

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA  
MAGAZINE  
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

---

VOLUME CXXXVII

October 2013

NO. 4

---

ON THE ORIGINS AND INTENTION OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S  
"ON THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT OF  
THE WORLD"

*Kevin Slack* 345

PENN'S GREAT EXPANSION: POSTWAR URBAN RENEWAL AND  
THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES AND THE  
PUBLIC SECTOR

*John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd* 381

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS: A MILLER'S TALE OF CAPTIVITY,  
RANSOM, AND REMEMBRANCE, 1758–1811

*Ian K. Steele* 431

BOOK REVIEWS

445

INDEX

467

## BOOK REVIEWS

NEWMAN, <i>On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory</i> , by Marshall Joseph Becker	445
PATTERSON, <i>The True Image: Gravestone Art and the Culture of Scotch Irish Settlers in the Pennsylvania and Carolina Backcountry</i> , by Kevin Yeager	446
ANDERSON, <i>The Unfinished Life of Benjamin Franklin</i> , by Dee E. Andrews	447
JOSEPH, <i>From Liberty to Liberality: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820</i> , by Joel Fishman	449
BARTLE, <i>Mortals with Tremendous Responsibilities: A History of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania</i> , by Joel Fishman	450
GUGLIOTTA, <i>Freedom's Cap: The United States Capitol and the Coming of the Civil War</i> , by Raymond W. Smock	451
MILLER, ed. <i>Lincoln and Leadership: Military, Political, and Religious Decision Making</i> , by William D. Pederson	453
BURTON, PODAIR, and WEBER, eds. <i>The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction</i> , by Carl C. Creason	454
MIRES, <i>Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations</i> , by Dylan Gottlieb	456
SPENCER, <i>In the Crossfire: Marcus Foster and the Troubled History of American School Reform</i> , by Dorothy Shipp	457
ROONEY and PETERSON, <i>Allegheny City: A History of Pittsburgh's North Side</i> , by John F. Bauman	459

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Gaylord P. Harnwell, the University of Pennsylvania's master builder, 1953–1970. Courtesy of Collections of the University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA. In this issue, John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd explore Penn's expansion during the 1960s and 1970s in partnership with the City of Philadelphia and through the use of urban renewal politics and policies in their article, "Penn's Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector."

## *Editorial Advisory Committee*

BETH BAILEY  
*Temple University*

DANIEL B. BARR  
*Robert Morris University*

SETH C. BRUGGEMAN  
*Temple University*

ERICA ARMSTRONG DUNBAR  
*University of Delaware*

CAROL FAULKNER  
*Syracuse University*

JOHN FEA  
*Messiah College*

JUDITH GIESBERG  
*Villanova University*

ANN N. GREENE  
*University of Pennsylvania*

LISA LEVENSTEIN  
*University of North Carolina,  
Greensboro*

WALTER LICHT  
*University of Pennsylvania*

SALLY McMURRY  
*Pennsylvania State University*

RANDALL MILLER  
*St. Joseph's University*

CARLA MULFORD  
*Pennsylvania State University*

EDWARD MULLER  
*University of Pittsburgh*

JUDITH RIDNER  
*Mississippi State University*

FRANCIS RYAN  
*Rutgers University*

DAVID SCHUYLER  
*Franklin & Marshall College*

ANDREW SHANKMAN  
*Rutgers University, Camden*

## *Editor*

TAMARA GASKELL

## *Assistant Editor*

RACHEL MOLOSHOK

---

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (ISSN 0031-4587, print; ISSN 2169-8546, online) 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 <http://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](mailto: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://hsp.org/publications/pennsylvania-magazine-of-history-biography>). The editor does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by the contributors.

## Contributors

MARK FRAZIER LLOYD is the director of the University Archives and Records Center at the University of Pennsylvania. He teaches an undergraduate seminar on the history of the relationship between the University of Pennsylvania and the West Philadelphia community. He has authored or edited several works on the University of Pennsylvania.

JOHN L. PUCKETT is professor at the Graduate School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania. He teaches courses on American education history and public school reform, education and the American city, and academically based community service. His books include *Foxfire Reconsidered: A Twenty-Year Experiment in Progressive Education* (1989); *Dewey's Dream: Universities and Democracies in an Age of Education Reform* (2007), with Lee Benson and Ira Harkavy; and *Leonard Covello and the Making of Benjamin Franklin High School: Education as if Citizenship Mattered* (2007), with Michael C. Johanek.

KEVIN SLACK is associate professor of history and political science at Merced College, Los Baños, California.

IAN K. STEELE is professor emeritus and research professor at Western University. His books include: *Politics of Colonial Policy* (1968); *Guerillas and Grenadiers* (1969); *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740* (1985); *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (1990); *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (1994); and the forthcoming *Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country*.

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://www.hsp.org/node/2876>.

ERRATA: On page 267 of the July issue, a newspaper article from June 3, 1865 (note 16), is misdated. On page 276, Louisa Burr's age at death is given as ninety-four; she was ninety-three. On page 282, Warmouth is misidentified as Weymouth. On page 289, Harvard University's Houghton Library is misspelled. On page 290, the Marquis of Lansdown should be the Marquis of Lansdowne. On page 295, the Fairmont Engine Company should be the Fairmount Engine Company.



## *On the Origins and Intention of Benjamin Franklin's "On the Providence of God in the Government of the World"*

PHILOSOPHERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH and eighteenth centuries used the phrase "government of the world" to discuss matters of physics, ethics, theology, and politics.<sup>1</sup> In physics, the phrase referred to the order of the universe: the essence of matter, and whether it moved chaotically or by discernible laws. The order of physical nature had ethical implications—whether or not human beings possessed free will, and if they did, whether or not they could know the effects of, and be account-

The author wishes to thank Ruth Slack, who read multiple versions of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Boyle, "A Free Inquiry into the Vulgar Notion of Nature," in *The Philosophical Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; Abridged, Methodized, and Disposed under the General Heads of Physics, Statics, Pneumatics, Natural-History, Chymistry, and Medicine*, ed. Peter Shaw, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (London, 1738), 2:106–8; Sir Francis Bacon, *A Specimen of the Persian Magic, &c.*, in *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon . . . Methodized and made English from the Originals*, ed. Peter Shaw, 3 vols. (London, 1733), 2:5: "For there is great affinity between the *Rules of Nature*, and the *true Rules of Policy*; the one being no more than an *Order in the Government of the World*, and the other an *Order in the Government of a State*"; Pierre Bayle, "Epicurus," *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr Peter Bayle . . .*, trans. P. Des Maizeaux, 5 vols., 2nd ed. (London, 1734–38), 2:786nS, 790nT; William Wollaston, *The Religion of Nature Delineated*, 2nd ed. (London, 1725), 94–95.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY  
Vol. CXXXVII, No. 4 (October 2013)

able for, their actions. Natural philosophers and theologians provided conflicting answers to these questions. Christian theologians such as Samuel Clarke argued that God was “a *Supra-Mundane Intelligence*”—existing outside of, and therefore not bound by, the mechanistic realm of matter—that providently suspended and intervened in the laws of nature to issue revelatory dictates and to justly govern the world. These divines debated deists such as Lord Shaftesbury, who argued that God was nature itself, subsisting by its own self-governing laws that were accessible to human reason. The deists, in turn, debated the skeptics, such as Bernard Mandeville, who questioned not just the existence of a creator but whether there was any order to nature at all. The divines called deists undercover atheists, and the deists called the skeptics atheists.<sup>2</sup> Philosophers’ ideas about God’s government of the world also shaped their political views regarding what kind of laws humans should make to govern themselves. As a citizen of the Republic of Letters, the young Benjamin Franklin enthusiastically read all of these thinkers, and he participated in and contributed to the great philosophic and political debates of his age.

In 1730, Franklin wrote “On the Providence of God in the Government of the World” and presented it to his companions in the Junto, a social and philosophic society for middle-class artisans.<sup>3</sup> As its title suggests, the twin themes of his essay are providence and politics. In this work, Franklin claims to prove both that there is a God of infinite attributes who created the universe and that the fact that men have always prayed proves that this God intervenes in his perfect, preordained order to reward virtue and punish vice. Consequently, “On the Providence of God” has served as a rallying cry among nonacademics for Franklin’s belief in God’s providence; meanwhile, among scholars, the essay has been largely either misinterpreted as Franklin’s leap of faith or overlooked as

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of Papers, Which passed between the late Learned Mr. Leibnitz, and Dr. Clarke, In the Years 1715 and 1716* (London, 1717), 15, 375; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Douglas den Uyl, 3 vols. (Indianapolis, 2001), 2:6.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Franklin, “On the Providence of God in the Government of the World,” [1732], in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (hereafter *PBF*), ed. Leonard Labaree et al., 40 vols. to date (New Haven, CT, 1959–), 1:264–69, also <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=264a>. This essay is quoted extensively throughout this article. This citation serves for all such references. For the date of the essay, see A. O. Aldridge’s review, “Papers of Benjamin Franklin,” *American Literature* 32 (1960): 208–9.

unimportant to his political philosophy. After placing Franklin's essay in the context of his biography, this article reviews the current scholarship on it and then makes two original claims. First, the origin of Franklin's essay is Pierre Bayle's article "Epicurus."<sup>4</sup> Recognizing Franklin's source not only helps us understand Franklin's own argument but also shows that Franklin's concision in "On the Providence of God" masks a more complex, ironic argument. The second claim, demonstrated through a new interpretation of the essay, is that, far from being of no importance to Franklin's thought, this argument forms the essential foundation of Franklin's entrance into political life.

### *Franklin's Essays on Providence*

As a young man, Benjamin Franklin was inclined to metaphysical wrangling. He excelled in exposing the inconsistencies of his interlocutors, and he found great pleasure in embarrassing the religious authorities and moralistic citizens of Boston. At eighteen, he travelled to London, the center of the British Empire, to seek out his fortune as a printer. While working at Palmer's, a famous printing house, he published his first metaphysical pamphlet, a burlesque of metaphysics entitled *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain* (1725). Beginning with a priori propositions of the existence of an "all-wise, all-good, all powerful" God that created and preordained the universe, the *Dissertation* claims to prove that the "Things and Actions to which we give the Name of *Evil*," such as "*Pain, Sickness, Want, Theft, Murder, &c.* . . . are not in reality *Evils*," but goods.<sup>5</sup> Because human choices are determined by divine providence, virtue and vice logically cannot exist; "consequently *all is right*."<sup>6</sup> Although Franklin claims to demonstrate how God is just to his creatures, his ironic conclusion is that justice—the proof of God's perfection—does not exist. Rather, Franklin argues, all creatures are self-serving; thus virtue, defined as perfect altruism, is both nonexistent and unnecessary in human affairs. Franklin borrowed this

<sup>4</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:774–92.

<sup>5</sup> Franklin, *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain* (London, 1725), in *PBF*, 1:59–60, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=057a>.

<sup>6</sup> Franklin to Benjamin Vaughan, Nov. 9, 1779, in *ibid.*, 31:59, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=31&page=057a>.

argument against virtue from Bernard Mandeville, his London drinking companion.<sup>7</sup> Like Mandeville, Franklin meant to promote philosophic relativism—to suggest that all philosophic inquiries reveal only the radically subjective hope for right, which does not exist. After men concede that moral virtue is impossible, they can peacefully agree to end quarreling over it and instead befriend their private vices in a commercial society. The *Dissertation*, therefore, has a political objective.

But Franklin found that this view was not very useful, to himself or others, and it led those who he thought were his friends to harm him without compunction. He lost his money, his friends, and his sense of purpose, and his experiences in England changed the way that he viewed the world. On his long voyage home, Franklin reflected upon his aspirations in life and reconsidered his position on human virtue. His simplistic scheme in the *Dissertation* had equated virtue with altruism, thus failing to account for the content of the private vices that he supposed to be good. He realized that he had not disproven virtue, but merely smuggled it in under another name.<sup>8</sup> In his “Journal of a Voyage” (1726), he decided that virtue was necessary after all, both in human relations and for individual happiness. Considering the first, he concluded that none could embrace a vicious way of life and maintain a good reputation. “It is impossible,” he wrote, “for a man, though he has all the cunning of a devil, to live and die a villain, and yet conceal it so well as to carry the name of an honest fellow to the grave with him, but some one by some accident or other shall discover him.”<sup>9</sup> Considering the second, he questioned his proud opinion that he was self-sufficient. Aboard the vessel, he noted that he required the companionship of others, as well as the virtues that nourished it. He wrote, “One of the philosophers, I think it was Plato, used to say, that he had rather be the veriest stupid block in nature, than the possessor of all knowledge without some intelligent being to communicate it to.”<sup>10</sup> Franklin returned to the question of virtue with these ends in mind.

<sup>7</sup> *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (hereafter *Autobiography*), ed. Leonard W. Labaree, Helen C. Boatfield, and Ralph L. Ketcham (New Haven, CT, 1964), 97.

<sup>8</sup> Franklin wrote that the *Dissertation*’s conclusion, “that Vice and Virtue were empty distinctions,” “appear’d now not so clever a Performance as I once thought it” (*Autobiography*, 114).

<sup>9</sup> Franklin, “Journal of a Voyage,” 1726, in *PBF*, 1:78, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=072a>.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:85–86; Alan Houston, *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 30–32.



To correct the bad habits in his life, and to obtain success in the world, he wrote a "Plan of Conduct" (1726) to order his life rationally by adopting certain virtues.<sup>11</sup> Franklin's conversion from atheism to a natural religion is the theme of his "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" (1728), a carefully worded creed that he recommends to his readers in his later *Autobiography*.<sup>12</sup> In the "Articles," Franklin posits a belief that there are gods that will benefit those who behave virtuously. His polytheism has long remained a mystery, but Kerry S. Walters and Douglas Anderson have argued persuasively that it was no hoax; Franklin's gods, Anderson writes, are ideals, or character models, woven into the nature of things, such as the "vocation" of printer, or "Cato" as an allegory of the shining virtues.<sup>13</sup> In a time when the existence of biological species, or the essences of things such as human nature, was questioned as merely nominal, Franklin found in the Epicurean doctrine of the "the formal Cause of Happiness" a naturalistic, ethical standard for human beings rooted in their natural passions and the human ability to reason about them.<sup>14</sup> In this way he appealed to the perfection of human nature in a normative sense, or how one ought to behave.

Two years later Franklin wrote "On the Providence of God," with its supposed twofold proof that there is an infinite God who created the universe and whose intervention in the world is proven by the constancy of human prayer. Scholars have overlooked "On the Providence of God" first because it appears in several ways either merely to repeat Franklin's earlier caricature of a priori metaphysical arguments in the *Dissertation* or to add very little to that argument.<sup>15</sup> A. O. Aldridge suggests the essay is an

<sup>11</sup> Franklin, "Plan of Conduct," [1726], in *PBF*, 1:99, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=099a>.

<sup>12</sup> Franklin, "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion," 1728, in *ibid.*, 1:102–4, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=101a>; *Autobiography*, 148.

<sup>13</sup> Douglas Anderson, *The Radical Enlightenments of Benjamin Franklin* (Baltimore, 1997), 104, 116; Kerry Walters, *Benjamin Franklin and His Gods*, (Champaign, IL, 1998), 86–89; see Elizabeth Dunn, "From a Bold Youth to a Reflective Sage: A Reevaluation of Benjamin Franklin's Religion," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (1987): 501–24.

<sup>14</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:780nH. Bayle writes that Epicurus "considered Happiness in itself, and in it's [sic] formal State."

<sup>15</sup> Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God* (Durham, NC, 1967), 34–46; Jerry Weinberger, *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked* (Lawrence, KS, 2005–8), 166–72; J. A. Leo Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 2006), 1:345–54; Walters, *Benjamin Franklin and His Gods*, 70, 75–106; Lorraine Pangle, *The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin* (Baltimore, 2007), 205, 209–10.

unequivocal but logically unsupported statement adopting “God’s active participation in human affairs—a position from which [Franklin] later more than once retreated when beset by doubt.” Franklin’s conclusion—that God answers prayer—appears to Aldridge to be so weak that he suggests Franklin must have forgotten his argument in the *Dissertation*.<sup>16</sup> Jerry Weinberger finds in all three of Franklin’s articles on providence the same parody of metaphysical speculation. While the first two essays begin with false propositions and end in non sequiturs, Franklin argues in “On the Providence of God” that all metaphysical speculation is psychological projection.<sup>17</sup>

A second reason “On the Providence of God” is overlooked is that it does not seem to fit with Franklin’s other writings. How could Franklin, man of the Enlightenment, write a proof of divine providence? Scholars have largely interpreted the essay to reveal Franklin’s “soft spot” with respect to the possibility of answered prayer. J. A. Leo Lemay argues that Franklin wrote this third essay pragmatically; while Franklin uncovered no evidence of an infinite God who answers prayer, he found it useful to believe in divine intervention anyway.<sup>18</sup> Walters agrees, describing the essay as Franklin’s embrace of logical inconsistency when filled with existential angst about the possibility of no God.<sup>19</sup> Lorraine Pangle sympathizes with this view while questioning Franklin’s sincerity in his treatment of the question of providence.<sup>20</sup> This scholarly view is similar to those of nonacademics, mentioned above—as proof of Franklin’s belief in God’s providence.

### *On the Origins of the Essay*

An inquiry into the origin and intention of Franklin’s essay reveals the insufficiency of these interpretations. First, a careful reading of “On the Providence of God” shows that both Franklin’s arguments and his con-

<sup>16</sup> Aldridge, *Benjamin Franklin and Nature’s God*, 35.

<sup>17</sup> Weinberger finds “On the Providence of God” to be identical to the *Dissertation*, save for a “slide to the agreement that God is infinitely good” (*Benjamin Franklin Unmasked*, 171).

<sup>18</sup> Lemay equates the argument of the *Dissertation* with that in “On the Providence of God” and concludes that Franklin found both religion and metaphysics to be probably false but useful (*Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:345, 354).

<sup>19</sup> Walters, *Benjamin Franklin and His Gods*, 104–5.

<sup>20</sup> Pangle, *Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin*, 61.

clusion in this work are different than those of his *Dissertation*. Second, close study of the background and interpretation of the essay disproves the idea that "On the Providence of God" represents the author's leap of faith in divine providence. On the contrary, Franklin wrote it to logically disprove God's providence.

Regarding the essay's origin, we must consider the logical necessity of "On the Providence of God" within Franklin's own writings; we must be clear as to *why* he wrote it. Ralph Lerner, who finds the underlying philosophy of the piece to agree entirely with the *Dissertation*, concurs with Lemay and James Campbell that the work has a rhetorical component—a religious teaching that is salubrious for society. In Lerner's interpretation, Franklin, in apostolic fashion, wishes to strengthen the teaching of God's providence because it is necessary to the political project dear to his own heart: the amelioration of the human condition.<sup>21</sup> I argue that Franklin's "On the Providence of God" is a defense of his "Articles of Belief," which had insufficiently addressed the challenges of atheism and revealed religion to his own naturalistic polytheism. Franklin places his natural religion first in opposition to atheism, which he understood to mean the belief in a disordered universe, and a human world devoid of any ethical standards or permanent truths. He places his natural religion secondly in opposition to the God of infinite attributes whose acts are external to nature. Christianity teaches that man must obey this infinite God who reveals his will through divine revelation. In "Articles of Belief," Franklin claimed to be unable to conceive of this God of infinite attributes and declares the infinite God to be, in the words of Samuel Clarke, "a *Supra-Mundane Intelligence*," thereby excluding, like Epicurus, "Providence and God's Government . . . out of the World."<sup>22</sup> However, Franklin did not articulate why this inability to conceive of the infinite God should lead to his rejection of him. Just because he could not understand something does not mean that it is not true.

The first argument of revealed religion against naturalism, that an external artificer created the world, was that of voluntarism, in which an incorporeal, omnipotent God replaces an ordered conception of

<sup>21</sup> Ralph Lerner, "Correspondence," *Claremont Review of Books* 6, no. 3 (2006): 11; Lerner, "The Gospel According to the Apostle Ben," *American Political Thought* 1 (2012): 140; James Campbell, "The Pragmatist in Franklin," in *The Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Carla Mulford (New York and Cambridge, 2008), 104–16.

<sup>22</sup> Clarke, *Collection of Papers*, 15.

nature. This view was forcefully presented by Sir Robert Boyle and adopted by Increase Mather.<sup>23</sup> Boyle's scientific theories proceeded from his theology.<sup>24</sup> He found in scientific positivism—the declaration that man cannot know by his reason alone whether there is a God—a way to defend Christian dogma from the threats of deism and Catholic scholasticism, both of which he called atheism for their expulsion of divine governance from nature. These two schools of thought turned to classical Greek philosophic arguments—which posited that man by his reason alone could know his duty—as an additional support to the teachings of God's divine revelation in Scripture. Boyle believed this position led easily to the conclusion that man did not need divine revelation at all.<sup>25</sup> Christianity's acceptance of what he believed to be two contradictory approaches to knowledge—reason and revelation—made its revelatory doctrines susceptible to rational criticism.

To eliminate this contradiction, Boyle taught that God's fundamental attribute is his omnipotence, thereby destroying the old conception of nature. Philosophers had hitherto distinguished between natural and artificial motions: natural bodies moved toward their own ends according to an innate principle of change, while artificial bodies, possessing no intrinsic form, depended upon an external agent and acted according to the intentions of the artificer.<sup>26</sup> An artificial body possessed no organic essence; it could be understood mechanically by the way its parts connected and worked upon one another. In Boyle's philosophy, God is an incorporeal mechanic who, by acting upon all passive matter, created the world: a giant artifice. Because each creation is a machine set into motion, there are no "natural" motions and, therefore, no intrinsic standard of "nature" that human reason could use as a guide for behavior. As man is incapable of knowing his ends solely by his reason and passions, he must

<sup>23</sup> Margaret J. Osler, "Providence and Divine Will in Gassendi's Views on Scientific Knowledge," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983): 549–60; Increase Mather, *Remarkable Providences Illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonisation* (London, 1856), xxxiv. Mather claimed to inductively verify God's providence according to "the rules and method described by that learned and excellent person Robert Boyle."

<sup>24</sup> J. R. Jacob, "Boyle's Atomism," *Social Studies of Science* 8 (1978): 218.

<sup>25</sup> Boyle's argument, to which here I can only allude, is made in several writings, notably *The Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy; By Way of Exhortation to The Study of it*, in Boyle, *Philosophical Works*, 1:129–32.

<sup>26</sup> See Dennis Des Chene, *Physiologia: Natural Philosophy in Late Aristotelian and Cartesian Thought* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), 239–51; Margaret G. Cook, "Divine Artifice and Natural Mechanism: Robert Boyle's Mechanical Philosophy of Nature," *Osiris*, 2nd ser., 16 (2001): 142.

look to an external deity to provide them. By attacking the foundation of human reason, Boyle reduced all arguments about God and how man should live to revelations. Man is capable of manufacturing means to these revelatory ends, to which he must submit.

The second argument of revealed religion against naturalism was Ralph Cudworth's argument that God created and governed the world from his attribute of goodness: "The reason, why God made the world, was from his own overflowing and communicative goodness, that there might be other beings also happy, besides him, and enjoy themselves."<sup>27</sup> Rejecting Boyle's voluntarist argument, which emphasized God's omnipotence, Cudworth argued that God's chief attribute and the cause of his mastery over nature was his goodness. Cudworth studied the ancient pagan views of God with an eye to the origin of evil, or the government of God in the world, and concluded that there were two fundamentally conflicting viewpoints: the pagan view and the Christian view. The pagan view is that the supreme God is "a soul of the world only" or the "nature of things."<sup>28</sup> The pagans distinguished between matter, or "one supreme unmade Deity, and all other inferior generated gods."<sup>29</sup> The lesser divinities, partaking in this nature, were charged with "government of the whole world."<sup>30</sup> Cudworth, equating this belief in nature with atheism, argued instead for the Christian view: a supreme, immaterial creator who was provident, by some means, in the government of the world.<sup>31</sup>

The strength of Cudworth's argument that God creates out of goodness is that it provides an answer as to why God creates. Boyle's omnipotent God needs no justification; he rules tyrannically by divine fiat. But in Cudworth's telling, because of God's goodness, his will is not arbitrary; his perfect goodness aligns with his justice.<sup>32</sup> God justly punishes evil, in this life or the next, and providently rewards the good.

<sup>27</sup> Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe: Wherein all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is Confuted, and Its Impossibility Demonstrated*, trans. John Harrison, 3 vols. (London, 1845), 3:486. On Cudworth's rejection of Boyle's voluntarism, see 1:223 and 3:461.

<sup>28</sup> Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 1:426; 2:276; see Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:779nF, on the "Soul of the World."

<sup>29</sup> Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 1:417.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:364.

<sup>31</sup> Richard Popkin, *Essays on the Context, Nature, and Influence of Isaac Newton's Theology* (Dordrecht, Netherlands, 1990), 14; Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 2:275–76. See 1:386 on creation ex nihilo and 3:484 on the inferior ministers of God.

<sup>32</sup> Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 3:494.

Cudworth argues that, empirically, the subtle working hand of God's justice and goodness are apparent in the evolution of human civilization. God's goodness is also evinced by his creation of a world suitable for human existence and by man's perfect adaptation to nature. If man admits his capacity for happiness and the goodness of nature, his gratitude finds an object. The creation is not good simply; it is good *because* a perfectly good creator made it. It is as perfect as it could be. Moreover, Cudworth argues that God's creation does not disturb his perfection. God did not create evil, nor does he lose his perfection by his providence. God, who is self-sufficient, is displeased with the imperfection of his creatures, but does not attain his own perfection by helping them to theirs.

### *Pierre Bayle's "Epicurus"*

Franklin's "On the Providence of God" is a response to these challenges as well as a defense of his Epicureanism. His argument is influenced by Bayle's entry "Epicurus" in *An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1710). Franklin was familiar with Bayle, a pivotal Enlightenment thinker, and would list him as an "eminent writer" alongside Locke and Bacon.<sup>33</sup> Robert C. Bartlett writes that the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* "was the most widely held book in French libraries in the eighteenth century and can be said to have been the real arsenal of all Enlightenment."<sup>34</sup> While the *Dictionary* was written in French (Harvard College turned down a copy in 1724 for this reason), it was translated into English in 1710; Franklin's later correspondent James Logan of Philadelphia ordered a four-volume set in 1714, and at least one volume was present in the library of Boston minister Ebenezer Pemberton in 1717.<sup>35</sup> Lemay suggests that Franklin had

<sup>33</sup> Franklin, "Rules for Making Oneself a Disagreeable Companion," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 15, 1750, in *PBF*, 4:73, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=48&page=073a>.

<sup>34</sup> Robert C. Bartlett, "On the Politics of Faith and Reason: The Project of Enlightenment in Pierre Bayle and Montesquieu," *Journal of Politics* 63 (2001): 3.

<sup>35</sup> Bayle, *An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (London, 1710); Norman Fiering, "The First American Enlightenment: Tillotson, Leverett, and Philosophical Anglicanism," *New England Quarterly* 54 (1981): 322n29, 330; Loganian Library and Edwin Wolf, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1751* (Philadelphia, 1974), 43, 48–49. Logan requested that John Askew obtain a four-volume edition for him in 1714. He wrote to Robert Hunter on April 2, 1719, "I do not find any where in my Bayle That he sayes positively the Immortality of ye Soul is to be proved from ye S. Scriptures."

read Bayle by 1725 and that Bayle may have influenced the writing of the *Dissertation*.<sup>36</sup> In 1730 Franklin printed a series of articles in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that, A. O. Aldridge argues, reflected "the opinion of Bayle that a society of atheists could attain to as high a degree of morality as a society of religionists."<sup>37</sup> In 1731, Franklin founded the Library Company of Philadelphia, and Bayle's five-volume *Dictionary* was among the first forty-five books ordered in 1732.<sup>38</sup> Franklin would request that "10 Folio Volumes of Bayle's Dictionary" be returned from Boston for his personal library in 1764.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, one would not expect to find an attribution to Bayle in Franklin's writings. Franklin seldom lists his sources, and Bayle himself mocks the scholarly priests who obsess over footnotes instead of just borrowing others' arguments.<sup>40</sup> Like Bayle, Franklin often shrouds his own essays in irony.

Bayle's essay "Epicurus" promotes Epicurean philosophy and defends it against the charge of atheism by the Christian Neoplatonists. His primary aim in writing it was to institute a new materialistic philosophy to replace Christian dualism, in which God is an immaterial substance that acts upon matter. Consequently, in "Epicurus" Bayle questions whether divine providence governs the world and whether Plutarch, a Platonist, was right to argue that Epicurean principles, which reject divine providence, fail to provide for human happiness.<sup>41</sup> Bayle concedes that the Epicureans did not have access to the revelatory truths of Christianity, but, limiting his consideration of the argument only to the "light of reason," he defends

<sup>36</sup> Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 2:100.

<sup>37</sup> Aldridge, *Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God*, 124. Aldridge also suggests (89–90) that Franklin's 1735 arguments against Christian Orthodoxy in the Hemphill controversy were drawn from Bayle's *Various Thoughts on the Occasion of a Comet*. Pierre Bayle, *Various Thoughts on the Occasion of a Comet*, trans. Robert C. Bartlett (Albany, 2000), xxiii.

<sup>38</sup> Albert J. Edmunds, "The First Books Imported by America's First Great Library: 1732," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 30 (1906): 301. Though the *Historical and Critical Dictionary* did not arrive with the rest of the books that November, it appears in the library's first catalog in 1741. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:279; Alfred Owen Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the *Maryland Gazette*," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 44 (1949): 177–89.

<sup>39</sup> Franklin to Jonathan Williams, Feb. 24, 1764, in *PBF*, 11:88, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=11&page=088a>.

<sup>40</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:778nE.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:785–86. See Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 3:476: "That of Plutarch therefore is most true here . . . That there is a necessary connexion betwixt those two things, Divine Providence, and the permanence or immortality of human souls, one and the same reason confirming them both; neither can one of these be taken alone without the other."

Epicurus's philosophy as superior to that of the Platonists and Athenian priests:

Methinks that, among so many Apologists for *Epicurus*, there should have been some, who, at the same Time that they condemned his Impiety, should have endeavored to shew, That it was a Natural and Philosophical Consequence of the Error common to all the Heathens, about the Eternal Existence of Matter[*S*]. I shall make some Observations thereupon, which will shew, amongst other Things, I. That when a Man does not follow the System of the Holy Scripture, concerning the Creation, the more consequentially he reasons, the more he goes astray. II. That that System alone has the Advantage of laying the solid Foundation of the Providence, and Perfections of God[*T*]. There is nothing more wretched than *Epicurus's* way of explaining the Liberty of Human Actions[*U*].<sup>42</sup>

Despite Bayle's claims, his intention is to show that Epicurus's arguments are superior to "the System of the Holy Scripture." As is made evident in his extensive footnotes, Bayle's "Platonists" are actually Neoplatonists, such as Cudworth, and his "Priest[s] of *Athens*" are Christian theologians.<sup>43</sup> Through the mouth of Epicurus, Bayle argues in footnote S that the heathen argument for "the eternal Existence of Matter" is superior to that for a creator of matter. He refutes the arguments for a creator of matter as illogical, first from the position of God's omnipotence, then from the position that God creates from his goodness. In footnote T, Bayle further argues that the Christian view of God contradicts its claims of God's perfection, for it describes the most miserable deity imaginable. And in footnote U, Bayle adopts the Epicurean argument for human free agency over the Christian teaching of free will.<sup>44</sup>

Franklin, undoubtedly impressed by Bayle's use of logic, employs his arguments against Christianity in his own essay. This is not to say that Franklin agreed with Bayle entirely. He was more circumspect about the charge of atheism because he did not think a genuinely atheist society was desirable or possible.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, he diverged with Bayle on the best way of life; instead, Franklin adopted an active version of Epicureanism

<sup>42</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:786–90. Capital letters in brackets are note references in the original text.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 2:786–89nS; 789–90nT.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 2:790–92nU.

<sup>45</sup> Franklin to —, Dec. 13, 1757, in *PBF*, 7:293, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=7&page=293a>.



that included the political life, something both Epicurus and Bayle taught was incompatible with the life of philosophic skepticism.

*On the Providence of God in the Government of the World*<sup>46</sup>

This leads us to Franklin's own argument in "On the Providence of God." Franklin organizes it, in the form of a classical oration, into seven parts.<sup>47</sup> His outline is exactly the same as Bayle's: he begins with the logic of the Creation, "laying the solid Foundation of the Providence, and Perfections of God," and concludes with a treatment of the "Liberty of Human Actions." Also like Bayle, Franklin decided to disguise his own thoughts in irony, and he had several reasons to do so. For one, as a Philadelphia businessman presenting his views on providence before his "Pot Companions," he did not wish to acquire the reputation of an atheist.<sup>48</sup> This, however, was not his primary reason for dissimulation—his religious devotion was already suspect, and he certainly did not concern himself about financial repercussions when he took up his pen against Presbyterian orthodoxy several years later. Rather, Franklin was applying his own lessons on agreeable conversation; he genuinely liked his drinking companions and saw no need to antagonize those who could not understand his arguments. His solution was to dissemble his own opinions in concision and irony.<sup>49</sup>

Franklin begins his presentation by ironically "laying the solid Foundation of the Providence." After asserting that his audience is only persuaded by the authority of reason, not opinion, he presents a first principle, based upon the ancient opinions of all men in all ages, that there is a deity, and he is creator of the universe:

<sup>46</sup> Franklin, "On the Providence of God," in *ibid.*, 1:264; see Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:351, on the essay's relation to Franklin's Nov. 9, 1779, letter to Benjamin Vaughan.

<sup>47</sup> Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:345–46; see Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:786–89nS, for Bayle's own seven-part division.

<sup>48</sup> Aldridge, *Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God*, 34–35.

<sup>49</sup> On Franklin as an ironic thinker, see Thomas Pangle, *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism* (Chicago, 1988), 80–81; Hiram Catton, *The Politics of Progress* (Gainesville, FL, 1988), 27n16, 374; Steven Forde, "Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* and the Education of America," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992): 359; Ralph Lerner, "Dr. Janus," in *Revolutions Revisited: Two Faces of the Politics of Enlightenment* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994), 9–12; Weinberger, *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked*, chaps. 5–6; Paul E. Kerry, "Franklin's Satiric Vein," in *Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Franklin*, 37–49.

It might be judg'd an Affront to your Understandings should I go about to prove this first Principle, the Existence of a Deity and that he is the Creator of the Universe, for that would suppose you ignorant of what all Mankind in all Ages have agreed in.

The statement is glaringly false: all pagan philosophers rejected the idea of a creator.<sup>50</sup> Franklin's essay is his defense of the pagan against the Christian view of nature; indeed, the essay turns upon his "proof" of the first principle, for therein lies the difference between the pagan moralist and Christian metaphysical approaches to the question of providence. The first, the Epicurean position, is that God is an eternal, material, uncreated being, owing existence to itself only, without "Dependance [*sic*] upon any other Thing, either as to it's [*sic*] Essence, Existence, Attributes, or Properties."<sup>51</sup> The ancient natural philosophers agreed that matter could not be produced: creation *ex nihilo* is impossible. But the Christian view is that God, the immaterial and omnipotent creator, formed the material world when he moved it and infused it with "the breath of life."<sup>52</sup> Franklin's irony has already begun, for he supposes his audience ignorant of what mankind of all ages has agreed: that the very notion of the Christian God violates the logical simplicity of nature and the judgments that proceed from it. Bayle writes that this view contradicts the "Laws and Notions of Order, which are the standing Rules of our Judgments and Reasonings."<sup>53</sup> Those who say that matter was formed by an immaterial God must rely on God's omnipotence, or force, and not the precise reason that begins from our original notions of matter.

Franklin proceeds with his own description of a "great" deity: "1. That [God] must be a Being of great Wisdom; 2. That he must be a Being of great Goodness and 3. That he must be a Being of great Power." But Franklin begins his first *a priori* proof of the deity by instead setting out to prove the "Perfections of God."<sup>54</sup> He will first show that God is a being of

<sup>50</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:786nS: "[The] Natural Philosophers of the Heathens . . . all agreed in this Point, that the Matter of the World was unproduced. They never disputed among themselves upon the Question, whether any Thing was made out of Nothing."

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:787nS.

<sup>52</sup> Genesis 2:7; Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 3:493.

<sup>53</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:787nS. Bayle writes that the idea of a creator is a "bastard and monstrous Production" "that shocks the most exact Notions, to which those who philosophize are bound to conform themselves."

<sup>54</sup> See Weinberger, *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked*, 170–71.

not *great*, but *infinite* Wisdom. Franklin separates his own thoughts and observations from the metaphysical proof of an infinite God external to matter, and he does this because his demonstration constitutes a two-part argument *against* the creation and providence of an immaterial deity. His next three proposals are that God must be of "infinite" wisdom, "great" goodness, and "infinite" power. He begins with God's attribute of infinite wisdom:

That he must be a Being of infinite Wisdom, appears in his admirable Order and Disposition of Things, whether we consider the heavenly Bodies, the Stars and Planets, and their wonderful regular Motions, or this Earth compounded of such an Excellent mixture of all the Elements; or the admirable Structure of Animal Bodies of such infinite Variety.

Franklin notes that every animal has "adapted to its Nature, and the Way of Life it is to be placed in, whether on Earth, in the Air or in the Waters." This adaptation is so precise "that the highest and most exquisite human Reason, cannot find a fault and say this would have been better so or in another Manner, which whoever considers attentively and thoroughly will be astonish'd and swallow'd up in Admiration." The wisdom of God pertains to the laws of nature, and Franklin's praise of God is an implicit critique of the logical arguments for an omniscient deity. The Epicureans argued that matter exists by its own nature and necessity; there is no need for God's improvement, or a simpler organization upon an eternal state. Much less is there need for an immaterial governor. The divines taught that God improved self-sufficient matter by forming it to create life. To make this argument, they distinguished between self-sufficient matter without any organizing principle and an arbitrary God who is all motion, outside of time yet appearing in every action—they must conceive of no order at all, which is inconceivable, or an affront to human reason. About the notion of an infinite God, Franklin wrote in the "Articles": "it is impossible for me to have any positive clear Idea of that which is infinite and incomprehensible."<sup>55</sup> Why, moreover, would God intervene to improve what is already self-sufficient? The divines claimed that "God exercised his Power over Matter meerey [*sic*] from a Principle of Goodness."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Franklin, "Articles of Belief," in *PBF*, 1:102.

<sup>56</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:787nS.

Franklin's central argument for God's perfection is that God is a being of "great goodness." God's goodness can only be "great," rather than "infinite," because there is evil in the world. Franklin gives two demonstrations of God's great goodness: first, he has given life to creatures, which show their recognition of this goodness by their desire for preservation; second, God has provided plentiful sustenance.<sup>57</sup> Importantly, Franklin distinguishes between God's providence to "almost all animals in general" and to "men." God has provided water and air, light, and sunshine for all animals. Franklin shows God's providence to men in three examples, "each of which particulars if considered seriously and carefully would fill us with the highest Love and Affection." These are: "useful Vegetables"; "the most useful of Metals"; and "the most useful Animals, as Horses, Oxen and Sheep," which God made easiest to raise or procure in quantity or numbers. However, Franklin's examples of what are "useful" defy this argument. Particular providence does not supply men with the most useful vegetables; man, by the sweat of his brow, grows and produces them himself. Likewise, man produces the most "useful Metals as Iron," and man tames and raises useful animals. After the consideration that God did not provide men with perfect sustenance, Franklin is *not* filled with "the highest Love and Affection." The divines, like Franklin, admitted the existence of evil—God appears to be merely *great* and not *infinite*—but their response was that God, nevertheless, is all-powerful and intervenes in his order.

