's place as a father figure of the expatriate black community in Paris, and Alan Braddock contributes a provocative reading of Tanner as a prefiguration of contemporary post-racial ideologies. Even so, the contributors to the book could have done more to put race and nation in dialogue. What do we make of a man who explained in a 1914 letter that racial prejudice "has driven me out of the country, but . . . while I cannot sing our National Hymn, 'Land of Liberty,' etc., still deep down in my heart I love it and am sometimes sad that I cannot live where my heart is"—an American honored at the end of his life by a group of African American artists as a "Foreigner of Great Distinction"?[4]

If race has always been a central theme in scholarly studies of Henry Ossawa Tanner, religion has figured inconsistently in the literature—an odd fact given Tanner's devotion and the vast quantity of reflectively spiritual works he produced over his lifetime. But, as historians of American art have begun to take nineteenth-century religious painting more seriously, this is a propitious time to see Tanner's work anew.[5] Modernism's insistently secular outlook made religious paintings—and devout painters—marginal to textbook accounts of art history; regardless of method, content doomed religious art to the dustbin of history. *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit*, by contrast, shows us how much we can learn by engaging with Victorian religiosity rather than brushing it aside in the race to Picasso.

Several of the essayists—most notably Richard J. Powell, Marcus Bruce, and Hélène Valance—labor to unearth Tanner's religious beliefs and to trace the visual vocabulary of his devotion. Although raised in the A.M.E. Church, Tanner moved in his adulthood toward belief in what Marcus Bruce calls "a unity in human aspirations and revealed faith" (112). But, like the Sunday school teacher that he was, Tanner continued to impart his wisdom by retelling the stories of the Bible.

That undertaking generated a visual record unlike any other in religious painting of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

[4] Tanner, quoted in Marcia M. Mathews, "The Art of Henry O. Tanner," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 69/70 (1969/70): 453; American Negro Academy, quoted in Mosby, *Across Continents and Cultures*, 46.

[5] Sally M. Promey, "The 'Return' of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art," *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): 581–603.

Tanner took an intense engagement with biblical narrative and married it to the embrace of the everyday that he had learned from Thomas Eakins and the Barbizon painters. If Millet and Eakins used ordinary people to tell grand human drama, Tanner took the drama of a scriptural text and filled it with ordinary people. Romantic and mysterious and mystical—especially in his later years, when he painted a lot of spooky, blue-green scenes nearly devoid of recognizable human forms—Tanner is best understood as a broadly religious painter rather than a literal or didactically biblical one. "Biblical scenes, religious subjects, and religious discourse," Bruce explains, offered "a way to capture, hold, and invite viewers into a new way of seeing, a reconsideration and reflection upon a familiar human activity using a religious language they knew" (113). Tanner's theology—and his artistic practice—were deeply populist.

It is thus that we gain a new perspective on *The Annunciation* (1898), one of Tanner's greatest works and the centerpiece of the exhibition. The painting draws viewers in by showing the divine content in a decidedly mundane room of dimly lit stone and rumpled carpets, and it dazzles with a shimmering patch of light representing the archangel. But what grabs us is the look on Mary's face: a breathtaking, heart-wrenching mix of humility and terror. This is perhaps the only painting of the Annunciation in which Mary truly looks like an unmarried teenage girl who has just been told that she is pregnant.

To execute these religious paintings, Tanner needed to know what biblical landscapes looked like, not to document with a photographer's precision but to gather the visual atmosphere of the place. All the more reason he must have been thankful that Rodman Wanamaker, heir to a Philadelphia department store fortune, ponied up the money that allowed Tanner to travel to Palestine on two trips in 1897 and 1898–99. The handling of those journeys in *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit* suggest the third major innovation of the exhibition and its catalogue: a fresh new perspective on Tanner's engagement with the world.

The midcentury art-historical scholarship that created American art history grappled with the question of what was "American" in American art; the works of Mary Cassatt and John Singer Sargent didn't have it, scholars having deemed expatriation incompatible with the American grain. Tanner, though, was granted an exception: racial prejudice and discrimination justified his journey, making him an exile and not an expatriate. Our twenty-first-century Tanner is a more cosmopolitan fellow.

Whereas earlier scholarship had strived to show him as an American abroad, this exhibition and volume interpret travel and cultural exchange as more generative than escapist. Art historians no longer need to interpret expatriation as betrayal—certainly Tanner didn't see it that way.

Instead, Tanner—and, presumably, Rodman Wanamaker—believed he was an indispensable visual interpreter of the physical and cultural landscapes of the outer fringes of the Ottoman Empire, that place that Tanner and his contemporaries called the Holy Land. It was a biblical landscape and an exotic one, although Tanner would have blushed at the lurid harem paintings of his French counterparts. Tanner's Middle Eastern paintings went about their exoticism differently; American Orientalism took its own unique path, guided by Protestantism and its fascination for the Bible's facticity and informed as well by the absence of America's formal colonial territorial control in the Middle East.[6]

Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit makes an unabashed argument for Tanner's spirituality. But the case for his modernity is more elusive. Walking through the exhibit, it is clear that something happened to Tanner's style around the year 1904. Indeed, that year, Tanner's friend and patron Robert C. Ogden wrote worriedly to Booker T. Washington that Tanner had started painting "pictures which are very mysterious in spirit, very abstruse in art, full of delicate sensitivity, and altogether too transcendental for popular appreciation" (117). For many viewers, that verdict on Tanner's late work still stands.

In the second half of his career, Tanner continued his commitment to religious subjects but experimented radically with color; he abandoned the blacks and browns he had learned at the Pennsylvania Academy with Eakins and adopted blues and greens that lend his works an ethereal and even eerie quality. The new paintings owed much to the "nocturnes" of James A. M. Whistler, whom Tanner greatly admired; they surely also reflected the innovations in vision (particularly nighttime vision) that accompanied the widespread use of electricity in American cities.[7] Regardless of its inspiration, there is much in Tanner's late work to

[6] For more on Tanner and other American artists' engagement with the "Holy Land," see John Davis, *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), esp. 208–18; and Holly Edwards, ed., *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930* (Princeton, NJ, 2000).

[7] See Alexander Nemerov, "Burning Daylight: Remington, Electricity, and Flash Photography," in *Frederic Remington: The Color of Night,* ed. Nancy K. Anderson (Princeton, NJ, 2003), 76–95; and David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880–1940* (Cambridge, MA, 1990).

demonstrate his innovation and his engagement with protomodernist movements such as symbolism, a relationship that previous scholarship has almost completely overlooked. As Robert Cozzolino notes, until now, "there has been little attempt to come to terms with the strangeness of [Tanner's] compositions and their emotional intensity" (124). After *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit*, we have a much better sense of what Tanner himself described in a 1909 essay as his "artistic sense of the weird."[8]

* * *

Somewhere along the way, Henry Tanner—the pathbreaker, the race hero, the dean of American painters abroad—got lost. World War I destroyed his beloved country cottage and severely tested his faith. When his wife died in 1925, he lost much of his will to paint; the postwar modernist fervor sapped much of collectors' will to buy his works. The 1920s did not entirely abandon Tanner; black artists traveling in Paris made pilgrimages to his studio, and writer Jessie Fauset interviewed him for the NAACP's magazine *Crisis* in 1924. But he was largely dismissed by the modernists whose work he helped foster—a disavowal at least as much about secularism as about abstraction. And as an expatriate, he was dismissed or overlooked by the nationalism of twentieth-century art criticism—or oversimplified, his complicated life reduced into a simple tale of racism and emigration. In the end, Henry Ossawa Tanner remains remarkably elusive: Was he a reluctant exile or an enthusiastic Francophile? A proud race man or a self-hating Uncle Tom? A protomodernist or a preachy reactionary? It will always be difficult to get a handle on the real person, but the more time we spend with the art, the closer we are likely to get. *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit* offers an invaluable guide.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZOLA

[8] Henry Ossawa Tanner, "The Story of an Artist's Life," *World's Work* 18, no. 2 (1909): 11661–62.

BOOK REVIEWS

Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania. By GEORGE E. THOMAS, with PATRICIA LIKOS RICCI, RICHARD J. WEBSTER, LAWRENCE M. NEWMAN, ROBERT JANOSOV, and BRUCE THOMAS. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 696 pp. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. $75.)

Buildings of Pennsylvania: Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. By LU DONNELLY, H. DAVID BRUMBLE IV, and FRANKLIN TOKER. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. 656 pp. Illustrations, drawings, maps. $75.)

The Buildings of the United States series, inspired by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's landmark Buildings of England series, is an ambitious undertaking of the Society of Architectural Historians. The two volumes dedicated to Pennsylvania, of the more than sixty projected for the series, are representative of what William H. Pierson envisioned for the entirety—a comprehensive history of the major representative buildings and types in the American experience. The principal authors of these volumes bring together talented colleagues to examine the surviving architectural legacy of Pennsylvania and how this record contributes to our understanding both of the commonwealth's collective history and of what Pennsylvania contributed to the nation.