Franklin's third claim is that God is a being of infinite power. His power is manifest in his ability to form and compound

such Vast Masses of Matter as this Earth and the Sun and innumerable Planets and Stars, and give them such prodigious Motion, and yet so to govern them in their greatest Velocity as that they shall not flie off out of their appointed Bounds nor dash one against another, to their mutual Destruction.

Franklin ironically suggests that if God is immaterial, he cannot logically participate in matter to govern it. In so doing, he echoes Bayle, who asks: how can God

<sup>57</sup> See Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 3:490.

change the State and Condition of Matter? Must he not produce Motion in it? And, in order to [do] that, must he not touch and push it? If he can touch and push it, he is not distinct from Matter; and if he be not distinct from Matter, it is without Reason you admit two increated Beings; the one which you call *Matter*, the other which you call *God*: For since there is in effect nothing but Matter in the Universe, our Dispute is at an End; the Author of the World, that Director, the Divine Providence in Question, vanish into Smoak.<sup>58</sup>

The idea that an immaterial God forms matter does violence to reason, for it requires the superimposition of an entirely new, immaterial, spiritual nature—of which we have no experience—that destroys the order of material nature. Logically, an immaterial God could not know or be aware of matter in order to move it, for he could not form it without participating in it.<sup>59</sup> For God to alter, touch, or interact with matter, he must himself be capable of physical sensation—and hence, part material—and must move according to the laws of motion. If one says that God can move matter, it is only a small stretch further to say that God can create matter *ex nihilo*.

Franklin writes that the origin of the conception of God's infinite power, by which he creates matter, logically follows from man's beliefs about God's wisdom and goodness: "tis easy to conceive his Power, when we are convinc'd of his infinite Knowledge and Wisdom." If one is convinced of God's omniscience in interrupting self-sufficient matter (how could God improve upon perfection?) in order to create a world with evil, one must superadd a belief in God's omnipotence. If the world were perfectly good, God would not need to govern at all. But if we are not convinced of a good God's omniscience in the government of a calamitous world, it would be even harder to conceive of his omnipotence. Franklin asks the reader to consider that the origin of man's conception of power comes by way of comparing experiences of what he is able to do with his weak knowledge of nature:

Weak and foolish Creatures as we are, by knowing the Nature of a few Things can produce such wonderful Effects; such as for instance by knowing the Nature only of Nitre and Sea Salt mix'd we can make a Water

<sup>58</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:787nS.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:789nT.

which will dissolve the hardest Iron and by adding one Ingredient more, can make another Water which will dissolve Gold and render the most Solid Bodies fluid—and by knowing the Nature of Salt Peter Sulphur and Charcoal those mean Ingredient mix'd we can shake the Air in the most terrible Manner, destroy Ships Houses and Men at a Distance and in an Instant, overthrow Cities, rend Rocks into a Thousand Pieces, and level the highest Mountains.

Man's weak knowledge of nature has led him, and not a providential God, primarily to acts of "mutual Destruction" that omnipotent God fails to prevent. Franklin exclaims: "What Power must he possess who not only knows the Nature of every Thing in the Universe, but can make Things of new Natures with the greatest Ease and at his Pleasure!"<sup>60</sup> Franklin then segues to human achievement, or creation. The new science makes possible the construction of "new natures." The "new nature" is not the immaterial being whom man imagines to govern by divine fiat; it is one constructed by man with his knowledge of the natural world. Such providential human heroes, who are ranked among the gods, are sufficient replacements for the old, tyrannical gods.<sup>61</sup> The evils of the world can be ameliorated by good men who possess great wisdom and who may acquire great power. Furthermore, if man may acquire knowledge of the natural world that gives him power to change it, then it is man himself who has failed to govern his own nature.

### *The Importance of Prayer in God's Governance*

Having hitherto subtly refuted the a priori logical explanations of an immaterial God, Franklin follows Bayle in approaching the question of God's providence from the opposite perspective, that of the role of prayer in human affairs.<sup>62</sup> Setting aside the logical impossibility of God's dominion over matter, Franklin turns solely to the question of God's goodness.

<sup>60</sup> Franklin also compares the unnecessary destructive use of gunpowder to the virtue of humanity in *Poor Richard Improved*, 1749. See PBF 3:340, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=3&page=331a>.

<sup>61</sup> Franklin treats heroism, among other places, in *Poor Richard Improved*, 1748, in *ibid.*, 3:255, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=3&page=243a>: "Your true hero fights to preserve, and not to destroy, the lives, liberties, and estates, of his people." As Bayle points out, it was humans who "built Towns, made Laws, and civiliz'd the Age" ("Epicurus," 2:788nS).

<sup>62</sup> Franklin follows Bayle, who concedes the a priori argument and turns to the question of God's goodness: "Let us, if you please, reckon all my Reasons *à priori* for nothing, would he say in the third

Franklin observes that what men desire is what they pray for; thus, he considers the nature of God in light of the fact that men have always prayed. What do their prayers really say about the nature of God? The importance of prayer, according to Cudworth's own argument that goodness must accompany efficacy, is that it reveals man's thoughts on the evil in the world. The only way to accept the first principle of God's perfect goodness is to argue that God intervenes in his perfect creation to punish evil and reward virtue.

Franklin offers four possible ways that a perfect God relates to the government of the world and claims that, by the process of elimination, he will prove that God works through particular providence: "I shall endeavour to shew the first 3 Suppositions to be inconsistent with the common Light of Reason; and that the 4th is most agreeable to it, and therefore most probably true." Franklin's criterion for reason is the following consideration: "that Being which from its Power is most able to Act, from its Wisdom knows best how to act, and from its Goodness would always certainly act best." Like Bayle, Franklin unites good judgment and execution.<sup>63</sup>

The first possibility is that God has decreed all things that have come to pass, "and left nothing to the Course [of] Nature, nor allow'd any Creature free agency." Universally provident, God leaves nothing to the capacity of human reason. This first argument is that of Calvinism; it correlates to the corpuscularian philosophy of Robert Boyle, who argued that God's omnipotence negated the order of nature and the agency of man. Franklin introduces problems from the "Light of Reason" for such a conclusion.

First, there is no reason to worship God; if he unchangeably decreed all things, he is no more all-powerful. Rather there is reason *not* to worship God, who introduced injury, grief, pain, and immorality into the world and decreed some things "contrary to the very Notion of a wise and good Being." The Creator's defective attempt at improvement, which dis-

---

Place to the *Platonic*. Nay, I give up this Objection, viz. That Goodness is not to be commended, unless it be accompanied with Judgment." Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:788nS.

<sup>63</sup> Franklin uses this criterion elsewhere. See *A Defense of the Rev. Mr. Hemphill's Observations* . . . (Philadelphia, 1735), in *PBF*, 2:119–20, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=28&page=090a>; and "A Letter from Father Abraham to His Beloved Son [Aug. 1758], in *ibid.*, 8:125, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=8&page=123a>. Bayle judges according to the "Light of Reason" ("Epicurus," 2:790nT) and uses the same criterion of reason, "That Goodness is not to be commended, unless it be accompanied with Judgment" (*ibid.*, 2:788nS).

ordered the Creation, renders the condition of matter infinitely more unhappy than that eternal, necessary, and independent formless state in which it had been before the generation of the world. Finally, Franklin argues that it would be absurd for God to make man to pray when prayers are useless, of no service to God or man. Likening Calvinism to idolatry, Franklin opines: "Surely it is not more difficult to believe the World was made by a God of Wood or Stone, than that the God who made the World should be such a God as this."

Franklin's second possibility of divine providence is that "without decreeing any thing, [God] left all to general Nature and the Events of Free Agency in his Creatures, which he never alters or interrupts."<sup>64</sup> The deists taught that God created the world but does not govern it providentially. Man freely uses the order of nature for his own devices; God neither decrees nor rewards virtue. Man is completely on his own, an abandoned, bastard child. Franklin argues that such a spectator God cannot be good:

In this Case imagine the Deity looking on and beholding the Ways of his Creatures; some Hero's [*sic*] in Virtue he sees are incessantly endeavouring [*sic*] the Good of others, they labour thro vast difficulties, they suffer incredible Hardships and Miseries to accomplish this End, in hopes to please a Good God, and obtain his Favour, which they earnestly Pray for; what Answer can he make them within himself but this; *take the Reward Chance may give you, I do not intermeddle in these Affairs*; he sees others continually doing all manner of Evil, and bringing by their Actions Misery and Destruction among Mankind: What can he say here but this, *if Chance rewards you I shall not punish you, I am not to be concerned*.

God, supposedly "a wise and an infinitely Good Being," watches idly and "utterly unconcern'd," neither rewarding virtue nor punishing vice, while man exerts himself; the world is abandoned to the machinations of human free will. In this argument of providence, one of political atheism, man exists in a world of chance and creates his own virtues without regard to the deity; he must perfect a bad order.

Franklin follows this bleak outlook with a third alternative: "3. [God] decreed some Things unchangeably, and left others to general Nature and the Events of Free agency, which also he never alters or interrupts." This

<sup>64</sup> Lerner suggests this is Franklin's own opinion ("Gospel According to the Apostle Ben," 131, 139n7).



was the position of the Cambridge Neoplatonists, who had rejected the old Calvinism for a type of Arminianism, in order to argue for man's freedom.<sup>65</sup> God preordains miracles (aberrations to the law of nature, such as the birth of Christ), natural order, and free agency, and then does not interfere (though how man is to determine what has been decreed, whether in miracles or God's commands to virtue, is not stated).<sup>66</sup> But if this is so, Franklin reasons, then God "has nothing to do." He is powerless, as he is "everlastingly idle." According to Franklin, this supposition is absurd, "the greatest Violence to common Reason." As in the first example, he compares this alternative to superstition. By such belief, he writes, we "unGod him, if I may be allow'd the Expression; . . . he can cause us neither Good nor Harm; he is no more to be regarded than a lifeless Image, than Dagon, or Baall, or Bell and the Dragon."

In each of these three propositions of belief, Franklin applies the criterion of the efficacy of prayer. Because all of them demonstrate that God cannot be good, Franklin suggests the fourth proposition is "therefore most probably true":

That the Deity sometimes interferes by his particular Providence, and sets aside the Events which would otherwise have been produc'd in the Course of Nature, or by the Free Agency of Men; and this is perfectly agreeable with what we can know of his Attributes and Perfections.

The trouble is that the fourth proposition, a belief in human agency, contradicts the principle of God's infinite attributes, particularly that of omnipotence. Franklin offers one short argument to reconcile free agency with infinite God, after which he claims he will proceed to show what our response to God ought to be, or how "the Duties of Religion necessary follow the Belief of a Providence." The argument is this: the reader agrees that God is infinitely wise, good, and powerful, and also free. Man is in some degree wise, good, and powerful. If God has communicated to man part of his attributes, "is it then impossible for him to communicate any Part of his Freedom, and make us also in some Degree Free? Is not even his *infinite* Power sufficient for this?" Franklin concedes that "much more

<sup>65</sup> On Bayle's dispute with LeClerc over Cudworth's "*plastic and vital natures*," see Des Maizeaux, "The Life of Mr Bayle," in Bayle, *Dictionary Historical and Critical*, 1:xc1–xcv.

<sup>66</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:789nT: "If some Things happen which he has forbidden, and which he punishes, they do not however happen contrary to his Decrees; and they are subservient to the Ends he has proposed to himself from all Eternity, and which are the greatest Mysteries of the Gospel."

might be offer'd to demonstrate clearly that Men are in some Degree free Agents, and accountable for their Actions," but writes that he will have to treat it at a later time. Scholars have taken Franklin's argument at face value, but we will see that Franklin's answer both repeats the Epicurean myth of free will and subtly reveals the origin of the myth and the proper understanding of human freedom.<sup>67</sup>

Epicurus had invented his theory of the swerve, or the "Motion of Declination" of atoms, as a creation myth to free his followers from the tyranny of the teaching of fate and to support the teaching of morality, which rests logically upon the possibility of human agency.<sup>68</sup> In this myth, atoms, which are free, communicate their property of liberty to human beings. In the words of Lucretius, "*The perfect Freedom of the Mind*" is "*Above the Pow'r of Fate*."<sup>69</sup> This teaching is itself absurd, for belief in God's infinite attributes contradicts the possibility of human freedom. Franklin subtly provides a brilliant argument for the origin of the belief in free will—or man's freedom from his material nature—by tracing it to man's belief in fate. If God is of "infinite Wisdom, Goodness and Power" and yet does not answer prayer—itsself born of indignation at God's disordered world—then he cannot be good. To avoid calumny against God, man embraces the contradiction of the speculative belief in determinism with the chaotic belief in free will, which insists upon no order at all. There is a trace of the same religious zeal that insists upon God's omnipotence in those who insist upon fatalism and necessity. As Franklin notes in a 1746 letter, the teaching of free will extends the irrational split between spirit and matter to every individual soul.<sup>70</sup> Metaphysicians, whether of free will or determinism, attempt to unite two different classes of facts by analogy, only to sacrifice the common sense of one to the other. Arguments for determinism attempt to explain the actions of voluntary agents in terms of the laws of matter, while philosophers of will attempt to explain the phenomena of motion in terms of the voluntary actions of agents. Both require belief in an underlying providential fate, controlled

<sup>67</sup> Lerner, "Gospel According to the Apostle Ben," 140; Aldridge writes that this is "a somewhat irrelevant and not very convincing exposition of free agency in human creatures" (*Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God*, 38–39); Locke makes the same argument in *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, 5th ed. (London, 1706), 457n\*.

<sup>68</sup> Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:790nU.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:791nU.

<sup>70</sup> Franklin to [Thomas Hopkinson?], [Oct. 16, 1746], in *PBF*, 3:84–88, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=3&page=084a>.

either by atoms or by God. As a young man, Franklin had erroneously believed in the former, comparing moral liberty to a falling stone in his *Dissertation*.<sup>71</sup>

Such a contradiction, Franklin wrote to Joseph Priestly in 1782, is unnecessary. Considering the "Works of Nature," he refers to two parts, "inanimate" and "animate."<sup>72</sup> Studies of the inanimate world proceed from the self-evident truth that every cause has an effect. Similarly, all ethical inquiries are based upon the human experiential fact of freedom of choice. Man, according to his own nature, is moved by his desires, most of all his desire for happiness. A voluntary agent is the author of his own determinations; Franklin wrote in his 1758 "Letter from Father Abraham" that the wise man must "*take particular Notice of HIS OWN Actions, and of HIS OWN Thoughts and Intentions* which are the Original of his actions."<sup>73</sup> Humans must choose between desires for the multitude of goods constructed by their imaginations. Franklin demonstrates that "Men are in some Degree free Agents":

Lastly if God does not sometimes interfere by his Providence tis either because he cannot, or because he will not; which of these Positions will you chuse? There is a righteous Nation grievously oppress'd by a cruel Tyrant, they earnestly intreat God to deliver them; If you say he cannot, you deny his infinite Power, which [you] at first acknowledg'd; if you say he will not, you must directly deny his infinite Goodness. You are then of necessity oblig'd to allow, that 'tis highly reasonable to believe a Providence because tis highly absurd to believe otherwise.

Using a standard of efficacy for comparison, we must choose what to believe about God. Franklin says it is "highly reasonable" to believe there is a God who creates from his power or his goodness to whom we should pray, for the alternative is absurd—that no God of particular providence exists. Of course, this is the alternative we, as readers, are driven to consider.

<sup>71</sup> Franklin, *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, in *PBF*, 1:62: "it is a Liberty of the same Nature with the Fall of a heavy Body to the Ground."

<sup>72</sup> Franklin to Joseph Priestley, June 7, 1782, in *PBF*, 37:444, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=37&page=444a>; see Jessica Riskin, "Poor Richard's Leyden Jar: Electricity and Economy in Franklinist France," *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 28 (1998): 304–6.

<sup>73</sup> Franklin, "Letter from Father Abraham," in *PBF*, 8:128.

Franklin suggests it is unreasonable, from the argument of God's goodness, to suppose that God is provident. If an external God created the world, then he has foreseen all of its disorders. If he does nothing to prevent them, then he cannot have made the world out of a principle of goodness.<sup>74</sup> But if we say that God does prevent them, we destroy his perfections; God cannot be simultaneously provident and self-sufficient, for he is obligated to correct for the evils of his creation. This position contradicts the felicity of God. Instead of destroying his flawed creation, God stubbornly preserves it and is thus constantly engaged in the task of fixing its disorders or fighting its decay. As Bayle writes, this belief requires "an idea of the most unhappy Nature that can be conceived."<sup>75</sup> God designs the world for his creatures, intending their happiness, yet those very creatures must devour one another for their very preservation. They cannibalize and persecute one another and are prey to the miseries of nature and their own vices. God eternally struggles with the defective matter productive of those disorders; he is "obliged to have always the Thunderbolt in his Hand, and to pour down upon the Earth Pestilence, War, and Famine."<sup>76</sup> Yet he has made no more progress against evil in thousands of years of labor than since the first day he formed matter, although he desires rest from his war. If God is pleased with what happens under his providence, then he delights in evil; if he is displeased with it, then he is unhappy. Both conclusions, according to Franklin, violate reason.

Humans cannot be "in some Degree free Agents" while they are oppressed by the cruel tyrant of belief in particular providence. In his example of a nation oppressed by a cruel tyrant, Franklin leads man in a mental and political revolt of disbelief in God's providence. We return to Franklin's guiding criterion: "that Being which from its Power is most able to Act, from its Wisdom knows best how to act, and from its Goodness would always certainly act best." Man is that being. Man, who participates in matter, is capable of mending the scheme of providence and intervening in the government of the world as he acquires the wis-

<sup>74</sup> Bayle writes of this second argument against God's providence, "[Epicurus's] last Objection would be the strongest: He would shew to his Adversary, that the most intimate, general, and infallible Notion we have of God is, that God enjoys a perfect Felicity: Now this is incompatible with the Supposition of Providence" ("Epicurus," 2:788nS).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 2:789nS.

dom of nature and the power to improve it. Hitherto man has not improved the world. While the "Light of Reason," which judges our experienced disorders of nature, proves God's *great*—not infinite—attributes, humans have placed their faith in speculative a priori postulates. This disjuncture between reason and religion is caused by man's maladjustment to his nature, which requires his faith in God's particular providence. Franklin writes of this belief,

Now if tis unreasonable to suppose it out of the Power of the Deity to help and favour us particularly or that we are out of his Hearing or Notice or that Good Actions do not procure more of his Favour than ill Ones. Then I conclude, that believing a Providence we have the Foundation of all true Religion.

Franklin constructs an if-then proposition and bids us question the alternative. If it is not reasonable to suppose God is a God of particular providence, then disbelief in God's particular providence is the foundation of all true religion.

### *The Duties of Natural Religion*

Franklin writes of "the Duties of Religion," which follow from natural religion: "This Religion will be a Powerful Regulator of our Actions, give us Peace and Tranquility within our own Minds, and render us Benevolent, Useful and Beneficial to others." Man's new faith in his own providence, or industry, which follows his rejection of orthodox Christianity, frees him to mend the scheme of providence, or to impose new habits upon natural inclinations, channeling them toward useful ends.<sup>77</sup> By the "true religion" of nature, the oppressed nation is set free to overthrow the cruel tyrant of a supernatural deity and take its place in the government of the world. By inclination and reason, man participates in nature as part of a chain of being, and thus, in some degree, can help to govern it. He may improve his condition by harmoniously adopting the attributes of God, first by attaining wisdom, knowledge of the causes and

<sup>77</sup> Franklin makes this argument fully in "Self-Denial Not the Essence of Virtue," Feb. 5, 1734/35, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 18, 1734/35, in *PBF*, 2:20, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=2&page=019a>.

effects of the natural world. Through wisdom, man gradually attains power and freedom to form new natures, which he puts into motion and governs; he is the only “toolmaking animal,” as Franklin was noted to say.<sup>78</sup> As man gains wisdom of his own nature and how to attain its ends, he increases in goodness.

Franklin advocated religious sects that he thought best inculcated the necessary virtues for a modern commercial republic. In a letter to Peter Collinson in 1753, he wrote: “I have heard it remarked that the Poor in Protestant Countries on the Continent of Europe, are generally more industrious than those of Popish Countries, may not the more numerous foundations in the latter for the relief of the poor have some effect towards rendering them less provident.”<sup>79</sup> The end of this virtue of industry, he believed, is freedom, without the modern connotations of regimentation and subordination. An efficient labor force, in the liberal tradition, does not imply docile and subservient workers; on the contrary, it implies a self-governing labor force. Franklin’s first *Poor Richard’s Almanac* in 1733 is dedicated to “Poor Richard, an American Prince without subjects.” In Franklin’s letter to Collinson, human providence comes by wisdom and good laws:

To relieve the misfortunes of our fellow creatures is concurring with the Deity, ’tis Godlike, but if we provide encouragements for Laziness, and supports for Folly, may it not be found fighting against the order of God and Nature, which perhaps has appointed Want and Misery as the proper Punishments for, and Cautions against as well as necessary consequences of Idleness and Extravagancy. . . .

Whenever we attempt to mend the scheme of Providence and to interfere in the Government of the World, we had need be very circumspect lest we do more harm than Good.<sup>80</sup>

Franklin warned of mending providence, or attempting to perfect nature, without wisdom. Such power, without wisdom, is tyrannical—it cannot be just. Franklin wrote to Lord Kames in 1767:

<sup>78</sup> James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson* (London, 1852), 16, 164. Man’s excellence resides in his artifice, or his ability to order—not conquer—the natural world.

<sup>79</sup> Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in *PBF*, 4:480, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=4&page=477a>; Franklin, “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind,” in *ibid.*, 4:232, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=4&page=225a>.

<sup>80</sup> Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in *ibid.*, 4:480.

The Parliament cannot well and wisely make Laws suited to the Colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their Circumstances, Abilities, Temper, &c. This it cannot be without Representatives from thence. And yet it is fond of this Power, and averse to the only Means of duly acquiring the necessary Knowledge for exercising it, which is desiring to be *omnipotent* without being *omniscient*.<sup>81</sup>

As scholars have noted, Franklin's religious teachings are rhetorical. His revolt against God's providence must be led by the higher beings—the heroes—but adopted unknowingly by the rest of humanity. Franklin believed that popular government, which best secured liberty, needed the myth of God's providence. Vulgar citizens, he thought, required the teaching of punishment in the afterlife and tangible rewards in this life as a support to virtue, which leads both to their own comfort and to social and political order.<sup>82</sup> To accomplish this disparate pedagogy, Franklin publicly and frequently taught God's providence, but in such a way as to habituate citizens to believe in human providence. He constructed myths, such as the "self-made man," that show man as the only providential creature, famously expressed in his moral, "God helps them that help themselves."<sup>83</sup>

Franklin's own understanding of religion, and his quest for self-perfection, was not that of self-denying asceticism.<sup>84</sup> He distinguished between his own true worship and "the Praise of the Ignorant or of Children." By religion Franklin meant "there is in all Men something like a natural Principle which enclines them to Devotion." The highest worship, he wrote, consists of gratitude and virtue.<sup>85</sup> Franklin's worship was the same as that of Epicurus, who rejected providence but worshipped the lesser gods. Bayle concludes:

<sup>81</sup> Franklin to Lord Kames, Feb. 25, 1767, in *ibid.*, 14:69–70, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=14&page=062a>; this same argument is found in a letter to William Shirley, Dec. 4, 1754, in *ibid.* 5:444, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=5&page=443a>.

<sup>82</sup> Franklin, *Poor Richard Improved, 1757*, in *ibid.*, 7:91, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=7&page=074a>; Franklin to ———, Dec. 13, 1757, in *ibid.*, 7:293; Franklin, *Autobiography*, 164; Bayle, "Epicurus," 2:790nT.

<sup>83</sup> Franklin, *Poor Richard, 1736*, in *PBF*, 2:140, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=2&page=136a>.

<sup>84</sup> Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1938), 80–90; Esmond Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia* (Cambridge, MA, 1986), 47; Pangle, *Spirit of Modern Republicanism*, 16–22; Nian-Sheng Huang, *Benjamin Franklin in American Thought and Culture, 1790–1990* (Philadelphia, 1994), 203–8; Gordon Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 2004), 7–13; Houston, *Franklin and the Politics of Improvement*, 225–29.

<sup>85</sup> Franklin, "Articles of Belief," in *PBF*, 1:102–3.

We see here, in few words, what Religion *Epicurus* professed: He revered the Gods, because of the Excellence of their Nature, though he neither expected any Good, nor feared any Ill from them. He paid them a free unmercenary Worship, wherein he in no manner regarded his own Interest, but purely the Notions of Reason, which require that we should respect and honour all that is Great and Perfect.<sup>86</sup>

Franklin's worship first consisted of adoration of nature and excellent natures.<sup>87</sup> Tranquility is attained when one lays aside indignation at a supernatural God for the evil in the world. As God is Reason, not a tyrant who usurps the natural order, injustice is rather understood as the effects of logically ascertainable causes—it is not some incomprehensible evil for which man must yield his reason to belief in an infinite God. The true religion rejects the ingratitude of the metaphysicians and divines, whose prayers are calumniations, for in asserting a providence outside of nature, they covertly accuse God of great evil. Franklin printed several essays in 1735 that charged the divines with profanity, or blaspheming God: “[they] admit of a Sense contrary to Reason and to the Nature and Perfections of the Almighty God, and which Sense has no other Tendency than to represent the great Father of Mercy, the beneficent Creator and Preserver of universal Nature, as arbitrary, unjust and cruel.”<sup>88</sup> More than God and the universe, the divines blaspheme man, a work of nature who displays the marks of divine reason. The false religion teaches that God violently masters, conquers, and subdues nature. Applied to the moral law, it teaches the extirpation—not cultivation—of natural inclinations.<sup>89</sup>

Atheism, Franklin believed, was rooted in similar ingratitude. Recognizing no order to the universe, it claimed all order was of human creation, not part of nature. Its revolt against nature eroded the basis for both an ordered society, which depended upon religious upbringing, and science—the discovery of permanent truths in ethical and physical

<sup>86</sup> Bayle, “Epicurus,” 2:780nG.

<sup>87</sup> Franklin, “Articles of Belief,” 1:103–4; “Opinions and Conjectures,” [July 29, 1750], in *ibid.*, 4:12, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=4&page=009b>.

<sup>88</sup> Franklin, *Defense of the Rev. Mr. Hemphill's Observations*, in *ibid.*, 2:114; “On a Pertinacious Obstinacy in Opinion,” 1735, in *Benjamin Franklin, Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York, 1987), 255.

<sup>89</sup> Bayle, “Epicurus,” 2:787nS.



nature. In a letter to dissuade an atheist from publishing his views, Franklin wrote,

But think how great a Proportion of Mankind consists of weak and ignorant Men and Women, and of inexperience'd and inconsiderate Youth of both Sexes, who have need of the Motives of Religion to restrain them from Vice, to support their Virtue, and retain them in the Practice of it till it becomes *habitual*, which is the great Point for its Security; And perhaps you are indebted to her originally that is to your Religious Education, for the Habits of Virtue upon which you now justly value yourself.

Only a disordered resentment and ambition, Franklin concluded, would lead one to attack the foundations of his own habit formation: "it is not necessary, as among the Hottentots that a Youth to be receiv'd into the Company of Men, should prove his Manhood by beating his Mother."<sup>90</sup>

Franklin's second act of worship was attaining virtue, meaning the perfection of his nature in the achievement of, as best as possible, happiness. Happiness accompanies virtue, for "without Virtue Man can have no Happiness in this World." He defines happiness as "having a *Sound Mind* and a healthy Body, a Sufficiency of the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, together with the Favour of God, and the Love of Mankind." A "Sound Mind" is "A Faculty of reasoning justly and truly in searching after [and] discovering such Truths as relate to my Happiness. Which Faculty is the Gift of God, capable of being improv'd by Experience and Instruction, into Wisdom." Wisdom is the perfection a sound mind. As such, one who is wise can "arrive at Perfection in this Life," understanding "the Perfection of any Thing to be only the greatest the Nature of that Thing is capable of," for, as Franklin writes, "different Things have different Degrees of Perfection. . . . An Horse is more perfect than an Oyster yet the Oyster may be a perfect Oyster as well as the Horse a perfect Horse."<sup>91</sup> For those capable—and some humans, like oysters, may not be—wisdom is only possible through self-examination, knowledge of one's own nature, and its perfection, which brings harmony to the soul.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Franklin to ———, Dec. 13, 1757, in *PBF*, 7:293.

<sup>91</sup> Franklin, "Proposals and Queries to be Asked the Junto," [1732], in *PBF*, 1:261–62, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=259a>.

<sup>92</sup> On self-examination see Franklin, *Autobiography*, 151–55; "The Busy-Body, No. 3," in *PBF*, 1:121, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=118a>; *Poor Richard Improved*, 1749, in *ibid.*, 3:342; and "Letter from Father Abraham," in *ibid.*, 8:125.

Franklin becomes tranquil by befriending himself. As a created being, unlike nature, which has always been, he is not responsible for his material imperfections. Contrary to the dogma of original sin, the path to virtue in nature shows nature's good and providential sustenance through human reason.

The demands of society, Franklin thought, will always be in tension with individual tranquility. But what of his political life? It violates the key Epicurean teaching: "DO NOT LIVE IN PUBLICITY!—'Live in retirement!'" The Epicurean Philodemus writes:

If any one were to inquire which influence is of all others the most hostile to friendship and the most productive of enmity, he would find it to be politics, because of the envy of one's rivals, and the ambition natural in those so engaged, and the discord recurring when opposite notions are proposed.<sup>93</sup>

The political man is animated by the turbulent sentiment of anger and rejects the Epicurean life of pure pleasure. Only anger directed at the injustice of the world leads one to order it by force.<sup>94</sup> There are explanations other than anger for the turmoil of Franklin's political life. He certainly did not wish to be ruled by someone worse than himself or tyrannized over by moralistic men. Franklin also did not think that pride could be overcome, and he admitted his great ambition. None of this explains, however, why Franklin actively sought out the political life. Scholarship is divided; most argue that Franklin believed it was his religious duty to serve the public and that Franklin himself did not probe too deeply as to why. Because it has been demonstrated that Franklin was an ironic thinker, which by definition reveals the tension between the writer and his society, this answer is unsatisfying—Franklin was not selflessly devoted to the public after the manner of Christian charity. Gordon Wood and Robert Middlekauff have stressed what they find to be underlying personal resentments or loyalties that fed Franklin's political life. According to Lerner, Franklin's indignation went much deeper—to God's unprovidedness; he directed his ire toward the conquest of nature and the relief of man's estate. Not needing religion himself, Franklin used it to

<sup>93</sup> John Masson, *Lucretius: Epicurean and Poet* (London, 1907), 351–52; Pierre Bayle, *Miscellaneous Reflections Occasion'd by the Comet which Appear'd in December 1680*, 2 vols. (London, 1708), 2:377.

<sup>94</sup> Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia*, 98–99.

persuade his readers to devote themselves to this political project. In contrast, Weinberger has argued that Franklin's political life did not disrupt his tranquility because Franklin cared little for the public; politics was a game he played for private benefits. In this view, Franklin took none of his writings on religion or providence seriously; he put on a pious mask to evade the indignation and persecution of moral men. He created the mask because he knew the uses of society: sustenance, the trinkets and baubles of civilized life, and the advantages of status. There is something to all of these arguments, but I would like to supplement them with another explanation.<sup>95</sup>

One of Franklin's parables, "An Arabian Tale" (ca. 1779), in many ways an addendum to "On the Providence of God," sheds some light on his entrance into public life.<sup>96</sup> In the tale, Franklin describes how "Albumazar, the good magician, retired in his old age" to a mountain top where he "avoided the society of men." There the magician is visited by and converses with "genii and spirits" of the first rank. One evening Albumazar is visited by "Belubel the strong," a giant winged creature whose head rests upon the mountain as if it were a pillow, allowing "his face [to shine] on the tent of Albumazar."<sup>97</sup> The magician, Franklin writes, "spoke to him with rapturous piety of the wisdom and goodness of the Most High," and Belubel is greatly powerful—thus together they represent the three attributes of God. Albumazar, however, "expressed his wonder at the existence of evil in the world, which he said he could not account for by all the efforts of his reason." Belubel discourages Albumazar from placing such great merit upon his reason, for if Albumazar were to know its origin and its weakness, he would be humiliated.

Displaying the virtue of humility, Albumazar asks Belubel to teach him. Belubel directs him to "contemplate" the order below man, from elephant to oyster, in which there is a gradual diminution of faculties and powers. Contemplation of what is below man reveals the origin of reason

<sup>95</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies* (Berkeley, CA, 1998), ix–x, 107; Wood, *Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 93, 101–2; see Weinberger's counterargument in *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked*, 314–18n27.

<sup>96</sup> Franklin, "An Arabian Tale," in *PBF*, 31:308, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=31&page=308a>; Arthur Stuart Pitt, "The Sources, Significance, and Date of Franklin's 'An Arabian Tale,'" *PMLA* 57 (1942): 155–68. While Pitt correctly points out the political teaching of the lesson, he confuses it for a proof of a God external to nature (156).

<sup>97</sup> Exodus 33:9–23.

as an appendage of the faculty of acting, an adaptation of the consciousness of living beings. Our intellect is intended to secure the adaptation of our body to its environment—to think in the realm of matter. Belubel says that man is humiliated by the fact that he is part animal; reason seems debased. Our logic is incapable of grasping the true nature of life—the full meaning of the chain of being—for reason itself is created by the chain of being, in particular circumstances to act on finite things. Because it is only an emanation of life, its attempt to comprehend life itself is like an effect trying to reabsorb its cause. The intellectual molds that man uses to categorize life—such as unity, multiplicity, causality, completion—seem hopeless, for the chain of being is seamless: “There is no gap, but the gradation is complete.” Our reason ever fails to capture our experience.

But reason is not truly debased. Belubel teaches Albumazar that by his humility, the contemplative wizard is higher than most in the chain of being because he knows what others do not know, that there is in ascending from animals a “long gradation of beings,” arriving at “the infinitely Great, Good, and Wise.” These beings “possess powers and faculties of which [Albumazar] *canst yet* have no conception.”<sup>98</sup> Belubel teaches that human knowledge comes by action. Corresponding to our understanding are powers that are but faintly felt in isolation. These powers will only become clear and distinct when they perceive themselves at work in the progress of man. By the intensified and expanded exercise of these powers man will learn what effect they must make for good. In human industry, reason that is bent upon the particular act to be performed and its reaction touches something of the absolute. Speculation arises when we try to apply the usual forms of our thoughts to objects with which our industry has nothing to do, and for which our intellectual molds are not made. But Albumazar cannot ascend higher because he shuns the active powers of Belubel. His wisdom and goodness are vain because they are separated from human utility in politics and the truths of experience. The attributes of God must be possessed in harmony, and power is one of these attributes.

Franklin viewed civic life as the necessary material for philosophic reflection; he combined the attributes of God, as he defined them, by crafting legislation and the moral virtue that supports the laws. Franklin recognized “solitude [to be] an agreeable refreshment to a busy mind,” but he mocked the isolated philosophers who create metaphysical worlds in

<sup>98</sup> Franklin, “Arabian Tale,” in *PBF*, 31:308 (my emphasis).

their imaginations. Franklin's social philosophy drew him away from metaphysics to the "Din of the Market."<sup>99</sup> The periods of his life when he most approached the private life are followed by his return to political affairs.

In Franklin's view, wisdom as an attribute does not exist alone; it is not *ex nihilo* but an amalgamation of natural genius and education. Franklin wrote that a "Sound mind" can be improved into wisdom only by "Experience and Instruction."<sup>100</sup> Philosophy and the sciences are not *sui generis*, but require cultivation. Because civilization only flowers upon a solid political foundation, the first goal of Franklin's education was political and moral, to provide the commonwealth with literate, educated citizens who possess industry and the virtues of the commercial republic. In his *Autobiography*, Franklin defines his two great tasks in public life as the defense of the colony and the establishment of education. His political life secured the liberal education; his love of wisdom led him to aid the education of excellent souls. The great defense of the modern liberal state is that it secures peace for the purpose of philosophic leisure; as Thomas Hobbes had written, "*Leisure* is the mother of *philosophy*; and *Commonwealth*, the mother of *peace* and *leisure*."<sup>101</sup> Franklin's political teaching had philosophic implications; as he expressed to David Hartley, "God grant that not only the Love of Liberty but a thorough Knowledge of the Rights of Man may pervade all the Nations of the Earth so that a Philosopher may set his Foot any where on its Surface and say, this is my Country."<sup>102</sup>

Franklin initiated educational reform in America. In 1735 he argued that the leisured sons of farmers in the growing colonies must be the seeds for "*Human Planting*," adding that "the Plants to be raised are more excellent in their Nature, and to bring them to Perfection requires the greater Skill and Wisdom."<sup>103</sup> In 1743 he drew up a proposal for an academy "for a compleat Education of Youth," and in 1749 he wrote the proposal for Pennsylvania's first college, *Proposals Relating to the Education*

<sup>99</sup> Franklin, "Journal of a Voyage," in *ibid.*, 1:85–86; Franklin to [Hopkinson?], [Oct. 16, 1746], in *ibid.*, 3:89.

<sup>100</sup> Franklin, "Proposals and Queries to be Asked the Junto," in *ibid.*, 1:261–62.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis, 1994), 455.

<sup>102</sup> Franklin to David Hartley, Dec. 4, 1789, in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth, 10 vols. (New York, 1905–7), 10:72.

<sup>103</sup> Franklin, "Reply to a Piece of Advice," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 4, 1734/35, in *PBF*, 2:23, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=2&page=021a>.

of *Youth in Pennsylvania*.<sup>104</sup> He promoted this idea in his *Gazette*, and he solicited subscriptions for the new academy. The board of trustees in 1749 elected Franklin president, a position he held until 1756. He remained a trustee until his death. He writes:

Nothing can more effectually contribute to the Cultivation and Improvement of a Country, the Wisdom, Riches, and Strength, Virtue and Piety, the Welfare and Happiness of a People, than a proper Education of Youth, by forming their Manners, imbuing their tender Minds with Principles of Rectitude and Morality, instructing them in the dead and living Languages, particularly their Mother Tongue, and all useful Branches of liberal Arts and Science.<sup>105</sup>

Franklin intended his curriculum to direct the most ambitious minds to considerations of justice and moral philosophy. He challenged students to debate their opinions and to defend them in both writing and conversation. In order to defend justice, students must be educated in the “Use of *Logic*, or the Art of Reasoning to *discover* Truth, and of Arguing to *defend* it, and *convince* Adversaries.”<sup>106</sup> Ordered debate in education cultivates in the fertile mind a love of truth and a capacity to persuade others. The College of Pennsylvania educated the city’s influential men, playing a key role in making Philadelphia the leading center of science, literature, and art in the colonies.<sup>107</sup>

The highest education Franklin reserved for the friendship of the private philosophical society. He conceived of “a *great and extensive Project*” that would unite philosophy and politics in “an united Party for Virtue.” This party would act from “a View to the Good of Mankind,” free from a factious spirit. Franklin suggested that he lacked the leisure to ever form such a “sect,” but in his description, the great party is a multiplicity of philosophical societies that he encouraged his readers to reproduce.<sup>108</sup> His

<sup>104</sup> Franklin, *Autobiography*, 181–82; “On the Need for an Academy,” *Pennsylvania Gazette* Aug. 24, 1749, in *PBF*, 3:385, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=3&page=385a>; *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1749), in *ibid.*, 3:397, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=3&page=397a>.