As is true of other books in the BUS series, there is a familiar structure to each volume: a lengthy introduction followed by specific analysis of regions, counties, and important buildings within each county. *Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania* covers Philadelphia, the inner counties (Bucks, Montgomery, and Delaware), and four regions defined by geography and cultural traditions: the Piedmont (Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Dauphin, York, Cumberland, Adams, and Franklin Counties); Blue Mountain and the Northern Tier (Northumberland, Union, Snyder, Perry, Juniata, and Mifflin Counties); the anthracite region (Schuylkill, Carbon, Luzerne, Lackawanna, Columbia, and Montour Counties); and the Northern Tier and Poconos (Monroe, Pike, Wayne, Susquehanna, Wyoming, Bradford, Sullivan, Tioga, and Lycoming Counties). The book's discussion generally flows from east to west and south to north, with cities, townships, and villages within each county listed alphabetically.

Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania, which covers thirty-one counties, takes Pittsburgh and Allegheny County as its focal point, then looks outward to the surrounding counties that form the Allegheny Plateau (Beaver, Washington, Greene, Fayette, Westmoreland, Indiana, Armstrong, and Butler). The authors

also explore three other south-central regions: the valley and ridge system (Cambria, Somerset, Bedford, Fulton, Huntingdon, and Blair Counties); Great Forest, a plateau area in north-central western Pennsylvania (Warren, Forest, Clarion, Jefferson, Clearfield, Clinton, Cameron, Potter, Elk, and McKean Counties); and the stepped river plain adjacent to Lake Erie (Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Lawrence, and Venango Counties).

Each volume begins with a useful introduction. Thomas's guide to the eastern Pennsylvania volume is notable for its sharp analysis of how quickly William Penn's visions for his commonwealth were thwarted, as well as how Quaker hegemony retreated to the sidelines in the 1750s. Major themes Thomas presents include the unique (for colonial America) demographic diversity of eastern Pennsylvania, which was reflected in its architecture; how transportation innovation spread taste as well as building materials; and how industrialization changed building practices and design from a local or regional expression grounded in ethnicity and culture to a more cosmopolitan emphasis. He regrets that this innovative spirit gave way to a nostalgic colonialism in the aftermath of the centennial. Thomas's introduction has an elegiac dimension, as it celebrates the tradition of innovation, long since lost and harks back to the enterprising spirit that once placed Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania at the forefront of American national, industrial, and cultural aspirations. It also enables him to lament the loss of Victor Gruen's dreadful design for Lancaster Square in Lancaster, which replaced two blocks of historic buildings with a modernist structure totally inappropriate to the cityscape and failed to attract the retail tenants its developer promised. No citizen of Lancaster I have met shed a tear when the remnants of Lancaster Square were razed.

Donnelly's introduction to *Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania* follows much the same script—patterns of settlement, transportation, industrialization, deindustrialization, and suburbanization—though she pays more attention to the Native peoples of the region and how a different dynamic occurred among the diverse peoples of western Pennsylvania, resulting in what Donnelly terms a "stylistic crossroads" as second- and third-generation settlers transformed cultural traditions to create a synthesis of building practices different from, if not more innovative than, what was occurring simultaneously in the eastern half of the commonwealth (9).

The two *Buildings of Pennsylvania* volumes are books to read through, take on the road, and treasure. Each not only presents information about significant buildings designed by famous architects but also adds to our understanding of how much vernacular architecture and engineering have contributed to the built legacy of the commonwealth.

Thomas's eastern Pennsylvania volume contains a number of mistakes, including dating the beginning the James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking series to 1826, three years after *The Pioneers* was first published, and stating that

the new college gymnasium was located behind, rather than to the north of, the College Building at Franklin & Marshall College. I could add more, but the assertion that the Centennial Exposition in Fairmount Park was the "greatest popular event of the century" (21) is a colossal blunder; 27.5 million people attended the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, three times the number who ventured to Philadelphia seventeen years earlier—and, of course, the White City had a profound impact on American architecture and planning for a generation to come. Donnelly attests to the significance of the Columbian Exposition in *Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania*, both in the numerous Beaux Arts–style buildings erected in the aftermath of the fair and in the development of the Oakland section of Pittsburgh (66–67). Donnelly, though, errs in describing Daniel H. Burnham as "chief architect of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893" (53), a remarkable claim considering that Burnham did not design a single building for the fair. Frederick Law Olmsted and his young partner Henry Sargent Codman did the site planning, and Burnham coordinated design and construction as director of works.

These two volumes devoted to buildings of Pennsylvania are important and welcome. I regret one decision made by the Society of Architectural Historians at the outset of the project—to concentrate on extant buildings. In a way, this makes sense; I've often looked for buildings to photograph that had long since been razed. But given the amount of demolition that has taken place over the last century, focusing only on surviving buildings necessarily omits a significant part of our architectural history. Nevertheless, what the authors have accomplished in these books is commendable; they should take justifiable pride in what they have accomplished in documenting the history of architects and builders whose legacy is ours to cherish.

Franklin & Marshall College DAVID SCHUYLER

Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680–1830. Edited by WARREN J. HOFSTRA. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012. 296 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. $45.)

This volume consists of eleven pieces about one of the most numerically and culturally significant immigrant populations in colonial and early independence America. Written by academic stars in Scots-Irish studies, the essays that editor Warren Hofstra has selected yield a new, luminous constellation. The text removes us from a "broad brushstroke" understanding of the Ulster people of Lowland Scottish ancestry who settled in North America in numbers estimated at 150 thousand for the period 1680–1830. A more subtle and nuanced appreciation of the group's composite, adaptable character is the book's gift and achieve-

ment. The contributors concern themselves with the diversity of experiences undergone and narratives produced by America's Scots-Irishry—for example, Michael Montgomery's analysis of trading and intersocial arrangements that developed as entrepreneurial Ulstermen like George Galphin encountered Native American peoples in the "rough hinterland" of South Carolina (148).

Eschewing simplifying myths—"an imaginary past to serve present purposes" (xv)—*Ulster to America* uses a host of contemporary sources to establish revelatory facts about the Scots-Irish and the multiple physical and cultural landscapes they settled in and helped reshape during America's long eighteenth century. The text's intellectual openness is manifest in such matters as its acceptance of the terms Scots-Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Ulster-Scots, regularly the stuff of academic turf wars. The concluding contribution, by Robert Calhoon, posits that political moderation may be the seminal Scots-Irish legacy in America.

Whether the topic be the dynamic between the "great" and "little" traditions within Scots-Irish Presbyterianism or that between individualism and community in emerging settlements, one finds nothing loose about the scholarship, and the chronological and geographical arrangement of the topics helps render the book accessible to and worthwhile for the novice. At the same time, those already versed in Scots-Irish history across the "broad arc of [an] interior frontier extending from central Pennsylvania to the Georgia upcountry" (xii) are sure to find their knowledge enhanced by the well-written, meticulously researched essays. Particularly useful are efforts to expose the ethnic heterogeneity of places regularly deemed Scots-Irish. One also gleans much about the strategic importance of the Scots-Irish within commercial, religious, and other imperial and Atlantic world networks.

David Miller's early essay detailing the backgrounds of Scots-Irish immigrants provides a solid foundation for the succeeding, place-specific accounts, beginning with Marianne Wokeck's data-rich investigation of New Castle, Delaware, as a site for "unloading emigrants" and "loading [Ulster-bound] agricultural goods . . . especially flaxseed" (38). Wokeck considers the half-century through the 1770s, while, towards the end of the book, Patrick Griffin examines "revolutionary Kentucky" (212) vis-à-vis tensions between the Scots-Irish and Shawnees, Cherokees, and other aboriginal peoples. Two essays by Richard MacMaster and a third by Peter Gilmore and Kerby Miller detail the creation of Scots-Irish community and identity in Pennsylvanian locales, not least Carlisle and Washington. The editor's essay about Scots-Irish economic emergence in Virginia's Opequon Settlement complements Katherine Brown and Kenneth Keller's piece interrogating the "Scotch-Irish elite" that formed in the "Irish Tract," further southwest in Virginia.

The Scots-Irish that this collection compellingly reveals were products of geographically and ethnically complex frontiers—in Ulster during the seventeenth century and in eastern North America during and beyond the eighteenth.

Ulster to America's faithfulness to local and family history in the context of such big immigrant phenomena as memory and social order, theology and education, and sustenance and commerce makes it a transcendent frontier text—a signal and welcome corrective to essentializing practices in Scots-Irish historiography.

Center for Irish Studies,
Georgia Southern University HOWARD KEELEY

Industrious in Their Stations: Young People at Work in Urban America, 1720–1810. By SHARON BRASLAW SUNDUE. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009. 278 pp. Notes, index. $45.)

Industrious in Their Stations is a work of old-fashioned social history in the very best sense. Sharon Braslaw Sundue has put in the time-consuming archival work required to reconstruct the lives of young people in three important port cities: Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Using the limited data at her disposal, she does a wonderful job of outlining both the larger structures of a market in youthful labor and of depicting the daily working lives of young people. The book also functions as a useful introduction to the history of education in British North America, tracing a gradual shift toward greater emphasis on formal schooling, at least for the emergent middling sort.

Much of the early part of the book is devoted to analyzing the labor market for young workers. Sundue notes the moral imperatives to work voiced by colonial commentators, but she also demonstrates that demand for youthful labor was not a constant. Tied to the vagaries of agricultural and mercantile exchange, the demand for young workers rose when the adult labor pool shrank, and vice versa. Sundue also does a fine job of exploring the racial and gender segregation of the youthful labor market, noting, for instance, how the rising slave population in Charleston acted to limit opportunities for parish apprentices.

The long story of youthful labor has always been tied to the history of education, and Sundue is careful to connect these narratives. After 1740, she argues, colonial elites became more concerned about disorder among the lower sort, and a wave of school building ensued. More than ideology drove these efforts; volatility in the labor market meant that middling families now had to look more to education to find opportunities for sons. By the Revolutionary era, schooling for middle-class boys expanded, and by the 1780s, formal education was available to boys in all three cities.

By then, important divergences had appeared between the labor markets of Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In Charleston, growing reliance on slavery further reduced the demand for young workers. In Boston, youth continued to supplement the labor pool in the surrounding countryside, while in

Philadelphia, a dual market emerged—one in which educated, middling boys worked in the commercial economy, while poorer boys and girls continued to feed the demand for labor in artisan households. Education in the Revolutionary era contributed to a growing separation of the middle classes from the poor and of free whites from black slaves, and this section of the book abounds with ironies. In Charleston, slavery led to more educational opportunities for white boys, while in Philadelphia, emancipation increasingly associated bound youthful labor with "inferior racial status" (184).

The history of "child labor" has often been confined to the industrial world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Industrious in Their Stations* help us break out of that mold, offering a vital contribution not only to the story of young workers but to the social history of British North American in general. As Sundue notes in passing, half of the colonial population consisted of boys and girls under sixteen. The story of British North America is theirs.

Northern Illinois University JAMES D. SCHMIDT

Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America. By LEONARD J. SADOSKY. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009. 296 pp. Notes, bibliography, index, $40.)

In *Revolutionary Negotiations*, Leonard Sadosky aims to produce "an extended interpretive essay" on the subject of "the *political culture of diplomacy*" in early America (5). By this, he means statecraft not only within and among European states as they vied for control of North America but also between colonies, empires, and various Native political entities. To structure all of these moving parts, Sadosky relies on theories of state systems, most notably the Westphalian system. But he also cuts through static theory by employing the concept of negotiations as a way to blend top-down and bottom-up views of political change while incorporating a variety of actors.

Sadosky does not offer a straightforward narrative, but examines a series of moments from 1730 to 1830 that, he argues, "illuminate key structural changes that allowed the United States of America to emerge as independent sovereignties (and ultimately, a singular sovereignty)" (5). Accordingly, he surveys the failed efforts of mid-eighteenth-century "imperial reformers" like Benjamin Franklin to rationalize relations between the mother country, provinces, and Native peoples; the gradual assumption of sovereign powers by the Continental Congress in 1775–76 and the Declaration of Independence; the wartime efforts of the United States to gain European acknowledgement of that independence; the postwar need for a federal constitution to create a central authority to buttress the efforts of US diplomats vis-à-vis both European and Native powers; the

ways that diplomacy evolved in the 1790s as Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans debated the proper balances of power within the federal government; and, finally, how as the United States was accepted into the European-centered system of diplomacy among sovereign states, Native peoples lost any ability to participate in that system.

A prologue on Sir Alexander Cuming's self-appointed mission to the Cherokees in 1730 and an epilogue on William Wirt, the lawyer hired by the Cherokee nation in 1830 to plead its case before the US Supreme Court, bookend these chapters and serve to underscore the striking changes wrought in the intervening century. Sadosky presents the growth of US potency and the diminishment of Native strength as a kind of zero-sum game, so that his story of "how the United States of America came to be" is also the story of "how many of the powerful and independent American Indian nations of eastern North America came to be much less than they once had been" (8). Cherokees were courted as valued allies in the fluid, shifting world of 1730; in 1830, they were forcibly removed from a more rigidly defined state despite having done nearly everything right within that prevailing system to save themselves and their property.

To be sure, this theme of Native diminishment and the sense that the futures of the United States and Native groups were locked in a zero-sum game tends to flatten the diverse experiences of specific Indian peoples, and the idea that Native American history is one long declension narrative is frequently complicated by more nuanced looks at particular peoples and places. Yet Sadosky compellingly demonstrates how the success of the United States was built on the dispossession and marginalization of Native peoples, and he should be applauded for creating a diplomatic history that encompasses and integrates colonists-turned-citizens' dealings with both European and Native powers.

Omohundro Institute for Early American Culture and History LAURA KEENAN SPERO

Indians and British Outposts in Eighteenth-Century America. By DANIEL INGRAM. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $69.95.)

The Seven Years' War militarized the frontier of colonial North America. French, British, and provincial armies built forts and roads to secure their possession of disputed territory, but more often than not, these projects unsettled the frontier by upsetting delicate diplomatic equilibriums with Native peoples and making it easier for colonists to invade their lands. Forts, meant to establish unchallenged possession for imperial powers, invariably became sites of local

contestation and negotiation. In his new book, Daniel Ingram examines the legacy of such forts built and occupied between 1755 and 1796. Taking aim against the romantic narratives popularized by James Fenimore Cooper and Francis Parkman in the nineteenth century, Ingram rejects the idea that these forts represented the tentative footsteps of European civilization into a savage wilderness. Instead, he argues that frontier forts became sites of "cultural confluence" (24) where Indians and Europeans "often found cultural common ground in spite of their larger purposes and prejudices" (4).

Ingram focuses his analysis on five forts: Fort Loudoun in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee, Fort Allen in northeastern Pennsylvania, Fort Michilimackinac at the tip of the Michigan peninsula, Fort Niagara at the outlet of the Niagara River into Lake Ontario, and Fort Chartres on the Mississippi River in the Illinois Country. Although he never explicitly explains why he has chosen these forts from among many others, his logic becomes clear in passing; each illustrates the agency of local Indians in shaping the fort's mission and survival. Ingram's central theme boils down to this: no matter what the original intention or purpose for a fort, it was the interaction of the communities of soldiers and Indians it brought together that determined its fate.

Ingram's five forts also provide the reader with an interesting spectrum of experiences. Niagara, Michilimackinac, and Chartres were all parts of New France's fur trading network before the British took them over, Fort Loudoun was built by the British at the Cherokees' request, and Fort Allen was hastily constructed by the Pennsylvania government in 1755. At Forts Niagara, Michilimackinac, and Chartres, the British stepped into French shoes awkwardly, upsetting local economies and alliances that had developed long before their arrival. Ingram describes, for example, how British efforts to provision Fort Michilimackinac from afar upset the nearby Odawa Indians, who were used to selling their surplus maize to the fort's garrison. Fort Loudoun began with great promise because the Cherokees had invited its construction, expecting that it would supply them with a more plentiful and better regulated fur trade. The military engineer charged with its construction even told his commanding officer to "shoot him through the Head" (45) if he was going to insist on listening to the Indians' wishes over his own.

Fort Allen in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, is the runt in Ingram's litter. Built and garrisoned by inexperienced provincials rather than seasoned redcoats, it was never likely to defend anyone from anything, but it did become a favorite haunt of the Delaware Indians traveling between the upper Susquehanna Valley and Easton for diplomatic conferences during the Seven Years' War. Although it originated in Pennsylvania's anti-Indian panic of 1755, it rapidly became "the kind of outpost that visiting Indians like best: able to provide provisions and presents without threat of permanent settler farms or overwhelming troop strength" (72).

Although each chapter tells a different story about a different place, Ingram's book succeeds very well in its overall objective of reorienting our perspective on frontier outposts. The uneasy symbiosis of military and native communities at these sites, the ways in which they cooperated in trade and survival, and the reasons why they fought and grew apart are expertly reconstructed in these pages.

Gettysburg College TIMOTHY J. SHANNON

Culture and Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution. By MICHAL JAN ROZBICKI. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 288 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $35.)