<sup>105</sup> Franklin, “Constitutions of the Academy of Philadelphia,” in *ibid.*, 3:421, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=3&page=421a>.

<sup>106</sup> Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, in *ibid.*, 3:414.

<sup>107</sup> Edward Potts Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740–1940* (Philadelphia, 1977), 125.

<sup>108</sup> Franklin, *Autobiography*, 158, 161; “Observations on Reading History,” [1731], in *PBF*, 1:193, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=1&page=192a>.

party for virtue lasts beyond the grave—his notion of immortality—in the readers of his ironic writings, which leave behind his wisdom of the human condition.

### *Conclusion*

In "On the Providence of God," Franklin defends the natural religion he articulated in his 1728 "Articles of Belief." Borrowing from Pierre Bayle's "Epicurus," Franklin first provides a logically concise and ironic argument against a creator of infinite attributes by following the a priori principles that such a God exists to their absurd conclusions. He then argues against the Neoplatonist position that the infinite God creates, or moves nature, from his infinite goodness. Approaching the matter of God given the ethical question of prayer, Franklin argues that the teaching of particular providence is animated by resentment towards man's place in nature. Franklin's ironic conclusion is that there is no God of particular providence but that human agency exists—and that the only form of particular providence is found in human prudence. Abandoning the Epicurean disdain of politics, Franklin's love of philosophy and his desire for transcendence caused him to leave behind a beautiful trace of himself in the existence of the arts and sciences in the cities and nations. He imparted a science of virtue, secured by a strong political regime, which educates and orders young ambitious minds, and this is his greatest glory.

*Merced College*

KEVIN SLACK

# *Penn's Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector*

**S**TROLLING ALONG THE STATELY LAWNS and cobbled walks of the historic core of the University of Pennsylvania campus, it is hard to imagine the tangle of city streets, trolley lines, and concrete sidewalks ensnaring the Ivy League campus in 1948. The diagonal of Woodland Avenue, part of the state highway system and a laceration in the center of the West Philadelphia campus, daily carried scores of trolleys and hundreds of automobiles past the green serpentine stone edifices of Logan and College Halls. John Boyles's iconic statue of Benjamin Franklin presided over the noisy thoroughfare, which was a perpetual source of disruption for the campus's lecture halls. Locust Street crossed 36th Street just a short distance north of Woodland, contributing to a congested gaggle of people, stoplights, and machines. A foot-traffic analysis of these intersections from November 1946 shows about twenty-seven thousand pedestrian crossings over a three-day period.<sup>1</sup> Student-oriented small businesses, many of them of low quality and shady appearance, stood cheek-by-jowl with deteriorating campus buildings along Woodland Avenue and 36th and 37th Streets. The celebrated

The authors gratefully acknowledge J. M. Duffin, Nancy R. Miller, Alyssa B. Sheldon, and the late Mary D. McConaghy for their assistance with the historical collections at the University Archives and Records Center of the University of Pennsylvania; Brenda Galloway-Wright for her assistance at the Special Collections Research Center of Temple University; David T. Baugh for his assistance at the Philadelphia City Archives; two anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful suggestions; the Spencer Foundation for small-grant support; and Jennifer L. Moore for her superb assistance with the final version of the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> G. W. Armstrong, office manager, to William H. DuBarry, executive vice president, Dec. 3, 1946, box 29, folder "Development Program (Committee on Physical Development)—II 1945–1950," Office of the President Records (UPA 4), University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center (hereafter UARC), Philadelphia, PA.



urban planner Martin Meyerson, the university's president from 1970 to 1981, recalled that when he arrived at Penn in 1952 as an associate professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning, the streets threading the campus "were choked with traffic and crowded with noisily distracting commercial uses," and buildings "had drifted into obsolescence and even decay."<sup>2</sup> These were not the hallmarks of the great modern research university the Penn trustees envisaged in the 1948 master development plan, the university's first since 1913.

With the adoption of the 1948 plan, Penn embarked on the largest expansion in its history. The Great Expansion—a term we use to distinguish this extended period of prodigious institutional growth and improvement from Penn's first expansion in West Philadelphia at the turn of the twentieth century—was the beneficiary of urban renewal politics and policies in the 1950s and 1960s. Philadelphia's reformist, pro-growth Democratic leaders and city planners enthusiastically supported Penn's expansion in West Philadelphia, hailing it as a bulwark against blight and an engine of economic and technological development at a time when Philadelphia's manufacturing industries had begun a precipitous decline. Philadelphia, like New York and Chicago, looked to its universities to play key roles in the city's urban renewal plans, and these universities—Penn, Drexel, and Temple—enlisted the city's help to achieve their expansionist goals. By 1970, the redevelopment properties owned or controlled by Penn made up the lion's share of land targeted by the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia (RDA) for urban renewal in an eighty-block area of West Philadelphia. Penn was by far the dominant urban renewal university in Philadelphia. In fact, it was the nation's bellwether for this approach; no other higher education institution in the era of federally funded urban renewal (1949–74) made more use of urban renewal instruments or achieved a greater expansion in this period than Penn.

While previous scholarship on the American city has noted the intimate involvement of universities in national processes of urban redevelopment, no study has shown how urban universities and cities, to their mutual advantage, jointly shared their planning expertise and organizational innovations to counteract the "graying" of their respective localities. In addition to filling in this gap in the published record, this account of

<sup>2</sup> Martin Meyerson, *The University of Pennsylvania in Its Twenty-Fourth Decade, 1970–1980* (Philadelphia, 1981).

Penn's Great Expansion illustrates how universities and their cities built formidable partnerships for urban renewal that led to Section 112 of the 1959 Federal Housing Act, which gave them extraordinary powers to redevelop blighted urban neighborhoods in close proximity to campuses.

The Penn case further reveals how several major urban universities, acting through surrogates—nonprofit corporations or multi-institution commissions that were dominated by the universities—carved out spheres of influence to control the redevelopment of blight-threatened neighborhoods located beyond the official zone of campus expansion. In Penn's case, the West Philadelphia Corporation (WPC), a coalition of local higher education and medical institutions organized in 1959 by Penn president Gaylord P. Harnwell and his leadership team, acted as the university's surrogate in neighborhoods where it had no legal warrant for urban renewal. Whereas the families and merchants displaced in Penn's federally funded redevelopment zone—RDA Units 1, 2, and 4—were predominately white, in Unit 3, the displaced population was primarily black. The Unit 3 story line shifts the article's focus from publicly funded private institutional growth, abetted by the interlocking directorate of Penn and the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PCPC), to race and the university's fractious relationship with West Philadelphia's African American community.

### *Penn's Postwar Ascendancy*

Penn officialdom was motivated by more than the physical disarray of its aging campus in the decades after World War II. In the 1950s and 1960s, the institution entered a fierce, unprecedented competition for wealth, power, and prestige among the nation's research universities. From the mid-1950s to 1970, US research universities spent furiously and haphazardly on buildings, graduate programs, faculty salaries, and expanded administrative staffs to support their burgeoning research edifices. Bigness was deemed a blessing and a virtue; it was also a point of pride. Universities spent profligately on the strength of a buoyant national economy and the federal government's Cold War commitment to basic and applied research. Flush with federal research dollars, Penn was no exception. The university was a prime beneficiary of the vastly accelerated flow of federal R&D grants following the Soviet launch of the Sputnik I communications satellite in 1957. The federal budget for basic research on the

nation's campuses tripled during this period of unprecedented federal largesse—a period that historian Roger Geiger calls “the golden age of academic science”—with federal support rising from 43 to 79 percent of university research expenditures by 1964.<sup>3</sup> Of particular importance to Penn, whose main strength was biomedical research, was the sponsorship of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), which provided both research dollars and infrastructural support for research facilities and PhD training after 1958.<sup>4</sup>

The charter plan of the Great Expansion was the Educational Survey (1954–59), which provided the academic rationale for Penn's facilities planning after 1962.<sup>5</sup> To fulfill the vision of the Educational Survey, Penn needed land. This was not “a general demand for space” but rather a demand for “specific adjacent and adjoining areas.”<sup>6</sup> Baby-boom cohorts fueled the Great Expansion. The salient demographics were these: 76.4 million babies, accounting for approximately two-fifths of the total US population, were born between 1946 and 1964, with the college-age group constituting 24.7 million in 1960.<sup>7</sup> Between 1950 and 1970, the number of students in institutions of higher education more than tripled from 2.66 to 7.14 million. Driven by the GI Bill, the percentage of college students in the total population increased from 1.19 in 1946 to 1.76 in 1950; then it leveled off until the baby boomers started to come of age. Between 1960 and 1970, the decade with the greatest concentration of college-age boomers, the number of higher education matriculates as a percentage of the total population surged from 1.79 to 3.51.<sup>8</sup> Underpinning this leap

<sup>3</sup> Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York, 1993), 163–66; quote 173–74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 179–85, 210; John Terino, “In the Shadow of the Spreading Ivy: Science, Culture, and the Cold War at the University of Pennsylvania, 1950–1970” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 227–28.

<sup>5</sup> University of Pennsylvania, *The Educational Survey*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1959), in University of Pennsylvania Educational Survey Final Report and President's Summation Records, 1953–1960 (UPB 35.4), UARC.

<sup>6</sup> Julian H. Levi, “Ground Space for the University,” in *The University, the City, and Urban Renewal*, ed. Charles G. Dobbins (Washington, DC, 1964), 9–10.

<sup>7</sup> James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (New York, 1996), 77–81, 621.

<sup>8</sup> US Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950* (Washington, DC, 1950), 105; *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960* (Washington, DC, 1960), 212; *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1972* (Washington, DC, 1972), 105. The GI Bill was not a driver of Penn's Great Expansion. The university reached its high-water mark of veteran enrollments in 1949, when the campus reported a total of 10,379 full-time students; that number diminished each year

was a flush national economy, parents' increasing recognition of the strong link between a college degree and social mobility, and the competitive growth of higher education institutions after midcentury. Keenly aware of the baby-boom phenomenon, Penn planners projected 41 percent growth in cumulative undergraduate student enrollments for the 1960s and a 65 percent increase for the two decades spanning 1960 to 1980. The university's Integrated Development Plan of 1962 called for, among numerous other building projects, the construction of new dormitories to house the majority of the 7,800 full-time students in the undergraduate colleges and 5,730 graduate and professional students expected by 1970.<sup>9</sup>

### *Phase I: Building the Pedestrian Enclave*

Phase I (1948–62) of Penn's project to address its prospective postwar physical needs was marked by the alignment of Philadelphia's urban renewal plan with the university's 1948 campus master plan for the development of a pedestrian-oriented campus. Philadelphia's Democratic reformers and the city's renowned modernist planners (among them Edmund Bacon and G. Holmes Perkins) envisaged Penn as an anchor of Philadelphia's postwar revitalization. Actions taken by the city and the commonwealth in Phase I supported key elements of Penn's 1948 master plan. By 1962, Penn was well positioned to take full advantage of Section 112 of the 1959 Federal Housing Act, a codicil that Penn helped shape and whose terms redounded to the city's financial benefit.

\* \* \*

After joining the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PCPC) in 1946 as a senior land planner, Edmund Bacon teamed with the architects Oskar Stonorov and Louis Kahn and the commission's director, Robert Mitchell, to design the 1947 Better Philadelphia Exhibition, which was displayed publicly and with great fanfare on two floors of Gimbels' depart-

---

through 1952, with 8,491 full-time students; part-time enrollments followed the same downward trajectory. See "Report of the President" (unpublished report) (UPI 25.1), box 1, Reports of the University and its Branches (UPI), UARC.

<sup>9</sup> James L. Malone to David R. Goddard, encl., Jan. 27, 1965, box 3, folder 17; and *Integrated Development Plan* (Philadelphia, 1962), box 60, folder 21, both Office of the Provost General Files, 1924–1994 (UPA 6.4), UARC.

ment store in Center City.<sup>10</sup> The centerpiece was an elaborate model envisioning the dramatic redevelopment of Center City Philadelphia. “Standing in front of the exhibition,” wrote the economist Kirk Petshek, “many a businessman began to think more concretely about what his city could become. . . . To their surprise, Philadelphians realized that their city could be exciting.”<sup>11</sup> The display persuaded the Penn trustees that “if we can do it in Center City, we can do it throughout Philadelphia, and obviously West Philadelphia is just across the [Schuylkill] river, and in effect part of Center City or just an extension of it.”<sup>12</sup>

The Better Philadelphia Exhibition was the first salvo in a decade of tremendous optimism and urban renewal activity orchestrated by the PCPC, in concert with the Greater Philadelphia Movement (GPM): a coalition of reform-minded business and professional elites that had been cofounded by Robert T. McCracken, an attorney and Penn trustee.<sup>13</sup> Philadelphia’s new leaders shared in the postwar national climate of optimism that America’s cities could be reformed and rebuilt.<sup>14</sup> In 1951, the GPM campaigned successfully for a new home rule charter, which “created a strong Mayoral office, overhauled City Council, proposed a strong

<sup>10</sup> Joseph S. Clark Jr., and Dennis J. Clark, “Rally and Relapse, 1946–1968,” in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York, 1982), 650, 694–96.

<sup>11</sup> Kirk R. Petshek, *The Challenge of Urban Reform: Policies and Programs in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1973), 23. Also see Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago, 2011), 68–77; Gregory L. Heller, “Salesman of Ideas: The Life Experiences That Shaped Edmund Bacon,” in *Imagining Philadelphia: Edmund Bacon and the Future of the City*, ed. Scott Gabriel Knowles (Philadelphia, 2010), 328–31.

<sup>12</sup> Harold Taubin (former Penn planning director), interview by Lydia Messmer, Dec. 2, 1988, transcript, box 4, folder 9, Multimedia and Educational Technology Services Records (UPB 1.9 MM), UARC; also see and cf. Scott Cohen, “Urban Renewal in West Philadelphia: An Examination of the University of Pennsylvania’s Planning, Expansion, and Community Role from the Mid-1940s to the Mid-1970s” (senior history honors thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 6, in UARC.

<sup>13</sup> Heller, “Salesman of Ideas,” 154n55. Also see Petshek, *Challenge of Urban Reform*, 28–30; Jeanne R. Lowe, *Cities in a Race with Time: Progress and Poverty in America’s Renewing Cities* (New York, 1967), 324–25.

<sup>14</sup> The city’s decline would ultimately confound such optimism. World War II set the stage for a second great migration of black southerners to Philadelphia and other major cities outside the South. Between 1940 and 1950, Philadelphia’s black population grew by 50 percent, from 250,000 to 375,000. The economic boom was short-lived, as tens of thousands of factory jobs disappeared after the war. The closing of Cramp’s Shipyard; heavy layoffs at Baldwin Locomotive, Midvale Steel, Sun Ship, and the Franklin Arsenal; and, starting in the early 1950s, the movement of the city’s textile jobs to nonunion southern cities, signaled the decline of Philadelphia manufacturing, with dire ramifications for blacks and working-class whites with insufficient means to leave their ethnic enclaves. The southern black influx continued into the 1950s, in-migration and natural population growth occurring against the backdrop of the city’s diminished industrial base and the metropolitan area’s transition to a service economy. By 1960, Philadelphia’s African American population totaled more

merit system for city jobs, and created a number of appointed boards as well as reorganized several service departments in a rational format.”<sup>15</sup> Elite Democratic reformers led by the patrician lawyer Joseph (“Gentleman Joe”) Sill Clark Jr., the newly elected mayor, and Clark’s fellow aristocrat Richardson Dilworth, the new district attorney, ousted the Republican Party machine. Clark, who served as mayor until 1955, when he ran successfully for the US Senate, was succeeded by Dilworth, who held the office until his resignation in 1962 to run (unsuccessfully) for governor.<sup>16</sup> Throughout the Clark-Dilworth era, redevelopment—and 45 percent of the city’s urban renewal dollars by 1963—was “concentrated on the downtown area,” apropos of recommendations from the RDA’s Central Urban Renewal Area (CURA) study of 1956.<sup>17</sup> After 1959, Penn’s expansion and the development of University City would be focal points of urban renewal activity outside Center City.<sup>18</sup>

The first step in the extended process that led to federally assisted university expansion in West Philadelphia was the PCPC’s 1948 certification of a planning unit designated as the University Redevelopment Area, “an irregularly shaped section of West Philadelphia totaling about eighty blocks,” bordered by Market Street on the north, South Street/Spruce Street and Woodland Avenue on the south and southwest, Schuylkill

---

than 529,000, a 41 percent increase since 1950, with blacks holding a 26.4 percent share of the city total. In the 1950s, white out-migration to the suburbs accounted for a loss of 69,000, or 3 percent, in the general population, a reduction that has not since been recouped. Discriminatory hiring practices at the new suburban plants combined with segregation in suburban housing markets to ghettoize blacks in Philadelphia, where they were excluded from the city’s dwindling industrial base. See James Wolfinger, *Philadelphia Divided: Race and Politics in the City of Brotherly Love* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), 11–35, 111–73, 179–80, 191–203; Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2005), 48–58; Carolyn Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division and Conflict in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia, 1999), 17 (table 1.3), 31; US Bureau of the Census, Philadelphia County, PA, 1940–70, accessed from <http://www.socialexplorer.com>; Guian A. McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago, 2008), 41–82, 115–16, 132.

<sup>15</sup> Dennis Clark, *The Urban Ordeal: Reform and Policy in Philadelphia, 1947–1967* (Philadelphia, 1982), 3.

<sup>16</sup> For more on Clark and Dilworth, see John Morrison McLarnon III and G. Terry Madonna, “Damon and Pythias Reconsidered,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 136 (2012): 171–205.

<sup>17</sup> David W. Bartelt, “Renewing Center City Philadelphia: Whose City? Which Public’s Interests?” in *Unequal Partnerships: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment in Postwar America*, ed. Gregory D. Squires (New Brunswick, NJ, 1989), 86–88; Petshek, *Challenge of Urban Reform*, chap. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Philadelphia (Pa.) Redevelopment Authority (hereafter RDA), *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1947–83), 1959–65 reports.

Avenue on the east, and 42nd Street on the west.<sup>19</sup> Here the planners delineated the boundaries of Penn's future growth, which, with a few notable exceptions to the north, would be directed westward from the historic core. Edward Hopkinson Jr., the PCPC's chairman from 1943 to 1956, no doubt influenced this certification. A senior partner of the investment firm Drexel and Company and a "very, very distinguished" and "powerful" figure in city affairs, Hopkinson also was a Penn trustee and a devoted alumnus (class of 1907).<sup>20</sup> The Penn trustees' campus development plan of October 1948 was an unsurprising response to the planning commission's proposal for the area's growth.<sup>21</sup> As early as 1945, the PCPC initiated negotiations with Penn to reroute trolleys and cars in the campus area. The starting point and enabling catalyst for the resulting joint PCPC-University of Pennsylvania transit plan was the city's decision to complete its long-delayed project to run the trains of the Market Street elevated railway through a subway tunnel from Center City to 46th Street in West Philadelphia. The connector tunnel carrying subway-surface trolleys under the university finally opened in November 1955. The "rumble and clatter of the Elevated" ended in 1956, with the demolition of the eyesore structure. The city demolished the fourteen-block section of the El above the new West Philadelphia tunnel in a six-month period.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Philadelphia City Planning Commission (hereafter PCPC), "University Redevelopment Area Plan" (tentative draft, Jan. 1950), box 30, Office of the President Records; Edmund Bacon, interview by Jeannette Nichols, May 1, 1975, Roy and Jeannette Nichols Project, box 1, folder "Bacon," History of the University Project Records, 1925–1977 (UPP 1), UARC.

<sup>20</sup> Edmund Bacon to F. Leonard, memorandum, Nov. 29, 1947, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1946–1950," Philadelphia City Planning Commission Files (145.2) (hereafter PCPC Files), Philadelphia City Archives; Gaylord P. Harnwell and Marion Pond, interview by Jeannette Nichols, June 27, 1975, box 1, folder "Harnwell and Pond," History of the University Project Records. For Hopkinson's extraordinary influence with city agencies to relocate the Woodland Avenue trolleys underground, see John C. Hetherston, interview by Jeannette Nichols, Nov. 12, 1975, box 2, folder "Hetherston," *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Minutes, Oct. 25, 1948, *Minutes of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania*, 43 vols. (Philadelphia, 1749–1990), 25:92, 97a–97g, in Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania Minutes, 1974–Present (UPA 1.1), UARC.

<sup>22</sup> "Subway Extension in Full Use, El Is Ready for Demolition," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 7, 1955; "Boon Is Predicted for W. Phila. Area with El's Removal," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 11, 1953; "El Expected to be Torn Down in 6 Months as 100 Workers Prepare Wrecking Jobs," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 8, 1955. The repository for the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* articles is George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia.

Construction of the subway-surface extension tunnel and two stations at Penn began in 1952, when Harold Stassen was president of the university. Stassen, who later would gain notoriety as a perennial candidate for the US presidency, is properly credited with building a new home for the Wharton School on the 3600 block of Locust Street and the Thomas Sovereign Gates Memorial Pavilion of the university hospital as well as for laying the foundation of a new laboratory building for physics, mathematics, and astronomy.<sup>23</sup> Two notable people associated with Stassen's presidency contributed significantly to the university's postwar expansion. The first is the aforementioned PCPC chair Edward Hopkinson Jr., who spearheaded the construction of the West Philadelphia subway extension tube under the campus.<sup>24</sup> The second is the modernist architect G. Holmes Perkins, who arrived at Penn in 1951 to serve as dean of the School of Fine Arts, having previously chaired Harvard's Department of Planning. In his remarkable twenty-year tenure as dean, Perkins restructured the formerly Beaux Arts-oriented school as the Graduate School of Fine Arts, built world-class programs in architecture and urban planning, and established what he called a "triumvirate" of architecture, landscape architecture, and city and regional planning. Perkins also had protean civic interests, and he became an enthusiastic proponent of urban renewal.<sup>25</sup> Perkins followed Hopkins as chair of the PCPC from 1958 to 1968—a position he wielded to advance the university's expansion plans.

<sup>23</sup> See Harold E. Stassen, "Four Years at Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1953, 8–17; "Biographical Sketch," Guide to the Harold Stassen, 1907–2001, Papers, 1940–1957 (UPT 50 2775), UARC; Roy F. Nichols, *A Historian's Progress* (New York, 1968), 203; William H. DuBarry, "The Development Program of the University of Pennsylvania," speech to the West Philadelphia Realty Board, Apr. 5, 1954, box 14, A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–56," PCPC Files; "Penn Reveals New Plan for Expansion," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 7, 1948. In Philadelphia even numbers, for example, 3600, denote the south side of east-west streets; odd-numbers, for example, 3601, denote the north side. Odd numbers mark the east side of north-south streets, even numbers the west side. The east-west streets radiating from the Center City grid are named streets; the north-south streets are numbered streets, with the numbers increasing to the west.

<sup>24</sup> The Penn planner John C. Hetherston said, "You can give Hopkinson the credit, more than any other single individual." Hetherston, interview by Nichols.

<sup>25</sup> G. Holmes Perkins, interview by Lydia Messmer, [1987], box 3, folder 39, Multimedia and Educational Technology Services Records; Ann L. Strong and George E. Thomas, *The Book of the School. 100 Years: The Graduate School of Fine Arts of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1990); "G. Holmes Perkins, Dean & Architect" (obituary), *Almanac* 50, no. 2 (Sept. 7, 2004): 4; Klemek, *Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, 95–97; Ethan Schrum, "Administering American Modernity: The Instrumental University in the Postwar United States" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 98–103.



\* \* \*

The RDA was established in 1946 as “a body corporate and politic established pursuant to the [Commonwealth of Pennsylvania] Urban Redevelopment Law of May 24, 1945 . . . and Resolution of the Council of the City of Philadelphia approved 21 May 1945 for the purpose of acquiring, replanning and redeveloping blighted areas within the City of Philadelphia.”<sup>26</sup> Subject to approval by the Court of Common Pleas, the RDA could exercise eminent domain when the price offered for a property could not be settled with the owner; in this case it would confiscate the property and pay the owner an amount set by the court.<sup>27</sup> The 1945 legislation obligated the RDA to make “adequate provisions . . . to rehouse displaced families, if any, without undue hardship.”<sup>28</sup> The redevelopment law authorized the RDA to sell the acquired properties to a developer—in Penn’s case, the university trustees—who would provide “a guaranty of completion within specified time limits.”<sup>29</sup>

The PCPC’s general plan for the University Redevelopment Area left the RDA to plan the specific projects, subject to City Council’s final approval.<sup>30</sup> In the early 1950s, the RDA acquired and razed properties on Penn’s behalf for the new Wharton School and the David Rittenhouse Laboratories; in the absence of federal funding, Penn, the RDA’s designated redeveloper, reimbursed the authority in full. Federal funds would not be available for a university project until the late 1950s.

In January 1955, the Penn trustees proposed to be the redeveloper for the blocks bounded by Walnut, 32nd, Chestnut, and 34th Streets.<sup>31</sup> Over

<sup>26</sup> “In the Matter of the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia, University Redevelopment Area ‘A’ Proposal No. 2 (Physics Unit, 27th Ward),” Court of Common Pleas No. 7, June term, 1951, no. 235, box 14 A2914, folder “Redevelopment—University 1951,” PCPC Files. G. Holmes Perkins drafted the 1945 Urban Redevelopment Law; Klemek, *Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, 75–76.

<sup>27</sup> “In the Matter of the Redevelopment Authority.”

<sup>28</sup> Edward Hopkinson Jr. to City Council, Mar. 19, 1951, box 14 A2914, folder “Redevelopment—University 1951,” PCPC Files.

<sup>29</sup> J. H. Churchman (Drinker, Biddle, and Reath Law Offices) to Philip C. Pendleton, Esq., May 9, 1949, box 29, folder “Development Program (Committee on Physical Development—III),” Office of the President Records.

<sup>30</sup> Philadelphia City Council resolution, May 16, 1951, box 14 A2914, folder “Redevelopment—University 1951,” PCPC Files.

<sup>31</sup> Francis J. Meyers (chairman, RDA) to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Dec. 7, 1954, box 47, folder “Development Program (Physical Plan—Redevelopment Authority—II, 1950–1953,” Office of the President Records; Trustees of University of Pennsylvania to Francis J. Meyers, Jan. 19, 1955, and

the next two years, Gaylord Harnwell, Penn's president since 1953, ingratiated himself with Mayor Richardson Dilworth and members of the city's reform movement. Dilworth told him, "Never has a city administration had more wholehearted cooperation from, or a more pleasant relationship with the University than has this administration, and this due entirely to your efforts."<sup>32</sup> The appointment of Dean G. Holmes Perkins as chairman of the PCPC in 1958—"Mayor Dilworth's personal choice"—further sealed the alliance. Perkins had a close relationship with Edmund Bacon, executive director of the planning commission from 1949 to 1970, who taught a class on "Histories and Theories of Civic Design" in Perkins's school.<sup>33</sup> Harnwell called it "an unmixed blessing that several members of the Commission, including its Chairman, are closely identified with the University and neighboring institutions."<sup>34</sup>

By the spring of 1957, Penn had the city's writ to redevelop the Walnut-Chestnut blocks for women's housing, student activities, and off-street parking.<sup>35</sup> The plan was technically consistent with the "residential" intent of the PCPC's 1950 University Redevelopment Area plan and the "predominantly residential" requirement of the 1949 Housing Act, which authorized federal funding for urban renewal, "although the residences would be owned by an institution and the technical use would be institutional."<sup>36</sup> Designated by the RDA as Project A, Units 1 and 2, this working-class quadrant of 9.8 acres housed sundry low-end residential buildings

---

"Resolution #965: University Redevelopment Area—Selection of University of Pennsylvania as Redeveloper," [Jan. 21, 1955], box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–1956," PCPC Files. Also see Lillian Burns, interview by Jeannette Nichols, Oct. 2, 1975, box 1, folder "Burns," History of the University Project Records.

<sup>32</sup> Richardson Dilworth to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Sept. 26, 1956, box 99, folder "Philadelphia, City of (General)—I, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records. Dilworth and Joseph Clark had not had a cordial relationship with Harold Stassen, especially after Stassen, on the presidential campaign trail in 1949, called them "fellow travelers." Also see "Penn Closely Interlocked with Working of City," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 15, 1954, in UARC.

<sup>33</sup> "Perkins Heads City Planners," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 22, 1958; Edmund N. Bacon, interview by Lydia Messmer, May 25, 1988, transcript, box 2 folder 13, Multimedia and Educational Technology Service Records; Gregory L. Heller, *Ed Bacon: Planning, Politics, and the Building of Modern Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2013), 207.

<sup>34</sup> Gaylord P. Harnwell, speech presented to the American Association of Urban Universities, Cincinnati, Nov. 6, 1960, edited typescript, box 10, folder 18, Gaylord P. Harnwell Papers (T50 H289), UARC.

<sup>35</sup> "City to Help University Acquire Needed Lands, Mayor Dilworth States," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 3, 1957.

<sup>36</sup> Francis J. Lammer (RDA) to Edmund N. Bacon (PCPC), Feb. 4, 1955, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–1956," PCPC Files.

and commercial operations—the area was “very disreputable,” a former Penn planner recalled.<sup>37</sup> The project displaced a total of 553 people, 97 percent of whom were white.<sup>38</sup> Their initial “storm of protest” notwithstanding, most of the owners were placated by the “fair market” amount the RDA paid for their properties.<sup>39</sup>

By the late autumn of 1958, the RDA “wrecking ball” had converted the entire area into “a rubble-strewn wasteland”; the interior streets, including Woodland Avenue from 32nd to 34th Street, were closed by city ordinances in 1960.<sup>40</sup> In the fall of 1960, the first campus building, “constructed expressly as a women’s dormitory,” opened in Unit 2, flanking Walnut Street.<sup>41</sup> Across 33rd Street in Unit 1, however, Penn was stymied. James Creese, president of the Drexel Institute since 1945, demanded a piece of the redevelopment pie for Drexel on the Chestnut Street side. The problem had started with a draft of City Ordinance 1102, which awarded Unit 1 to Penn. The ordinance stalled in City Council in May 1957 after Creese wrote Council President James H. J. Tate urging him to postpone the final vote on the bill until Drexel could work out an agreement with Penn on Unit 1.<sup>42</sup> Under pressure from Tate, Penn negotiated with Drexel, and the two parties finally agreed to split the unit. Penn received the Walnut Street side of the block (Unit 1A), where it built the Laboratory for Research on the Structure of Matter in 1962; on the Chestnut side (Unit 1B), Drexel built the James Creese Student

<sup>37</sup> Burns, interview by Nichols. Acreage counts can be found in West Philadelphia Corporation, *Fifth Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1965), sec. 3, box 152, folder “Community Relations—West Philadelphia Corporation Annual Reports 1960–1965,” Office of the President Records.

<sup>38</sup> RDA fact sheet, [Dec. 1956], box 14 A2914, folder “Redevelopment—University 1952–1956,” PCPC Files.

<sup>39</sup> “150 Neighbors Fight Building Plan of Penn,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 27, 1957; “Penn Residents Ask Fair Price,” *ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1957; “U of P Neighbors Decide to Fight Evictions After All,” *ibid.*, Apr. 2, 1957; “Last 3 Families Bitter Amid the Rubble,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 31, 1958. Adam Klarfeld, who examined the deeds for these properties, notes the paucity of litigation in the wake of the title transfers. “Private Taking, Public Good? Penn’s Expansion in West Philadelphia from 1945 to 1975 (history honors thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 31–32, UARC.

<sup>40</sup> “2 End Battle of Sansom Street,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 28, 1958, UARC. Minutes, May 13, 1960, in *Minutes of Trustees*, 27:305, UARC; UARC, *Mapping Penn: Land Acquisitions, 1870–2007*, <http://venus.cml.upenn.edu/MappingPenn>; “Woodland Closing Approved by City,” *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 16, 1960, UARC. This structure, designed by Eero Saarinen, was later named Hill Hall. It is now called Hill College House.

<sup>41</sup> “The Harnwell Administration: Physical Facilities” (typescript with penciled edits, [1963]), box 10, folder 16, Harnwell Papers.

<sup>42</sup> “Council Acts on Drexel Plea,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 23, 1957.



Zeta Psi fraternity house in the foreground, with the new Women's Residence Hall behind it (above), 1961. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.



Contemporary perspective: Hill College House and Women's Walk through Hill Square (formerly Hill Field), with the edge of McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the left of the Walk. James R. Mann, Facilities and Real Estate Services, University of Pennsylvania.

Center.<sup>43</sup> This project was Penn's first involvement in a federally funded project. RDA records show that the net cost of Project A (Unit 1A and 1B, Unit 2) was \$2.9 million (about \$23 million in 2013 dollars), of which the federal government paid two-thirds and the city and state one-third, commensurate with the terms of the 1949 Housing Act.<sup>44</sup> Forty years would pass before Penn built again on Hill Field, the huge swath of vacant land fanning out from Hill House where two generations of Penn and Drexel students frolicked.

\* \* \*

Established by the state legislature in 1949, the multipurpose Pennsylvania General State Authority (GSA) originally included only land-grant colleges in its higher education category; in 1956, however, the General State Authority Act was amended to include "universities receiving State aid," a qualification that Penn met by virtue of its School of Veterinary Medicine, which received commonwealth funds. Henceforth, Penn was eligible to receive GSA funds for capital improvements.<sup>45</sup>

By February 1958, the GSA had agreed to pay \$4 million of the estimated \$4.5 million required to build a new undergraduate library at Penn (the final cost of the project would be \$5 million—about \$39 million in 2013 dollars).<sup>46</sup> Fortuitously for Penn, the sublease agreement entailed "the nominal rental of one dollar per year," an arrangement that would hold for all new GSA buildings until 1963.<sup>47</sup> The new Van Pelt Library was targeted for a trapezoidal block opposite College Hall that Penn had owned since the 1920s. In the 1950s, aged brick and brownstone buildings on the site housed, incongruously, a shoe-repair shop, a commercial

<sup>43</sup> Alfred H. Williams (chair of trustees, Drexel Institute of Technology) to Charles J. Biddle, Esq., June 12, 1957, Drexel trustees executive committee, minutes (attachment), June 13, 1957, Drexel University Archives and Special Collections, Philadelphia, PA; Burns, interview by Nichols; "James Creese Student Center," May 18, 1973, box 9, folder 18, Harnwell Papers. For a map of the units, see RDA, *Annual Report* (1961), 20–21.

<sup>44</sup> RDA, *Annual Report* (1960), 26, table 2.

<sup>45</sup> "Information on General State Authority Prepared by University's General Counsel," June 4, 1956, box 99, folder "Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of (General State Authority)—II, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records. See in same box, GSA, *Annual Report* (Harrisburg, PA, 1958).

<sup>46</sup> George H. Turner, director of Physical Plant Planning, to E. Craig Sweeten, director of Development Fund, Feb. 7, 1958, box 99, folder "Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of (General State Authority)—VII, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records.

<sup>47</sup> "Memorandum: General State Authority Legislation," Aug. 27, 1968, box 1, folder "Campus Expansion," *ibid.*



View of College Hall and the Woodland Avenue trolley-car tracks, probably early 1950s. This photograph shows John Boyles's iconic statue of Benjamin Franklin, which the University acquired in 1939. The trolley cars were replaced by a subway-surface tunnel, 1952–55; Woodland Avenue was closed in 1957–58. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

laundry, a bustling chain cafeteria, a bookstore, several university departments and administrative offices, and at least six fraternity houses. Demolition of the 3400 block of Walnut Street and the razing of buildings in the 3401 block of Woodland were under way in March 1957.<sup>48</sup>

Simultaneously, Penn acted to remove “the rude thrust of Woodland Avenue” in the middle of the campus.<sup>49</sup> By this time, Penn owned or controlled all of the Woodland properties between 34th and 37th Streets.

<sup>48</sup> “Buildings to be Torn Down in Woodland, Walnut Block,” *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 9, 1956; “Site of New Library Will Be Grassed Area Instead of Parking Lot,” *ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1957; “Razing Progresses on Walnut Street,” *ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1957; “Demolition Begins on Woodland Ave.; Redevelopment Continues,” *ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1957.

<sup>49</sup> Harold E. Stassen, “Four Years at Pennsylvania, September 17, 1948–January 19, 1953: A Report to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania,” Jan. 19, 1953, 44, in “Report of the President” (unpublished report), box 2, Reports of the University and Its Branches.

Two government actions enabled the removal of Woodland Avenue. In the spring of 1956, the Pennsylvania General Assembly struck Woodland Avenue between 34th and 37th Streets from the state highway system. It remained for the City of Philadelphia to make the final disposition of the roadbed. The deal for Woodland was consummated in the summer of 1957, when the city conveyed title to the university; in January 1958, workers began laying sod on the former street surface in the shadow of College Hall.<sup>50</sup>

Fronting the former avenue's footprint—the future Woodland Walk—the Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library, the university's central research repository, opened in 1962.<sup>51</sup> Five years later, after demolishing the remaining brownstones on the northwest side of the Woodland trapezoid adjacent to the Van Pelt Library, Penn built the Dietrich graduate wing of the university libraries with GSA funds. From 1962 to 1970, the GSA funded nineteen new buildings on the Penn campus, many of them constructed on properties previously owned by the university.<sup>52</sup>

Penn built a large part of its new West Central Campus with GSA funds. In 1956, the university requested that the GSA fund a social science center comprising four buildings. That proposal was approved in 1958.<sup>53</sup> In 1961 and 1962, the Redevelopment Authority acquired properties fronting Walnut Street for the Graduate School of Education, one of the new buildings to be funded by the GSA that would enclose the Social Science Plaza. Prosaically labeled “Social Science I,” the project, part of RDA Unit 4 (more below), was to be built in the eastern half of the block bounded by Walnut, Locust, 37th, and 38th Streets. In addition to the Graduate School of Education, the center included the Department of Political Science (Stiteler Hall), the School of Social Work (Castor Hall), and the Department of Psychology.<sup>54</sup> The full block,

<sup>50</sup> “Gov. Leader Signs Bill Closing Woodland Ave. from 36th to 39th Sts.,” *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 14, 1956; quote from “Section of Woodland Ave. Transferred to University,” *ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1957. “Woodland Ave. Surface to be Torn up Today for Landscaping Work,” *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1958.

<sup>51</sup> George E. Thomas, *University of Pennsylvania: An Architectural Tour* (New York, 2002), 43–44.

<sup>52</sup> Untitled table, box 26, folder “General State Authority 70–71,” Vice President for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records, 1962–1974 (UPB 101.4), UARC.

<sup>53</sup> “Proposals to the General State Authority for the 1959–61 Biennium,” [April 1958?], and “Presentation to The General State Authority from the University of Pennsylvania for the Construction of Educational Facilities,” May 1958, box 99, folder “Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of (General State Authority)—VII, 1955–1960,” Office of the President Records.

<sup>54</sup> *Mapping Penn.*



Looking northeast on Woodland Avenue from 36th and Locust Street toward 34th and Walnut Streets, ca. 1955. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.