Michal Jan Rozbicki has written an ambitious and intellectually rigorous book that challenges the historiographical and popular assumptions surrounding the concept of liberty before, during, and after the American Revolution. Readers seeking a conventional narrative history of the Revolution or a philosophical examination of liberal political thought are encouraged to look elsewhere. Instead, Rozbicki wants the reader to understand what liberty meant to Americans on the eve of their revolution. Embracing the tools of cultural analysis, including semiotics and poststructuralism, to uncover the cultural, social, and political constructs that created this ideal, Rozbicki concludes that eighteenth-century American liberty belonged to—and was jealously guarded by—the elite and the privileged. The more broadly based understanding of liberty came about reluctantly and symbolically as American elites elicited popular support to both legitimize their break from Britain and retain their social and political status. Having sold the promise of liberty as an essential element of the American Revolution, the ruling elite would struggle to contain its influence in the factional politics of the 1790s.

Rozbicki's book, part of the Jeffersonian America series from University of Virginia Press, unabashedly concerns itself with ideas, both historical and historiographical. First, it offers a detailed history and contextualization of the meanings and promises of eighteenth-century liberty as this idea evolved from its British origins through its application during the American Revolution. Aside from tracing the history of eighteenth-century liberty, Rozbicki's book does not offer a comprehensive historical account of Revolutionary society or politics. Secondly, Rozbicki boldly makes his mark on Revolutionary historiography, successfully challenging the ideological interpretations of Gordon Wood and Bernard Bailyn, who, he believes, mistakenly offer a modernist and essentialist understanding of Revolutionary liberty based in freedom and rights for all.

This book also embraces the methodological approaches found in the recent and growing literature exploring early American political culture, both at the

presidential and popular levels. Rozbicki, not one to shy away from a challenge, even attempts to reconcile the divide between the elites and the masses that has persisted in this literature. Instead, Rozbicki emerges as more of a neo-Beardian as he focuses on the ideas of the gentry and then exposes their self-interested use of "liberty" to maintain their privilege and status. With the exception of a few prominent "regular Joes" like Daniel Shays, "the people" in Rozbicki's work remain an amorphous group compared with the better-documented elites.

Despite the rigor of Rozbicki's ideas and the intensity of his historiographical discussion, *Culture and Liberty* presents these points clearly, in contrast to the dense prose and theoretical obfuscations that can frequently mar works on political philosophy. Although Rozbicki's findings appear in book form, his discussion reads more like an extended, lively, and erudite conversation with a dream audience of scholars steeped in the vast literature Rozbicki engages. A general reader drawn to the phrase "American Revolution" in the book's title would likely get lost amid the numerous historiographical and philosophical debates Rozbicki cites. My one criticism of this otherwise impressive book concerns its use of endnotes rather than footnotes. The work is clearly intended for an academic reader who would benefit from seeing the numerous historiographical and scholarly sources Rozbicki references and challenges. Such inconveniences aside, Rozbicki's fresh insights on Revolutionary liberty are worthy of serious scholarly attention, a conversation that *Culture and Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution* begins.

University of Wisconsin–Parkside SANDRA MOATS

Benjamin Franklin and the American Revolution. By JONATHAN R. DULL. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. 184 pp. Notes, index. $14.95, paper.)

In this slim book, Jonathan R. Dull sets out to expose new dimensions to Benjamin Franklin and his role in the American Revolution. According to Dull, there is a "traditional picture of Franklin" as kindhearted and conciliatory that represents more a "person of legend" than a historical man (vii). This fabled image of Franklin, Dull believes, has concealed some less than endearing qualities. Franklin, Dull argues, was a revolutionary with a "tougher side" that encompassed his self-confidence, his "fanatical zeal," his "hatred for George III," and even his "vanity, pride, and ambition" (viii). This passionate, self-righteous revolutionary, Dull contends, is "not as lovable as the kindly and avuncular person of legend" (viii).

With all that historians have written about Franklin, it is questionable if this unhistorical man is still as prominent as Dull suggests. As recently as 2004, Gordon Wood and David Waldstreicher published books that presented an image of Franklin that was a far cry from the genial uncle figure of myth.

Nevertheless, while Dull may not be tearing down any legends, he still adds important elements to the historic Franklin. Franklin has been consistently portrayed in the literature as the ultimate political trimmer who was unwilling to get his hands dirty, an individual who felt more comfortable on the political sidelines and found being ruled by passion unacceptable. In Dull's book, by contrast, Franklin thrusts himself amid contentious political debates; he is passionate, often on the verge of anger; and he is unwilling to compromise his political principles, especially his belief in American self-government.

Dull shows this revolutionary Franklin at work in several different periods and places. Each chapter, starting with Franklin's rebellious youth in Boston and ending with his return to Philadelphia from France in 1785, smartly unravels the characteristics that Dull considers central to Franklin's "tougher side" and provides an explanation of how they shaped his role in the American Revolution. Dull quite rightly describes how Franklin's unwillingness to compromise his political ideals on his second mission to England between 1764 and 1775 gained him the enmity of "the wealthy and powerful of England" and resulted in the creation of a "zealous and angry Franklin" (17). Dull traces this passion throughout the book, showing how it fueled Franklin's dedication to the American cause. Franklin's devotion is most emphatically showcased by his service on numerous committees in the Continental Congress; he acted as president of Pennsylvania's Constitutional Convention, served as a member of Pennsylvania's Committee of Safety, and, most importantly, undertook a diplomatic mission to France from 1776 to 1785. Dull also shows the harsher side of Franklin's dedication to the Revolutionary cause by exploring his "rage at the British government and at the Loyalists," which included his own son (90).

Though there is not much that is new in this book regarding Franklin's role in the Revolution (which is not surprising given the sheer number of books and articles about him), Dull does manage to add to our understanding of what drove Franklin throughout the conflict. Nevertheless, one wishes that Dull could have given Franklin a bit more vivacity. Throughout the work, Dull uses the nouns "rage," "hatred," and "anger" to convey Franklin's passion, but Franklin still remains lifeless in this book, and Dull seems more concerned at times with the context and world surrounding Franklin than with the man himself. Rarely does Dull actually quote Franklin to demonstrate his zeal, and there is very little description of his rage or anger—only the assertion that it existed. This critique, however, in no way takes away from the strongest part of Dull's book: his ability to elegantly and concisely convey Franklin's role in the Revolution that is accessible to both the historian and the avid history reader. For this, Dull should be commended. This book would be an excellent primer for anyone interested in Franklin and the part he played in the American Revolution.

Binghamton University CHRISTOPHER PEARL

Spies in the Continental Capital: Espionage across Pennsylvania during the American Revolution. By JOHN A. NAGY. (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2011. 256 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $26.)

Revolutionary Philadelphia was, according to John Nagy, a den of intrigue crisscrossed by secret couriers, professional spies, double agents, and opportunistic amateur sleuths. The nature of espionage, however, limited the production of incriminating evidence, a fact that deprives historians of valuable primary accounts of intelligence activities during the war. What information exists comes in the form of memoirs, secondhand correspondence, family stories, and legends, all of which serve to obscure the truth rather than elucidate it.

The sketchiness of available sources used in Nagy's earlier book *Invisible Ink: Spycraft of the American Revolution* (2009) apparently inspired the author's current work, which is written "to identify as many Pennsylvania spies as possible and to determine what evidence is true and what may be fiction" (xiii). Nagy has no qualms about forgoing a clear thesis to focus instead on an exploration of the facts behind each tale of espionage related to Philadelphia. Unfortunately, the achievement of Nagy's goal is hampered by his lack of direction. To prove the veracity of spy stories and without an argument to guide him, Nagy immerses the reader in details, often blanketing thrilling narratives in minutiae. The result is less a tale of espionage than a chronological encyclopedia of spies.

Spies in the Continental Capital falls into three sections tied together by time rather than by topic. Nagy's first pair of chapters discuss French and British spies operating in America in the 1760s and early 1770s. The French agents sought opportunities to reclaim their country's North American empire, while the British operatives tried to understand the causes of rising colonial resentment against the royal government. Chapters 3 through 8 examine both British and American intrigues in Philadelphia before, during, and after the British occupation of the city during the winter of 1777–78. Nagy examines the intelligence networks established by each side and the steps taken to secure information. The book's final five chapters take a broader view, following spies associated with Philadelphia out into the world. Nagy examines Benedict Arnold, emissaries in the Pennsylvania countryside, and undercover agents on the frontier. He also discusses foreign sleuths and their attempts to glean information from American diplomats overseas. Nagy ends the book with a summary of his success at separating fact from fiction.

Though this book is a major resource as a synthesis of sources, it is limited by its generic organization. Nagy's trajectory is a simple movement along the Revolutionary timeline. He jumps from one spy and topic to the next with few transitions. The resulting choppiness makes the story difficult to follow. It is often unclear how one element of the book ties into others. Nagy unabashedly focuses on piecing together fragments of information rather than using them to

build a broader understanding of the role of espionage in the Revolution, a goal he largely accomplished in *Invisible Ink*. He admirably fills the void left by the spies themselves and reconstructs their activities from a range of sources. However, in making this historiographical contribution, Nagy misses out on an opportunity to enrich our understanding of the topic.

Northampton Community College ROBERT F. SMITH

The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America. By KATE HAULMAN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 290 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $39.95.)

The boycotts protesting imperial taxation in the 1760 and 1770s relied on good recordkeeping. Local committees of observation and inspection stalked city docks, taking down names of wayward merchants who tried to distribute fashionable fabrics and collecting the signatures of those who complied with nonimportation agreements. With their logbooks, these committees enforced a political reading of imported material culture that linked fashion with unacceptable political dependence. Less than a decade later, this simple equation had collapsed, as one such logbook illustrates. On its back cover, a new owner (or perhaps one of those same community enforcers) inked a list of imported hair powder, silk stockings, and other fashionable finery purchased for a season of social visits. In her book *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*, Kate Haulman sets out to explain what happened to cause such a reversal.

Haulman argues that the Revolutionaries' claim that imported goods threatened the political order grew out of a half century of power struggles in which fashion seemed to menace the social order of the colonies. From the beginning of the century, fashion served as a critical way to mark distinctions of rank and sex and, at the same time, to confuse and undermine them. For elite men and women, dressing the part was important in finding a mate and securing a social position, but critics of women's hoops and men's periwigs complained that such styles made women too commanding and men too decadent. As she explores these confrontations over power, Haulman reminds us that fashion was both a series of popular styles of dress and a larger cultural concept associated with luxury, taste, changeability, and sexual desirability. Both senses of the term were deployed as cultural weapons. Drawing upon transatlantic print culture, merchants' business records, and personal letters, she presents a subtle and detailed narrative of the changing ways that Anglo-Americans thought and argued about what to wear and what it meant. Other historians have depicted episodes in fashion wars; Haulman connects them to a fuller picture, rooted in

the lives of urban Americans, of the political uses of material life across the eighteenth century.

While the content of fashion critiques changed over time, their ubiquity—and, simultaneously, the likelihood that they would be ignored—persisted. In the years following the Seven Years' War, prominent Anglo-American colonists championed a homespun movement and "country" style they believed would cultivate modesty and sacrifice, but few people of means were willing to give up their fine fabrics and big hair for long. Patriot rhetoric during the Revolution likewise highlighted fashion but struggled for adherents. In the book's strongest chapters, Haulman's reading of consumer politics builds upon, but differs from, T. H. Breen's influential *Marketplace of Revolution*. Whereas Breen highlighted the liberating potential of choice in consumer purchases, Haulman's focus on fashion stresses instead the ways these choices were constrained. Breen's Americans bought the same calico and felt a sense of unity; Haulman's Americans used purchases the way they always had—to maintain or manipulate distinctions of class and gender.

Taking her story into the years of rising partisan politics in the new United States, Haulman concludes that, ultimately, fashion proved too slippery to serve as a reliable political tool. Its meanings were too multivalent. Style itself was stubbornly linked with Europe and femininity, two categories firmly excluded from political ideals in the early republic. Yet, as Haulman's densely argued book shows, fashion's rich possibilities for variation in style and its function as costume continued to make it rhetorically irresistible for Americans debating social and political power.

University of California, Davis ELLEN HARTIGAN-O'CONNOR

Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America. By WENDY BELLION. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 388 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $45.)

Wendy Bellion casts the canonical paintings and vernacular illusory displays of the early republic into relief in the Philadelphia galleries, taverns, and theaters where viewers confronted them. In so doing, she considers how early Americans scrutinized these exhibitions when "the senses were politicized as agents of knowledge and actions" (5). Creators and audiences agreed that trompe l'oeil paintings, "Invisible Lady" displays, cosmoramas, and phantasmagorias were tools of instruction. Because these images enabled discernment of the very deceptions they purveyed, they encouraged viewers to hone the visual perception that would help them rout deception in early republican society and government. In positioning his renowned *Staircase Group* in the State House, Bellion argues,

Charles Willson Peale affirmed the right of citizens to look into governmental spaces and interrogate what they saw. Thomas Birch evaded mathematically perfect perspective in his engravings to convey an emplaced way of seeing the city's marketplaces, themselves a challenge to the geometrically precise street grid. Samuel Lewis juxtaposed an original tableau with its trompe l'oeil copy to facilitate visual comparison of originals and imitations—a skill handy in sussing out authentic bank notes from forged ones. Even when deceptions evaded full explanation or aroused anxieties, viewers took comfort in developing skills that promised to undeceive them. Only in the 1820s, Bellion argues, did Americans roundly accept visual invitations to revel in the ability of illusory images to deceive by drawing viewers into a visual interior.

Bellion loses steam when she extends her visual analysis to broader arguments about politics and citizenship. Her discussion of the relationship between art and party politics covers familiar ground; it is no surprise that early Americans articulated political arguments with metaphors of vision and entwined discussions of art with debates over federalism. But when Bellion turns to the epistemology of sensing, she constructs a fresh framework for reconsidering the ways that early Americans claimed membership in a national citizenry defined more powerfully by republican culture than by law. Visibility was a right; discernment was a responsibility. But for whom were these arguments meaningful? Bellion readily acknowledges the paucity of direct evidence of attendance of illusionary exhibitions, but she sells herself short when she falls back on the conclusion that "not all Americans had equal access to visuality" (280). Certainly, white men with disposable income occupied a privileged position in exhibition spaces and the historical record. But Bellion hints at a more complicated story: the prosperous free black population of Philadelphia could have subscribed to Peale's museum but did not; diaries and images regularly place women in sight of deceptions; both groups projected their voices from the presses of Philadelphia. These facts offer opportunities to address the nature of contested citizenship more comprehensively. When and where did politically marginalized groups demonstrate critical visual perception to position themselves as active citizens? When did they shun the public spaces and rhetoric of perception as a means by which enfranchised individuals reinforced their power? Bellion's book deserves praise for pushing scholars to consider original questions like these and for proving that they cannot answer them without taking into account the rich visual culture that she masterfully brings to light.

University of Virginia WHITNEY A. MARTINKO

Stephen Girard's Trade With China, 1787–1824: The Norms versus the Profits of Trade. By JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN. (Portland, ME: MerwinAsia, 2011. 142 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $65, cloth; $35, paper.)

Economic historians rarely describe the great nineteenth-century capitalists as victims. Yet Jonathan Goldstein argues that the prominent Philadelphia merchant Stephen Girard was both a "product" and a "victim" of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century world commerce. An overemphasis on the success and agency of Americans in world trade often clouds the complexities of risk and failure that defined most commercial exchange during this period. This pitfall is not repeated in Goldstein's study. In tracing Girard's entry into the China trade in the Canton delta from 1795 through 1824, Goldstein details the political, economic, and cultural factors in China that influenced the trade. Although Girard made a substantial fortune, primarily through shipment of illegal opium, Goldstein is careful throughout his analysis to consider both Western and Eastern perspectives of commerce. Indeed, his largest contribution is highlighting how the Chinese, not the Americans, dictated the conditions of trade.

While the potential profits of the China trade were enormous, so, too, were the potential costs. Chinese commercial procedures were largely one-sided; there were few, if any, protections for Westerners once they entered the Canton port. Commercial diplomacy was practically nonexistent. These conditions resulted in extremely harsh responses to accidents or disputes. When in 1784 two Chinese men were accidentally killed by a salute from the *Lady Hughes*, a British ship, for example, the British gunner received no trial and was hanged. Merchants were clearly aware that the lives of their men were at risk, but the expected profits outweighed the price. According to Goldstein, a dispute similar to the *Lady Hughes* affair effectively ended Girard's trade in 1821.

Goldstein dedicates his entire final chapter to the "Terranova incident" of 1821, wherein a Chinese woman drowned while selling fish to a sailor aboard an American ship. Although the Americans insisted the drowning was an accident, the Chinese officials threatened a full embargo if the Americans did not hand over the crewman. The sailor was surrendered and executed less than two days later. Goldstein attributes Girard's exit from the China trade to this failure of diplomacy; the price of trade, it seemed, had become too high. While this episode certainly contributed to Girard's exit from the China trade, Goldstein's analysis here strays from the central theme of profit as a motivator, allowing discussions of Western modernity and democratic capitalism into his discussion. Indeed, Goldstein admits that Girard sent two more non-opium ventures to China after the incident, but the profits did not outweigh the costs.