Contemporary view: Van Pelt Library on Woodland Walk at the left, with Meyerson Hall of the School of Design on the right. Michael M. Koehler, photographer. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.



home to apartment rentals and low-end eateries, among other densely packed structures, was overwhelmingly white prior to urban renewal.<sup>55</sup> The four GSA-funded social science buildings were completed in 1965 and 1966. In 1966, the RDA claimed the other half of the block for Penn. The “Social Science II” project consisted of a new home for the departments of sociology and economics (both controlled by the Wharton School) sited on properties Penn had acquired between 1931 and 1961 in the block bounded by Spruce, Locust, 37th, and 38th Streets; this project came to fruition in 1970 as the five-story McNeil Building.<sup>56</sup>

The Social Science I quadrangle stood adjacent to the new Annenberg School for Communication, established in 1958 with a donation of \$3 million from publishing magnate and Wharton School alumnus Walter Annenberg. In 1960, the RDA, at Penn’s expense (this was a non-federally funded project), began acquiring and leveling 2.24 total acres in the quadrant of blocks from 36th to 37th Streets between Walnut and Locust. This was Penn’s second expansion project west of the historic core; the first had been the Wharton School’s Dietrich Hall. The RDA demolitions spared several Victorian houses and several fraternities in the 3601 block of Locust Street. The Annenberg School, a limestone and glass structure, opened in 1962 with a line of sight south toward Dietrich Hall, its brick entranceway from Locust Street covering the footprint of tiny South McAlpin Street.<sup>57</sup> In 1971, the Annenberg Center theater complex, a brown-brick mastiff that presents a windowless flank to Walnut Street, arose above a plaza shared with the School for Communication.<sup>58</sup> Like other Harnwell-era buildings that abutted Walnut—the Graduate School of Education, the Faculty Club, and the Van Pelt-Dietrich Libraries—the Annenberg Center turned away from the street toward the

<sup>55</sup> US Bureau of the Census, *US Census of Housing, 1960. City Blocks: Philadelphia, Pa.* (Washington, DC, 1961) (hereafter *City Blocks* and year); “Units #4 and #5: Information from Census per block in Units #4 and #5,” [1962–63], box 11, folder “#Unit 4 1962–63,” West Philadelphia Corporation Records (Record Group 350, 701), Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries (hereafter WPC Records).

<sup>56</sup> *Mapping Penn.*

<sup>57</sup> This same year the streets department closed Locust Street between 36th and 37th Streets. “The Good Citizen,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar./Apr. 2003, <http://www.upenn.edu/gazette/0303/giresi.html>; RDA, *Information for Owners and Residents: University Area* (Philadelphia, [1960]), [http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/upf/upf8\\_5/upf8\\_5b25f12annenbergssch\\_redevlpmt.pdf](http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/upf/upf8_5/upf8_5b25f12annenbergssch_redevlpmt.pdf); *Mapping Penn*; Klarfeld, “Private Taking, Public Good,” 33–34.

<sup>58</sup> George E. Thomas and David B. Brownlee, *Building America’s First University: An Historical and Architectural Guide to the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 2000), 186–87.

pedestrian core of the new campus in an attempt to create a semblance of a contemplative venue removed from noise and bustle of the street.

By the end of Phase I (1962), the RDA and the GSA had expanded the university's holdings almost to 38th Street. In Phase II, the RDA, working in the largest urban renewal unit in West Philadelphia, acquired new groupings of blocks for the university's expansion. In the early 1960s, the RDA staked out three new urban renewal units in the University Redevelopment Area. Unit 4, at Penn, charted the development of the West Central Campus, the creation of the West Campus beyond 38th Street, and Penn-controlled commercial redevelopment along Walnut Street. Unit 5 accommodated an expansion of the Drexel Institute. Unit 3, established in the area of Market Street, designated the core of urban renewal blocks that would ultimately compose the University City Science Center, the brainchild of the West Philadelphia Corporation (WPC), a consortium of University City "higher eds and meds" that was dominated by Penn and that functioned in no small way to serve Penn's interests. By 1970 and the end of the Harnwell era, the size of the public-sector largesse—city, state, and federal—expended upon Penn, a private institution, would be enormous.

#### *Phase II: Campus Expansion in RDA Unit 4*

In the fall of 1959, the university appointed Harold Taubin, an experienced planner who had studied at the Harvard Graduate School of Design when G. Holmes Perkins was that school's dean, to direct the first University Planning Office, which Harnwell established close on the heels of the report of the Educational Survey. "Our original mandate," Taubin recalled, "was to work on the physical plan for the University. . . . We were to be acquainted with the educational policies and objectives of the educational survey during the 1950s and translate . . . those conceptions and objectives, etc. into physical plant proposals for consideration by the authoritative bodies to be established by the President."<sup>59</sup> Establishment of the Planning Office also coincided neatly with the passage of Section 112 of the US Housing Act of 1959, which gave the City of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania the power and the means to cut a wide swath in West Philadelphia.

<sup>59</sup> Harold Taubin, interview by Jeannette Nichols, Dec. 19, 1975, box 4, folder "Taubin," History of the University Project Records.

Penn and two other urban universities played instrumental roles in creating the pivotal 1959 legislation. According to Lillian Burns, a former Penn planner:

The University of Pennsylvania, with John Moore as the front man, and the University of Chicago, with Julian Levi, who was president of the South East Chicago Commission, closely related with the University of Chicago, [and] the president of New York University . . . our three institutions worked very hard to develop a strategy for . . . introducing into the national legislation a section that would be . . . helpful to university expansion and, after discussing and looking at it, we came up with a proposal for Section 112, which provided for compatible neighborhoods for universities.<sup>60</sup>

Moore, Penn's business vice president, joined Levi and NYU vice president George Bauman in speaking for the amendment in hearings held by the House Committee on Banking and Currency in the winter of 1959. "Like many other urban universities," Moore told the committee, "the University of Pennsylvania . . . cannot expand unless it is given some instrument to assist it in its endeavors"; Penn required sixty-three acres to remedy its "deficiency in land."<sup>61</sup> At the same hearings, Harnwell's ally Richardson Dilworth testified that Philadelphia required \$156 million to complete its urban renewal program—at least \$10 million of which, he claimed, was needed to counter blight in University City.<sup>62</sup>

The draft of Section 112 of the 1959 Housing Act, which amended Title I of the 1949 Housing Act, first appeared as a document accompanying Levi's oral testimony before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. The amendment had the backing of the American Association of Universities (AAU), under whose auspices the AAU's urban institutions conducted a survey of "their environmental problems."<sup>63</sup> Levi told the committee, "The story over the entire country is that it is virtually

<sup>60</sup> Burns, interview by Nichols.

<sup>61</sup> House Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Housing*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 28, 29, 30, 31, Feb. 2, 3, 1959, quote from p. 248.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 601–14, esp. 602–3.

<sup>63</sup> Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Various Bills to Amend the Federal Housing Laws*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 1959, pp. 501–2. Lillian Burns recalled, "We had a lot of meetings and we met with representatives of institutions from around the country, developing this and trying to get it organized"; Burns, interview by Nichols.

impossible for such institutions to assemble usable construction sites through the acquisition of needed land by negotiation." He sketched "an even grimmer" scenario: "environments of slum and blight or near blight" were undermining "the community of scholars" by driving them into the suburbs.<sup>64</sup> John Moore filed a written statement with the senate committee and also presented oral testimony. The omnibus housing bill with Section 112 easily passed both houses, which were controlled by Democratic majorities. Another Harnwell ally, the Philadelphia reformer Joseph Clark, a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, stood squarely behind the bill, which, after some jousting with President Eisenhower, was signed into law on September 23, 1959.<sup>65</sup>

Section 112 provided a strong incentive for cities to initiate collaboration with universities in urban renewal projects: the cost of such projects would be credited to the city's one-third share of funding wherever the city chose to spend it.<sup>66</sup> Prior to Section 112, wrote Mark Winkeller:

the direct benefit to the city was not always clear since the land was often removed from the tax rolls after local and federal authorities had paid to acquire and clear the land as well as to relocate the former occupants. It appeared that the immediate benefits to the city from selling cleared land to the university might not necessarily outweigh the direct costs required by the federal government under the terms of its matching federal/local grant system under urban renewal. Levi's Section 112 was designed to remove that possibility.<sup>67</sup>

The city was eligible to benefit directly from campus urban renewal in the form of federal credits that could be applied as part or all of the city's contribution to a federally funded urban renewal project—credits that could include properties acquired by a university before 1959. Accordingly, Penn's Planning Office "certified [the properties the University acquired

<sup>64</sup> Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959*, 503. Elsewhere, Levi would famously describe urban universities as "collections of scholarly commuters rather than communities of scholars." Levi cited in Kermit C. Parsons, "Universities and Cities: The Terms between Them," *Journal of Higher Education* 34 (1963): 205–16.

<sup>65</sup> "Eisenhower Signs 3d Housing Bill; F.H.A. Rates Rise," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1959; "Mason Acclaims New Housing Act," *ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1959.

<sup>66</sup> Kenneth Ashworth, "Urban Renewal and the University: A Tool for Campus Expansion and Neighborhood Improvement," *Journal of Higher Education* 35 (1964): 493–96.

<sup>67</sup> Mark Joel Winkeller, "University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods: An Exploratory Analysis" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1972), 37.

from July 1952 to February 1961] to the City so that they could use that amount of money as part of the City's matching funds to the federal funds for Urban Renewal projects in the city of Philadelphia, not just in Unit 3 or Unit 4."<sup>68</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s, many other urban universities confronted the specter of declining neighborhoods on their doorsteps, and, like Penn, they required land in their boundary areas for campus expansion and private development commensurate with their institutional needs. According to a knowledgeable observer at the time:

By mid-1962, 34 separate renewal projects involving Section 112 credits from 38 institutions of higher education or from hospitals were in project development. Another 51 projects were being planned or discussed. Section 112 credits for institutional land purchases and relocation expenses were estimated at \$32,000,000 for the approved projects and \$112,000 for the projects in some stage of planning or discussion, a total of \$144,000.<sup>69</sup>

\* \* \*

In the spring of 1959, Gaylord Harnwell responded to a letter from the RDA's executive director, Francis J. Lammer, which recommended "a rather large scale acquisition by the University of Pennsylvania in order to accomplish the redevelopment of a much larger area—"University City." Harnwell laid out plans for a cluster of blocks roughly bounded by Spruce and Chestnut Streets on the north and south and 36th and 40th Streets on the east and west; his priorities for these blocks included undergraduate and graduate dormitories, academic buildings, and local retail and restaurant development. Of particular note were plans to construct dormitories in blocks from Walnut to Spruce between 38th and 40th Streets, which would move the campus deeper into West Philadelphia, and to redevelop the blocks from Walnut to Sansom between 34th and 36th Streets for university offices and high-end, campus-related retail busi-

<sup>68</sup> Burns, interview by Nichols.

<sup>69</sup> Kermit C. Parsons, "Universities and Cities: The Terms of the Truce between Them," *Journal of Higher Education* 34 (1963): 207; also see William L. Slayton (commissioner, Urban Renewal Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency), "Universities: Their Role in Urban Renewal" (presentation to WPC, Philadelphia, Sept. 20, 1962), box 152, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corporation General 1960–1965 IV," Office of the President Records.

nesses.<sup>70</sup> A year later, Harold Taubin's Planning Office produced the first Campus Development Plan, "a general guide for the University's physical development," which was approved by the PCPC; the Penn trustees agreed that the 1961 plan would be continuously updated to reflect new needs and opportunities.<sup>71</sup>

In May 1962, the trustees approved the Integrated Development Plan. Drawing from the 1954–59 Educational Survey and subsequent developments, this document specified the university's educational and research goals and embedded them in a set of capital proposals, many of which came to fruition as Unit 4 projects, notably undergraduate and graduate housing.<sup>72</sup> Such was the importance of the 1962 Integrated Development Plan, which incorporated the capital projects of the 1961 Campus Development Plan, that the trustees established a new vice presidency for coordinated planning. To raise the money that would fund the plan, the trustees launched a \$93-million development campaign for 1965–70. This highly successful push, which raised \$100,103,000 by May 1969, helped underwrite the capital projects in the Integrated Development Plan.<sup>73</sup>

Also in 1962, City Council authorized the RDA's establishment of Unit 4 (Penn) and Unit 5 (Drexel).<sup>74</sup> The plan for Unit 4, a 49.3-acre agglomeration that included four groupings of blocks tortuously configured from 34th to 40th Streets between Chestnut and Spruce, was aligned with the University Area Development Plan of 1950 and periodic updates that incorporated Penn's continuous-planning process.<sup>75</sup> Authorization by the Housing and Home Finance Administration (HHFA) and the award

<sup>70</sup> Francis J. Lammer to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Apr. 23, 1959; Harnwell to Lammer, May 11, 1959, box 2, folder "Redevelopment Authority 1962–63," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; Minutes, May 8, 1959, *Minutes of the Trustees*, 27:124, 127–28, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania Minutes.

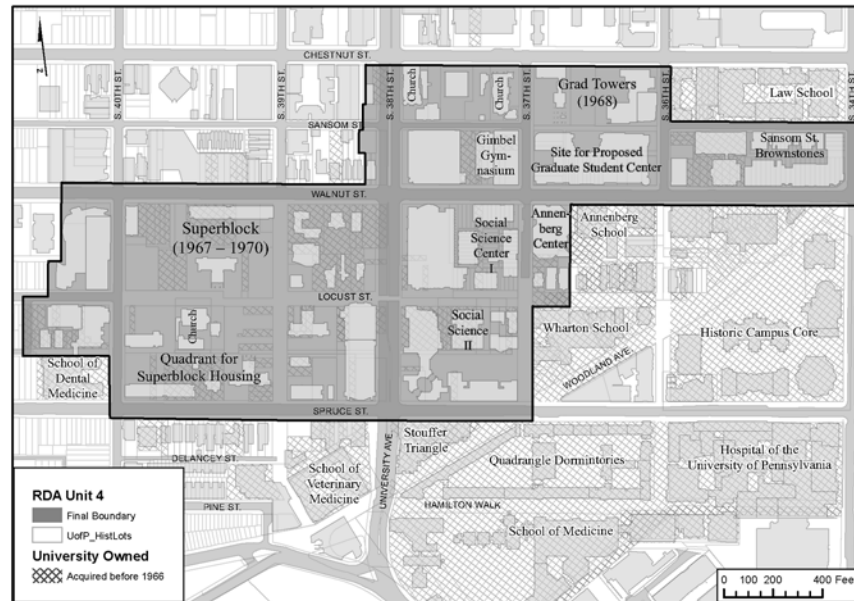
<sup>71</sup> University Planning Office, "University of Pennsylvania Development Plan" (report to the president, Mar. 1961), 22, box 126, Office of the President Records; "Penn Campus Planning History Project," prologue 1AA, folder "Facilities Planning A10," Office of the University Architect Harold Taubin Planning History Files (UPJ 9.4), UARC.

<sup>72</sup> University of Pennsylvania, *Integrated Development Plan* (Philadelphia, 1962), box 126, Office of the President Records.

<sup>73</sup> Hetherston, interview by Nichols; "The Best Years are Just Ahead," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 1965, 6–13; "\$100,000 Smile," *ibid.*, May 1969, 8–9.

<sup>74</sup> RDA, *Annual Report* (1962), 31.

<sup>75</sup> RDA, "Urban Renewal Area Data," Nov. 1961, document in *Survey and Planning Application: University City—Unit No. 4 Urban Renewal Area* (Philadelphia, Mar. 1962), Fisher Fine Arts Library, University of Pennsylvania.



RDA Unit 4. GIS map by J. M. Duffin. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

of federal urban renewal funds to the RDA as a two-to-one match gave the Redevelopment Authority its writ to execute the plan.<sup>76</sup> The Survey and Planning Application for Unit 4, completed in January 1962, listed 1,065 families living in the unit, 966 (90.7 percent) of which were white, and 99 (9.3 percent) black; also listed were 85 individuals and 99 “business concerns.”<sup>77</sup> To accomplish the goals of the 1962 Integrated Development Plan and its periodic updates, the university required “a single zoning designation” for Unit 4. Without an “institutional development zone” (IDZ), the university would be entangled in “10 different zoning designations” and “niggling variance requirements,” having to appeal to the Zoning Board of Adjustments each time it needed a variance in any of the categories. City Council approved the IDZ in 1965.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority Public Information Office, *How Urban Renewal Works in Philadelphia: A Step-by-Step Description of the City's Urban Renewal Procedure* (Philadelphia, 1967), 1–7; Harold Taubin, “The University Environment,” in Dobbin, *University, the City, and Urban Renewal*, 27n1.

<sup>77</sup> RDA, *Survey and Planning Application: University City—Unit No. 4*.

<sup>78</sup> “City Council Rezones Penn Campus, Clearing Way for Fine Arts Building,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 10, 1965; quote from editorial “What Zoning for Penn?” *ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1965;

\* \* \*

Thirty-Eighth Street, a one-way, north-south street that figured prominently in Unit 4, presented a formidable problem for Penn, as the city planned to widen the street into a "major boulevard" to accommodate the heavy traffic unleashed by the elimination of Woodland Avenue to its east. Indeed, as early as 1946, city planners had anticipated the congestive effects of removing the Woodland diagonal from the campus between 38th and Market Streets.<sup>79</sup> By the late sixties, the dangers posed by widening 38th Street in the absence of a pedestrian bridge were abundantly evident; foot traffic through the intersections of 38th Street and Spruce, Locust, and Walnut Streets was heavy, consisting of some twenty thousand daily crossings.<sup>80</sup> The pedestrian bridge was essential to Harnwell's project of establishing a contiguous campus between 32nd and 40th Streets; the bridge would join the newly planned residential West Campus, the jewel of Unit 4 planning, with the West Central Campus. Penn's Unit 4 planning priorities also included closing Locust Street west of 37th Street to 40th Street, extending redevelopment on the Social Science Center I block to 38th Street, and expanding the Wharton School.

Two sets of redevelopment projects completed Penn's expansion to 38th Street. Part of the Wharton School's expansion in Unit 4 came at the expense of the eighteen-unit Victoria Apartments at the southeast corner of 38th and Locust, property Penn acquired in 1926.<sup>81</sup> The RDA leveled the aging Victoria and cleared the rubble for a parking lot that covered the site until 1986, when the university built the Steinberg Conference Center/Aresty Institute for Executive Education. One block to the east, in the area of 37th and Spruce Streets, the RDA bulldozed a commercial district for Vance Hall, the Wharton School's brick-and-glass graduate building, which opened in 1973, its entrance facing the former roadbed of Irving Street. In 1966, the RDA condemned the properties

---

also see University of Pennsylvania, *Campus Development Plan* (Philadelphia, Apr. 1966), box 21, folder "Campus Design Study 68-69," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>79</sup> Raymond F. Leonard (PCPC), to Edmund N. Bacon, memorandum, Sept. 6, 1946, and Bacon to Leonard, memorandum, Nov. 29, 1947, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1946-1950," PCPC Files.

<sup>80</sup> Arthur R. Freedman (Office of Planning and Design) to Victor Rebor (Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority [SEPTA]), Nov. 18, 1969, box 24, folder "38th Street 1969-70," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>81</sup> See 1942 and 1962 Land Use Maps, Map Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia, at <http://libwww.freelibrary.org/maps/mosaic/>. These maps can also be viewed at the *Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network* website at <http://www.philageohistory.org/tiles/viewer>.



between Social Science Center I and the east side of 38th Street for clearance and transfer to Penn.<sup>82</sup> Here the university erected cheaply built, single-story structures intended to be temporary quarters for the university bookstore and for retail merchants displaced by projects in Unit 4. These unfortunate buildings endured until the late 1990s, when the Wharton School finally bulldozed the block for construction of the massive, \$140-million Huntsman Hall, which opened in 2002.

The Class of 1949 pedestrian bridge was the last Unit 4 project in the West Central Campus. In order to meet the city's clearance standard of 16.6 feet, construction of a gradually sloping, reinforced-concrete pedestrian ramp over 38th Street required lowering the street eight feet below its present elevation. The accompanying street-widening project was under way in 1970, though not before undergraduates had already settled into new dormitories in the Superblock, the moniker given to the modernist residential enclave west of the thoroughfare.<sup>83</sup> Finally completed in 1973, "the bridge," declared Harold Taubin, "has enabled the University to create a continuous pedestrian-oriented enclave."<sup>84</sup>

A "tripartite agreement" between the RDA, the Pennsylvania Higher Education Facilities Authority (HEFA), and the university governed redevelopment of the undergraduate Superblock as well as the block bounded by Chestnut, 36th, Samson, and 37th Streets, which was redeveloped for two high-rise graduate dormitories. The RDA conveyed the properties to the HEFA, which built and then leased the dormitories to Penn for forty years. The university's obligation was a semiannual rent to amortize the loan; after forty years Penn would own the buildings.<sup>85</sup>

Before redevelopment, the Superblock comprised four crowded residential blocks that included remnants of West Philadelphia's "streetcar suburb," among them several fine Victorian houses and stately turn-of-the-century mansions built by Philadelphia's Drexel, Fels, Eisenlohr, and Potts families; St. Mary's Episcopal Church, which dated to 1873; and a

<sup>82</sup> *Mapping Penn.*

<sup>83</sup> "38th and Locust Street Pedestrian Plaza and Bridge Program" (typescript draft, [1968?]), box 20, folder "38th Street 67-68," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; RDA, *Annual Report* (1968), 31.

<sup>84</sup> Harold Taubin, *A Brief History and Compilation of Trustee Actions Concerned with the Planning and Development of the West Philadelphia Campus* (Philadelphia, Sept. 1976), box 55, folder 19, Taubin Planning History Files.

<sup>85</sup> Pennsylvania Higher Education Facilities Authority (hereafter HEFA), "Official Statement in Regard to \$56,600.00, University of Pennsylvania Revenue Bonds of 1968" (preliminary draft, Aug. 1968), box 21, folder "Higher Education 1968-69," *ibid.*

branch of the Philadelphia Free Library at the corner of 40th and Walnut Streets. The overwhelming majority of the blocks' 1,220 residents were white.<sup>86</sup> Students lived in boardinghouses and fraternities, the latter contributing a nighttime racket to the neighborhood.<sup>87</sup> Most of the mansions and Victorians were spared the wrecking ball, as were the church and the library. The other structures, including thirteen fraternities, were leveled in 1968 and 1969, leaving a wasteland on which the new dormitories would rise.<sup>88</sup> The streets department closed four thoroughfares in the Superblock: Locust, Chancellor, and Irving in 1968 and 1969 and 39th Street in 1971 and 1975.<sup>89</sup>

The Unit 4 plan called for three T-shaped, concrete-and-steel dormitories of twenty-five stories patterned on the model of Le Corbusier's "tall towers," each to house approximately one thousand students. Three low-rise dormitories—four-story walk-ups to accommodate 550 students—were also planned, as well as a dining commons building and a parking garage.<sup>90</sup> The RDA acquired the properties in 1966 and conveyed them to the HEFA in 1969. G. Holmes Perkins spearheaded development of the modernist Superblock complex and wielded his authority heavy-handedly as chair of the PCPC to forestall an objection by the RDA that the plan "seemed to have a lot of open space and the land wasn't used as densely as it had been before." Perkins's architectural firm was a consultant to the project, a genuine conflict of interest. "In this case we were supporting the interests of the city," Perkins unabashedly told the *Evening Bulletin*, "I think the city was being extraordinarily well served."<sup>91</sup> In any event, the six Superblock residence halls opened between 1970 and 1972.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *City Blocks*, 1960. Displacement data for these blocks are not available for this study.

<sup>87</sup> Fran Scott, interview by John Puckett, Sept. 27, 2008.

<sup>88</sup> Unit 4 urban renewal compelled the relocation of seventeen fraternities, some of them to the Victorian 3901 block of Spruce Street. "Fraternity Relocation" (handwritten chart, [1968–69]), box 21, folder "Fraternities 68–69"; Lillian G. Burns to Henry M. Chance III, memorandum, Oct. 27, 1967, box 19, folder "Fraternities 1967–68"; Agreement between Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania and the Delancy Street Residents Association, Jan. 17, 1967, folder "Fraternities 1969–70," all in VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>89</sup> Active Property Files 57, 389, 405, 410, University Real Estate Title Papers, Office of the Treasurer, (UPH 500), UARC.

<sup>90</sup> HEFA, "Official Statement."

<sup>91</sup> "Redevelopment Staff Acts on Orders, Reverses Opposition to Penn Housing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 28, 1968. A photograph in Strong and Thomas, *Book of the School*, 50, shows Perkins-Romañach as associate architects for the Superblock. In February 1968, Mayor James Tate refused to renew Perkins's appointment as planning commission chair.

<sup>92</sup> Late in his life, Perkins told a reporter that the decision "to go up in the air" was not driven by his commitment to modernism: "It wasn't a philosophical idea at all. It wasn't saying this was how



Construction of high- and low-rise dormitories in the Super Block area of Unit 4, 1970 (looking east from 40th Street, with St. Mary's Episcopal Church at center). Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

By the early 1960s, Penn could boast three buildings designed by world-famous international modernists: Hill Hall, by Eero Saarinen, and the Richards Biology Building and Goddard Laboratories, both by Louis Kahn. Yet as the Great Expansion rolled out, the university relied on architects of lesser distinction—garden-variety modernists approved by the General State Authority—to design, among other structures, the Van Pelt/Dietrich library complex and the buildings in the two social science centers, in a palette of brown brick with concrete trim. Today, Penn's eclectic campus retains a strong modernist component from the Harnwell era—the GSA buildings, the Le Corbusier-style undergraduate Superblock, and the concrete-and-steel Graduate Towers on the 3600 block of Chestnut Street, also in Unit 4, completed in 1970.

---

you ought to live, or this was a better way to live. But the fact was that if you were going to put 3,500 students on that block, that was the only way you could do it." Yochi Dreazen, "The Man behind the Superblock," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept./Oct.1999, 12–13. On Perkins in the broader context of American modernism, see Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007), 13 and passim.

\* \* \*

In Unit 4, Section 112 allowed Penn to replace marginal businesses on the boundary streets of the central campus—Walnut on the north, Spruce on the south—with academic buildings, administrative offices, and upscale retail operations. In 1967, the General State Authority completed the university's Franklin Building, for administration and general services, at the center of the 3401 block of Walnut Street. Its next-door neighbor, the art deco West Philadelphia Title and Trust Company at the corner of 36th and Walnut Streets, would be the only pre-urban renewal building left standing after the Walnut clearances; later renamed the Mellon Bank Building, it now houses a women's clothing chain.<sup>93</sup> In 1966, two blocks to the west, the GSA-funded Bernard F. Gimbel Gymnasium (today's David S. Pottruck Health and Fitness Center) arose on the northwest corner of 37th and Walnut Streets, a site previously occupied by Kelly and Cohen, a popular campus eatery displaced by Unit 4 redevelopment and relocated on 38th Street.<sup>94</sup>

Penn planned two large-scale projects for the Walnut Street commercial corridor between 34th and 37th Streets: a university graduate center and computer center, and an eleven-story building for university offices and upscale retail and chain restaurant operations.<sup>95</sup> The plan also called for the renovation and commercial development of mid-nineteenth-century brownstones on Sansom Street between 34th and 36th Streets. The goal was to "bring to the University the same liveliness that is provided by Harvard Square."<sup>96</sup> As early as 1963, Walnut Street property owners prepared to mount a legal challenge to urban renewal in Unit 4. University planners worried that Louis Weisenthal, an alleged slum lord and speculator who owned at least twenty-eight rental properties in Unit 4, including ten in the 3401 block of Walnut, would tie up the university in litigation while he jockeyed to raise the value of his buildings.<sup>97</sup> According to the *Daily Pennsylvanian*,

<sup>93</sup> *Mapping Penn*; Thomas and Brownlee, *Building America's First University*, 268–71.

<sup>94</sup> Thomas, *Architectural Tour*, 138; "University Ousts Local Merchants," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Feb. 25, 1965.

<sup>95</sup> "University Square: The Plan for 3401 Walnut Street," *Almanac*, Nov. 23, 1971, 7, clipping, box 26, folder "Commercial 1971–72," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>96</sup> Executive Planning Committee on the Physical Plant, minutes, Oct. 6, 1969, box 26, folder "Commercial 1971–72," *ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Lillian G. Burns to John C. Hetherston, memorandum, June 21, 1963, box 2, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1962–63," and stenographic transcript of meeting held on Wednesday, Feb.

Weisenthal's commercial properties were in a state of disrepair: "The ceiling literally fell on Jos. A Banks [a clothing store] a month ago, crashing to the floor with three large fluorescent light fixtures in tow, and totally smashing a heavy wooden armchair, besides slicing a three-inch piece out of a wooden clothes rack . . . Merchants have complained of hundreds of leaks in the buildings, causing linoleum to break and crack."<sup>98</sup>

At issue in the 3601 block of Walnut were properties owned by the restaurateur Charles Pagano and his family, which occupied "the major portion of the site allocated for the construction of the computer center."<sup>99</sup> Pagano joined Weisenthal and another litigant in filing a preliminary objection with the RDA, challenging the city's claim that Unit 4 was blighted.<sup>100</sup> "Well, as far as I can see, it's firmly blighted," remarked Edmund Bacon.<sup>101</sup> To avoid protracted litigation, even though Pagano's case was flimsy, the RDA arranged a deal that designated him as the redeveloper of two commercial corners at 38th and Chestnut Streets. Penn's attorneys and the RDA also cut a deal with Weisenthal whereby he agreed to withdraw his preliminary objection and foreswear further legal action. In the late spring of 1968, the RDA designated Weisenthal as the redeveloper for three areas, one being the lucrative southwest corner of 36th and Chestnut, where retail storefronts were planned for the first floor of the proposed Graduate Towers. Sweetening the pot, the Penn trustees designated Weisenthal as the rental agent for the planned commercial district in the 3401 block of Walnut, adding \$106,000 (\$713,000 in 2013 dollars) to seal the deal.<sup>102</sup>

---

1, 1967 at the RDA, box 18, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1966-67," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; Also see "Lou Weisenthal's Properties" (unpublished list, Feb. 13, 1967), box 11, folder "Units 4 and 5 Litigation 1967-68," WPC Records.

<sup>98</sup> "Weisenthal Says Properties Not Blighted," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 1, 1968.

<sup>99</sup> "Impact of Objections by Weisenthal, Pagano, and Raymond on Implementation of the Campus Development Plan" (typescript draft, Feb. 2, 1967), box 18, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1966-67," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>100</sup> RDA, "Status Report of Preliminary Objections to Declaration of Taking," [1967], box 18, folder "Redevelopment Authority 1966-67," *ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> "Meeting held on Wednesday, Feb. 1, 1967, at the offices of The Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia" (stenographic transcript), *ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> See agreements dated May and June 1968, *ibid.*

\* \* \*

The planners failed to realize their extravagant plans to build a graduate center and a computer center on the 3601 block of Walnut Street. Unable to muster any significant contribution from the General State Authority, the university decided in 1972 that the graduate center was too expensive to complete, and it also quashed the plan for the computer center.<sup>103</sup> In 1976 the RDA finally demolished all the buildings on this block, including the House of Pagano ("Pizzeria, Restaurant, Cocktails"), Ye Olde Tobacconist, and the William Penn Bowling Center.<sup>104</sup> It allowed Penn to use the empty full block as a parking lot, which blighted the main thoroughfare of campus for twenty years. In the late 1990s, Penn, under President Judith Rodin, orchestrated a massive redevelopment of the block as a lavish hotel, restaurant, and retail complex.

The university's redevelopment problems in the 3401 block of Walnut were compounded by the resistance mounted by the tenants on the adjoining block, 3400 Sansom Street, which the RDA had condemned in 1966.<sup>105</sup> In April 1970, the savvy and feisty residents of this bohemian block, among them faculty members and alumni of the Graduate School of Fine Arts, organized the Sansom Street Committee Inc. "primarily to offer an alternative to the existing means and results of urban renewal." The organizers included, among others, Penn architecture student Elliot Cook, owner of La Terrasse Restaurant; Cook's restaurant manager, Judy Wicks, the future proprietor of the famous White Dog Café; and Robert Engman, a sculptor and professor in the Graduate School of Fine Arts. The Sansom Committee campaigned to preserve the block's unique character, embodied in its signature physical structures: a half-block of storied Victorian brownstones dating back to 1870–71. They aimed to recruit owner-managed restaurants and shops of local origin and bohemian character to the ground floors of the block, leaving the second and third floors as single-family residences. They campaigned to protect their homes and other vested interests in the block—in Cook and Wick's case, La

<sup>103</sup> Walnut Street photographs, box 36, folder 13, University Photograph Collection, 1870–1990, UARC; John C. Hetherston to Phillip Rief (professor of sociology), Mar. 1 1972, box 28, folder "Graduate Center 1971–72," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>104</sup> "Redevelopment Authority Sets April as Date for Walnut St. Demolition," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Feb. 10, 1976.

<sup>105</sup> Titus D. Hewryk to Roosevelt Dicks (OPD), memorandum, Nov. 11, 1971, box 28, folder "Commercial 1971–72," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records. Also see Thomas and Brownlee, *Building America's First University*, 265–66.



Looking east along the 3601 block of Walnut Street, with narrow entrance to McAlpin Street at left, 1964. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

Terrasse.<sup>106</sup> La Terrasse stood apart from the “basic grunge” places of Walnut Street, the downscale eateries and smoke-filled hangouts where students routinely congregated: “places like Smokey Joe’s, Pagano’s, Kelly and Cohen, Grand’s, and the Penn Luncheonette, better known as the Dirty Drug.” In contrast, La Terrasse was “like a Left Bank place,” specializing in regional French cuisine. “It was an escape from time and place,” one former habitué recalled. “Once you were in there it felt very European—certainly not West Philadelphia.”<sup>107</sup>

The Sansom organizers also fought to block the RDA’s demolition of historic red brick buildings in the adjacent 3401 block of Walnut Street.<sup>108</sup> Waging a protracted legal battle in the name of housing conservation, environmental protection, and artful redevelopment—a fight they funded themselves—they stymied Penn’s plans for a multistory mall and office complex in this section of Unit 4 for another fifteen years. A grudging agreement was finally reached in 1984 to allow Penn to build the present commercial and office building at 3401 Walnut and to give the Sansom Street litigants control of their block.

<sup>106</sup> Judy Wicks, interview by John Puckett, Nov. 23, 2009.

<sup>107</sup> Jon Caroulis, “Of Dirty Drugs and White Dogs,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 1997, 27–32.

<sup>108</sup> Wicks, interview by Puckett.



Contemporary view: East along the same 3601 block of Walnut Street, showing the University Square commercial complex, with the Inn at Penn, high-end shops, and the University Bookstore. Michael M. Koehler, photographer. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

*Penn's "Shadow Expansion": The Unit 3 Imbrolio*

In Unit 4, Penn staked a legal claim to the properties on which it built its modern campus and established a university-compatible commercial zone. The university lacked such a warrant for redevelopment in a predominately black neighborhood north of the campus that Penn and city officials regarded as blighted and detrimental to the university's long-term interests. Here the city established RDA Unit 3.

The RDA's annual report of 1960 announced the creation of Unit 3, which ran approximately from Powelton and Lancaster Avenues south to Chestnut Street, between 34th and 39th Streets. Unit 3 properties would be redeveloped in conjunction with the West Philadelphia Corporation, an institutional coalition that included Penn, the Drexel Institute, the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, and the Presbyterian Hospital and Osteopathic Medical School in West Philadelphia. The RDA heralded Unit 3 as "a major step toward the concept of a great university city extending from the Schuylkill River to 44th Street."<sup>109</sup> The

<sup>109</sup> RDA, *Annual Report* (1960).



orchestration of Unit 3—the RDA demolitions, the construction of the much ballyhooed University City Science Center, and the permanent removal of the unit’s predominantly black population—undermined Penn’s community relations for decades after the clearances, with after-shocks that are still felt today.

\* \* \*

The proximate cause for establishing the West Philadelphia Corporation was a single, violent incident. On the rainy night of April 25, 1958, In-Ho Oh, a twenty-six-year-old South Korean graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, was set upon by black youths and brutally murdered in Powelton Village.<sup>110</sup> The motive for the killing, which sent shock waves across the city, was never conclusively determined, though speculation was rife that the youths were on the prowl for ticket money to a dance at a nearby church that evening. Media reports on the crime and its perpetrators, though accurate as to some of the details of the murder, were sensationalist and prejudicial toward African Americans. The language contained in these reports, which referred to the crime as “a barbarous killing executed with jungle-like ferocity,” and an “outburst of savagery,” and which characterized the perpetrators as “uncivilized, and bound to be a menace to society” speaks for itself.<sup>111</sup> Describing the youthful suspects as “cowardly savages,” a *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorial declaimed: “University of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute of Technology authorities are understandably concerned because of the continuing wave of hold-ups and attacks in the area near the schools and student residences.”<sup>112</sup> The founding of the West Philadelphia Corporation followed the In-Ho Oh tragedy in short order.

The initial recommendation for such a corporation had come from the urban planner and future Penn president Martin Meyerson in 1956, when he was a professor in the School of Fine Arts. Drawing on his experience with the South East Chicago Commission, an entity of the University of Chicago working to stabilize and upgrade the university’s boundary com-

<sup>110</sup> “Gang Murders Korean Student in West Philadelphia,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Apr. 26, 1958.

<sup>111</sup> “Killing Called ‘Jungle-Like,’ 11 Denied Bail,” *ibid.*, Apr. 30, 1958; “Gang Murders Korean Student,” *ibid.*, Apr. 26, 1958; “The Price Borum Must Pay” (editorial), *ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1958.

<sup>112</sup> “Wipe out Street Gangs” (editorial), *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Apr. 29, 1958; “Nine Indicted in Oh Killing,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 17, 1958.

munity of Hyde Park, Myerson warned that Penn, like Chicago, could “create a desirable neighborhood, or . . . stand by and see develop a ‘sea of residential slums with commercial and institutional islands.’” He called for a “West Philadelphia planning and development corporation led by U.P. [and other local higher education institutions and hospitals].” Meyerson believed that Penn could not create a “community of scholars” without the prerequisite of an attractive neighborhood that included “decent housing, open space, good schools, shopping, safe streets, [and] absence of blight.” Citing Columbia University’s Morningside Heights Inc. and the South East Chicago Commission as precedents, he prefigured the West Philadelphia Corporation’s adoption of an area-wide strategy.<sup>113</sup>

The South East Chicago Commission (SECC) provided a model for the WPC. Created in 1952, the SECC was the mediating structure for the University of Chicago’s “overwhelming presence” in Hyde Park urban renewal. Nominally a coalition of six area-wide agencies, the SECC was in fact “a university creation,” one that was “generally regarded as an appendage” to the university. The accelerating in-migration from Chicago’s South Side “Black Belt” in no small way motivated the creation of the SECC and the University of Chicago’s urban renewal plan for Hyde Park-Kenwood, the goal of which, writes the historian Arnold Hirsch, was “a predominately white and economically upgraded community.”<sup>114</sup> An occasionally ruthless pragmatist, Julian Levi, head of the SECC, bluntly expressed a sentiment that would inspire the West Philadelphia Corporation, though without such frank public language:

If we are really serious about the needs of our institution, then our problem is not one of compromise; it is rather the establishment of priorities. If we are really serious about the next generation of teachers and scholars, lawyers and doctors, physicists and chemists, then we have got to worry about the adequate housing of the graduate student; about the clearing of land for a new laboratory; about the closing of streets to divert traffic from campuses; about the development of a “compatible environment” includ-

<sup>113</sup> Martin Meyerson, “The Future of the University of Pennsylvania Neighborhood” (draft of possible points to be made to administration and trustees, June 30, 1957), box 5, folder “Campus Expansion,” History of the University Project Records. Meyerson does not provide any attribution for his quote.

<sup>114</sup> Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Chicago, 1998), chap. 5, “A Neighborhood on a Hill: Hyde Park and the University of Chicago,” 135–70, quotes 144, 152, 157.

ing substantial slum clearance. . . . We cannot have it both ways. We are either going to have graduate students, who produce leadership for the next generation . . . or we are not going to achieve these results because we are unwilling to disturb existing owners and populations.<sup>115</sup>

The University of Chicago/SECC tandem accomplished its goal of a “compatible environment.”<sup>116</sup> The university’s own physical expansion played only a minor role in the Hyde Park-Kenwood project and was surpassed in magnitude by Penn’s campus-core expansion in RDA Units 1B, 2, and 4; surrogate campus expansion in Unit 3 via the University City Science Center brought even more acreage into Penn’s orbit.

Planning for the WPC proceeded throughout the summer and fall of 1958 and involved consultation with Julian Levi and Jack Meltzer of the South East Chicago Commission. John Moore, Penn’s business vice president, underscored the commission’s contribution: “The [bylaws] committee met with Jack Meltzer for two days and these by-laws and the statement of purposes included in them were drafted with his advice. We have followed very closely the framework of the South East Chicago Commission.” Indeed, at this point the institutional planners called their corporate entity the West Philadelphia Commission.<sup>117</sup> The West Philadelphia Corporation was publicly announced on April 22, 1959, and hailed by Mayor Richardson Dilworth as “a splendid step toward improving and rehabilitating a key area of our City,” a bulwark “against the inroads of deterioration.” On July 10, 1959, the Court of Common Pleas approved the articles of incorporation of the WPC.<sup>118</sup>

Penn was the senior partner in the WPC. The general plan appeared in Martin Meyerson’s memorandum at the Graduate School of Fine Arts in 1956. John Moore organized the meetings that planned the WPC,

<sup>115</sup> Julian Levi, speech delivered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, July 10, 1959, quoted in Hirsch, *Second Ghetto*, 154. Privately, Levi confided that the target was “slum and blight which will attract lower class Whites and Negroes”; memorandum cited in LaDale C. Winling, “Building the Ivory Tower: Campus Planning, University Development, and the Politics of Urban Space” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 163.

<sup>116</sup> John Hall Fish, *Black Power/White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago* (Princeton, NJ, 1973), 77.

<sup>117</sup> John L. Moore, typescript copy of statement, Dec. 1958 (penciled date), box 73, folder “The West Philadelphia Corporation Community Relations 1955–1960 II,” Office of the President Records. Gaylord Harnwell told Senator John F. Kennedy, “We believe that we can do as distinguished a job as Chicago has in its pioneering work in this field”; Harnwell to Kennedy, Sept. 24, 1959, *ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Lillian G. Burns to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Sept. 2, 1959, *ibid.*

and, in deference to Penn's dominant stature, Harnwell was appointed president and director of the executive board, *primus inter pares*; Harnwell served as board chair of the corporation until 1977.<sup>119</sup> Penn's annual financing of the WPC was more than the total amount paid by the other four institutions.<sup>120</sup>

The WPC established the boundaries of a district that the city and the "higher eds and meds" in the City Planning Commission's University Area advertised as "University City." The borders of University City were Powelton Avenue on the north, 44th Street on the west, and the Schuylkill River and the Media line of the Pennsylvania Railroad on the east and south.<sup>121</sup> The WPC aimed to develop "a community which holds and attracts institutional cultural facilities, compatible industrial and commercial uses, standard and marketable residential areas served by adequate schools, parks, churches and shopping, thus providing a supply and range of housing which will appeal to large numbers of the population not now attracted to the area."<sup>122</sup> The *Philadelphia Inquirer* rhapsodized:

University City will transform this area, sprinkled now with dilapidated commercial structures and substandard housing, into a park-like panorama of college campuses, educational and medical buildings, research centers—plus appropriately designed and attractively landscaped business and residential communities. . . . It is a new kind of approach to urban redevelopment whereby the established institutions of higher learning seek to fulfill important roles of good citizenship and civic duty.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Taubin, interview by Nichols; Gaylord P. Harnwell, "An Environment for Learning," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115 (1971): 170–86; Leo Molinaro to Board of Directors, memorandum, "The Annual Report of the West Philadelphia Corporation" (unpublished report, Oct. 11, 1960), box 152, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corp. Annual Reports 1960–65," Office of the President Records.

<sup>120</sup> Gaylord P. Harnwell to Harry A. Batten, W. M. Armistead Foundation Inc., May 16, 1961, box 154, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corp. (Financial Campaign for 1960–1961) 1960–1965," Office of the President Records. At \$26.4 million, Penn's total payroll was more than six times that of Drexel, the second-largest institutional partner.

<sup>121</sup> Marketers Research Service Inc., "A Profile of Basic Market Factors in the West Philadelphia Corporation Area" (prepared for the West Philadelphia Corporation, Apr. 1960), box 73, folder "Community Relations West Philadelphia Corporation 1955–1960 I," and Walker & Murray Associates, map of West Philadelphia Corporation area and University City, [1961–62], box 156, folder "West Phila. Corp. General 61–62," *ibid.*; also see "Harnwell Urges Plan for 'University City,'" *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 12, 1960.

<sup>122</sup> Quote from Gaylord P. Harnwell, "Environment for Learning," 173. Also see "Outline of Remarks by Leo Molinaro" (presentation to UPA board of trustees, Oct. 4, 1960), box 4, folder "Mr. Molinaro 1959–61," WPC Records.

<sup>123</sup> "University City: Dream to Reality," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1960.

Put differently, the goal of “Brainsville” (the press moniker for University City) was “to attract as many campus-type families back to the area as possible.”<sup>124</sup> The historian Margaret Pugh O’Mara interpreted the WPC’s approach skeptically as a self-conscious effort to build a “new city of knowledge”—populated by a “white, professional community of scholars”—and “to replace the disorderly urban landscape with an idealized community of scientific production.”<sup>125</sup> The fact that these scholars would be overwhelmingly white, simply by virtue of the racial demographics of higher education and the learned professions of the 1960s, would not have eluded the WPC planners.

The planners proposed an R&D center for Unit 3, projecting it as the catalyst for an economic, cultural, and scholarly efflorescence in University City. The PCPC hailed the University City Science Center project as “a substantial research development” involving “a concentration of government- and industry-sponsored basic research that benefits by being able to take advantage of the staff and facilities at the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute of Technology.”<sup>126</sup> The Science Center “was to be a place where scientific innovation literally existed next door to the commercial application of technology.”<sup>127</sup> In the late fall of 1963, the Court of Common Pleas approved articles of incorporation for the University City Science Center (UCSC) and the University City Science Institute (UCSI).<sup>128</sup> The UCSC was the RDA’s designated real estate developer for the Science Center complex.<sup>129</sup> The purpose of the Science Institute, the corporation’s “wholly owned non-profit subsidiary” was to recruit scientists, industrial research teams, and technicians; link profes-

<sup>124</sup> Hugh Scott, “Brainsville on the March,” *Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine*, July 19, 1964, 4–5.

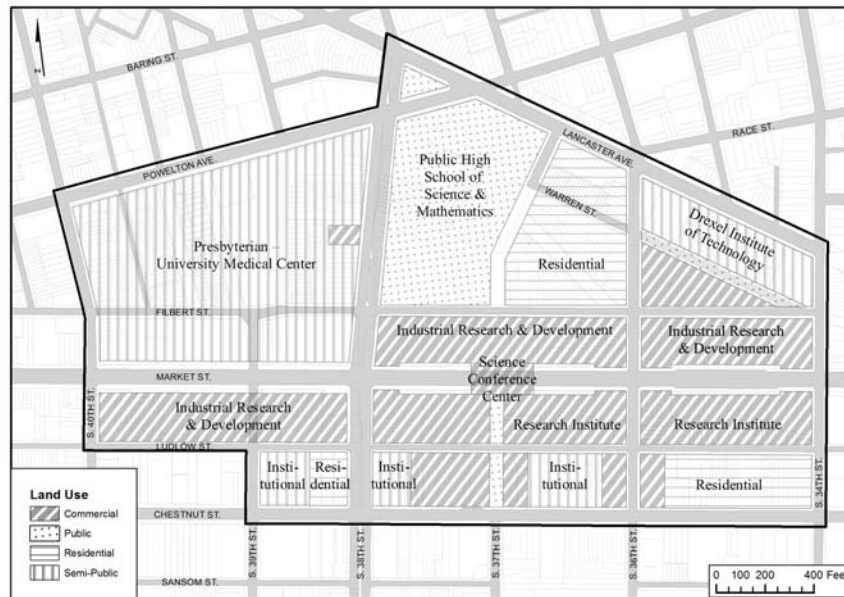
<sup>125</sup> Margaret Pugh O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the New Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), 158. A WPC report listed five “signs of deterioration,” one of which was “the accelerated in-migration of non-academic lower-income families settling in concentrated groups [i.e., working-poor blacks].” “University City—Proposed Land Use: A Report to the West Philadelphia Corporation” (unpublished report, [1959–60?]), box 73, folder “The West Philadelphia Corporation Community Relations 1955–1960 II,” Office of the President Records.

<sup>126</sup> PCPC, *University City—3: Redevelopment Area Plan* (Philadelphia, 1962), box 156, folder “West Phila. Corp. Ex. Com. May 22, 1962,” Office of the President Records.

<sup>127</sup> O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 168.

<sup>128</sup> “Papers Are Filed for New Science Center and Institute in West Philadelphia,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 29, 1963, clipping, box 153, folder “Community Relations—West Phila. Corp. Exec. Com. Agenda, Minutes, etc. 1960–65 X,” Office of the President Records.

<sup>129</sup> John C. Hetherston, “University City Science Center” (typescript draft, Mar. 20, 1964), box 173, folder “University City Science Center Corporation 1963–1964,” *ibid.*



Unit 3 plan for University City Science Center and its affiliated high school; the latter opened as University City High School in 1972, with no attachment to UCSC. GIS map by J. M. Duffin. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

sionals and academics; and publish research results and market patented research products.<sup>130</sup>

The Penn trustees made the university's participation in the Science Center contingent on their holding "no less than 51 percent of the stock of the corporation." Penn not only controlled 51 percent of the total stock but also held a vastly disproportionate share of stock vis-à-vis any of the other shareholders, including Drexel; by the spring of 1967, Penn held two thousand shares of common stock versus one hundred shares for each of eighteen other Delaware Valley "higher eds and meds" in the Science Center.<sup>131</sup> The center's president was the Penn trustee Paul J. Cupp. Of the nine officers of the corporation, Penn members held four of the

<sup>130</sup> Harnwell, "University City Science Institute" (typescript draft, Mar. 1, 1964), box 173, folder untitled, *ibid.*; Mackenzie S. Carlson, *A History of the University City Science Center* (Philadelphia, 1999), accessed Sept. 9, 2004, <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/upwphil/ucsc.html>; "A History of the University City Science Center," box 173, folder untitled, Office of the President Records.

<sup>131</sup> "History of the University City Science Center," appendix 1.

appointments, and Leo Molinaro, the WPC's chief and Harnwell's confidante, served as a vice president of the UCSC and a watchdog for Penn's interests. Exemplifying the interlocking directorate that advanced Penn's interests in West Philadelphia, Gustave Amsterdam, chairman of the RDA, and a future Penn trustee, told his fellow Penn trustee Cupp, "The Redevelopment Authority is very anxious to see the University City Science Center become a physical reality."<sup>132</sup>

\* \* \*

A WPC memorandum from 1963 describes Unit 3 as an 82.3-acre site, with a total population of 3,432 people and 1,203 dwelling units, of which only 241 were owner-occupied; 987 families, of which 444 were white and 543 nonwhite; and 122 businesses. The planning for Unit 3 unleashed a groundswell of protest from African American residents and their allies, who fulminated that the planners were uprooting a neighborly community. Leo Molinaro vigorously denied this charge:

This area has never had any "neighborhood" identification, or organization. It was from the beginning, marginal in use and occupancy. All of the land from which protests have come (34th to 38th Streets; Market Street to Lancaster Avenue) is currently zoned for industrial and commercial uses. None of it is zoned for residential use. In other words, this is not a fine neighborhood which has been neglected and can now be restored.<sup>133</sup>

The civil rights activist and youth educator Walter Palmer, who grew up in this neighborhood from around 1941 to 1955—and who since the 1970s has been its leading apologist—sharply disputed Molinaro's claim that the area was not an organic community. Palmer described the neighborhood he recalled as "the Black Bottom" as a place where doors and windows were left open, and "anybody could walk in any time they wanted. . . . You could walk on the street [at] 2 o'clock, 3 o'clock in the morning." Palmer, whose extended family of twelve children and two adults lived in two rented rooms in the back of a beauty shop at 3645 Market Street, recalled a "spirit" that bound the residents of the neighborhood commu-

<sup>132</sup> Gustave G. Amsterdam to Paul J. Cupp, June 23, 1964, box 173, folder "University City Science Center General 1963–1964," Office of the President Records.

<sup>133</sup> Leo Molinaro to WPC Board of Directors, memorandum, May 20, 1963, box 156, folder "West Phila. Corp. General 1962–63," *ibid.*



Community meeting held by the RDA on Unit 3 redevelopment at the Drew School, Warren and DeKalb Streets. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, undated photo, ca. 1965-66. Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries.

nally, especially in the blocks from Market to Lancaster between 34th and 40th Streets. Simultaneously, however, Palmer suggested that he was raised in a community governed, in part at least, by fear and violence:

This was a culture—the gangs . . . protected you when you went to school. Nobody messed with anybody from the Black Bottom. You went to any school in West Philadelphia you wanted to, and [if] they knew you came from the Black Bottom, you were protected, you were safe. Nobody messed with you if you went to prison [or] jail, juvenile or adult, if they knew you were from the Black Bottom. That's how notorious this history was, how strong the history was, how strongly connected they were.<sup>134</sup>

This notoriety dominated outsiders' perceptions of the neighborhood.

<sup>134</sup> Walter Palmer, interviews by John Puckett, Sept. 26, 2008, Apr. 4, 2010.



Palmer did not contest that some form of blight existed in the neighborhood. Photographs of dilapidated houses, junk dealerships, and service loading zones on arterial streets in Unit 3 are also revealing.<sup>135</sup> According to 1960 census block data, 44 percent of the area's housing stock was "deteriorating" or "dilapidated"; only 55 percent was reported "sound."<sup>136</sup> And according to the RDA's 1964 application for a federal loan and grant, "of a total of 807 structures in the Clearance Section, 378 or 47% are structurally substandard to a point warranting clearance and 181 or 22% warrant clearance to remove . . . blighting influences."<sup>137</sup> Ironically, one of these blighting influences was the construction of the Market Street subway tunnel, which rattled houses and threw up debris from 1948 to 1955. Said Palmer, "You can imagine what that would do to houses and to properties, great big holes in the middle of the street . . . tons of brick and mortar all over the place."<sup>138</sup>

Palmer and other members of the Black Bottom Association, a cross-generational group he helped found in 1976, were embittered by the Unit 3 planners' assumption that "this neighborhood never had any identification" and by Penn's motives in Unit 3; the continuing hue and cry for reparations—admissions and scholarships for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the displaced residents—has always been directed at Penn, not Drexel or any other Science Center partner from the 1960s. Michael Zuckerman, a Penn history professor for forty-five years, calls Penn's role in Unit 3 "the invincible rallying point":

That is what really sticks in the craw; that is the thing that's usable as a weapon against Penn forever. And no matter how much it recedes into ancient history, it is what stokes the fire of skepticism about Penn and its intentions, certainty that Penn looks after Penn and anything else is window dressing at best. I think that there is an inevitably wary relationship between Penn and the neighborhood.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>135</sup> PCPC, *University City*—3.

<sup>136</sup> *City Blocks*, 1970.

<sup>137</sup> RDA, *University City Unit No. 3, Urban Renewal Area, Penna. R-128, Final Project Report Part I, Application for Loan and Grant* (Philadelphia, Nov. 30, 1964), box 4, Neighborhoods and Urban Renewal Collection (Acc. 980/781), Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries.

<sup>138</sup> Palmer, interviews by Puckett.

<sup>139</sup> Michael Zuckerman, interview by Mark Lloyd and John Puckett, Feb. 1, 2010.

In 1974, Palmer organized the first Black Bottom reunion. Two years later, a Black Bottom picnic was held in Fairmount Park in 1976; since then, it has been an annual event.<sup>140</sup> Glowing recollections in sensationalist newspaper accounts, not to mention the halo-effect dialogue of an oral history play produced on the Black Bottom of the 1940s and 1950s, give the impression of highly selective memories that mute the harsher aspects of that world.<sup>141</sup> The painful memory of displacement and the bitterness these former residents harbor is no doubt part, and perhaps the primary component, of their identification with the community they recall as the Black Bottom. Among the intangible losses experienced by older displaced residents was their status as neighborhood leaders. Mike Roepel, a retired city planner, said, "I can remember where some older folks deteriorated quicker because that's what kept them alive . . . because they were *it*, as you say—they were *the shit*."<sup>142</sup>

Such were the markers of an authentic communal life that planners such as Molinaro and his colleagues failed to understand. From the planners' perspective, there was nothing salvageable about such businesses as the Club Zelmar, Walker's Billiards, or the Bucket of Blood Tavern on Market Street or the tenements Palmer describes. It was "rock bottom in many ways," Molinaro recounted. Palmer never denied that the neighborhood was "rough and tough," or that an underground economy—a numbers racket and speakeasies, for example—thrived on the blocks; indeed, these were points of pride for him. Palmer himself was a gang leader; he told Matthew Countryman, the author of *Up South*, that "his first arrest came at the age of twelve for burglary of a University of Pennsylvania dormitory. During frequent run-ins with rival gangs as well as the police, Palmer survived a couple of stabbings, one gunshot wound, and repeated arrests."<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Palmer, interviews by Puckett.

<sup>141</sup> For example, see "For Some the Bottom Was Tops: Memories of Old W. Phila. Neighborhood Pulls Them Back," *Philadelphia Daily News*, Nov. 18, 1988. According to these sources, the annual picnic draws up to two thousand people.

<sup>142</sup> Mike Roepel, interview by John Puckett, June 11, 2009. On the psychological traumas associated with urban renewal, see Mindy Thompson Fulliove, *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It* (New York, 2004).

<sup>143</sup> Palmer, interviews by Puckett; Leo Molinaro, interviews by Mark Lloyd and John Puckett, Jul. 5, 2007, Aug. 26, 2008; Countryman, *Up South*, 191.

\* \* \*

In June 1962, the RDA reported that its property acquisitions in Unit 3 would displace an estimated 574 families, of whom 107 were white and 467 “nonwhite”; of the nonwhite families, 76 percent were tenants. Seventy percent of these families were eligible for federally subsidized public housing, suggesting a high rate of poverty.<sup>144</sup> In 1967, the WPC announced that all the city and federal authorizations had finally been obtained to complete urban renewal in Units 3, 4, and 5.<sup>145</sup> Unit 3 was parceled out to a total of seven developers, of which the major ones were the Science Center; the School District of Philadelphia, which built University City High School (originally planned as a Penn/Science Center-assisted school) on a block adjacent to the Science Center; and the Penn Presbyterian Medical Center. The RDA completed the demolitions by the fall of 1968. Citing data confirmed by the Science Center and the RDA, Karen Gaines of the Penn News Bureau reported that 2,653 people were “known to have been displaced” in Unit 3. Of this number, roughly 2,070 were black—here the calculation is imprecise, as “the exact breakdown by race” of 580 single people was not available. Gaines reported a conservative estimate of 290 single African Americans.<sup>146</sup>

Details are meager on the final disposition of the Unit 3 residents. Some Unit 3 African American families and individuals moved to Southwest Philadelphia; others moved farther west into Wynnfield, formerly a Jewish neighborhood.<sup>147</sup> A 1968 survey of about 15 percent of the displaced people conducted by the Volunteer Community Resources Council (VCRC), an affiliate of the Tabernacle Church in Unit 3, reported that fourteen of the sample families had moved to Mantua, a high-poverty neighborhood north of Spring Garden Street, where they reportedly experienced higher rents and gang violence.<sup>148</sup> Census block data show

<sup>144</sup> “Estimated Housing Requirements and Resources for Displaced Families,” University City Unit 3 (project no. R-128), June 1962, data attachment to RDA, *The Urban Renewal Plan for University City Unit No. 3 Urban Renewal Area* (Philadelphia, Apr. 1965), in authors’ possession. The RDA and the West Philadelphia Reality Board provided a relocation service in Unit 3.

<sup>145</sup> Petshek, *Challenge of Urban Reform*, 254.

<sup>146</sup> Karen Gaines to “all concerned,” memorandum, Oct. 30, 1968, box 214, folder “SDS versus University City Science Center—Student Affairs 1965–1970,” Office of the President Records.

<sup>147</sup> Pearl B. Simpson, *Black Bottom Picnic: A Collection of Essays, Poems, and Other Musings* (Philadelphia, 2005), 41–42.

<sup>148</sup> “Report of the Senate Advisory Committee on the February 1969 ‘Sit-In,’ University of Pennsylvania,” 13–14, box 322, folder 9, Office of the President Records; Roepel, interview by

that Unit 3 lost 3,934 people in the 1960s; the population fell from 4,603 in 1960 to 654 in 1970. Eight of the ten remaining owner-occupied buildings in Unit 3 in 1970 were "Negro-owned, and all of the ten were on a single block, from Warren to Lancaster between 36th and 37th streets, across from the rising fortress of University City High School."<sup>149</sup> Renewal Housing Inc., a black nonprofit redeveloper in Unit 3, rehabilitated the Warren Street houses.<sup>150</sup>

In January 1965, the UCSC purchased a headquarters building for the Science Center, formerly the home of the Stephen Greene Company, a printing firm, at 3401 Market Street. Acquisitions and clearances for the rest of the Science Center and University City High School proceeded in 1967, and the redevelopment of Market Street between 34th and 36th Streets was underway in 1968.<sup>151</sup> Having opened its first new building in November 1969, the Science Center recruited the Monell Chemical Senses Center, whose own building was completed in April 1971 and continues to operate. Yet the corporation was unable to match its R&D coup with Monell elsewhere on Market Street. For example, the federal Food and Drug Administration announced with fanfare, and then withdrew, its plans for a laboratory building. The General Services Administration put up a fifteen-story office building on the corner of 36th and Market Streets to house regional units of four federal agencies—Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education, and Welfare; Labor; and the Office of Economic Opportunity—a purpose that had nothing to do with research. The plan for a hotel and conference

---

Puckett; also see "Massive Craters Replace Homes of 3,000 in Area [sic] III," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 30, 1968. Rev. Edward Sims claimed that 5,200 were displaced, a figure entirely at odds with the 1960 Census of Housing; Sims, quoted in "Two Community Leaders Look at Their College," *College Management*, June 1969, 30.

<sup>149</sup> *City Blocks*, 1960, 1970.

<sup>150</sup> Young Great Society Architecture and Planning Center, *The Unit 3 Planning Charette: A Report to the University of Pennsylvania on University-Community Development* (Philadelphia, Oct. 13, 1969), box 24, folder "Quadripartite Commission 1969–70," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

<sup>151</sup> "Research and Development," *University City* 3, no. 4 (Feb. 1965), box 152, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corp. University City Bulletin 1960–65," Office of the President Records; "Urban Renewal Land Acquisition Begins in Redevelopment Units 3 & 4," *University City* 5, no. 3 (Mar. 1967): 1, 6; Carlson, *History of the University City Science Center*, WPC, news release, [Apr. 1967], WPC Records; RDA, re: Units 3, 4, 5, "Statement of Facts and Recommendations," Oct. 16, 1967, box 18, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1966–67," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; RDA, *Annual Report* (1968), quote from p. 32; WPC, *Ninth Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1969), box 188, folder "Annual Reports (Community Relations—West Philadelphia Corp.) 1965–1970," Office of the President Records.



Demolition on the south side of the 3400 block of Market Street, west of the intersection of Market and 34th Streets, 1967. In the background is the University City Science Center's first building, at 3401 Market Street. In January 1965 the Science Center purchased the 3401 Market Street building from the Stephen Greene Company, a printing firm. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

complex was never implemented, though it remained on the drawing board as late as 1985.<sup>152</sup>

The “gauntlet of research and research-serving facilities along Market Street” envisioned by Harnwell and Molinaro never materialized.<sup>153</sup> The Science Center was an aesthetic flop, a visual failure of modernist urban renewal, described by one journalist at the turn of the millennium as “a combination of cold, sterile-looking laboratory buildings and vast stretches of parking lots, which give the area a desolate industrial steppe feeling.”<sup>154</sup>

<sup>152</sup> On these developments, see Carlson, *History of the University City Science Center*, part 4, “Building the University Science Center (1969–present).” Also see Mary Ann Meyers to Paul F. Miller, memorandum re: “Financing for the University City Science Center’s World Forum,” Apr. 2, 1985, box 476, folder 18, Office of the President Records.

<sup>153</sup> Quote from Gaylord P. Harnwell, “The World’s Problems Have Become the University’s Problems,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 1966, 24.

<sup>154</sup> Samuel Hughes, “The West Philadelphia Story,” *ibid.*, Nov. 1997, <http://www.upenn.edu/gazette/1197/philly.html>. For a contemporary perspective, see and cf. John Marchese, “Is West Philly



Contemporary view of the 3400 block of Market Street: Looking southeast from the intersection of 36th and Market Streets, with University City Science Center buildings at center. Michael M. Koehler, photographer. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

R&D having been long abandoned as a criterion for rental space, multiple tenants leased space in the Science Center for diverse purposes; for example, in the 1990s, 3440 Market Street provided “swing-space” for Penn departments undergoing renovations on the main campus, a home for Penn’s College of General Studies, and classrooms for a for-profit medical training institute. Philadelphia’s “tax and regulatory environment,” which included a significant wage tax and other financial disincentives for corporations—on top of the deteriorating condition of the area’s public schools and accelerating incidents of violent crime—militated against the Science Center.<sup>155</sup> It was “an opportunity lost,” says a longtime observer of the Science Center,

---

the Next Center City?” *Philadelphia Magazine*, Jan. 2011, <http://www.phillymag.com/articles/feature-is-west-philly-the-next-center-city/>.

<sup>155</sup> O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 179–80; WPC, “18th Police District Crime Prevention Project” (unpublished typescript, [1971–72]), box 256, folder “Community Relations, West Philadelphia Corporation, 1970–1975, II,” Office of the President Records. The much-hyped University City High School evolved into a failed comprehensive high school.

that in the generation of high-tech explosion with Silicon Valley and Route 128 and Long Island, and the Washington corridor and all of those places, this was Philadelphia's, and what a fizzle! This was the best we could do—and obviously it's not the best we could do: what happened out King of Prussia way and the 202 corridor and all the rest is a success story. But I think this was the one that was touted, this is the one that got public resources from the city and state, this is the one that had the university pushing hard and this was never what it was cracked up to be.<sup>156</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Joined by students from other Delaware Valley colleges and universities, Penn student-activists staged a weeklong sit-in in February 1969 to protest Penn's role in the University City Science Center.<sup>157</sup> The College Hall sit-in of 1969 remains an iconic event in the university's postwar history, often invoked by liberals as the signal expression of this conservative university's better self, one of the "good" skeletons in Penn's closet for administrators to rattle publicly from time to time. In the long term, the compromise that came from the demonstration obligated the university, in perpetuity, to render transparent what had formerly been opaque, to repudiate the kind of unilateral, hierarchical decision making that made institutional expansion in Unit 3 a *fait accompli* before homeowners, renters, and merchants were brought into the process. The agreement reached with the Penn trustees guaranteed that any future expansion plans would follow deliberative consultation with West Philadelphia community leaders and residents who lived in the zone of the proposed expansion.

The completion of Units 3 and 4 marked the end of the University of Pennsylvania's Great Expansion.<sup>158</sup> Alienation and drift characterized Penn's community relations in the 1970s. Harnwell's successor, Martin Meyerson, had his hands full keeping the university on an even keel in the face of severe budget deficits; strained racial, gender, and labor relations; a national zeitgeist of political apathy on college campuses; and an urban

<sup>156</sup> Zuckerman, interview by Lloyd and Puckett.

<sup>157</sup> Judith Ann Fowler, "Six Days in College Hall: 'A Strange War in Which Both Sides Won,'" *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1969.

<sup>158</sup> The federal urban renewal program, which demolished some four hundred thousand residential units, was formally terminated in 1974, following a decade of urban disorders; Marc A. Weiss, "The Origins and Legacy of Urban Renewal," in *Federal Housing Policy and Programs: Past and Present*, ed. J. Paul Mitchell (New Brunswick, NJ, 1985), 253–76.

crisis that evoked great fear on the campus.<sup>159</sup> Starting with Sheldon Hackney's administration and accelerating rapidly after Judith Rodin's arrival at Penn in 1994, the university committed significant financial and human capital to West Philadelphia projects. Realizing that a crescendo of violent crime, abandoned housing, rampant drug dealing, failing schools, and intolerable litter jeopardized the university's future, Rodin launched a multipronged strategy, the West Philadelphia Initiatives, to address these problems. Her spectacularly successful project to transform the Walnut Street commercial corridor and the 40th Street business district took to heart some hard lessons from Penn's debacle in Unit 3 about the ethical and practical necessities of transparency and community consultation.<sup>160</sup> On the heels of the West Philadelphia Initiatives and flush with the success of President Amy Gutmann's \$3.5-billion capital campaign (2007–12), Penn has quietly expanded eastward from 32nd Street to develop a spectacular park and athletic center, Penn Park, on vacant land purchased from the US Postal Service. In 2010, the university purchased an industrial wasteland in Grays Ferry, on the south bank of the Schuylkill River, with plans to build a technology-transfer incubator for Penn researchers—ironically, the West Philadelphia Corporation's original purpose for building the University City Science Center.

In the 1950s and '60s, Penn and the city recognized that their futures were inextricably intertwined, and enlightened self-interest dictated the terms of their mutually beneficial urban renewal partnership. In the era of federally funded urban renewal, no university achieved a larger expansion or made a greater use of urban renewal tools than Penn. It was the quintessential urban renewal university, greater in this respect than Chicago, Columbia, or New York University.<sup>161</sup> The University of Pennsylvania

<sup>159</sup> John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, "Martin Meyerson's Dream of 'One University': The Penn Presidency 1970–1981, and Beyond," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 193–218. Not insignificantly, Meyerson is properly credited with the splendid landscaping of College Green and Woodland Walk in the historic core.

<sup>160</sup> Judith Rodin, *The University and Urban Renewal: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia, 2007).

<sup>161</sup> Properties acquired for campus expansion through federal-city urban renewal processes totaled approximately 41 acres for the University of Chicago (UC) and 22.5 acres for New York University (NYU), compared to 49.3 acres in Unit 4 for Penn (only a few acres of which were not dedicated to Penn; the comparative total rises when approximately 7.3 acres in Units 2 and 1B are added). Unlike Penn, Columbia University, notoriously associated with urban renewal because of its 1968 imbroglio with Harlem residents over a proposed gym in Morningside Park, did not expand its campus through a federally or city-funded urban renewal process; Columbia's expansion was, in effect, a private affair, based on the university's private purchases of SROs (single-room-occupancy



and the City of Philadelphia worked hand-in-glove to build a great American research university, though not without collateral damage and aesthetic missteps. The partnership continues today, symbolized by plans for a pedestrian bridge that would rise out of the Penn Park and cross the Schuylkill to join Penn and Center City, creating, for the first time, a truly contiguous “campus in the city.”

*University of Pennsylvania*

JOHN L. PUCKETT  
MARK FRAZIER LLOYD

---

hotels) in the neighborhood of the compact main campus. We categorize the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) as a de novo university, one that was built whole cloth on a 55-acre urban renewal clearance site, Harrison-Halsted, on the Near West Side; unlike Penn and the other urban renewal universities in our analysis, UIC was not an expanded institution. On UC, see Winling, “Building the Ivory Tower,” 152–225; on Columbia, see Michael H. Carriere, “Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010), 182–211; Hilary Ballon, “Morningside-Manhattanville Title I,” in *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York*, ed. Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson (New York, 2007), 260–63; on NYU, see Thomas J. Frusciano and Marilyn H. Pettit, *New York University and the City: An Illustrated History* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1997), 208–16; Hilary Ballon, “Washington Square South Title I, Washington Square Southeast Title 1,” in Ballon and Jackson, *Robert Moses and the Modern City*, 344–49; on UIC, see Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago’s West Side* (Chicago, 2005), chap. 4.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### *A Miller's Tale of Captivity, Ransom, and Remembrance, 1758–1811*

*The narratives of Richard Bard's captivity referenced in this essay are available online. We include links to these sources below (included also in the first footnote for each source) and invite our readers to consult them as they read through this essay.*

*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 11, 1758, reprinted in *New York Mercury*, May 15, 1758: [http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object\\_id/11052](http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/11052)

Richard Baird's Deposition, 1758: [http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object\\_id/11030](http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/11030)

Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton, May 20, 1758: [http://tritych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC\\_Friendly/id/2357](http://tritych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC_Friendly/id/2357)

*An Account of the Captivity of Richard Bard, Esquire*: [http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object\\_id/11029](http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/11029)

*These primary sources provide an excellent teaching opportunity, allowing students to discover for themselves that such sources must be read critically and that accounts of a single event may vary greatly depending on when, why, and by whom they were created and tell us as much about the authors as about the events recounted. [The Editors]*

**R**ICHARD BARD, OR BAIRD, (1736–99) was one of 1,054 captives and prisoners of war taken in Pennsylvania during a generation of Anglo-French and Indian conflict (1744–65). Of course, captives were not chosen for their ability to write, and only twenty-seven of them

left depositions, accounts, or memoirs of their experiences.<sup>1</sup> Two narratives that were not printed until two generations after their authors' captivities, those of Mary Jemison and James Smith, have rightly become classics of early American literature and major sources for understanding life among the Indians of the upper Ohio Valley.<sup>2</sup> Richard Bard's captivity has not received such attention, even though his account is inherently interesting, was promptly reported, and is uniquely revealing in other ways. First, Richard's private ransom of his wife, Ketty (Katherine, née Poe, 1737–1811), directly from the Delawares was the only successful negotiation of that sort during the uneasy truce of 1759–62. Second, Richard's story evolved rapidly through the three separate parts or versions he offered to different audiences and the long poem he wrote two years later. Third, Richard's son assembled a family remembrance of his parents' captivity and his mother's ransom half a century later. These various accounts hint at some of the factors that shaped and reshaped captivity narratives, those early American literary icons.<sup>3</sup>

At twenty-two, Richard Bard was a prosperous Quaker mill owner living with his twenty-one-year-old wife and their infant son in compara-

The author thanks Herta Steele, Professors George Emery and Thomas Guinsburg, the anonymous readers for the journal, and Tamara Gaskell and Rachel Moloshok at the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for many improvements in this article.

<sup>1</sup> The author's forthcoming book, *Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country* (Montreal and Kingston, 2013), undertakes a systematic study of individuals captured in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia between 1745 and 1765 and their narratives. See also Matthew C. Ward, "Redeeming the Captives: Pennsylvania Captives among the Ohio Indians, 1755–1765," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 125 (2001): 161–89.

<sup>2</sup> *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, ed. James Everett Seaver (Canandaigua, NY, 1824). A recent edition is James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, ed. June Namias (Norman, OK, 1992). James Smith, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith during His Captivity with the Indians, 1755–1759* (Lexington, KY, 1799).

<sup>3</sup> There is a vast literature concerning captivity narratives. Annette Kolodny provides a thoughtful overview in "Among the Indians: The Uses of Captivity," *New York Times Books Review*, Jan. 31, 1993. See also: Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550–1900* (New York, 1993); June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993); Christopher Castiglia, *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst* (Chicago, 1996); Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO, 1999); Joe Snader, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington, KY, 2000); Linda Colley, *Captives* (New York, 2002); and Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulation of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009).

tive safety at Fairfield, on the southeast side of South Mountain in York County (now Adams County), Pennsylvania. The French and Indian War had been raging at a distance for more than two-and-a-half years, but there had been few victims from York County.<sup>4</sup> The swath of scorched and deserted lands reclaimed by Indians had expanded, however, and warriors were increasingly traveling farther, facing greater risk of pursuit, and taking captive only those thought fit for the long and hurried journey back across the mountains. Early in April 1758, Shawnee and Delaware warriors made an attack in York County, killing nine and taking three captives, including the girl who would become the most famous captive of all, Mary Jemison. A week later, a Delaware war party attacked Bard's mill, taking the entire household prisoner. Five days later, Richard became the only captive from this group to escape.

Even before he arrived home from captivity, Richard told at least some of his story at Carlisle. A witness sent an account dated April 27 that was printed, at least in part, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 11. According to this initial version, Richard—mistakenly identified as Thomas Baird—together with one Thomas Potter, was surprised by five or six Delawares, who rushed the mill house door. The two defenders pushed the Indians back out of the house, but the intruders shot through the door “and broke in at the Roof.” Potter cut off three fingers of one attacker and killed another “by a Stroke on the Head.” This sparse account mentions that, after being captured, Richard's infant child and Potter were both killed. As the war party retreated through the Path Valley with their surviving captives, they spotted pursuers and immediately “fled to the mountains, killing another captive, Samuel Hunter, because he could not run fast enough.” According to the report, Richard knew some of his attackers, and one of them, James Lingonnoa, inquired after some of their mutual acquaintances in the area.<sup>5</sup> The newspaper

<sup>4</sup> The McCullough brothers were captured in July 1756, a man was killed near Marsh Creek the next month (*Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Sept. 2, 1756), and the following summer a boy and a woman with three children were taken in separate incidents (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 14, 1757; *New York Mercury*, Aug. 22, 1757). The Jemisons, Mans, and Robert Buck were attacked on April 5, 1758 (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 13, 1758); *New York Mercury*, Apr. 17, 1758); Namias, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, 67–68; John Armstrong to William Denny, Carlisle, PA, Apr. 11, 1758, James Abercromby Papers, no. 143, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

<sup>5</sup> John Craig, captured by the Delawares in February 1756, described James Lingonnoa as among the “Indians who spoke good English.” Deposition of John Craig, Mar. 30, 1756, NV-002, p. 78, ser. 9, Penn Family Papers (Collection 485A), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

item concludes: "the Captain of the Gang told him that [he] was at one of the Indian Treaties with this Government, and shewed him a Medal he received there."<sup>6</sup>

We do not know how this version of Richard's story might have been bent, shortened, or misunderstood by the letter writer or by the newspaper editor. As printed, it clearly served a Pennsylvania government that had been losing a defensive war for two-and-a-half years. Pennsylvania took no Indian prisoners at all, yet denounced as savages the Indians who took many. For a government that wanted to discourage all thoughts of "going captive" rather than fighting to the death, Richard's story provided an example of heroic resistance, discredited Quakers who had put immense effort into peace negotiations, and celebrated a man who had risked death to escape from terrible captivity to return to his natal community.<sup>7</sup>

The day after this account was printed in Philadelphia, Richard signed a solemn Quaker affirmation before Colonel George Stevenson in York. In this document, Richard describes each of the victims in addition to himself, his wife, Katherine, their infant son, John, and Thomas Potter. On the morning of the attack, he reported, the mill house had also contained Potter's fourteen-year-old servant Frederick Ferrick, eleven-year-old Hannah McBride, and nine-year-old William White.<sup>8</sup> Laborers Samuel Hunter and David McMenomy, he noted, had been working in Richard's field by seven o'clock, and they had been the first to be seized by a war party that totaled nineteen Delawares. "About six of them suddenly rushed into the house," he said, and were driven out, but then knocked the door down. Contradicting the newspaper account, Richard reported that it was Thomas Potter who had lost a finger. In Richard's affirmation, there is no mention of Potter resisting. Instead, he narrated, when they realized the number of attackers, the victims surrendered "on the promise of the Indians not to Kill any of us." After assembling and tying the hands of their captives, the Delawares ordered them to march,

<sup>6</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 11, 1758, reprinted in *New York Mercury*, May 15, 1758. [http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object\\_id/11052](http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/11052).