Another noteworthy accomplishment of Goldstein's analysis lies in his focused study on Girard. Although the Girard papers are accessible to researchers, the enormous volume of his correspondence is difficult to penetrate.

While Goldstein includes few personal details of Girard's life, he successfully navigates the archive and demonstrates how central Girard was to Philadelphia's trade with China. Overall, Goldstein's contribution is a positive one. His concise description and analysis of Stephen Girard's role in the China trade provides a helpful starting point for any scholar interested in learning more about Girard and early nineteenth-century trade.

Temple University BRENNA O'ROURKE HOLLAND

William Birch: Picturing the American Scene. By EMILY T. COOPERMAN and LEA CARSON SHERK. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 376 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $75.)

With *William Birch: Picturing the American Scene,* Cooperman and Sherk offer the reader two publications for the price of one: Cooperman's explication of the life and career of the artist who created the first set of engraved American views ever published in the United States and Sherk's admirably edited version of Birch's autobiography and personal papers. Thus, the first biography *and* autobiography of this important American artist are included together in one lavishly illustrated volume. While students of Philadelphia art and art history are no doubt familiar with the work of Birches *père et fils*, the history of the elder Birch's extensive patronage networks in Great Britain, detailed in Cooperman's first two chapters, will be new to many readers. Likewise, Cooperman's exploration of Birch's second and less successful publication, *The Country Seats of the United States*, is a welcome contribution to the field of Anglo-American landscape studies.

While the biographical explanation of Birch is exceptionally strong, the art historical deconstruction of the images he produced is less so. Fortuitously, also published in 2011 is Wendy Bellion's *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America*, and Bellion's chapter "Sight and the City"—a study of "embodied vision" in the drawings and engravings executed by William Birch and his son Thomas for *The City of Philadelphia*—is a critical complement to Cooperman's foundational work. It is wonderful to have two such extensive studies of Birch appear in publication at the same time, and it would behoove those libraries that specialize in the histories of American art, the early American republic, print, and Philadelphia to purchase both books. Hopefully so doing will encourage students of early America to pursue more studies of Birch's work, such as the lesser-known *Country Seats of the United States*—particularly as it relates to British country house traditions and their translation into a supposedly more democratic America.

The publication of Birch's letters of introduction, lists of subscribers, and autobiography add a new dimension to studies of patron networks both in

eighteenth-century London and in early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. These are included as beautifully laid out appendices at the conclusion of Birch's *Life and Anecdotes of William Russell Birch, Enamel Painter*. These appendices also provide insights into how paintings were hung in the early republic (see, for example, appendix E, which lists paintings Birch exhibited at Green Lodge) and the prices achieved by artists in the same period (appendix G, containing Birch's book of profits). This book makes these primary documents of the visual culture of early Philadelphia, formerly only available in the archives of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia or in the private Marian S. Carson collection, generally accessible. The full color plates illustrating not only Birch's engraved publications but his fragile and rarely seen miniatures make the work a scholarly contribution as well as a thing of beauty.

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts ANNA O. MARLEY

Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World. By SAM W. HAYNES. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. 400 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

In *Unfinished Revolution,* Sam W. Haynes explores the United States' complex relationship with Great Britain between the War of 1812 and the Civil War. Americans—"painfully self-conscious" regarding their nation's lack of sophistication (39)—envied their former mother country's power and culture and craved its approval. At the same time, Americans saw British intrigue behind every challenge to their young nation, from British manufacturers' competition with domestic industry to British agents' attempts to prevent US territorial expansion. Haynes maintains that only after war with Mexico did they believe their nation had grown sufficiently and earned Great Britain's respect, causing their paranoia and feelings of inferiority to subside.

American concerns with Great Britain in the early republic are not surprising, but Haynes makes a convincing case that understanding Americans' wish to both "repudiate *and* emulate the ancien regime" is crucial to understanding the major events of the era (2). The United States' provincial nature and lack of cultural achievements gave rise to a "national inferiority complex" (66). Americans found devastating British criticism such as Frances Trollope's scathing, best-selling *Domestic Manners of the Americans* and the Reverend Sydney Smith's question, "who reads an American book?" (30). Some American theatergoers gained satisfaction by heckling British actors who had slighted their host country. It was "a risk-free form of retribution" (87).

Americans winced at British criticism, and they were concerned with Great Britain's potential to involve itself in US financial and political affairs. There

were, of course, different degrees of involvement, not all of which was unwelcome. Many American transportation projects, for example, depended on British investment. On the other hand, many antislavery northerners demurred from allying with British visitors who spoke out against slavery. Over time, assuming the existence of a hidden British role behind every contentious issue became a habit. Politicians exploited this tendency in order to connect with voters and shape public opinion. Such charges gained added heft from the fact that, while references to Britain's involvement were exaggerated, they were often not entirely baseless.

Haynes maintains that US territorial expansion was driven in part by fears of British "encirclement." John Tyler's interest in annexing Texas, for example, was heightened by concerns that the weak republic was at risk of becoming a British satellite, and James K. Polk's interest in waging war with Mexico was intensified by reports that Great Britain had excessive control of the Mexican government and designs on California.

Americans' anxiety subsided after the war with Mexico, both because their territorial expansion was so immense and because Britons—including the Duke of Wellington—acknowledged their achievement. In the 1850s, politicians, finding that "transatlantic scapegoating" lacked its earlier resonance, became less inclined to resort to it (291). Subsequent American victories, including the nation's impressive showing at the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition, further increased American confidence.

In *Unfinished Revolution,* Haynes convincingly demonstrates the importance of understanding Americans' complex relationship with Great Britain in order to understand the early republic and its issues. The work can serve as a model for studies of American foreign relations. It is engagingly written and effectively combines the foreign and the domestic, the cultural and the political.

Towson University ELIZABETH KELLY GRAY

Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania. By BEVERLY C. TOMEK. (New York: New York University Press, 2011. 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $39; paper, $24.)

Colonization and Its Discontents is an interesting and useful contribution to the ever-growing historiography of nineteenth-century American antislavery movements. Through case studies and a reexamination of secondary literature, Tomek weaves a nuanced and complicated narrative surrounding antislavery reform in Pennsylvania. Perhaps what makes Tomek's work so successful is that her book strays from the often-told story of the struggle for emancipation in

Pennsylvania. While *Colonization and Its Discontents* looks carefully at the dismantlement of slavery within the commonwealth, Tomek introduces readers to a colonization movement that was far from static. In her introduction, Tomek states that her goal was not just to describe the complexities of antislavery but also to demonstrate how colonization in Pennsylvania was anything but peripheral; according to Tomek, colonization "remained a key part of the antislavery landscape throughout the nineteenth century" (1).

Accurately depicting the early decades of the nineteenth century as hostile to black freedom, Tomek describes an antebellum Pennsylvania that was riddled with white resistance to immediate abolition. By examining the changing attitudes of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), the Pennsylvania Colonization Society (PCS), and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (PASS), Tomek reveals the dark side of the gradual movement to end slavery. Focusing on colonization—an effort that was often seen as proslavery and that centered on relocating free blacks from the United States to Africa—Tomek demonstrates that this movement was an important component of antislavery efforts in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the first scholar to directly connect the PAS, PCS, and PASS, Tomek describes the early decades of antislavery as an era in which the desire to control an exploding free black community forced these groups to enact a conservative and cautious path toward emancipation.

The majority of the chapters in this book are built upon the lives and work of several well-known male Pennsylvanians. Anthony Benezet, Mathew Carey, Elliott Cresson, James Forten, Benjamin Coates, and Martin Delany serve as the main protagonists in this book, and their individual stories serve as helpful interpretive tools. At times, the structure of the book precludes an integrated conversation about Pennsylvania abolition. Perhaps this was by design, as the antislavery movement that Tomek portrays was racially segregated. African American activists spoke to different concerns and needs than did their white counterparts, and generational differences between men like James Forten and Martin Delany complicated the story of black freedom. The absence of women—both black and white—in Tomek's work represents a weakness in an otherwise helpful addition to the historiography of the American antislavery movement.

University of Delaware ERICA ARMSTRONG DUNBAR

Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America. By JAMES MARTEN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

By its own admission, *Sing Not War* "is not a comprehensive account of Civil War veterans" (3). Instead, James Marten offers a rich examination of the com-

plex attitudes, perceptions, and expectations that developed between the general public and Union and Confederate veterans during the waning decades of the nineteenth century. Venturing beyond the familiar Memorial Day platitudes and heroic characterizations, Marten reveals that a contradictory and at times even antagonistic relationship evolved as old soldiers struggled to readjust to civilian life. *Sing Not War* thus uniquely complicates previous interpretations of veteran distinctiveness and uncovers a darker side of public memory. Veterans, Marten concludes, often united and sought fellow companionship not only because of the unique, shared bonds of military service but also in response to emerging Gilded Age conceptions of independence, professional success, and even manliness.