<sup>7</sup> On the economic interests and political caution of printers, see Stephen Botein, "Meer Mechanics' and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers," *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975): 125–225.

<sup>8</sup> Hannah was the daughter of James McBride; she was returned at Pittsburgh in December 1761. "Journal of James Kenny, 1761–1763," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 37 (1913): 25–26.

with Richard in the lead. Before long, Richard saw the scalp of his infant son, a pathetic trophy for a warrior who somehow expected to display it without being ridiculed. Had the nine-month-old been crying loud enough to alert pursuers to the location of the captors and captives?

Richard reported seeing another scalp, which he knew to be Thomas Potter's. If, as was first reported but not mentioned in the deposition, Potter had killed one Delaware and wounded another, a warrior's wish for revenge could well have overcome his group's promise not to kill captives. In his careful catalogue of the victims, Richard mentioned that Samuel Hunter had been killed the following day on North Mountain. If Hunter was killed because he could not keep up, as first reported, and was captured before the negotiations that included a promise not to kill captives, Richard did not affirm these attenuating details before the magistrate. From his testimony we learn that on the fifth evening of his captivity, being sent to bring water for his captors, Richard escaped. The deposition explains that he survived for nine days on snakes, buds, and roots and became lost before three Cherokees found him, cut a staff for him, and "piloted" him to Fort Lyttleton.

Perhaps it was on prompting that Richard added that his captors had all been Delawares, most of whom spoke English, and that "one spoke as good English as I can." Richard ended his affirmation by noting that the captain of the war party had been to Philadelphia for peace talks in 1757, but that he "went away and left them."<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the first two versions of his story, the Delawares are portrayed as having negotiated in bad faith; by implication, those Quaker leaders who had sponsored the peace negotiations to date had been duped. For these Quakers, who had been politically marginalized by the war, a prompt peace with the Indians was a major priority.<sup>10</sup> Neither Richard nor his questioners distinguished between the Delawares of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, who had suspended hostilities as a result of those negotiations, and the Ohio Delawares, who had not yet negotiated at all.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "Richard Baird's Deposition, 1758," *Pennsylvania Archives*, ed. Samuel Hazard et al. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, PA, 1852–1949), 1st ser., 3:396–97. [http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object\\_id/11030](http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/11030).

<sup>10</sup> See Theodore Thayer, "The Friendly Association," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (1943): 356–76; and Robert Daiutolo Jr., "The Role of Quakers in Indian Affairs during the French and Indian War," *Quaker History* 77 (1988): 1–30.

<sup>11</sup> Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh, 2003), 133–41, 150–55; and Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia, 1949), 103–60.

With this second account, Richard provided details about all the missing persons, information that perhaps could serve a legal purpose. The captors' promise not to kill any of those who surrendered is first mentioned in this affirmation, and the three killings are all represented as violations of that promise. The deposition avoids any mention of Potter's resistance, though he was not a Quaker like Richard. According to both of these initial versions of the story, Richard himself did nothing more aggressive than help push people out of his door.

Within a few days of the newspaper story and his solemn declaration, Richard had a Quaker visitor who was anxious to check some disturbing details, especially those regarding the Delawares who seemed to have duplicitously broken their truce with the Pennsylvania government. A. D. Conaughy (or McConaughy) reported on his conversation with Richard to Quaker agent Nathaniel Holland at Shamokin, who then passed the information on to Israel Pemberton in Philadelphia.<sup>12</sup> Yes, the captors had spoken good English, and Richard suspected, but could not confirm, that the well-known James Lingonoa (Delaware Jamey) was one of the group. Richard corrected another misunderstanding perpetuated by the newspaper article by clarifying that he had seen no medals among the Delaware. This would be a relief to Quakers, like Pemberton, who were so vigorously promoting and funding peace efforts. Richard had, however, seen a decorative silver gorget or half moon that someone had received at some conference.<sup>13</sup> A pursuit party of English-allied Cherokees attacked and killed four of the Delaware captors and recovered Richard's rifle, but they found none of the captives. As reported, Conaughy's questions and Richard's answers amounted to a reassuring defense of Quaker peace-making efforts.

Within two weeks of his return, then, three slightly different versions of Richard's captivity account were already circulating. Potter's killing of a Delaware was mentioned only in the first report, a Delaware promise not to kill captives had been added in the second, and the exact identity of the attackers (and who had lost his fingers) had become less certain.

<sup>12</sup> The handwriting on the note is clearly that of Holland, who was Israel Pemberton's contact at Shamokin.

<sup>13</sup> Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton, May 20, 1758, vol. 1, *Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures*, Records of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, microfilm 824, reel 10, Haverford College Library Special Collections, Haverford, PA. [http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC\\_Friendly/id/2357](http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC_Friendly/id/2357).

Richard Bard never authored what could be called a captivity narrative, but that was not because he did not write. Two years after his escape he composed a very long verse about his experience. A half century later, his son Archibald likely balanced an interest in publicity with a sense of propriety in deciding to publish only the last 192 lines of his father's poem, beginning the tale after his father had escaped. These verses say little about Richard's decision to escape without Ketty except:

Alas! for me to go 'tis hard  
 Whilst with them is my wife,  
 Yet 'tis the way that God ordained  
 For me to save my life.<sup>14</sup>

The surviving lines are about a starving and severely injured man who journeys through swamps and over mountains and is rescued from certain death in the woods by God and three passing Cherokees, who guide him to Fort Lyttleton. Free and safe, he remains troubled about his wife:

Oh now I may like to a dove  
 In her bewildered state,  
 Bemoan the loss of my dear wife,  
 My true and loving mate.<sup>15</sup>

The miller's tale would change much more in the next half century before finally being frozen in print. The enterprising Carlisle printer Archibald Loudon was instrumental in eventually publishing what Archibald Bard had preserved and reconstructed of his parents' captivity. Loudon was one of the first printers to decide to assemble a book of reprinted and manuscript captivity narratives from the region, including the first-person memoirs of Hugh Gibson, John McCullough, and John Slover.<sup>16</sup> "At very considerable pain and trouble," Loudon solicited con-

<sup>14</sup> *An Account of the Captivity of Richard Bard, Esquire, Late of Franklin County, Deceased, with his Wife and Family and Others. Collected from his Papers by his Son Archibald Bard, in A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives, of Outrages, Committed by the Indians, in Their Wars with the White People*, by Archibald Loudon, 2 vols. (Carlisle, PA, 1808–11), 2:63, [http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object\\_id/11029](http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/11029).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:70.

<sup>16</sup> The first was *Affecting History of the Dreadful Distresses of Frederick Manheim's Family* (Exeter, NH, 1793), which was widely reprinted.



tributions for a “Collection of Indian Narratives,” initially expecting to anchor a modest volume with the already familiar narrative of James Smith as well as those hateful fantasies of Isaac Stewart and Peter Williamson that still posed as true accounts.<sup>17</sup> In 1808 Loudon published *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives, of Outrages Committed by the Indians, in Their Wars with the White People*, noting that some of the stories contained in the volume had not previously been published. As the title proclaimed, Loudon was not at all bashful about his purpose, which was to insist that the Indians were not the primitive innocents of “Jean Jacques Rousseau’s, and other rhapsodies,” but were “even worse than the most ferocious wolf or panther of the forest.”<sup>18</sup> Loudon intended to celebrate white heroes and defend the expanding American empire against its critics, although much of what he published can be read differently by those who reject his assumptions. Loudon promised another volume from what he had gathered, if public interest warranted. Apparently it did, and the Bard narrative was included in the second volume that appeared, under the same title, three years later.

Loudon now included “An Account of the Captivity of RICHARD BARD, Esquire, late of Franklin County, deceased, with his wife and family and others. Collected from his papers by his son ARCHIBALD BARD.” For a publication dedicated to proving the savagery of the Indians, the middle-aged son had assembled a detailed account of his parents’ captivities, which had ended five years before he had been born. Archibald would have learned about these fascinating events from his mother, who lived until the book was published, and from his father’s papers, which have not survived.<sup>19</sup> These records may not have included either the initial newspaper account or Richard’s legal affirmation, and they would not have included Holland’s report of the Conaughy interview.

In this—now the fifth—account, Archibald Bard identifies Thomas Potter as kin of Katherine Bard and a militia lieutenant. Potter now is said

<sup>17</sup> Isaac Stewart’s fantasy, “A True and Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Captivity and Remarkable Deliverance of Captain Isaac Stewart,” was first printed in *A True and Wonderful Narrative of the Surprising Captivity and Remarkable Deliverance of Mrs. Frances Scott* (Boston, 1786). Peter Williamson’s *French and Indian Cruelty: Exemplified in the Life and Various Vicissitudes of Fortune, of Peter Williamson*, first appeared in York, England, in 1757.

<sup>18</sup> Preface to Loudon, *Selection*, 1:iii–vii. Quotes vi, v.

<sup>19</sup> Archibald’s account may have been submitted in 1808. Katherine Bard died at age seventy-four on August 31, 1811. Biographical information for Richard Bard accessed Mar. 15, 2009, <http://www.familysearch.org>. Record no longer available.

to have grabbed a cutlass from an Indian, intending to kill his attacker, but to have succeeded only in using it to cut off its owner's fingers. Richard Bard is portrayed as having attempted to use un-Quakerly violence with a "horseman's pistol," which misfired. The initial resistance, Archibald Bard writes, drove the surprised Delawares out, and the door was secured. In this version, the negotiations to save lives occur while the Delawares are back outside, after the defenders realize that they had no powder or ball and that the woodpiles around the walls of this thatched sawmill could easily be set alight, as was done after the captures. In this retelling, the infant tomahawked soon after capture is not Archibald's older brother, as his father had testified, but an unnamed child who had come with Thomas Potter. It is noted that Samuel Hunter was killed after the flight from a pursuit party, but there is no mention here of his inability to keep up. The killing is terror without explanation: "they reached the top of the Tuskarora mountain, and had all sat down to rest, when an Indian, without any previous warning, sunk a tomahawk into the forehead of Samuel Hunter, who was seated by my father."<sup>20</sup>

Archibald Bard's account seems deliberately constructed to answer what may have been a nagging family question of why Richard left his beloved wife captive among supposedly murderous Delawares to escape by himself. Archibald is the first to claim that his father had been beaten mercilessly with a gun on the third day of captivity and "almost disabled from travelling any further." This intensifying of the reported brutality does not help much; it only aggravates the charge of deserting his wife amid seeming brutes. In another twist, Archibald writes that Richard's head was shaven and painted half red and half black, thought to indicate a council divided on his survival. According to Archibald, his captive parents were permitted to pluck a wild turkey together, during which "the design of escaping was communicated to my mother."<sup>21</sup> As he tells it, Ketty even helped distract the Indians later that evening when Richard escaped. Although he gained only a hundred yards before the alarm was sounded, the battered and crippled Richard managed to elude Delaware warriors, who spent two days in fruitless pursuit. The newly added details of Richard attempting to use a pistol, being beaten with a gun, having his head painted, and conspiring with his wife may have come from lines of

<sup>20</sup> Loudon, *Selection*, 2:59.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:59–60.

Richard's verse that were not printed, from later retellings by Richard or Ketty, or from Archibald Bard's own efforts to disguise his Quaker origins or make a good story even better.

Archibald Bard's narrative provides the only surviving account of his mother's much longer captivity. He writes that Ketty and the other surviving prisoners were taken to Fort Duquesne, to a nearby town where she was severely beaten, and then on to Kuskusky. There she and even the child captives supposedly were beaten and had their hair pulled and faces scratched. Ketty did not see the fatal torture of Daniel McMenomy (McManimy), the second laborer captured before the family's negotiated surrender, but Bard joins in the spirit of Loudon's volume by providing details of McMenomy being beaten, tied to a stake, scalped, and tortured with red-hot gun barrels and bayonets. Ketty had supposedly gathered these gruesome details later, perhaps in circumstances that included her being warned not to attempt to escape. Amid her own initial terror, Ketty was reassured by another captive that the belt of wampum put around Ketty's neck meant that she would be adopted. Although adopted and well treated, Ketty may have later complained, as her son recalled, about fatiguing travel, boiled corn, and sleeping on the ground. She saw the scalped and unburied body of one dead captive who had tried to escape, and she criticized a captured acquaintance for marrying a Delaware and bearing his child. The supposed reply was that once they knew the Delaware language, captive women had to marry one of the Delaware or die. Archibald preserves his mother's virtue and white identity by implausibly insisting that she learned no Delaware whatsoever in the two years and five months of her captivity. He offers very little about his mother's memories of that time, and we cannot tell whether the reticence was hers, his, or a mixture of the two. For all of that, Archibald repeats the familiar chorus of so many captivity narratives: "She was treated during this time, by her adopted relations with much kindness; even more than she had reason to expect."<sup>22</sup>

The Bard family remembrance then shifts to Richard's persistent preoccupation with ransoming Ketty. Richard travelled to Fort Pitt, where in vain he asked returning captives about Ketty and was warned that his own escape had marked him for death if he ever ventured west to inquire further or negotiate. His verses of 1760 insisted:

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 2:63.

Were all things of this spacious globe  
 Offered to ease my mind,  
 Alas! all would abortive prove  
 Whilst Ketty is confined.<sup>23</sup>

The family memoir emphasizes that Richard went on to risk his life in venturing westward with a party of Delaware negotiators, led by Coquetagehton (White Eyes), who were drinking too much whiskey and soon attempted to murder him.<sup>24</sup> Richard fled, but had evidently learned where Ketty was being held.

The ransom of Ketty Bard began with Richard somehow sending a letter promising to pay an extravagant forty pounds ransom for her return.<sup>25</sup> Hearing nothing for a time, he hired an Indian to help her to escape, but that person had second thoughts and declined the task. Richard then went to Shamokin himself and headed west, more likely by previous arrangement than by chance. He soon met a party, led by Delaware John James, bringing Ketty and members of her adoptive family with them.<sup>26</sup> Richard's proposal, that they all proceed to Fort Augusta, where he had prudently left the ransom money, was understandably rejected. Richard then offered to stay with James's party as a hostage while Ketty went to the fort and brought the ransom money. This arrangement was accepted, and the ransom was apparently completed in good humor. The tensions and distrust evident here, as well as the number of coincidences involved, help us in understanding why this was the only successful private ransom achieved in the region during the effective truce between 1758 and 1762.<sup>27</sup> The Bards apparently rebuilt their life

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 2:70.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 2:63–72.

<sup>25</sup> This amount, about £25.7.6. sterling, was the second highest of sixteen known ransom prices paid in this region between 1745 and 1765.

<sup>26</sup> In his letter to Israel Pemberton of April 16, 1761, Nathaniel Holland mentions that John James brought in Katherine Bard. Vol. 4, Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Records of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, microfilm 824, reel 11.

<sup>27</sup> While the British army leaders denounced ransom, the army paid for expensive gifts given to Indians attending frequent conferences with Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs George Croghan between 1758 and 1762. Indians brought in at least seven hundred captives as their part of these gift exchanges, creating a ransom system that neither officers nor sachems wanted to describe as such. See George Croghan, "George Croghan's Journal, April 3, 1759, to April [30], 1763," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 71 (1947): 305–444. For the well-funded and organized Quaker efforts, which freed a few captives, see Friendly Association for Regaining and

successfully and went on to have ten more children, including Archibald.<sup>28</sup>

In his narrative, Archibald adds what at first seems a sensitive and engaging sequel. In a parting gesture, he tells us, Richard invited Ketty's adoptive Delaware brother to visit them "if ever he came down amongst the white people." This brother later (probably in 1762) came for an extended visit during which he once accompanied Richard to a tavern, where they both "became somewhat intoxicated." Indians and whites still drank together in taverns after the war, though we learn of it only through accounts of inebriated violence that sometimes followed.<sup>29</sup> According to Archibald, a man named Newgen, a villain later executed at Carlisle for horse stealing, attacked the Delaware visitor in the tavern, leaving him with a serious knife wound in the throat. Newgen fled to escape "the law [that] would have been put in force against him." The Delaware's wound was "sowed up" by a surgeon, and the man stayed with the Bards until he recovered. Likely during the Anglo-Indian war of 1763–64, this unnamed Delaware "returned to his own people who put him to death, on the pretext of his having as they said joined the white people."<sup>30</sup>

In case this conclusion would not completely satisfy the purposes of Loudon and his readers, Archibald Bard adds an unrelated concluding paragraph. He ends his family's account with the notorious killings of schoolmaster Enoch Brown and nine (ten, according to Archibald) of his pupils in Cumberland County in 1764 based on the weak narrative link that Archibald's father had seen a party set out in unsuccessful pursuit of the killers.<sup>31</sup>

The surviving pieces of the Bard story are reminders that captives could misread evidence, exaggerate, forget, and remember differently at

---

Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Records of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, microfilm 824, reel 10; Thayer, "Friendly Association"; and Daiutolo, "Role of Quakers."

<sup>28</sup> The ten children were born between 1762 and 1778. Richard died at age sixty-three in Fairfield, where he had been born. Biographical information for Richard Bard accessed Mar. 15, 2009, <http://www.familysearch.org>. Record no longer available.

<sup>29</sup> Loudon, *Selection*, 2:73–74. In 1761 Tom Quick killed and robbed an Indian named Maudlin after they drank and threatened each other in a New Jersey tavern near the forks of the Delaware. Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, 2007), 126–27.

<sup>30</sup> Loudon, *Selection*, 2:74.

<sup>31</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 9 and 30, 1764; *New York Mercury*, Aug. 13, 1764; C. Hale Sipe, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA, 1929), 473–74.

different times. Those who reported their stories could do the same, and editors could prompt, shorten, or alter accounts to support the war effort. A Quaker interviewer could gather evidence that supported Quaker interpretations. Half a century later, a dutiful son could retell the story to emphasize the brutality and fear he thought justified a man leaving his wife in a frightful captivity. Richard had certainly been more troubled by his escape than was his son. Archibald devoted much more attention to his father's 5-day captivity than to the 977 days of his mother's captivity, which would have been of more interest to readers then and now. Archibald Bard, caught in his time and circumstances, was probably anxious to exonerate his father and avoid the culturally compromising story of his mother's years in a Delaware family where she was treated well enough to have at least one enduring personal connection. The narrative that was not the work of either of his captive parents is the only one that has been readily available ever since.

The remembering, forgetting, or inventing by captives, their descendants, and others can be accidental or deliberate. Accounts assembled half a century after the events, even in the celebrated cases of James Smith and Mary Jemison, were colored by intervening events and changing attitudes. Scholars interested in the immense popularity of captivity narratives as American "instruments of cultural self-definition" are right in claiming that such popularity went far beyond any desire to know what actually happened to captives.<sup>32</sup> Those dispossessing the Indians and confining them as captives on reservations found some justification in the earlier suffering of white captives. In that context, the challenging task of sorting the authentic from the invented is seen as both impossible and unnecessary; the tales told had much more power than the true events. Historians, in search of what did happen, rightly want to begin by parsing what the captives themselves chose to tell at the time, while recognizing that their stories and those of their families were purposeful and that those purposes varied and changed over time.

*Western University, Emeritus*

IAN K. STEELE

<sup>32</sup> The phrase is from Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York, 1985), xvi.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory.* By ANDREW NEWMAN. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. 328 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.)

The 1881 edition of John Heckewelder's *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* provides Andrew Newman, an associate professor of English at Stony Brook, with four "stories" that serve as the basis for the chapters in this volume (1–2). Newman's use of the term "Delaware," a European name synthetically applied to a varying number of Native American tribes, telegraphs the contents of this work. Newman admits that "Heckewelder's account appears to be a composite from different sources, or perhaps the different strands of oral tradition had already comingled before his coming" (63). The same can be said of the contradictory elements within Newman's narrative. The long introduction announces that "missing records figure prominently in this book" (20). The author's approach to the documents and the way he uses Heckewelder's recalled narrative suggest that Newman may be heir to Francis Jennings' approach to history: integrating hearsay and opinion with evidence from supposedly absent documents.

The first chapter reprises what is known of the *Walam Olum*, but without the focus and clarity of David Oestreicher's works, on which Newman draws. He then devotes the second chapter to recounting the legend of the Phoenician Queen Dido and her supposed defrauding of a native people of lands on which to found Carthage. This common tale, with its own number in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, is not used to demonstrate culture contact, but to imply that the Lenape were defrauded of their lands. That descendants of the Lenape had borrowed this fiction, along with various Christian concepts, would not surprise anyone with training in folklore. But Newman's essay has a different intent. In chapter 3, juxtaposition of the Dido legend with a fictional Penn treaty clearly is meant to suggest that the non-treaty was a fraud.

Chapter 4 links the *Walum Olum* to the fantasy of Penn's supposed "Treaty" (singular) with the Indians, a fiction that is largely a creation of Benjamin West's famous painting (1771–72). Newman ignores the dozens of treaties over twenty-one years at which Penn negotiated with each of the Lenape bands to purchase all of their lands (see Donald H. Kent, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: 1607–1789*, vol. 1, *Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629–1737*

[Washington, DC, 1979]). These real treaties are essential for understanding the 1737 meeting at which four natives from New Jersey, recent immigrants to Pennsylvania, signed off on a tract of land that included the forks of the Delaware. Even Newman acknowledges that these immigrants had, at best, squatters' rights to this no-man's-land (shared resource zone) and had no idea of its boundaries. As usual, both sides knew what they were doing. The forty pages of notes, thirty-one pages of references, and thirty-seven-page index suggest massive scholarship, but each reveals problematical procedures. Uncritically mixing popular ideas with historical documents and loaded commentary, Newman's essay fails to satisfy my minimal requirements for scholarship in history, folklore, or anthropology.

*West Chester University*

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER

*The True Image: Gravestone Art and the Culture of Scotch Irish Settlers in the Pennsylvania and Carolina Backcountry.* By DANIEL W. PATTERSON. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. 496 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

The Scotch Irish, as numerous scholars have shown, are a difficult group to pin down. In *The True Image*, Daniel Patterson presents a new perspective from which to view these complex immigrants from Ulster by examining over one thousand gravestones carved in the early Pennsylvania and Carolina backcountry.

The book follows the lives and work of a group of stone carvers led by Samuel and William Bigham in southeastern Pennsylvania during the 1750s and western North Carolina from 1760 to the early 1800s. Connecting these works of funerary art to the values of the people who commissioned, created, and viewed them, Patterson interprets the emblems and inscriptions on the gravestones as a means of viewing Scotch Irish culture. The emblems document the growing importance of family heraldry and freemasonry among the wealthier Scotch Irish settlers. The inscriptions not only reveal the importance of Presbyterianism to the Scotch Irish but also document the growth of evangelicalism within the church.

Patterson, however, moves well beyond these monuments to document the diversity of individual experiences within Scotch Irish culture. His analysis of the gravestones and the people around them reveals the splintering of the Scotch Irish along class and religious lines after the Revolution. One group of Scotch Irish families, notably the Polks and Alexanders, adopted the eastern planter elite's way of life, gained wealth by purchasing slaves and speculating in lands in Tennessee, commissioned gravestones made in Charleston, and placed secular



inscriptions on them. Other families, such as the Bighams and Kelseys, clung to the worldview of yeoman farmers and artisans—sometimes even to the point of opposing slavery—moved north and west, and abandoned Presbyterianism to join the Baptists and Disciples of Christ.

*The True Image*, unfortunately, suffers from a split personality. At times, it is a wonderful coffee-table book filled with photos of gravestones, family stories of frontier conditions in the backcountry, and local legends of heroic Scotch Irish resistance to the British during the Revolution. At other times, it is a trenchant analysis of the splintering of Scotch Irish culture in western North Carolina after the Revolution. Unfortunately, the author does not always sew these two threads into a seamless narrative. Patterson's interpretation of the emblems and inscriptions appears in two lavishly illustrated chapters that are not directly connected to the other sections detailing the diversity of life among the Scotch Irish. The legends and stories, while interesting, are of questionable reliability as historical sources and contribute little to the analysis of the gravestones and Scotch Irish culture. In the end, the book's dual focus prevents Patterson from realizing the full ramifications of his evidence, which clearly demonstrates the decline of a cohesive Scotch Irish identity in nineteenth-century western Carolina.

Despite these drawbacks, Patterson has made a signal contribution to the study of the Scotch Irish, the colonial backcountry, and the early South. He has reminded historians of the value of material culture in interpreting past peoples and cultures and has suggested new avenues for studying the identity of the Scotch Irish and other ethnic groups in early America.

*Oldfields School*

KEVIN YEAGER

*The Unfinished Life of Benjamin Franklin.* By DOUGLAS ANDERSON. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. 228 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$55.)

Douglas Anderson's new work, *The Unfinished Life of Benjamin Franklin*, is an alternatively fascinating and frustrating meditation on Franklin's famous autobiography. A specialist in early American literature and author of *The Radical Enlightenments of Benjamin Franklin* (1997)—one of the best treatments of the founder's worldview in the last twenty years—Anderson here seeks to restore the complexity of Franklin's legacy "by substituting his memoir for his life," stressing that he is writing "about a book, not a man" (ix, 1). Anderson's design, however, does not necessarily serve his ends well.

Space does not permit a description of the circuitous route to publication of what came to be known as *The Autobiography*. Anderson provides important insights into its composition, particularly regarding the importance of both a

1775 letter by Franklin to his soon-to-be-alienated son and of an unpublished book of ethics, the “Art of Virtue,” in Franklin’s plans to complete his memoir. Anderson sets out his interpretation in an introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion—an arrangement that roughly adheres to the structure of the *Autobiography* itself and mirrors what he calls Franklin’s “process of assembly and of disassembly”: one of numerous point-counterpoints that mark Anderson’s prose (11). Anderson is a gifted writer, and his new work is admirably, even elegantly, concise. His crisp reference notes, in which he rescues Franklin from literary and historical reductionists, form an important subtext to the work.

At the same time, *The Unfinished Life* serves as an object lesson in the differences between literary and historical criticism. Anderson’s eagerness to convert Franklin’s life into a form of composition leads him down some bumpy paths. Two examples will suffice. In chapter 1, the author treats Franklin’s rediscovery of John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* at a critical juncture in his life’s journey as significant and providential (18–30). Yet Franklin’s own words make clear that his attraction to the book was aesthetic—he appreciated it as a printer and an aspiring writer—rather than religious. Likewise, the famous cartoon of the American colonies on the eve of the French and Indian War, represented as a segmented snake in need of uniting—published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1754 and featured at the end of Anderson’s book—appeals to us for its providential implications, so easily grafted onto the events of the Revolution more than ten years later. But there is no evidence that Franklin had the image in mind, as Anderson somewhat magically proposes, when he attempted to conclude his memoir thirty years later (182–91).

In short, the author treats Franklin’s recorded memories as if they had been composed with a novelist’s imaginative intent—complete with controlling narrative scheme, invented characters, and sustained metaphorical meaning—rather than as a historical text, using the tools of fictional narrative but contingent on memory, claiming to be true to the historical record, and presenting its elements as fact rather than invention. In this way, Anderson misses some opportunities, since in both novelistic and autobiographical texts, the matter of writing *style* is preeminent—a subject about which contemporary historians are too frequently tone-deaf. Franklin was among the influential stylists of his period, through his work as a printer in Philadelphia, as a scientist, and as a polemicist during the Revolution. As Carl Van Doren wrote in his 1938 biography, Franklin “seldom wrote a line without some characteristic touch of wit or grace.” The first part of the autobiography is classically Franklinesque: filled with tales of family quarrels, filial love, boyish pranks, hard work and study, betrayals revealed, mistakes admitted—and, yes, some sex and violence—relayed in remarkably modern prose. The latter sections, begun in 1784 in response to two acquaintances’ entreaties that the founder finish his work as yet another monument to his accomplishments,

are far less engaging—not surprisingly so, given the new weight that the stifling condition called “legacy” imposed on Franklin’s authorial gifts.

How Franklin honed his writerly skills, and why the autobiography itself is compositionally both a success and a failure (point-counterpoint), are subjects that deserve greater attention in Anderson’s intriguing work.

*California State University, East Bay*

DEE E. ANDREWS

*From Liberty to Liberality: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820.* By ANTHONY M. JOSEPH. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012. 201 pp. Notes, tables, appendices, index. \$65.)

In *From Liberty to Liberality*, Anthony M. Joseph highlights the role of the legislature in Pennsylvania government in the early republic—a subject that has received little attention from historians. Joseph argues that the Pennsylvania legislature “from 1776 to 1820 expanded its range of republican values to include ‘liberality,’ and in that expanded range liberality came to hold the central place” (4).

In five chapters Joseph demonstrates how the General Assembly “reconceptualized itself as an institution of liberality, built to dispense public authority and public funds to private citizens in furtherance of the public good” (181). In chapter 1, Joseph analyzes the role of petitioning as means of creating legislation. The number of petitions rose dramatically over the period—from less than one hundred to more than six hundred per year. Eventually, however, the use of bills to introduce legislation replaced the petition process.

As petitioning grew, the public’s critical view of the legislature led it to expand its agenda from a singular approach to lawmaking to a broad approach through statutory lawmaking (chapter 2). The legislature also began oversight of the judiciary through impeachment in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Noted newspaper editor William John Duane wanted the legislature to play a larger, more productive role in providing for the general good. This movement for improvements is studied in the book’s final three chapters.

Chapter 3 treats the various types of taxation introduced in early republic-era Pennsylvania. Interestingly, the state’s ability to make a profit from the federal government’s assumption of Pennsylvania’s war debt in the 1790s—as well as the sale of western lands—led to surpluses for the state that resulted in a no-taxation policy over most of the period.

In chapter 4, Joseph outlines how the creation of the first banks in Philadelphia from 1791 to 1813 led to the passage of a general banking act of 1814. This legislation established banking districts and led to the creation of forty-one banks throughout the state; in this way, a monopoly would be eliminated and money would be available to everyone outside of Philadelphia.

Finally, chapter 5 shows how the legislature's movement to liberality not only led to its expansion of internal improvements to ameliorate economic and social conditions within Pennsylvania but also put it in competition with states such as New York and Maryland. The legislature moved from investment in banks to direct aid and investments in improvement projects such as turnpikes. It also tried to introduce lotteries as sources of income, but was not successful beyond the first decade of this venture.

Joseph has written a penetrating, important study of the General Assembly in the early republic that helps readers further understand how political, constitutional, and economic developments came about in the midcentury.

*Duquesne University Center for Legal Information/  
Allegheny County Law Library*

JOEL FISHMAN

*Mortals with Tremendous Responsibilities: A History of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.* By HARVEY BARTLE III. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2011. 285 pp. Notes, appendices, index. \$35.)

Historical research on the federal courts has, of course, centered on the United States Supreme Court; the lower federal courts have received less attention. In recent decades, however, there has been a growing interest in the US circuit and district courts. In *Mortals with Tremendous Responsibilities*, Harvey Bartle III, chief justice of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania from 2006 through 2011, has written an informative history of this judicial body, located in Philadelphia. The first part of the title comes from fellow judge C. William Kraft Jr.'s characterization of the importance of what judges do (xiii).

In nine chapters, Bartle provides a chronological history of the court—and biographical sketches of its judges—from 1789 to the first decade of the twenty-first century. Under article 3, section 1 of the Constitution, the US Congress is responsible for the creation of the “inferior Courts as the Congress from time to time ordain and establish.” The district court served as the sole trial court for the eastern half of the state from 1789 until 1901, when a middle district was created and the eastern district was reduced to only ten counties in southeastern Pennsylvania (93).

Of the ninety-three judges, there were only nine appointees through the end of the nineteenth century; nineteen from 1901 to 1960; forty-seven from 1961 to 2008; and seventeen from 2000 to 2008. George W. Bush appointed thirteen; Nixon and Reagan, twelve; George H. W. Bush, eight; Johnson and Clinton, six; Eisenhower, five; FDR and Truman, four; Washington, three; and thirteen pres-

idents appointed only one. President Johnson appointed A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. as the first African American judge in 1964, while President Carter appointed Norma Shapiro as the first woman judge in 1978. Between 1912 and 2004, twelve judges became federal circuit court judges. The court today has twenty-two judges and eleven senior judges.

The scope of the cases heard by the district court expanded over the two centuries based on new statutory law passed by Congress. During the first eight decades, the court primarily heard criminal and admiralty cases. After the Civil War, Congress for the first time gave courts general jurisdiction over cases arising under the Judiciary Act of 1875. Beginning with the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, the growth of statutory and administrative law has resulted in expanded categories of cases such as commerce, bankruptcy, organized labor, communications law, civil rights and civil liberties, political corruption, multidistrict litigation, and intellectual property.

Throughout each chapter, Bartle highlights important cases, especially those that were eventually decided by the United States Supreme Court, such as *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940) (civil rights); *US v. Ginzburg* (1960) (obscenity); *Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963) (First Amendment); *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971) (First Amendment); *Matsushita Electrical Industrial Co., Ltd. v. Zenith Radio Corp.* (1986) (antitrust law); *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern PA v. Casey* (1992) (abortion); and *Markman v. Westview Instruments* (1996) (patent law).

The author provides a useful appendix of the judicial appointments of each judge, as well as other appendices listing the chief judges, magistrate judges, bankruptcy judges, and clerks of court; indices of subjects and cited cases are also provided.

Judge Bartle, with his colleagues' support and that of the court's historical society, has written an important introduction to this district court that has an impressive 220-year history. This work will serve as the basis of future work on the court and its personnel and will serve as a model for the history of other district courts.

*Duquesne University Center for Legal Information/  
Allegheny County Law Library*

JOEL FISHMAN

*Freedom's Cap: The United States Capitol and the Coming of the Civil War.*  
By GUY GUGLIOTTA. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012. 494 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

The United States Capitol has often served not only as a symbol of American democracy but as a metaphor for American history. George Washington laid the cornerstone in 1793. Its location on Jenkins Hill ensured that the edifice would

dominate the landscape of the nation's capital. The building's layout reflected the constitutionally mandated two-house legislature, separated by a dome—at first a low, wooden dome, clad in copper, and later, as the nation grew and the Capitol expanded, a magnificent iron dome-within-a-dome topped with a colossal statue.

Guy Gugliotta's fascinating, well-written book picks up the story of the Capitol in the tumultuous decade leading up to the Civil War. The author weaves the architectural history of the building with the politics and culture of Washington, DC. It may surprise some readers to learn that it was Jefferson Davis who led the effort for a major expansion of the Capitol in the 1850s. By the end of that decade, he would resign his seat in the US Senate when Mississippi seceded from the Union and he was elected president of the Confederate States of America.

Gugliotta, a longtime writer for the *Washington Post* whose beat was Capitol Hill, thoroughly researched this work, drawing on the extensive records of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol and the Library of Congress as well as congressional reports and the work of architectural historians—especially William C. Allen, the distinguished architectural historian of the Capitol. He documents the story from several perspectives, including that of Captain Montgomery C. Meigs, an army engineer who was placed in charge of the Capitol's expansion when Franklin Pierce became president and transferred the construction to the War Department. Gugliotta makes excellent use of the extensive and candid diaries that Meigs kept about his work on the Capitol. He recorded his journal in shorthand, and these notes were only translated, transcribed, and published for the first time in 2001. Thomas U. Walter, the architect of the Capitol in the 1850s, clashed frequently with Meigs over many aspects of the construction. Meigs wanted the president of the United States to fire Walter, but when James Buchanan took office in 1859, it was Meigs who was dismissed and reassigned to Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas. He returned again to direct work on the Capitol in February 1861, a vindication of his important role.

Work on the Capitol was well underway when the Civil War began. The building was coming together just as the nation was about to be torn apart. When Lincoln took the oath of office on March 4, 1861, the new dome was covered in scaffolding and less than halfway completed. Once again Meigs was called away from his work on the Capitol, this time to assume the duties of quartermaster general of the Union army.

The crowning glory of the dome was a magnificent new statue by American artist Thomas Crawford, *Freedom Triumphant in War and Peace*: an allegorical figure of a woman holding a sheathed sword, a laurel wreath (a symbol of victory), and the shield of the United States. At the time, it was the largest sculpture in the nation—over nineteen feet tall and weighing fifteen thousand pounds. An early design of the statue had her wearing a freedom cap, a symbol from Roman

antiquity. Jefferson Davis, when still in the Senate, rejected this design, arguing that it too closely referenced the caps worn by freed Roman slaves. Crawford changed the headdress to an elaborate helmet with the head and feathers of an eagle.

On December 2, 1863, with the nation in the midst of war, the final piece of the statue, Freedom's head, was hoisted into place. Thomas U. Walter did not want a big fuss made because it seemed inappropriate to celebrate while the war was ongoing. Lincoln was too ill to attend. But thousands came to see the completion of the dome. Workers on the scaffolding raised an American flag, and cannons were fired to mark the event. It was Walter's moment of triumph. His old rival Captain Meigs, now Brigadier General Meigs, one of President Lincoln's closest advisers, was hundreds of miles away that day, coordinating supply lines for General Ulysses Grant's army in Tennessee and unaware of the ceremony that marked the mounting of Freedom's Cap and the completion of the Capitol's dome

*Robert C. Byrd Center for Legislative Studies,  
Shepherd University*

RAYMOND W. SMOCK

*Lincoln and Leadership: Military, Political, and Religious Decision Making.*  
Edited by RANDALL M. MILLER. (New York: Fordham University Press,  
2012. 156 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. Cloth, \$55;  
paper, \$18.)

Some scholars consider Abraham Lincoln's leadership to be one of American democracy's greatest gifts to the world. This book exploring that leadership results from a conference held on April 19, 2009, sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Foundation of the Union League of Philadelphia—a fitting location, since the Great Emancipator always argued that his political philosophy grew out of the Declaration of Independence.

The book's subtitle reflects the topics of the three papers presented at the conference. Gregory J. W. Urwin (Temple University) emphasizes Lincoln's lack of military experience as an unintended factor in prolonging the suffering in the conflict. Matthew Pinsker (Dickinson College) explores the possible rationale behind the puzzling "Blind Memorandum" Lincoln had his cabinet members sign; he further suggests that Lincoln was not just a self-made person but also a self-made politician. Harry S. Stout (Yale University) discusses the Second Inaugural Address as "America's Sermon to the World." The text of the speech is included as an appendix.

The opening and closing essays do a fine job of putting the three provocative conference papers into perspective. An introduction by Randall M. Miller (St.

Joseph's University) presents a tour de force on Lincoln's leadership, agreeing with David Donald's characterization that it reflects Lincoln's "essential ambiguity." Allen C. Guelzo's afterword emphasizes Lincoln's persistence, resilience, humility, knowledge, loving drudgery, and persuasion. Yet he also notes three deficiencies: workaholic tendencies, unconscious arrogance, and military inexperience.

If there is an underdeveloped aspect in the essays that might have contributed to a greater clarification of Lincoln's leadership, it may be an international dimension. In the twentieth century, Franklin Roosevelt, Jawaharlal Nehru, Willy Brandt, and Nelson Mandela were all deeply influenced by Lincoln. Like him, they were able to resolve their "outsider" issues positively by self-actualizing through the political arena. In brief, they were "rational-democrats" who enjoyed working on public policy issues. These types of leaders sometimes get too far ahead of public opinion, assuming that everyone is rational.

Overall, this volume will appeal to scholars, Lincoln enthusiasts, and students. It offers readers a real bargain in a brief volume—perhaps the best bang for the buck of any Lincoln book on the market. The editor, contributors, and publisher deserve major credit for producing this thoughtful, readable, and enjoyable book.