Highlighting areas of greatest contention between ex-soldiers and civilians, Marten focuses predominantly on marginalized veterans: the disabled, the institutionalized, and the traumatized. Through six chapters, he explores how their reliance upon charitable organizations, state and national soldiers' homes, and increasing pension supplements challenged public beliefs of veteran identity and national gratitude. Southerners, Marten argues, responded the most sympathetically. Rationalizing wartime defeat, nonveterans simply reconciled the old Confederates' plight as being outside their control and by the 1890s had woven them into the annals of Lost Cause mythology. In contrast, northerners experiencing postwar economic booms and modernization struggled with veteran dependents, who, as Marten writes, "were often seen as agents of their own decline, almost purposefully swimming against the stream of progress, economic growth, and opportunity" (20). Battered by public criticism, veterans and their supportive organizations fell back upon the "bloody shirt" in insisting that the nation honor its wartime debts and donned the visage of "the old soldier" to explain their importance at the dawning of a new era.

Sing Not War mines newspaper accounts, governmental records, novels, poetry, and the diaries, letters, and memoirs of scores of familiar and obscure soldiers alike to skillfully blend veteran homecomings and tales of readjustment into the greater context of the postwar nation. Examining the role of veterans in Gilded Age commercialism, temperance, and public order, Marten demonstrates the utility of studying the ramifications of Civil War service beyond Appomattox. Commendably, Marten also acknowledges his work's limitations—most notably, the complete absence of African American veterans—and, in so doing, points the way for future areas of study.

Despite his self-consciousness, Marten occasionally slips into unsubstantiated presumption that harms more than bolsters his work. His allusions and comparisons to Vietnam War veterans—without considering differences of time, space, or the conflict's inevitable outcome—emerge most notably as problematic and anachronistic. Similarly, Marten maintains that studying the nation's "least successful veterans" contributes to the understanding of the broader veteran community. Yet he largely fails to establish such a connection, leaving readers to ques-

tion the full applicability of lessons learned beyond those provided by the broken and marginalized old soldiers. Criticisms aside, *Sing Not War* presents a fascinating look at one of the most understudied topics of the Civil War, demonstrating the complexity and human toll of the nation's bloodiest conflict.

Pennsylvania State University J. ADAM ROGERS

The Judge: A Life of Thomas Mellon, Founder of a Fortune. By JAMES MELLON. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. 592 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $38.)

Individuals wishing to know more about the dour, controlling, and single-minded Judge Thomas Mellon depicted in David Cannadine's comprehensive *Mellon: An American Life* need look no further—James Mellon, big game hunter and author of several notable books, has produced an engaging and readable account of his great-great-great-grandfather's life and times. Based largely on Thomas Mellon's autobiography, but enriched with the addition of materials from the Mellon family's private collection, *The Judge* offers a largely sympathetic account of Thomas Mellon's rise from somewhat modest means to a position of substantial and shrewdly acquired wealth.

Thomas Mellon is not, strictly speaking, an "interesting" figure; he had no great love affairs, committed no notorious crimes, and held no high offices. Rather, he was a canny behind-the-scenes player who from a very early age grasped the significance of long-term planning. James Mellon writes with no small amount of admiration about Thomas Mellon's extraordinary academic performance at the Western University of Pennsylvania (now University of Pittsburgh) and youthful love notes, but "the Judge" quickly put aside what he came to view as frivolous endeavors. Adept enough with classical languages to be offered a professorship at the university following his graduation, Mellon stayed there only long enough to position himself for a profitable career in law.

Indeed, it was some variation on the profit motive—filtered through his readings of Benjamin Franklin on work ethic and Herbert Spencer on the "survival of the fittest"—that seemed to compel all of Mellon's future decisions. He married Sarah Negley, heiress to the Negley fortune he had coveted since his childhood (a woman described unflatteringly by James Mellon as someone "God had fashioned . . . from the homeliest clay"), because the time had come for him to take a wife, and "she would do" (74). He also staked out pragmatic positions on matters such as his son James's desire to serve in the Civil War ("There are thousands of poor fellows fit for soldiering, but fit for nothing else, whose duty is to go"), compulsory education for children ("They [must not be] allowed to grow up in ignorance and vice . . . whence they are graduated to the penitentiary or gallows"),

capital punishment ("It may seem a hard task to condemn fellow creatures . . . 'to be hanged by the neck until dead'; but it is not so hard if they clearly deserve it"), and trial by jury ("It is high time some important changes were made in the selection of jurors, and some discrimination . . . in the cases to which they are applicable") (151, 173, 180, 184).

After Mellon's tenure on the Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas concluded, he opened T. Mellon & Sons' Bank. He operated the organization with his sons Andrew and Richard, whom he had been training as businessmen since they were old enough to comprehend his instructions. After weathering the Panic of 1873, investing wisely in local railroad construction and coal mining ventures, and providing some start-up capital to future coal magnate Henry Frick, Mellon retired in 1882, leaving his sons to run the bank. That they succeeded beyond his wildest dreams is unsurprising; that he never "share[d] his reading and contemplation" with them or any of his other heirs is one of the central mysteries of the book, given that he led a deep and fulfilling intellectual life. But the Mellon story came full circle nevertheless; many of his later descendants, including James Mellon himself, "delighted in deep exploratory reading" and derived considerable pleasure from supporting various educational causes (508). Even the predoctoral fellowship that afforded me the leisure to read and review this book bears the ubiquitous Mellon surname, which in itself provides proof that the fierce discipline Thomas Mellon had instilled in him first in County Tyrone and later at "Poverty Point" has inured not just to the benefit of his sons but also to the benefit of those thousands who have partaken of the family's largesse.

One final note: this book is among the most handsomely illustrated volumes yet released by a university press. For that reason alone, Pennsylvania history aficionados may wish to add it to their collections.

University of Pittsburgh OLIVER BATEMAN

So Bravely and So Well: The Life of William T. Trego. By JOSEPH P. ECKHARDT. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 208 pp. Illustrations, select bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Like a number of nineteenth-century American artists who were inclined toward history painting, William T. Trego (1858–1909) has occupied a marginal place in art-historical scholarship. Building on the earlier research of Helen Hartman Gemmill, historian Joseph P. Eckhardt has produced the first monographic study of the underrecognized Trego. This book accompanied the retrospective exhibition of Trego's art held at the James A. Michener Art Museum and is supplemented by that organization's ongoing Trego catalogue raisonné website. Eckhardt's book offers an engaging narrative of the life and career of this intriguing

and talented artist. As the author tells it, Trego's story is one of pathos and heroism.

From childhood on, the Bucks County–born William Trego suffered the crippling effects of polio. Although his hands were almost completely paralyzed, he trained as an artist under his father, who had studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His stepmother, who was an artist and art teacher, also contributed to his artistic formation. Overcoming major physical challenges, Trego became known for the accuracy of his drawings (especially of horses in motion) and his dynamic military history compositions. While studying at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1882, Trego painted the large *Battery of Light Artillery en Route*, which received the school's first Charles Toppan Prize for most accurate drawing.

Trego's drawing skills and commitment to historical subject matter were reinforced and refined by studying in Paris at the Académie Julian under William-Adolphe Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury. Since working in Paris was virtually every American artist's goal in the late nineteenth century, it is not surprising to find Trego there. But what is remarkable is that in spite of his disabilities, he spent over two years in France on his own.

After returning to the United States, Trego continued to compose historical military scenes while adding genre painting, portraiture, and illustration to his repertoire. Although he enjoyed some success, his career never gained traction. After a failed attempt in 1909 to generate interest in his work by creating a grand-manner rendering of the chariot race from the novel *Ben Hur*, the fifty-year-old artist took his own life.

Eckhardt provides a detailed and clearly written account of the life of this determined, ambitious, and frustrated artist. More discussion might have been provided, however, of how Trego's work fits within the context of late nineteenth-century art. For example, intriguing parallels exist between Trego's paintings and illustrations and those by Frederic Remington. Eckhardt convincingly points out the connection between Trego's Civil War images and those of earlier artist-illustrators, but what of the series of Battle of Gettysburg paintings by Peter F. Rothermel, who was long associated with the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts? The author identifies the French artists Jean-Baptiste Édouard Detaille and Alphonse de Neuville as two of Trego's heroes (Trego, in fact, became dubbed the "American Detaille"); more on these artists and their reception in the United States might have been enlightening.

The book is handsomely produced, with good color reproductions. The abundance of illustrations testifies to the quantity and quality of Trego's work. Overall, *So Bravely and So Well* makes a welcome and significant contribution to a fuller understanding not only of this neglected artist but also of the history of American art.

Texas Christian University MARK THISTLETHWAITE

Howard Pyle: Imagining an American School of Art. By JILL P. MAY and ROBERT E. MAY. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2011. 288 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $45.)

Once upon a time, the latest book illustrated by Howard Pyle (1853–1910) was on every American child's wish list. In the meantime, youngsters could enjoy his vivid portrayals of history and legend in the pages of *St. Nicholas*, *Everybody's*, *Collier's*, *Century*, *Scribner's*, and *Harper's* magazines. Though not a household name today, Pyle was the preeminent illustrator of the Gilded Age, and his visual interpretations of the American Revolution, Robin Hood and his Merry Men, the Knights of the Round Table, and a motley crew of pirates were indelibly printed on the imaginations of several generations. Now a new book published in conjunction with the centenary of Howard Pyle's death has rediscovered this forgotten icon of the popular culture. The subject is custom-made for authors Jill P. May, professor of literacy and language, and Robert E. May, professor of history (both at Purdue University), who bring to this work their expertise in fields beyond the history of art. This is not a coffee-table book but the first extensively documented biography of Howard Pyle. The authors combed through numerous archives and museum collections and wove their findings into a fluent narrative that documents Pyle's personal life and his career as an illustrator, author, and teacher. The frequent use of quotations from letters re-creates the intimate conversations between Pyle and his wide circle of colleagues and students, revealing the artist's exuberant personality and manic energy.

In the golden age of American illustration, Pyle was the mentor with the Midas touch. As the first teacher of illustration at Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry in Philadelphia and his own school in the Brandywine River valley outside of Wilmington, he launched the careers of dozens of successful illustrators, among whom N. C. Wyeth, Frank Schoonover, Maxfield Parrish, Jessie Willcox Smith, Elizabeth Shippen Green, and Violet Oakley are perhaps the most well known. But according to May and May, Pyle had grander ambitions for his school; he believed that his training would produce a distinctly "American" style of art that would rival the great European traditions. The authors trace the nationalistic fervor that motivated Pyle from the Civil War through the emergence of the United States as an imperial power at the beginning of the twentieth century. Pyle developed relationships with Woodrow Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt, participated in the latter's presidential election campaign, and shifted from storyteller to social reformer to support the Progressive movement. One of the more fascinating additions to Pyle's biography is the importance of Swedenborgianism to his spiritual life, a subject he explored with the writer William Dean Howells.

Although he did not realize his dream of founding a national style, the authors point out that "over time, Pyle's artistic values seeped into film, comic

books, children's illustrations, and other contemporary visual arts" (200). The "romantic realism" of Pyle's compositions, with their historically accurate costumes and settings, were used as models for the art direction of Hollywood movies from *Robin Hood* (1938) to *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006). Pyle continues to inspire award-winning children's book illustrators, who see themselves as the heirs of his tradition.

May and May have made an important contribution to the scholarship on American art in the late nineteenth century. This highly readable book is likely to be the definitive biography on Howard Pyle for some time to come.

Elizabethtown College PATRICIA LIKOS RICCI

Teenie Harris, Photographer: Image, Memory, History. By CHERYL FINLEY, LAURENCE GLASCO, and JOE W. TROTTER. (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art, 2011. 208 pp. Illustrations, notes, select bibliography, index. Cloth, $55; paper, $24.95.)

Charles "Teenie" Harris (1908–98) is one of the most significant photographers of twentieth-century culture and life in Pittsburgh. The charismatic and handsome Harris was a well-known figure both in Pittsburgh's Hill District, where he resided for most of his life, and in the city at large. Self-trained, Harris spent over a half century documenting primarily black residents and community happenings in his neighborhood. He worked as a photojournalist for the *Pittsburgh Courier* (a nationally circulating black newspaper), ran a studio, and served as photographer-for-hire for local events. By the time of his death, he had accumulated roughly eighty thousand negatives, primarily of black life in the Hill District. According to historian Laurence Glasco, Harris's archive may be the largest collection of a single black community in the world.

In this beautiful catalogue of the Carnegie Museum of Art's retrospective exhibition *Teenie Harris, Photographer: An American Story* (October 29, 2011–April 7, 2012), art historian Cheryl Finley and historians Joe W. Trotter and Laurence Glasco combine select photographs from the exhibit with essays offering important context about the photographer and the city he loved. Image and word combine to offer a rich tapestry of Harris, Pittsburgh's twentieth-century cultural and social history, and the evolution of its black population. Glasco's essay offers a cultural history of the Hill District through the life of the photographer. Trotter provides insightful analysis of the economic, social, and political history of black Pittsburghers. Finley provides close readings of images from Harris's archive, placing these works within a larger history of American, black American, and African diasporic documentary photography. Together, the essays provide important biographical details about Harris. More importantly,

they demonstrate a photographer in love with his subject—black Pittsburghers—and beloved by his community. As photographic historian Deborah Willis states in the introduction, Harris's life work is "a love story, a graphic romance about a community visually documented through an artist and his camera, an intimate and diaristic view of a city and a photographer" (xi).

From Harris's vast archive, the authors chose subtle and poignant images of the "the practice of dailiness"—a phrase borrowed from Carnegie Museum Curator of Photography Linda Benedict-Jones—of Hill District life over much of the twentieth century. Through images ranging from the late 1930s to the 1970s, we witness the area's transformation from a once-vibrant, although racially segregated, black cultural and business center to a neighborhood depopulated and diminished as a result of deindustrialization, urban renewal, and the persistence of racial discrimination. But more tenacious than the forces of exclusion, through Harris's eyes, is the creativity, joy, and spirit of individuals and families living, working, and playing in various conditions.

The University of Pittsburgh Press, the distributor of this book, took great care in publishing Harris's black-and-white photographs, which capture the rich texture, nuance, and detail of seemingly ordinary activities. Interspersed among images of shop owners, children at play, and residents on the street are photographs of jazz luminaries, including Sarah Vaughan, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, and Billy Eckstine; John F. Kennedy addressing a large crowd; and black sports icons Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, and Willie Mays. Particularly striking is the way Harris's eye was able to enfold these notable figures into the daily routines of life in the city.

Harris's archive has had a fascinating life following the photographer's death. After years of legal battles with a business partner of Harris, the majority of his negatives were returned to Harris's family, who sold the collection to the Carnegie Museum of Art in 2001. The institution has since worked actively with Harris's family, the Hill District community, and many others to preserve, label, and digitize this massive archive, the majority of which is now publicly available through the museum's website. Since his death, Harris's work has been exhibited frequently, and he has received international attention, which he never sought during his life. The museum continues to research the people, places, and events of his photographs and to promote the richness and vibrancy of life captured in this collection.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick NICOLE R. FLEETWOOD

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Special Issue:
Teaching Pennsylvania History (fall 2014)

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and *Pennsylvania History* are planning a joint publication, scheduled for 2014, on teaching Pennsylvania history. We invite teachers who have a special interest in a topic such as women's history, African American history, political bosses, religious sects, a particular event (Coal Strike of 1902/03, Centennial Exhibition of 1876), etc. to prepare an article that describes their method, perhaps with illustrations, documents, and connection to websites, that would help others teach that subject in the context of Pennsylvania and US history at the college level (though articles that suggest how to adapt the presented materials for high school use are welcome). Articles should be about 15-20 pages, double spaced. Please indicate any documents or other resources you would like to include, either in print or online.

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

Deadline for submissions: January 1, 2013.

St. Peter's Church

Faith in Action for 250 Years

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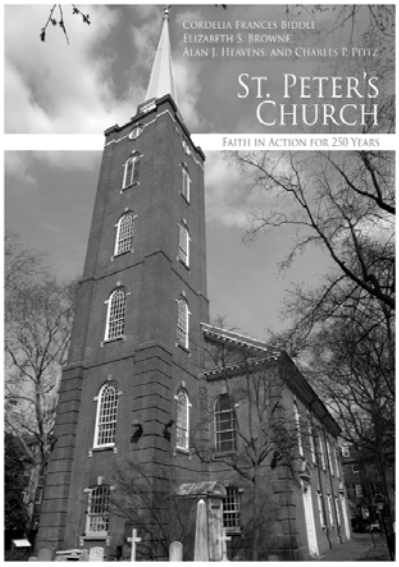

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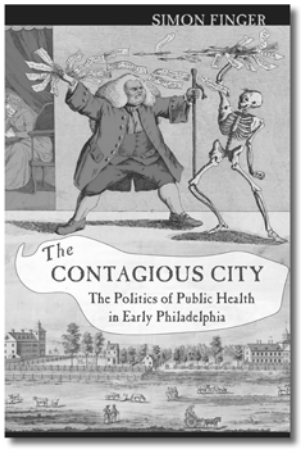

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