*Louisiana State University in Shreveport*

WILLIAM D. PEDERSON

*The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction.* Edited by ORVILLE BURTON, JERALD PODAIR, and JENNIFER L. WEBER. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2012. 320 pp. Notes, index. \$45.)

Most scholars agree that no historian has contributed more to the study of the American Civil War than James McPherson. Not only through his own scholarship but—even more influentially—as an instructor, McPherson has helped pioneer new studies on a broad spectrum of topics ranging from the antebellum period to the civil rights era. *The Struggle for Equality*, a collection of seventeen essays authored by his former students, showcases McPherson's achievements as a professor and mentor. Like *Battle Cry of Freedom*, McPherson's most celebrated work, *The Struggle for Equality* incorporates numerous subfields of history—political, military, women's, African American, religious, and environmental—into one volume, thereby serving as a valuable resource for a variety of readers.

The first section, titled "Sectional Conflict," contains three essays. Ryan P. Jordan's article proves that although the Society of Friends was recognized for its antislavery initiative, Quaker rhetoric and church practices could not escape the



racism prevalent in nineteenth-century America. Chapters 2 and 3 provide brief biographies of two influential men of the Civil War period. Judith A. Hunter's essay on the career of James S. Wadsworth captures the general's transformation from a soldier solely defending the Union to a wartime politician campaigning as an abolitionist. Philip M. Katz's essay addresses "the tension between democracy and aristocracy in American political culture" by analyzing the life of John Meredith Read Jr., who served as a Republican politician, Union soldier, and American diplomat in Paris (42).

Joseph T. Glatthaar's essay regarding discipline in the Confederate army begins the second section of the book, which is dedicated to the four years of conflict. Glatthaar argues that critics are incorrect in attributing the collapse of the Confederacy to a lack of military discipline. Rather, he agrees with Peter Carmichael's *Last Generation*, which suggests that Confederate officers obtained "extraordinary service and courage from poorly fed and clad troops . . . by easing the reins of discipline" (72). Jennifer L. Weber's chapter describes how Union soldiers secured the reelection of Abraham Lincoln in 1864 by obtaining key battlefield victories, casting absentee votes, and writing letters home in support of Lincoln. Civil War scholars are familiar with Lincoln's inaugural speeches and the Gettysburg Address; Ronald C. White Jr.'s contribution, however, makes readers aware of Lincoln's last "stump speech," a public address read in September 1863 at a Union rally in Springfield, Illinois. Chapter 7, authored by Bruce Dain, focuses on Lincoln and race. Positing that "there remains no consensus" on the subject, Dain provides a brief analysis of Lincoln's relationship with race from his early life to the conclusion of the war (100). The final essay in this section focuses on the experiences of "public women"—"females who supported themselves *solely* through supplying multiple partners with sex for money" (119–20). Author Catherine Clinton provides three specific examples of events that involved "public women," featuring both Union and Confederate encounters.

The final section, titled "The Long Reconstruction," accounts for the majority of essays in *The Struggle for Equality*. Brian Greenberg's article highlights the efforts of Wendell Phillips in the postwar labor reform movement. James Longstreet's position as commander of the Louisiana state militia during Reconstruction is discussed in James K. Hogue's essay. Hogue traces the "strange career" of Longstreet from Confederate commander at Gettysburg in 1863 to leader of African American troops at the Battle of Canal Street in 1874. Thomas C. Cox's chapter examines the relief efforts provided during the Grasshopper Plague of 1874–78, thereby offering "important insights into the history of American social welfare" (173). The prevalence of racial injustice during the postwar period constitutes the topic of Tom Carhart's essay, as the author details the harsh treatment and court-martial of the first African American to graduate from West Point. In his essay "For God and Lodge," John M. Giggie explores the relationship between African American fraternal organizations and the church.

Michele Gillespie's piece on the career of author Mary Ann Harris Gay reminds readers that the Lost Cause movement flourished in large part due to the efforts of Southern women. Peyton McCrary describes how local politics served as a form of race control in his essay on the adoption of at-large elections in Norfolk, Virginia. Monroe H. Little, like Carhart, writes about an African American soldier during the postwar period. Little's article, however, documents an African American's account of World War II, something the author claims to be a rare source. The final section of the book closes with an article by Jerald Podair, who narrates the life of Bayard Rustin, an African American socialist who chose to support a largely white teachers' union during the height of the civil rights wars of the 1960s.

*Murray State University*

CARL C. CREASON

*Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations.* By CHARLENE MIRES. (New York: New York University Press, 2013. 320 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$29.99.)

In *Capital of the World*, Charlene Mires provides a gripping account of the United Nations' search for a headquarters at the end of World War II. Of course, we all know how this story ends; the book opens with a photo of the Le Corbusier and Oscar Niemeyer-designed Secretariat building rising over Manhattan in 1949. Yet Mires—an assistant professor of history at Rutgers University–Camden and co-recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for journalism—studiously recounts every stage of the process, examining how “people in cities and towns across the United States imagined themselves on the world stage” (227). Along the way, she gleans insights into the contested nature of America's emergent internationalism—tensions between the public and the private, the modern and the archaic, and the local and the global.

Americans by no means agreed on where the putative “Capital of the World” should be built; in the course of the UN's search, nearly 250 localities were considered. (Mires has compiled a handy list of all of the contenders in the appendix.) The stakes were high. The site would become the axis of a recalibrated postwar balance of power, an acknowledged “center” of the world at a pivotal moment of “political power struggles and changing ideas of distance, space, and time” (82). The headquarters' design also bore symbolic weight. Would the UN choose a suburban-style complex of freestanding structures connected by roadways? Or would this beacon of peace and freedom rise in the midst of an established city?

According to Mires, at the dawn of the so-called American Century, many in the United States remained ambivalent toward the forces of globalized modernity.

In the field of contenders, she identifies two competing paradigms. On one side were local boosters—relics of a frontier area just emerging from a century of isolationism—who proclaimed the merits of their midwestern backwaters. Paul E. Bellamy urged delegates to consider his native Black Hills of South Dakota, where, he promised, they would enjoy “beefsteak[s] about *that* long . . . and *that* thick” (113). On the other hand, marketers from cities such as San Francisco, Detroit, and Boston delivered polished multimedia presentations. Philadelphia (which was among the finalists) took a similarly measured approach, playing up its historic association with American ideals of liberty and democracy.

Not everyone wanted the headquarters built in his or her hometown. Mires describes how residents of the posh suburb of Greenwich, CT, fought the UN’s plan; they thought it would disrupt the “character of [their] community” through an “un-American” encroachment on their rights of private property and “self government” (167–68). Mires might have explored this episode even further, explaining how citizens marshaled conceptions of domesticity and localism to thwart the United Nations’ proposal. She also could have spent more time detailing the implications of the final compromise—brokered by the Rockefeller family—that gave the UN its home along the East River. As recent scholarship by Samuel Zipp has shown, the selection, clearance, and construction of this site has much to tell us about midcentury planners’ understandings of modernity and the “slum.”

Those reservations aside, *Capital of the World* is a deeply researched, engagingly written journey through a neglected episode in American history. Academic and amateur historians alike will want to revisit this moment, when the United States was transitioning away from a century of folksy boosterism toward a modern age of global power.

Princeton University

DYLAN GOTTLIEB

*In the Crossfire: Marcus Foster and the Troubled History of American School Reform.* By JOHN P. SPENCER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95.)

John Spencer has written a historical corrective about America’s biggest educational problem: persistent and seemingly intractable achievement gaps that help sustain our two-tiered, racially biased society. In this book, he aims to complicate a common narrative in which preoccupation with equity and inclusion are abandoned in the Reagan era and replaced by improvements to educational quality and school accountability. Spencer acknowledges this periodization has historical usefulness but argues that it does not reflect the black experience. Marcus Foster is his archetype. Among such African American educators, excellence and

accountability were just as important as equity and inclusion from as early as the 1950s. Spencer's counternarrative, uncomplicated by the disparate experiences of Asians, Hispanics, or other minority groups, concentrates on improvement to the educational outcomes and life chances of African American boys attending urban schools after the Great Migration. This sharp focus offers a contrast to history textbooks that pursue universal themes.

We learn that Marcus Foster grew up in Philadelphia after his family migrated from Georgia in the 1920s, when schools and most other institutions were segregated and unequal. Life prospects for African American men were circumscribed by a lack of decently paid work. Disinvestment bequeathed diminished resources to black schools even as children became poorer and more socially isolated. Foster was convinced that educational achievement offered the most reliable path to overcoming such obstacles. Benefitting from an extended family, New Deal programs, and middle-class cultural capital, he was successful in elementary school, which gave him uncommon access to predominately white junior and senior high schools. After graduating from a historically black college, Foster taught elementary school. He was rapidly promoted to head a black elementary school and then to successively more difficult assignments within Philadelphia's black schools. In 1970 he accepted an offer to be Superintendent of the Oakland Public Schools. Three years later, the rising star was assassinated in a parking lot by three members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), gunned down with cyanide-packed bullets.

Throughout, Foster saw accountability—defined as schools, parents, communities, and young men themselves all taking responsibility for high academic performance—as a crucial part of the civil rights struggle. Excellence was not just expected of and modeled for his students; parents, teachers, principals, politicians, community groups, and the larger taxpaying public all became actors he would hold accountable, at least rhetorically. Closing achievement gaps was his ultimate measure of success. His views engendered support; he was the frequent recipient of Ford and Rockefeller Foundation funding and pioneered several waves of federal compensatory education experiments.

In distinguishing Foster's legacy, Spencer decries modern accountability policy in which "urgency has trumped complexity" (237). He recognizes but one obvious successor: The Harlem Children's Zone, with its strict accountability among families and teachers for academic performance and—as importantly—among politicians and philanthropists for local community services. School improvements are an insufficient response to achievement gaps and inequality of opportunity—still less to poverty. Even so, Foster's legacy suggests that achievement gaps can be narrowed if schools function as community resources and if education mobilizes collective responsibility.

*Brooklyn, NY*

DOROTHY SHIPPS

*Allegheny City: A History of Pittsburgh's North Side.* By DAN ROONEY and CAROL PETERSON. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013. 264 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

How many viewers of *Monday Night Football* featuring the Pittsburgh Steelers at Heinz Field realize that the stadium—like nearby PNC Park, the Pittsburgh Science Center, and the Warhol Museum—sits on the city's North Side, once a thriving Allegheny City? Lest we forget, two North Side authors—Steelers owner Dan Rooney and architectural historian Carol Peterson—have filled the void in a volume that is both intimate and informative. Structured chronologically, the book focuses largely on the city's physical growth and development from its founding in the late eighteenth century through its annexation by Pittsburgh in 1907 and its demise and resurrection in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Throughout this strongly anecdotal work, the authors ooze nostalgia for Allegheny City's glorious past and the illustrious figures that once inhabited its urban space. For example, in discussing Woodlawn, hardware tycoon John T. Logan's mansion, the authors muse blissfully that Andrew Carnegie would have regularly walked by the stately edifice during his childhood.

Rooney and Peterson chronicle Allegheny's increasingly industrial past: its many cotton mills, its German breweries, its rolling mills, and the landmark Heinz pickle factory. We see the birth in 1847 of the Mexican War streets and the accumulation of wealth that this booming industrialism and development produced. In fact, the book is liberally punctuated with biographical sketches of the town's rich and famous—luminaries whose mills, businesses, and fine homes helped shape the image of Allegheny City as a prosperous place.

As a prominent industrial town, a satellite of the bigger and even more heavily industrialized Pittsburgh, Allegheny City harbored a proletariat of Germans, Italians, Slovaks, Croats, and Lithuanians. They appear in this book, but far less conspicuously than the denizens of "Millionaire Row." Of course, the city faced challenges—more and more as the town aged. It endured floods, labor conflicts, annexation by Pittsburgh, the Great Depression, two wars, and an ugly bout with deindustrialization and urban renewal that all but effaced its distinguished architectural legacy of Italianate, Second French Empire, and Richardson Romanesque piles. Postwar modernist planners waged a vendetta against the perceived obsolescence of the existing cityscape. In the 1960s and '70s, renewal destroyed the city's famed Allegheny Diamond, including the city's grand indoor market, and many prominent homes. Likewise, highway construction dealt similar blows until the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation (PHLF) and civic groups made preservation, not demolition, the new mandate. As part of resilient Pittsburgh—whose universities, medical complexes and high-tech prowess enabled it to adapt to a postindustrial, global economy—the North

Side—now home to stadiums, museums, and institutions of higher education—has become again a desirable place to live.

*Allegheny City* can make for enjoyable reading. But, alas, this book—which revels in the who, where, and when—fails to provide a distinguishable argument about the why and how of the once-vibrant town's growth, decline, and renewal. Although it contains a cornucopia of factual content, the narrative too often flows unevenly and bounces around chronologically. Without foot- or endnotes, many readers will beg for some indication of the sources of detail. While there are many useful images, a map would have been very helpful. Nevertheless, as a joyful paean to a once-important and thriving industrial city that still retains a prideful sense of place, the book fully succeeds in its purpose.

*University of Southern Maine*

JOHN F. BAUMAN

## INDEX 2013

- AAU (American Assoc. of Universities), 400  
 Abbot, Elenore Plaisted (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 abolition, 144–45; Anthony Benezet and, 126–45 passim; before and during the Civil War, 33–55; Dr. William Chancellor and, 126–45; ideas about freedom and, 19–22; PA Gradual Emancipation Act, 36, 153; Phila. race riots and, 294–95; in Phila., book on, 115–16; Quakerism and, book on, 206–7  
 “An Account of the Captivity of Richard Bard” (Loudon, ed.), 438  
 Adams, John: economics and, 159; Model Treaty of, 207  
 Adams, John Quincy, on slavery, 46  
 Adams, Sean Patrick, book rev. by, 334–36  
 advertisements, trade cards and, 193  
 African Americans: Civil War military service of, 112–13; colonization of, 57–78 passim, 109–12, 273; debates about freedom for, 33–55; desegregation of Phila. schools and, 305–10, 321–22; in Germantown, PA, 79–93 (with photos); health of, during Civil War, 113; as hucksters, 152–77 passim; ideas about freedom and, 17–22, 25; Penn expansion and, 383, 414–25; Phila. race riots and, 293–300; reaction of, to Emancipation Proclamation, 57–78; trade cards and, 193; voting and, 17–18, 20–21; West Phila. and, 383, 414–25  
 African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, 273  
 “The Age of Emancipating Proclamations: Early Civil War Abolitionism and Its Discontents,” by Richard S. Newman, 33–55  
 Agnes Irwin Day School for Girls, Philadelphia Girls’ Rowing Club records and, 196  
 AIDS/HIV, John Fryer papers and, 199  
 Albany Conference, 245–46  
 Albin O. Kuhn Library and Gallery, 181  
 Aldridge, A. O. (historian), 349–50, 355  
 Alexander family (plantation owners), 446  
 Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, ideas about freedom and, 30  
*Allegheny City: A History of Pittsburgh’s North Side*, by Rooney and Peterson, rev., 459–60  
 Allen, Richard (African Methodist Episcopal church founder), 153, 266  
 Allen, Sarah, 266  
 Allen, William (Phila. mayor), Conrad Weiser papers and, 192  
 Allen, William C. (architectural historian), 452  
 Alston, Floyd (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 320  
 American Anti-Slavery Society, 295  
 American Assoc. of School Administrators, 317  
 American Assoc. of Universities, 400  
 American Colonization Society, 288  
 “An American Ethnological View of the Negro Question” (Van Evrie), 51  
 American Liberty League, 24  
 American Psychiatric Assoc., John Fryer papers and, 198–99  
 American Revolution: America as world power and, book on, 207–8; culture and, book on, 210–11; ideas about freedom during, 16–19  
*America’s First Great Depression: Economic Crisis and Political Disorder after the Panic of 1837*, by Roberts, rev., 334–36  
*Among the Powers of the Earth: The American Revolution and the Making of a New World Empire*, by Gould, rev., 207–8  
 Amsterdam, Gustave (RDA chair), 420  
 Anderson, Douglas (writer), 349; *The Unfinished Life of Benjamin Franklin*, rev., 447–49  
 Anderson, Fred (historian), on Braddock’s defeat, 253  
 Anderson, Katrina, book rev. by, 115–16  
 Andrews, Dee, 115; book rev. by, 447–49  
 Andros, Edmund (NY gov.), King Philip’s War and, 234–35  
 Anglo-Indian War: captivity of Richard Bard and, 431–43 passim; defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim  
*Annals* (Watson), 89–90  
 Annenberg, Walter, 398  
 Annenberg Center, 398  
 Anthony, Susan B., 20  
 anthracite region, medical care and, book on, 215–16  
*Antislavery and Abolition in Philadelphia: Emancipation and the Long Struggle for Racial Justice in the City of Brotherly Love*, by Newman and Mueller, eds., rev., 115–16  
 APA (American Psychiatric Assoc.), John Fryer papers and, 198–99

- Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania*, 17–19, 18 (photo)  
 “An Arabian Tale” (Franklin), 375–76  
 architecture, Shirley J. Vernon family history papers and, 197  
 Arnao family (fruit pickers), 187 (photo)  
 “Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion” (Franklin), 349, 351, 359, 379  
*The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School*, by Mauro, rev., 213–15  
 Asher, Rev. Jeremiah (abolitionist), 64  
 Astley, Thomas (anthologist), 127  
 Asylum Company, James Gibson papers and, 192  
 atheism, Benjamin Franklin and, 346–79 passim  
*Athenaeum* (British periodical), 264  
*Atlantic Monthly*, 42  
 Augustine Education Society, 273, 284  
*Aurora* (newspaper), 163, 173  
*Autobiography* (Franklin), 349, 377
- Bacon, Edmund (dir., Phila. City Planning Commission), 309, 385, 410  
 Bacon, Sir Francis, 354  
 Bailey, Thomas A. (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 105  
 Baker (escaped slave), 38  
 Baker, Jean (historian), 336  
 Balano, Paula Himmelsbach (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Balcerski, Thomas J., book rev. by, 336–37  
 Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, 198  
 Banneker Institute, 287  
 Barbot, Jean (explorer), 127  
 Bard, Archibald, 437–43  
 Bard, John, 432–35  
 Bard, Katherine “Ketty” (Indian captive), 432–43 passim  
 Bard, Richard (captivity narrative writer), 431–43  
 Barnes Institute, 292  
 Barthes, Roland (philosopher), 214  
 Bartle, Harvey, III, *Mortals with Tremendous Responsibilities: A History of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania*, rev., 450–51  
 Bartlett, Robert C. (scholar), 354  
 Barton, Thomas (Anglican minister), Paxton Boys and, book on, 205  
 Bartram, William (naturalist), 329  
 Batcheler, Hartshorne, and Sahlin families papers, 1789–2007 (bulk 1880–2007), 194
- Bates, Edward (atty. gen), on colonization, 111  
 Baugh, J. Gordon, Jr. (publisher/photographer), 79–93 passim (with photos)  
 Baugh, Philander (publisher), 82  
 Baugh, W. A. W., “Song of the Times” (poem), 83  
 Bauman, George (NYU vice pres.), 400  
 Bauman, John F., book rev. by, 459–60  
 Baxter, Augustus (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 320  
 Bayle, Pierre: “Epicurus,” 347–79 passim, 365n; *An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, 354–55  
 Beauharnais, Eugenie, family chart of, 272  
 Beaux, Cecilia (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Becker, Marshall Joseph, book rev. by, 445–46  
 Beiler, Rosalind J., book rev. by, 326–28  
 Bell, John (Constitutional Union Party candidate), 110  
 Bellamy, Paul E. (businessman), 457  
 Belohlavek, John (historian), 337  
 Benezet, Anthony (Quaker abolitionist): *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies*, 128–29; Dr. William Chancellor and, 126–45; *Observations on the Enslaving, Importing, and Purchasing of Negroes*, 126–28, 128n, 137–38, 142; *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, 128–29  
 Benezet, Daniel, 137–38  
 Benezet, James, 137–38  
 Benezet, John Stephen, 137–38  
 Benezet, Philip, 137–38  
 Bennett, Lerone, Jr. (journalist): on colonization, 109, 111; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 98–101, 105–6  
 Berlin, Ira (historian), 96, 115  
 Better Philadelphia Exhibition of 1947, 385–86  
 Biddle, C. Miller, *William and Sarah Biddle, 1633–1711: Planting the Seed of Democracy in America*, rev., 203–4  
 Biddle, Charles (US congressman), on emancipation, 33–34, 40, 45, 55  
 Biddle, Daniel R., “‘God Is Settling the Account’: African American Reaction to Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation,” with Murray Dubin, 57–78  
 Biddle, Sarah, book on, 203–4  
 Biddle, William, book on, 203–4  
 Biden, Joseph, 219



- Bidio, Rose (child laborer), 183 (photo)
- Bigham, Samuel (stonecarver), 446–47
- Bigham, William (stonecarver), 446–47
- Bill Braxton Memorial Regatta, 196
- Birkner, Michael J., ed., *James Buchanan and the Coming of the Civil War*, with Quist, rev., 336–37
- Black Bottom Assoc., 420–23
- Blair, Montgomery (postmaster gen.), on colonization, 111
- Blair, William (historian), 338
- Bodenhorn, Howard, book rev. by, 116–17
- Boonin, Tobyann (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 319
- Boritt, Gabor (historian), on colonization, 110–11
- Bosman, Willem (trader), 127
- Boswell, M. Louise (writer), 189
- Bourdieu, Pierre (social scientist), 303
- Boyd, Andrew (huckster), 152
- Boyle, John (sculptor), 381, 395
- Boyle, Sir Robert (philosopher), 352–53, 363
- Braddock, Gen. Edward, defeat of by Delaware Indians, 228–59 passim
- Bradley, Lillian, letter to Eastman Kodak Company from, 193–94
- Bradstock, Andrew (scholar), 204
- Brandt, Willy (German chancellor), Abraham Lincoln and, 454
- Brasher, Glenn David, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 98–99
- British Empire, abolition and, 295
- British military, defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim
- Brougham, Lord Henry, foreword to *The Garies and Their Friends* (Webb) and, 264
- Brown, Charles (US congressman), on abolitionism, 37
- Brown, David Paul (Quaker abolitionist), 271
- Brown, Enoch (schoolmaster), 442
- Brown, Foster (dean, SUNY Cortland), 302
- Brown, John (abolitionist), 71
- Brown, William Wells, 63, 74
- Browning, Orville H., 99
- Brownson, Orestes (philosopher), 334
- Brubaker, Jack, *Massacre of the Conestogas: On the Trail of the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County*, rev., 204–5
- Bruggeman, Seth C., book rev. by, 219–20
- Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, book rev. by, 118–19
- Buchanan, James: Civil War and, book on, 336–37; US Capitol and, 452
- Buckley, Paul, ed., *Dear Friend: Letters and Essays of Elias Hicks*, rev., 330–32
- Budd, Theodore (cranberry farmer), 185, 189
- Budden, Richard (ship captain), 135–37, 136n, 139
- Buel, Richard, Jr., book rev. by, 211–12
- Bunche, Ralph (educator/statesman), on freedom, 14
- Bunyan, John (writer), Benjamin Franklin and, 448
- Burd, Edward Shippen, 282
- Burd, Eliza Howard (benefactor/artist), 282–83
- Burd family, 274
- Burlingame, Michael (historian), 59
- Burns, Lillian (Penn planner), 400
- Burr, Aaron, 272, 273
- Burr, John Pierre, 272–73, 294
- Burr, Louisa Charlotte, 271–77
- Burr family, 266, 272
- Burton, Orville Vernon (historian): ed., *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction*, with Podair and Weber, rev., 454–56; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 103
- Bush, George H. W., judicial appointments of, 450
- Bush, George W.: ideas about freedom and, 30; judicial appointments of, 450
- business: in early America, 147–77 passim; trade cards and, 193
- Butler, Gen. Benjamin, contraband edict of, 35–55 passim
- Byrd, William (quarryman), 84–85
- Byron, Lady, 290
- Cadwalader, Thomas (PA provincial official), Delaware Indians and, 228
- Calone, Tenjeta (child laborer), 188 (photo)
- Calvinism, 363–64
- Camillo, Jennie (child laborer), 189 (photo)
- Campbell, Jabez (AME pastor), on colonizing African Americans, 65
- Campbell, James (scholar), 351
- Canada, defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim
- Canasatego (Onondaga orator), 237–38, 243
- Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations*, by Mires, rev., 456–57
- Captain Jacobs (Delaware Indian), 252–53
- Captain John Peter (Delaware Indian), 253
- Captain Will (Delaware Indian), 253

- Carhart, Tom (historian), 455  
 Carlisle Indian School, book on, 213–15  
 Carmichael, Peter (historian), 455  
 Carnegie, Andrew, 459  
 Carter, James E., judicial appointments of, 451  
 Cassey, Alfred, 285  
 Cassey, Amy Matilda, 267, 284–85, 287, 295  
 Cassey, Henry, 287  
 Cassey, Joseph (hairdresser), 279, 284, 295  
 Cassey, Joseph W., 300  
 Cassey, Sarah, 284, 287  
 Cassey family, 266, 284–85, 300  
 Catto, Octavius (civil rights activist), 63–65, 78, 118  
 Catto, Rev. William (civil rights leader), on colonizing African Americans, 61, 63, 67  
*A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies* (Benezet), 128–29  
 CCPEP (Citizens Committee for Public Education in Philadelphia), 307, 313  
 Central Urban Renewal Area study, 387  
 “Cerebus” (journalist), on Chiriquí colonization plan, 60  
 Chain of Friendship, 237, 254, 257  
 Chancellor, Elizabeth, 131–32  
 Chancellor, Lethea, 131  
 Chancellor, Mary, 132  
 Chancellor, Salome Carpenter, 138, 141–42  
 Chancellor, Salome Wister, 137–38, 141, 141n  
 Chancellor, Samuel, 131  
 Chancellor, William (sailmaker), 131, 131n, 142  
 Chancellor, William (slaveship surgeon):  
   Anthony Benezet and, 126–45, 128n;  
   “Continuation of a Voyage from New York to the Coast of Africa in the Sloop Wolf Gurnay Wall Commandr. in the Years 1749–50 & 51,” 129–35, 131n, 133n–135n; death of, 141–42  
 Chancellor, William (son of Dr. WC), 138, 141–42, 145  
 Chancellor family, 131–32, 131n  
 Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library (Penn), 394, 396–98, 397 (photo), 408  
 Charter of Privileges (1701) (Penn), 15–16  
 Cherokee Indians, 435–37  
 Chestnut, Mary Boykin (diarist), 72  
 Chicago, South East Chicago Commission of, 400, 415–16  
*Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages*, by Ramey, rev., 212–13  
 child labor, 180–90 (with photos)  
 Chinese Exclusion Act, 25  
 Chiriquí colonization plan, 57–78 passim  
 Choate, John N. (photographer), 214  
 Christianity, Benjamin Franklin on, 345–79 passim  
*Christian Recorder* (periodical), 38–39, 42–44, 46, 55, 60  
*The Christian Slave* (play) (Stowe), 264, 288, 290  
 Ciotola, Nicholas P., “From Philadelphia to the Pinelands: The New Jersey Photographs of Lewis W. Hine,” 179–90 (with photos)  
 Citizens Committee for Public Education in Philadelphia, 307, 313  
 Citizens’ Conference on the Crisis in Education, 302  
 citizenship, Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS) and, 115  
*City Characters; or, Familiar Scenes in Town*, 175 (drawing), 176  
*The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, North America; as it appeared in the Year 1800* (lithograph), 172  
 civic activism, Phila. public schools and, 301–24 passim  
 Civic Club of Philadelphia, 301  
 civil rights: abolition movement in Phila. and, book on, 115–16; ideas about freedom and, 17–22, 25–28, 29 (photo); in the North during Reconstruction, book on, 118–19  
 Civil War: abolitionism and, 33–55; James Buchanan and, book on, 336–37; contra-band edict and, 35–43 passim; draft resistance and, book on, 337–38; “Fine Wine on a Civil War Battlefield” (*Wine Spectator* article), 194; ideas about freedom and, 19–23; military service of African Americans in, 112–13; sectional conflict, reconstruction and, book on, 454–56; US Capitol and, book on, 451–53  
 Clarendon, Lord, 290  
 Clark, Joseph S., Jr. (Phila. mayor, US senator), 387, 401  
 Clarke, Samuel (theologian), 346, 351  
 Class of 1949 pedestrian bridge (Penn), 406  
 Clay, Henry, 109  
 Clayton, Constance (Phila. school supt.), 304, 314–23 passim  
*Clearfield Republican* (Democratic publication), 42

- Clinton, Catherine (historian), 455  
 Clinton, William J., judicial appointments of, 451  
*Clothed in Robes of Sovereignty: The Continental Congress and the People Out of Doors*, by Irvin, rev., 210–11  
 Cohen, Sheldon S., book rev. by, 207–8  
 Cold War, ideas about freedom and, 26–29  
 Cole, Eleanor (assist. dir., NCCPS), 302  
 Coleman, James S., *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, 310  
 College Hall (Penn), 394–96, 395 (photo)  
 College of Pennsylvania, 377–78  
 Collins, Josiah, III (planter), 279  
 Collinson, Peter (botanist), 370  
 colonial America: European conflicts and, 207–8; huckstering in, 150; ideas about freedom in, 15–16; mercantile society in Phila. and, 126–45 passim; Quakerism in, book on, 203–4  
 colonization of African Americans, 109–12, 273; Emancipation Proclamation and, 57–78 passim; Frank J. Webb and, 287–88  
 Columbia County, PA, draft resistance in, book on, 337–38  
 “Come and Join Us, Brothers” (lithograph), 21  
 commerce, in early America, 147–77 passim  
 Conant, James B. (pres., Harvard University), 302  
 Conaughy, A. D. (reporter), 436, 438  
 Conestoga Indians, Paxton Boys and, book on, 204–5  
 “The Contested History of American Freedom,” by Eric Foner, 13–31  
 Continental Congress, culture and, book on, 210–11  
 “Continuation of a Voyage from New York to the Coast of Africa in the Sloop Wolf Gurnay Wall Commandr. in the Years 1749–50 & 51” (Chancellor), 129–35, 131n, 133n–135n  
 contraband edict, 35–55 passim, 97–98  
 Conyngham, Redmond (journalist), Paxton Boys and, book on, 205  
 Cook, Elliot (restaurateur), 411  
 cooking, Eliza Goodfellow and, book on, 333–34  
 Coppedge, Fern Isabel (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Coquettegheon (Delaware Indian), 441  
 Corantie, John (Animabo trader), 135n  
 Le Corbusier (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris) (architect), 407–8, 456  
 CORDE Corporation, 310  
 Cornaro, Millie (child laborer), 184 (photo)  
 Costanzo, Matthew (Phila. school supt.), 315  
 Countryman, Matthew, *Up South*, 423  
 Covenant Chain, 229, 235–36, 255, 258  
 Cox, LaWanda (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 98, 102  
 Cox, Thomas C. (historian), 455  
 Cox, Tench (politician), 115  
 Cox family, 274  
 Coyle, Heather Campbell, ed., *Howard Pyle: American Master Rediscovered*, rev., 216–17  
 cranberry bogs, 183–90 (photos)  
 Cranchell, Barthena (huckster), 152–53  
 Cranchell, Bartholomew (huckster), 153  
 Cranchell, Caesar (huckster), 152–53  
 Crane, Walter (illustrator), 217  
 Crawford, Thomas (artist), US Capitol and, 452–53  
 Creason, Carl C., book rev. by, 454–56  
 Creese, James (Drexel Inst. pres.), 392, 394  
 Creighton, Margaret (historian), 338  
*Crisis in the Classroom* (Silberman), 311–12  
 Crittenden, John (US senator), on First Confiscation Act, 39  
 Crockett, Rosemary (historian), 293  
 Crofts, Daniel (historian), 337  
 Croghan, George (Indian agent), 202, 244, 246  
 Crosby, David L., “The Surgeon and the Abolitionist: William Chancellor and Anthony Benezet,” 126–45  
 Cudworth, Ralph (philosopher), 353–54, 356, 363  
 Cuffe, Paul (ship captain/abolitionist), 208  
 culture: abolition in Phila. and, book on, 116; Americanization of Native Americans and, book on, 213–15; art and science in Phila., book on, 328–29; Continental Congress and, book on, 210–11; cooking, Eliza Goodfellow and, book on, 333–34; gravestone art and, book on, 446–47; industrial memory in PA and, book on, 219–20; language in early PA and, book on, 326–28; The Plastic Club records and, 196–97  
 Cupp, Paul J. (Penn trustee), 419  
 CURA (Central Urban Renewal Area) study, 387  
 Current, Richard (historian), 336

- Cutler, William W., III, "Outside In and Inside Out: Civic Activism, Helen Oakes, and the Philadelphia Public Schools, 1960–1989," 301–24
- Cyrus (ship), 271
- Daily Pennsylvanian* (newspaper), 409
- Dain, Bruce (historian), 455
- Darius, John, 274
- Darius, Louisa Charlotte Burr Webb, 271–77
- David Rittenhouse Laboratories, 390
- Davis, David Brion (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 106, 108
- Davis, Hugh, "*We Will Be Satisfied With Nothing Less*": *The African American Struggle for Equal Rights in the North during Reconstruction*, rev., 118–19
- Davis, Jefferson: Emancipation Proclamation and, 107, 114; US Capitol and, 452–53; on Dr. J. H. Van Evrie, 52
- de Willer, Catherine (huckster), 159–60, 164
- Dear Friend: Letters and Essays of Elias Hicks*, by Buckley, ed., rev., 330–32
- deism, 346, 352
- Delany, Martin (abolitionist), 61, 78
- Delaware George (Delaware Indian), 238
- Delaware Indians: captivity of Richard Bard and, 431–43 passim; defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim; gender roles and, 229–38, 231n, 233n; recorded history of, book on, 445–46
- DeMallie, Raymond J., book rev. by, 213–15
- A Democracy of Facts: Natural History in the Early Republic*, by Lewis, rev., 332–33
- Democratic Party: draft resistance and, book on, 337–38; economics and, 159–60
- desegregation of Phila. schools, 305–10, 321–22
- Dewey, John (philosopher/educator), 302
- Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (1973), John Fryer papers and, 198
- Diamond, Becky, *Mrs. Goodfellow: The Story of America's First Cooking School*, rev., 333–34
- Dickerson, Mary Anne, 276
- Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Bayle), 354–55
- Dido (Phoenician queen), 445
- Dietrich Hall (Penn), 398
- Dillaye, Blanche (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 196
- DiLorenzo, Thomas (economist), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 105–6
- Dilworth, Richard (Phila. mayor), 311, 320; Penn expansion and, 387, 391, 400, 416
- Dinwiddie, Robert (VA lt. gov.), Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain* (Franklin), 347–51, 367
- District of Columbia emancipation edict, 47–48
- divine intervention, Benjamin Franklin on, 345–79 passim
- Donald, David (historian): on colonization, 109; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 100, 104, 108
- Donaldson, David (historian), 454
- Dorr, Thomas (RI gov.), 335
- Douglas, Stephen: James Buchanan and, 337; on DC abolition, 48
- Douglass, Frederick, 71, 101, 292; on antislavery movement, 64; on Gen. Benjamin Butler, 38–39; on colonization, 61, 62, 110; on contraband edict, 38–39, 42–43; Emancipation Proclamation and, 74–75, 107; experiences of, 66; on Gen. John Fremont, 45; on Abraham Lincoln, 61–62, 70; on slavery, 33, 55; on visiting the White House, 60, 78
- Douglass, Susan, 278
- Douglass family, 266
- Douglass' Monthly* (periodical), 61
- Downs, Jim (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 113
- "Dr. Henry Anonymous," John Fryer papers and, 198
- draft resistance, Civil War and, book on, 337–38
- Drayton, Thomas (plantation owner), 22
- Drexel family, 406
- Drexel Institute of Technology, 392, 399, 413, 414, 418–19
- Drexel University, 307, 382, 392; Shirley J. Vernon family history papers and, 197
- Duane, William John (newspaper editor), PA legislature and, 449
- Dubin, Murray, "God Is Settling the Account": African American Reaction to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation," with Daniel R. Biddle, 57–78
- Du Bois, W. E. B.: Niagara Movement and, 81; on 1834 Phila. riot, 296–97; *The Philadelphia Negro*, 81; sociological work of, 81–93 passim
- Duffin, J. M., 403
- Dutch and religious liberty, book on, 325–26

- early America: book on, 202–3; economic democracy in, 147–77 passim; huckstering in, 147–77 passim, 151n, 165n, 170n, 172 (lithograph), 174n, 175 (drawing); natural history in, book on, 332–33
- Eastman Kodak Company, Lillian Bradley letter to, 193–94
- economics: free trade and, 147–77 passim; huckstering and, 147–77 passim, 151n, 165n, 170n, 172 (lithograph), 174n, 175 (drawing); ideas about freedom and, 23–24; Panic of 1837 and, book on, 334–36; regulation of, 155–77 passim
- Eddington, Paul (writer), 204
- education: of African Americans, 71–72; Anthony Benezet and, 126–45 passim; desegregation of Phila. schools and, 305–10, 321–22; W. E. B. Du Bois and, 83–84; expansion of Penn and, 381–430 passim (with photos); William Penn and, 126, 132; Phila. public schools, 1960–89 and, 301–24 passim; Philadelphia Board of Education, 309–24 passim; reform of, race and, book on, 457–58
- Educational Equality League, 313
- Educational Survey (1954–59), 384, 403
- Egerton, Douglas R., “A Measure Alike Military & Philanthropic’: Historians and the Emancipation Proclamation,” 95–114
- 1812: War and the Passions of Politics*, by Eustace, rev., 211–12
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 401; judicial appointments of, 451
- Eisenlohr family, 406
- Elmore, Hannah (huckster), 169, 174, 176
- Eltis, David (slavery database compiler), 129
- Emancipation Proclamation: Civil War abolitionism and, 33–55; 1913 commemoration of, 79–93 passim (with photos); DC emancipation edict and, 47–48; historians’ works on, 95–114; history of American freedom and, 13–31; of Gen. David Hunter, 35–55 passim; reaction of African Americans to, 57–78; Republican Party and, 97–99
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 74
- Emery, Hetty, family chart of, 272
- Emmons, Mary, family chart of, 272
- employment: child care orphanages and, book on, 212–13; child labor and, 180–90 (with photos); Foran Act, 186; ideas about freedom and, 23–24
- England: abolition and, 295; defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim; ideas about freedom in, 15–16
- Engman, Robert (sculptor), 411
- Enon Tabernacle Baptist Church, 86 (photo)
- environmentalism, American history and, book on, 201–2
- Epicurus, 349–79 passim; Motion of Declination theory of, 366
- “Epicurus” (Bayle), 347–79 passim, 365n
- Epistle of Caution and Advice Concerning the Keeping of Slaves* (Quaker publication), 138
- Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman), 310
- Equal Rights Amendment, 29 (photo)
- Erben, Patrick M., *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, rev., 326–28
- Espartero, Baldomero, 290
- Espartero, Mary, 264, 272, 288, 288 (illustration), 290
- Etcheson, Nichole (historian), 337
- Ethical Culture School, 180
- ethics, “government of the world” and, 345–46
- Eustace, Nicole, *1812: War and the Passions of Politics*, rev., 211–12
- Evening Bulletin* (newspaper), 407
- Evening Star* (newspaper), 75
- “Experience among the Contrabands” (essay) (Pierce), 42
- Faculty Club (Penn), 398
- Fairmount Engine Company, 295
- “Faithfully Drawn from Real Life’: Autobiographical Elements in Frank J. Webb’s *The Garies and Their Friends*,” by Mary Maillard, 261–300
- Federal Housing Act of 1949, 383, 385, 394, 400
- Federal Housing Act of 1959, 399–401
- Federalism: economics and, 159–65; War of 1812, westward expansion and, book on, 211–12
- Fehrenbacher, Don (historian), 112, 336
- Fels, Joseph (businessman), 23
- Fels family, 406
- The Feminine Mystique* (Friedan), 304
- feminism, ideas about freedom and, 17–18, 20–21, 28, 29 (photo)
- Ferguson, John Henry (writer), 204
- Ferrick, Frederick (Indian captive), 434

- Fiege, Mark, *The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States*, rev., 201–2
- Fields, Barbara J. (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 96
- Fight for Freedom Committee, 25
- “Fine Wine on a Civil War Battlefield” (*Wine Spectator* article), 194
- Finkelman, Paul (historian), 336
- First African Presbyterian Church, 273
- First Confiscation Act, 39–40, 48–49, 96–97
- First Emancipation, 33–55 passim
- The First Frontier: The Forgotten History of Struggle, Savagery, and Endurance in Early America*, by Weidensaul, rev., 202–3
- Fischer, David Hackett (historian), 204
- Fisher, Elizabeth Powel Francis (society matron), 274, 277 (photo), 280–83
- Fisher, Eliza Middleton, 280–82
- Fisher, Joshua Francis, 274–76, 275 (photo), 281–83
- Fisher, Lily, 281
- Fisher, Sidney George (diarist), 68, 283
- The Fishing Creek Confederacy: A Story of Civil War Draft Resistance*, by Sauers and Tomasak, rev., 337–38
- Fishman, Joel, book revs. by, 449–50, 450–51
- Fleetwood, Christian A., papers of, 273, 278
- Fleetwood, Sarah Iredell, 272, 279, 292
- Fleszar, Mark J. (historian), on colonization, 111
- folklore, Delaware Indians and, book on, 445–46
- Foner, Eric (historian), 118; on colonization, 111; “The Contested History of American Freedom,” 13–31; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 99–100, 103
- Foran Act, 186
- Forbush, Bliss (writer), 331
- Ford, Lisa L., ed, *Knowing Nature: Art and Science in Philadelphia, 1740–1840*, with Meyers, rev., 328–29
- Foreman, Amanda (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 103
- Forrester, Richard (freeman), 114
- Forten, Charlotte (abolitionist), 63–64, 71, 287; Emancipation Proclamation and, 75–76; family chart of, 272; Wood family and, 267, 270
- Forten, James (civil rights activist), 62–64, 115, 118, 266, 295
- Forten, Mary Virginia Wood, 265–67
- Forten, Robert B., 266, 272
- Forten family, 266–67
- Foster, Marcus (educator), book on, 457–58
- Fothergill, Dr. John (Quaker): William Chancellor and, 139–42, 144; on the Delaware Indians, 254
- Foucault, Michel (philosopher), 214
- Fox-Friedman, Jeanne, book rev. by, 216–17
- France, defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim
- Francis family, 274
- Franklin, Benjamin, 254; “An Arabian Tale,” 375–76; “Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion,” 349, 351, 359, 379; *Autobiography*, 349, 377; autobiography of, book on, 447–49; *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*, 347–51, 367; on duties of religion, 369–74; “Journal of a Voyage,” 348; “Letter from Father Abraham,” 367; Library Company of Philadelphia and, 355; militias and, 329; “On the Providence of God in the Government of the World,” 345–79 passim; “Plan of Conduct,” 349; *Poor Richard’s Almanac*, 370; on prayer, 362–69; *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, 377–78; religious beliefs of, 345–79 passim; John Smith and, 136; statue of, 381, 395 (photo)
- Franklin, John Hope (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 100–101, 104, 106, 108
- Franklin Building (Penn), 409
- Fratz, May (artist), *The Plastic Club* records and, 196
- Frederick, Margaretta S. (scholar), 217
- Frederick Douglass’ Paper* (newspaper), 264
- Fredrickson, George (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 106
- Freedman’s Bureau, 292
- Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861–1865* (Oakes), 99
- Freedom’s Cap: The United States Capitol and the Coming of the Civil War*, by Gugliotta, rev., 451–53
- Freedom’s Journal* (newspaper), 273
- Freehling, William (historian), 102–3, 112, 336
- Freeman (slave), 114
- Freeman, Mittie (slave), 114
- “Free Niggerism” (Van Evrie), 51
- free trade, 147–77 passim

- “Free Trade and Hucksters’ Rights!” (Hemboldt), 149, 176
- “Free Trade and Hucksters’ Rights!” Envisioning Economic Democracy in the Early Republic,” by Candice L. Harrison, 147–77
- free will, 345–46, 366–69
- Fremont, Gen. John, Missouri proclamation of freedom and, 35–55 passim, 62
- French and Indian War: captivity of Richard Bard and, 431–43 passim; defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim
- Friedan, Betty (Bettye Naomi Goldstein), *The Feminine Mystique*, 304
- Friend’s Overseers of the Press, 138
- From Liberty to Liberty: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820*, by Joseph, rev., 449–50
- “From Philadelphia to the Pinelands: The New Jersey Photographs of Lewis W. Hine,” by Nicholas P. Ciotola, 179–90 (with photos)
- Frost, J. William (historian), 204
- Frothingham, Rev. Octavius B., 286
- Fryer, John E. (psychiatrist), papers of, 1876–2004 (bulk 1950–2000), 198–99
- Fugitive Slave Law, 35
- Fur, Gunlög (historian), 233–34; *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters*, 233
- “G.A.” (Phila. councilman), on huckstering, 162
- Gaines, Karen (reporter), 424
- Gallman, J. Matthew (historian), 338
- Garaontie, Daniel (Onondaga leader), King Philip’s War and, 235
- The Garies and Their Friends* (F. J. Webb), 261–300
- Garnet, Rev. Henry Highland (civil rights activist), 78, 118; on colonizing African Americans, 61, 63, 65; Emancipation Proclamation and, 74–75; experiences of, 66
- Garrison, William Lloyd (abolitionist), 46, 74, 294
- Gates, Thomas Sovereign (sec. of defense), 389
- Gay, Mary Ann Harris (writer), 456
- gay rights, ideas about freedom and, 28
- Gazette of the United States* (newspaper), 162
- gender, Delaware Indians and, 229–59 passim, 231n, 233n
- General State Authority, 394–99, 408–9
- George Eastman House, 181
- Germantown, PA, African Americans in, 79–93 (with photos)
- Germantown Education Assoc., 80, 87–88, 87 (photo)
- Gérôme, Jean Léon (academician), 217
- Gerteis, Louis (historian), on colonization, 110–11
- Gibbs, Jonathan C. (First African Presbyterian pastor), 73–74, 78
- GI Bill, 384
- Gibson, Hugh (captivity narrative writer), 437
- Gibson, James (lawyer), papers of, 1712–1849 (bulk 1770–1849), 192
- Gienapp, William E. (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 107
- Giesberg, Judith (historian), 338
- Giggie, John M. (historian), 455
- Gillespie, Michele (historian), 456
- Gimbel, Bernard F., 409
- Gimbel Gymnasium, 409
- Glatthaar, Joseph T. (historian), 455
- Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860*, by Grivno, rev., 116–17
- Gleason, Nancy Aub, 277
- Goddard Laboratories, 408
- “God Is Settling the Account”: African American Reaction to Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation,” by Daniel R. Biddle and Murray Dubin, 57–78
- Gooch, William (VA lt. gov.), Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- Goode, Wilson (Phila. politician), 320
- Goodfellow, Eliza (chef/educator), book on, 333–34
- Good Housekeeping* (magazine), 190
- Gookin, Charles (PA gov.), Delaware Indians and, 236
- Gordon, Nathaniel (slave trader), 112
- Gordon, Patrick (PA gov.), Delaware Indians and, 236
- Gottlieb, Dylan, book rev. by, 456–57
- Gould, Eliza H., *Among the Powers of the Earth: The American Revolution and the Making of a New World Empire*, rev., 207–8
- “government of the world” defined, 345–46
- GPM (Greater Philadelphia Movement), 386–87
- Gradual Emancipation Act of Pennsylvania, 36, 153

- Graduate School of Education (Penn), 396, 398
- Gramsci, Antonio (philosopher), 214
- Grant, Ulysses S., US Capitol and, 453
- Great Britain. *see* British Empire; England
- Greater Philadelphia Movement, 386–87
- Great League of the Iroquois, Delaware Indians and, 228–59 *passim*
- Greeley, Horace (abolitionist), 75
- Green, Alfred M., 65–66
- Green, Bill (Phila. mayor), 319–20
- Green, Elijah (former slave), 72
- Green, Elizabeth Shippen (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197
- Green, James N. (scholar), 328
- Greenberg, Brian (historian), 455
- Greenfield, Elizabeth Hallstrom (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 319
- Gregg, Robert (historian), 88
- Grenda, Christopher S., book rev. by, 325–26
- Grimes, Richard S., “We ‘Now Have Taken up the Hatchet against Them’: Braddock’s Defeat and the Martial Liberation of the Western Delawares,” 228–59
- Grimké, Angelina (abolitionist), 20
- Grivno, Max, *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860*, rev., 116–17
- GSA (General State Authority), 394–99, 408–9
- Guardians of the Poor, 176
- Guelzo, Allen C. (historian), 454; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 97, 103, 106–8; *Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation*, 97
- Gugliotta, Guy, *Freedom’s Cap: The United States Capitol and the Coming of the Civil War*, rev., 451–53
- Gurley, Rev. R. R. (American Colonization Society founder), 288
- Gurney, James (writer), 216
- Gutmann, Amy (Penn pres.), 429
- Gyles, John (captivity narrative writer), 202
- Hackney, Sheldon (Penn pres.), 429
- Haefeli, Evan, *New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty*, rev., 325–26
- Hahn, Steven (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 97
- Haiti, colonization of, 273
- Halleck, Gen. Henry, refusal of to accept fugitive slaves, 43
- Hamilton, Andrew (land agent), Woodlands Cemetery Company papers and, 194–95
- Hamilton, William, Woodlands Cemetery Company papers and, 195
- Hamlin, Hannibal (US vice pres.), 99–100
- Harding, Charlotte (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197
- Harding, Vincent (historian): on colonization, 109; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 105–6
- Harley School, 304
- A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, by Erben, rev., 326–28
- Harnwell, Gaylord P. (Penn pres.), 383–428 *passim*
- Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins (poet), 77
- Harper, Mary, 77
- Harriet Beecher Stowe Center, 299
- Harrison, Candice L., “Free Trade and Hucksters’ Rights!’ Envisioning Economic Democracy in the Early Republic,” 147–77
- Harrison, George (wine merchant), 275, 281
- Harrison, Sophia Francis, 274, 281
- Hartley, David (philosopher), 377
- Hartshorne family papers, 1789–2007 (bulk 1880–2007), 194
- Harvard University, 302
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 68
- Hay, John (Lincoln aide): on colonization, 77; on emancipation, 37–38
- Haytien Emigration Society, 273, 284
- Heckewelder, John (Moravian missionary), 445; Delaware Indians and, 231–32, 251, 258
- HEFA (Higher Education Facilities Authority), 406–7
- Hemboldt, George (newspaper editor), 149, 176
- Hesseltine, William B. (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 100
- Hetherton, Lord, 290
- Hewitt, Don (CBS news exec.), 303
- Heyser, George (farmer), 116
- HHFA (Housing and Home Finance Administration), 403
- Hickman, John (Delaware Indian), 252
- Hickman, Thomas (Delaware Indian), 252
- Hicks, Elias, letters and essays of, book on, 330–32
- Hicks, Jemima, 331
- Higginbotham, A. Leon (judge), 451



- Higginson, Col. Thomas Wentworth (Union officer), 75–76  
 Higher Education Facilities Authority, 406–7  
 Hill College House (Penn), 393 (photo), 394  
 Hill Field (Penn), 393 (photo), 394  
 Hill Hall, 408  
 Hine, Lewis W. (photographer), 179–90 (with photos)  
 Hinton, Frederick A. (abolitionist), 266, 271  
 Hinton family, 266  
 Hirsch, Arnold (historian), 415  
*An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Bayle), 354–55  
*An Historical Research Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers* (Livermore), 37, 37n  
 Historical Society of Pennsylvania  
   Collections: Batcheler, Hartshorne, and Sahlin families papers, 1789–2007 (bulk 1880–2007), 194; John Fryer papers, 1876–2004 (bulk 1950–2000), 198–99; James Gibson papers, 1712–1849 (bulk 1770–1849), 192; New Immigrants Initiative collection, 1976–2004, 198; Philadelphia Girls' Rowing Club records, 1938–2011, 196; The Plastic Club records, 1888–2007, 196–97; Trade Card Collection, ca. 1800–2000 (bulk 1800–1900), 193; Shirley J. Vernon family history papers, ca. 1984–ca. 2006, 197; Conrad Weiser papers, 1741–1783, 191–92; Herbert Welsh (political activist) collection, 1759–1935, undated (bulk 1898–1925), 195–96; Whitaker, Alfred H., Spanish-American War diary, 1898–1899, 1998, 2010, undated, 193–94; Woodlands Cemetery Company papers, 1798–1990, 194–95  
 Hitler, Adolph, colonization and, 111  
 Hobbes, Thomas, 377  
 Hofstadter, Richard (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 101, 105, 108  
 Hogue, James K. (historian), 455  
 Holahan, Mary F. (scholar), 217  
 Holland, Nathaniel, 436, 438  
 Holland Land Company, James Gibson papers and, 192  
 Holman, William (US congressman), on emancipation, 34  
 Holt, Joseph (KY Unionist), James Buchanan and, 337  
 Holt, Michael (historian), 336  
 Holzer, Harold (historian): on colonization, 109–10; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 96, 101, 112  
 Home for Colored Children, book on, 212–13  
 Homer, Winslow (painter), 217  
 homosexuality, John Fryer papers and, 198–99  
 Hoover, Herbert, 302  
 Hopkinson, Edward, Jr. (PCPC chairman), 387, 389  
 Hornergrout, Catherine (huckster), 152  
 House of Pagano, 410–12, 412 (photo)  
 housing: Federal Housing Act of 1949, 383, 385, 394, 400; Federal Housing Act of 1959, 399–401  
 Housing and Home Finance Administration, 403  
*Howard Pyle: American Master Rediscovered*, by Coyle, ed., rev., 216–17  
 huckstering, 147–77 passim, 151n, 165n, 170n, 172 (lithograph), 174n, 175 (drawing)  
 Hunter, David (general), 35–55 passim, 62, 100  
 Hunter, Frances Tipton (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Hunter, Judith A. (historian), 455  
 Hunter, Samuel (Indian captive), 433–35, 439  
 Huntsman Hall (Wharton School), 406  
 Île-à-Vache colonization plan, 70, 77  
 immigrants. *see also specific groups*: ideas about freedom and, 17–22, 25–26; medical practice and, book on, 215–16; New Immigrants Initiative collection and, 198  
 imperialism: US, ideas about freedom and, 22–24; Herbert Welsh collection and, 195  
 India, Sahlin family papers and, 194  
 Indian Rights Assoc., Herbert Welsh collection and, 195–96  
 industry, in PA, book on, 219–20  
 Ingle, H. Larry (historian), 204  
 Inskeep, John (Phila. mayor), 168, 173  
 Institute for Colored Youth, 64  
 Integrated Development Plan of 1962, 385, 403  
 International Centennial Exhibition of 1876, Herbert Welsh collection and, 196  
*In the Crossfire: Marcus Foster and the Troubled History of American School Reform*, by Spencer, rev., 457–58  
 IRA (Indian Rights Assoc.), Herbert Welsh collection and, 195–96

- Iredell, Elizabeth Susan Webb, 271–79 passim, 278 (photo); family chart of, 272; “Lines Addressed to a Wreath of Flowers, Designed as A Present for Mary Ann” (poem), 278
- Iredell, Francis Webb, 272, 279
- Iredell, Geoffrey George, 272, 278–80, 278 (photo)
- Iredell, James, Jr., 279
- Iredell, Laura Heloise, 272, 279
- Iredell, Sarah Louise, 272, 279, 292
- Iroquois Confederacy, Delaware Indians and, 228–59 passim
- Irvin, Benjamin H., *Clothed in Robes of Sovereignty: The Continental Congress and the People Out of Doors*, rev., 210–11
- Jackson, Andrew: James Buchanan and, 337; Panic of 1837 and, 335
- Jacobs, Captain (Delaware Indian), 252–53
- Jacobs, Harriet (escaped slave), 67–68, 71
- James, Stephen (1834 Phila. riot victim), 297
- James Buchanan and the Coming of the Civil War*, by Quist and Birkner, eds., rev., 336–37
- James Creese Student Center, 392, 394
- Janes Methodist Episcopal Church, 86
- Jay, John, on abolitionism, 37
- Jeanneret-Gris, Charles-Édouard (Le Corbusier) (architect), 407–8, 456
- Jefferson, Thomas, 101; on colonizing African Americans, 61; economics and, 159–65; ideas about freedom and, 28; time and, book on, 208–9
- Jemison, Mary (captivity narrative writer), 432–33, 443
- Jennings, Francis (historian), 445
- Joel, Billy, 219
- Johannsen, Robert (historian), 336
- John James (Delaware Indian), 441
- John Peter, Captain (Delaware Indian), 253
- Johns Hopkins University, 310
- Johnson, Lyndon B., judicial appointments of, 450–51
- Johnson, Rodney (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 320
- Johnson, Walter (historian), 116
- Johnson, William (supt. of Indian affairs), 247, 256–57; Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- Johnston, Caroline, family chart of, 272
- Johnston, Frances Benjamin (photographer), 214
- Johnston, James Cathcart, 265–72, 265n, 266 (photo), 279–80
- Johnston, Louisa, family chart of, 272
- Johnston, Samuel (NC gov.), 267, 272
- Johnston family, 265–72, 266 (photo)
- John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire*, by Plank, rev., 206–7
- Jones, Charles Colcock (minister/plantation owner), 71
- Jones, Howard (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 104
- Jordan, Ryan P. (historian), 454
- Joseph, Anthony M., *From Liberty to Liberality: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820*, rev., 449–50
- “Journal of a Voyage” (Franklin), 348
- judiciary, US District Court for Eastern PA, book on, 450–51
- Julian, George (US senator), on contraband edict, 48–49
- Junto (philosophic society), 346
- Kahn, Louis (architect), 385, 408
- Kames, Lord, 370
- Kanickhungo (Iroquois leader), 237
- Katz, Philip M. (historian), 455
- Kaufman, Cathy K., book rev. by, 333–34
- Kelsey family (farmers), 447
- Kennedy, John F., 303
- Kent, Donald H. (historian), 445
- King, Martin Luther, Jr., 27, 101
- King George's War, 241
- King Philip's War, 234–35
- Kitch, Carolyn, *Pennsylvania in Public Memory: Reclaiming the Industrial Past*, rev., 219–20
- Knowing Nature: Art and Science in Philadelphia, 1740–1840*, Meyers and Ford, eds., rev., 328–29
- Kock, Bernard (speculator), 70
- Kodak Company, Lillian Bradley letter to, 193–94
- Kraft, C. William (judge), 450
- Krannawitter, Thomas (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 102, 108
- Kraut, Alan M., book rev. by, 215–16
- labor: along the Mason-Dixon line, book on, 116–17; child, 180–90 (with photos); Foran Act, 186
- Laird, Mark (scholar), 328

- laissez-faire trade, 147–77 passim
- Lammer, Francis J. (RDA exec. dir.), 402
- Lancaster County, PA, Paxton Boys and, book on, 204–5
- land, James Gibson papers and, 192
- Lansdowne, Marquis of, 290
- Langston, John Mercer (civil rights activist), 118
- language, translation and, in early PA, book on, 326–28
- Lapsansky-Werner, Emma J. (historian), 64; book rev. by, 203–4
- Larsen, Roy E. (pres., Time, Inc.), 302
- Lawson, John (travel narrative writer), 202
- Lay, Benjamin (Quaker abolitionist), 115
- Leader, George M. (PA gov.), book on, 218–19
- Leader, Mary Jane (PA first lady), 218
- League of Women Voters Education Committee, 305, 312
- Lee, Robert E., Emancipation Proclamation and, 100, 104
- Lee, Thomas (VA acting gov.), Ohio Indians and, 242
- Lemay, J. A. Leo (scholar), 350–51, 354
- Lenape Indians, 230–31. *see also* Delaware Indians; recorded history and, book on, 445–46
- Lenox, Henrietta A., 268
- Lenox, Robert (wealthy merchant), 267–70
- Lerner, Ralph (scholar), 351, 374
- Leslie, Eliza (writer), 334
- Leslie, John (photographer), 214
- Let Freedom Ring* (newsletter), 27 (photo)
- “Letter from Father Abraham” (Franklin), 367
- Levi, Julien (SECC pres.), 400–401, 415–16
- Levy, Barry (historian), 204
- Lewis, Andrew J., *A Democracy of Facts: Natural History in the Early Republic*, rev., 332–33
- Liberia, 62, 109, 287–88
- Library Company of Philadelphia, 355
- Library of Congress, 181; Christian Fleetwood papers at, 273, 278; National Child Labor Committee records at, 181
- The Life of Pennsylvania Governor George M. Leader: Challenging Complacency*, by Wolensky and Leader, rev., 218–19
- Lincoln, Abraham: African American military service and, 112–13; James Buchanan and, 336–77; Civil War and, 455; colonization and, 57–78 passim, 109–12; on democracy, 19; Emancipation Proclamation and, 22, 33–78 passim, 95–114 passim; Gen. John Fremont and, 45, 62; Gen. David Hunter and, 46–47, 62; leadership of, book on, 453–54; US Capitol and, 452–53
- Lincoln and Leadership: Military, Political, and Religious Decision Making*, by Miller, ed., rev., 453–54
- Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation* (Guelzo), 97
- Lincoln’s Hundred Days* (L. P. Masur), 97
- “Lines Addressed to a Wreath of Flowers, Designed as A Present for Mary Ann” (poem) (E. S. Webb), 278
- “The Linford Studio” (M. E. Webb performance), 290
- Lingonoo, James (Delaware Indian), 433, 436
- Lippmann, Walter (writer), 302
- Little, Monroe H. (historian), 456
- Livermore, George, *An Historical Research Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers*, 37, 37n
- Lloyd, Mark Frazier, “Penn’s Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector,” with John L. Puckett, 381–430
- Locke, John, 28, 354
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 217
- Loechele, Anne M. (scholar), 217
- Logan, Floyd (Educational Equality League founder), 313
- Logan, Hannah, John Smith and, 136
- Logan, James: William Chancellor and, 140; Delaware Indians and, 236–37; Benjamin Franklin and, 354; John Smith and, 136
- Logan, John T. (hardware tycoon), 459
- Logan, William, William Chancellor and, 140–41
- London Daily News* (newspaper), 264
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 74; *The Song of Hiawatha*, 290
- Longhouse, Iroquois, 230–31, 235
- Longstreet, James (LA state militia commander), 455
- Loudon, Archibald, 437–38, 440; ed., “An Account of the Captivity of Richard Bard,” 438; ed., *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives, of Outrages Committed by the Indians, in Their Wars with the White People*, 438
- Love, Ruth B. (Chicago school supt.), 317

- Lovejoy, Owen (US congressman), on contra-band edict, 43
- Loxley, Benjamin (Phila. Artillery commander), 330
- Lubin, David M. (scholar), 217
- Luckett, Harry (laborer), 117
- Lucretius (Epicurean), 366
- Lucy (child laborer), 186 (photo)
- Lupack, Alan (scholar), 216–17
- Lupack, Barbara Tapa (scholar), 217
- Lutz, Raechel, book rev. by, 201–2
- MacKinnon, William (historian), 336
- Magness, Phillip W. (historian), on colonization, 111
- Maillard, Mary, “‘Faithfully Drawn from Real Life’: Autobiographical Elements in Frank J. Webb’s *The Garies and Their Friends*,” 261–300
- Mallory (escaped slave), 38
- Mandela, Nelson, Abraham Lincoln and, 454
- Mandeville, Bernard (philosopher), 346, 348
- Mann, James R., 393
- Manny, Frank (educator), 180
- Mantel, Hilary (writer), 334
- Marcase, Michael P. (Phila. school supt.), 315–17
- “The Martial Capacity of Blacks” (Webb), 287
- Martin, Grace (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 196
- Marx, Karl, on the Emancipation Proclamation, 101
- Maryland Historical Society, 129
- St. Mary’s Episcopal Church, 406
- Mason, Elizabeth (huckster), 164
- Mason, James (Confederate envoy), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 104
- Mason-Dixon Line, free and slave labor along, book on, 116–17
- Massacre of the Conestogas: On the Trail of the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County*, by Brubaker, rev., 204–5
- Masur, Kate (historian), 60
- Masur, Louis P. (historian): on the Emancipation Proclamation, 96, 104, 108, 111, 112; *Lincoln’s Hundred Days*, 97
- Mather, Increase (Puritan minister), 352
- Mauro, Hayes Peter, *The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School*, rev., 213–15
- McBride, Hannah (Indian captive), 434
- McCarthyism, 27 (photo)
- McClellan, George (general), 39, 100–101
- McClure, Alexander (politician), 103
- McConaughty, A. D. (reporter), 436, 438
- McCrary, Peyton (historian), 456
- McCullough, John (captivity narrative writer), 437
- McCurdy, John G., book rev. by, 329–30
- McDaniel, Caleb (historian), 115
- McDougall, James (US senator), on abolition, 50–51, 53, 55
- McGovern, George (US senator): on colonization, 111; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 102
- McHenry, George (Phila. businessman), on emancipation, 41
- McKanan, Dan, book rev. by, 330–32
- McKean, Joseph (PA atty. gen.), 160, 164
- McKean, Thomas (PA gov), 160
- McKenzie, Floretta D. (DC school supt.), 317
- McKim, James Miller (abolitionist), 68
- McManimy, Daniel (Indian captive). *see* McMenomy, Daniel (Indian captive)
- McMenomy, Daniel (Indian captive), 434, 440
- McNeil Center for Early American Studies (Penn), 393 (photo), 398
- McPherson, James (historian), 454; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 100–101, 104, 106
- “A Measure Alike Military & Philanthropic’: Historians and the Emancipation Proclamation,” by Douglas R. Egerton, 95–114
- Medford, Edna Greene (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 107, 113
- media, recorded history of Delaware Indians and, book on, 445–46
- Medical Caregiving and Identity in Pennsylvania’s Anthracite Region, 1880–2000*, by Weaver, rev., 215–16
- medicine: in anthracite region, book on, 215–16; Dr. William Chancellor and, 126–45 *passim*
- Meigs, Montgomery C. (engineer), US Capitol and, 452–53
- Melish, Joanne (historian), 49
- Meltzer, Jack (SECC member), 416
- mental health, John Fryer papers and, 199
- mercantile society, in colonial Phila., 126–45 *passim*
- Merritt, Jane T. (historian), on Delaware Indians, 233–34
- Meyers, Amy R. W., ed, *Knowing Nature: Art and Science in Philadelphia, 1740–1840*, with Ford, rev., 328–29

- Meyerson, Martin (Penn pres.), 382, 414–16, 428
- Middlekauff, Robert (historian), 374
- Middleton, Eliza, 280–82
- military: British, defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim; Civil War service of African Americans in, 112–13; Alfred H. Whitaker Spanish-American War diary and, 193–94
- Militia Act of 1795, 97
- militias, Pennsylvania Association, book on, 329–30
- Miller, Jay (historian), on Delaware Indians, 232, 234
- Miller, Randall M.: ed., *Lincoln and Leadership: Military, Political, and Religious Decision Making*, rev., 453–54; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 112
- “A Miller’s Tale of Captivity, Ransom, and Remembrance, 1758–1811,” by Ian K. Steele, 431–43
- Mills, Clark (artist), 214
- Mires, Charlene, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations*, rev., 456–57
- Missouri proclamation of freedom, 35–55 passim
- Mitchell, Robert (PCPC dir.), 385
- Molinaro, Leo (WPC chief), 420, 423, 426
- Moloshok, Rachel, collections at Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 191–99
- Monroe, James, on colonizing African Americans, 61
- Montgomery, Richard (maj. gen.), revolutionary politics and, 210
- Montour, Andrew (Indian interpreter), Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- Moore, John (Penn vice pres.), 400–401, 416
- Moore College of Art and Design, Shirley J. Vernon family history papers and, 197
- Morgan, John (doctor), 140
- Morris, John (chimney sweep), 153
- Morris, Phillis (huckster), 153, 175
- Morris, Robert (PA gov.): Gen. Edward Braddock and, 248–53; Delaware Indians and, 228, 257; Onondaga council and, 246; Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- Morrison, Michael (historian), 336
- Mortals with Tremendous Responsibilities: A History of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania*, by Bartle, rev., 450–51
- Motion of Declination theory (Epicurus), 366
- Mott, Lucretia (abolitionist), Gen. John Fremont and, 44
- Mrs. Goodfellow: The Story of America’s First Cooking School*, by Diamond, rev., 333–34
- Mueller, James, ed., *Antislavery and Abolition in Philadelphia: Emancipation and the Long Struggle for Racial Justice in the City of Brotherly Love*, with Newman, rev., 115–16
- Munsee Indians, 230. *see also* Delaware Indians
- “Music by the ‘Contra-Band’” (contraband image), 41
- Myrtilla* (ship), 135–37, 136n
- Nash, Gary (historian), 36, 115
- Nathan, Heather (scholar), 116
- National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 69
- National Assoc. of Colored Women, 80
- National Child Labor Committee, 180–90 (with photos)
- National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 302, 307
- National Institutes of Health, 384
- National Women’s Rowing Assoc., 196
- A Nation at Risk* (education report), 323
- Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters* (Fur), 233
- Native Americans. *see also specific groups:* Americanization of, culture and, 213–15; captivity of Richard Bard and, 431–43 passim; defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim; early American history and, book on, 202–3; medical practice and, book on, 215–16; recorded history and, book on, 445–46; War of 1812, westward expansion and, book on, 211–12; Conrad Weiser papers and, 191–92
- naturalism, 351–54
- nature: American history and, book on, 201–2; art and science in Phila. and, book on, 328–29; natural history in early America, book on, 332–33
- Nazism, ideas about freedom and, 24–26
- NCCPS (National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools), 302, 307
- NCLC (National Child Labor Committee), 180–90 (with photos)
- Neely, Mark E., Jr. (historian), 109–10, 338
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, Abraham Lincoln and, 454
- Nell, Elizabeth (huckster), 164

- Nell, John (huckster), 164  
 Nell, William Cooper (abolitionist), 285–87  
 Nemerov, Alexander (scholar), 328  
 Nenatchehan (Delaware George) (Delaware Indian), 238  
 Neri, Janice L. (scholar), 329  
 New Deal, ideas about freedom and, 23–24  
*New Era/New National Era* (newspaper), 264, 292  
 Newgen (horse thief), 442  
 New Immigrants Initiative collection, 1976–2004, 198  
 New Jersey: abolition act in, 36; Lewis H. Hine's photos of, 180–90 (with photos)  
 New Jersey State Museum, 181  
 New Left, ideas about freedom and, 28  
 Newman, Andrew, *On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory*, rev., 445–46  
 Newman, Richard: "The Age of Emancipating Proclamations: Early Civil War Abolitionism and Its Discontents," 33–55; ed., *Antislavery and Abolition in Philadelphia: Emancipation and the Long Struggle for Racial Justice in the City of Brotherly Love*, with Mueller, rev., 115–16  
*New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty*, by Haefeli, rev., 325–26  
*New Orleans Tribune* (newspaper), 111  
*New York Times* (newspaper), 66  
 Niagara Movement, 81  
 Nichols, Roy (historian), 336  
 Niemeyer, Jack (educator), 312  
 Niemeyer, Oscar (architect), 456  
 NIH (National Institutes of Health), 384  
 Nixon, Richard M., 303; judicial appointments of, 450  
 Nocito, Salvin (child laborer), 190 (photo)  
 North Carolina, gravestone art in, book on, 446–47  
 Nutimus (Delaware headman), 238  
 Oakes, Earl, 304, 309, 312  
 Oakes, Helen Baum (civic activist), 301–24 passim; *Oakes Newsletter*, 312–17, 321–24; "The School District of Philadelphia: A Critical Analysis," 311  
 Oakes, James (historian): on colonization, 109; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 105, 107, 113; *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861–1865*, 99  
*Oakes Newsletter*, 312–17, 321–24  
 Oakley, Violet (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 OANA (Ogontz Area Neighbors Assoc.), 307  
 Oates, Stephen B. (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 98, 104, 111  
 Oberholtzer, Dolores (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 319  
*Observations on the Enslaving, Importing, and Purchasing of Negroes* (Benezet), 126–28, 128n, 137–38, 142  
 Oestreicher, David (scholar), 445  
 Oh, In-Ho (Penn student), 414  
 O'Hara, Virginia (scholar), 217  
 Ohio Indians, defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and, 228–59 passim  
 Ohio State University Hospital, John Fryer papers and, 199  
 O'Malley, Therese (scholar), 328  
 O'Mara, Margaret Pugh (historian), 418  
 Onondaga Indians, 235, 237  
*On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory*, by Newman, rev., 445–46  
 "On the Origins and Intention of Benjamin Franklin's 'On the Providence of God in the Government of the World,'" by Kevin Slack, 345–79  
 "On the Providence of God in the Government of the World" (Franklin), 345–79 passim  
 Ogontz Area Neighbors Assoc., 307  
 orphanages, child care and, book on, 212–13  
 Orr, Timothy J. (historian), 338  
 "Outside In and Inside Out: Civic Activism, Helen Oakes, and the Philadelphia Public Schools, 1960–1989," by William W. Cutler III, 301–24  
 Overbrook Elementary Home and School Assoc., 305  
*Pacific Appeal* (newspaper), 67, 69  
 paganism, 353, 358  
 Pagano, Charles (restaurateur), 410–12  
 Page, Sebastian N. (historian), on colonization, 111  
 Palmer, Walter (civil rights activist), 420–23  
 Paludan, Phillip Shaw (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 97–98, 107  
 Pangle, Lorraine (scholar), 350  
 Panic of 1837, book on, 334–36  
 Parham, William H. (African American teacher), 66, 78

- Parker, Theodore (abolitionist), 63–64
- Pastorius, Francis Daniel, language in early PA and, 327
- Patterson, Daniel W., *The True Image: Gravestone Art and the Culture of Scotch Irish Settlers in the Pennsylvania and Carolina Backcountry*, rev., 446–47
- Pawley, Emily, book rev. by, 332–33
- Paxton Boys: in Lancaster County, book on, 204–5; militias and, 329–30
- PCPC (Philadelphia City Planning Commission), 383, 385–91, 403
- Peale, Rembrandt, 283
- Pederson, William D., book rev. by, 453–54
- Pemberton, Ebenezer (minister), 354
- Pemberton, Israel, Jr. (Quaker), 436; William Chancellor and, 138–40, 143–44; John Smith and, 136
- Pemberton, James, William Chancellor and, 139–41, 144
- The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation* (Brasher), 98–99
- Penn, Thomas: Gen. Edward Braddock and, 248; Delaware Indians and, 242; Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- Penn, William, 192; Charter of Privileges (1701), 15–16; Delaware Indians and, 228, 251; education and, 126, 132; Elias Hicks and, 331; language in early PA and, book on, 326–28; Lenape Indians and, 445; militias and, 329
- Penn Charter School, 126, 132
- Penney, Jordan (historian), 204
- Pennock, Ann (artist), *The Plastic Club* records and, 196
- “Penn’s Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector,” by John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, 381–430
- Pennsylvania: 1780 Gradual Emancipation Act of, 36, 153; gravestone art in, book on, 446–47; industry in, book on, 219–20; legislature of, 1776–1820, book on, 449–50; Supreme Executive Council of, 155; US District Court for Eastern PA, book on, 450–51
- Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS): 19, 144–45; citizenship and, 115
- Pennsylvania Association (military organization), book on, 329–30
- The Pennsylvania Associators, 1747–1777*, by Seymour, rev., 329–30
- Pennsylvania Augustine Education Society, 273, 284
- Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress, 27
- Pennsylvania Gazette* (newspaper), 135–41 passim, 355, 378, 433
- Pennsylvania Hospital for the Relief of the Sick Poor, 138, 140
- Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, 321
- Pennsylvania in Public Memory: Reclaiming the Industrial Past*, by Kitch, rev., 219–20
- Pennsylvania Population Company, James Gibson papers and, 192
- Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. *see* Pennsylvania Abolition Society
- Penn University. *see* University of Pennsylvania
- Perkins, G. Holmes (architect), 385, 389, 391, 399, 407
- “Personal Impressions of India” (Sahlin), 194
- Peters, Richard (provincial sec.), on Delaware Indians, 242
- St. Peter’s Episcopal Church, John Fryer papers and, 198
- Peterson, Carol, *Allegheny City: A History of Pittsburgh’s North Side*, with Rooney, rev., 459–60
- Petshek, Kirk (economist), 386
- PFT (Philadelphia Federation of Teachers), 316
- PGRC (Philadelphia Girls’ Rowing Club) records, 1938–2011, 196
- Philadelphia, PA: abolition movement in, book on, 115–16; art and science in, book on, 328–29; *City Characters; or, Familiar Scenes in Town*, 175 (drawing), 176; *The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, North America; as it appeared in the Year 1800* (lithograph), 172; civic activism in, 301–24 passim; colonial, mercantile society in, 126–45 passim; desegregation of schools in, 305–10, 321–22; expansion of Penn and, 381–430 passim (with photos); huckstering in, 147–77 passim, 151n, 165n, 170n, 172 (lithograph), 174n, 175 (drawing); migrant laborer residents of, 180–90 (with photos); public schools in, 1960–89, 301–24 passim; race riots in, 293–300; trade card collection from, 193
- Philadelphia Board of Education, 309–24 passim
- Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 383, 385–91, 403

- Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, 413
- Philadelphia Committee for Educational Parks, 309
- Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (newspaper), 421
- Philadelphia Federation of Community Councils, 307
- Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, 316
- Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 266
- Philadelphia Free Library, 407
- Philadelphia Girls' Rowing Club records, 1938–2011, 196
- Philadelphia Home and School Council, 305, 319
- Philadelphia Home and School League, 305
- Philadelphia Inquirer* (newspaper), 40–41, 414, 417
- The Philadelphia Negro* (Du Bois), 81
- Philadelphia Packet* (ship), 139, 141
- Philadelphia School of Design for Women, The Plastic Club records and, 196–97
- "A Philadelphia Surgeon on a Slaving Voyage to Africa, 1749–1751" (Wax), 129–35, 131n, 133n–135n
- Philadelphia Urban League, 309
- Philippine Islands: US ideas about freedom and, 22–24; Herbert Welsh collection and, 195
- St. Philips' African Episcopal Church, 295
- Phillips, Wendell (abolitionist), 455
- Philodemus (Epicurean), 374
- photography: Lillian Bradley letter to Eastman Kodak Co. and, 193–94; Carlisle Indian School and, 214
- Pierce, Edward, "Experience among the Contrabands" (essay), 42
- Pierce, Franklin: James Buchanan and, 337; US Capitol and, 452
- Pinsker, Matthew (historian), 453
- Pisquetomen (Delaware chief), 238
- Pittsburgh, PA, Allegheny City, book on, 459–60
- Plank, Geoffrey, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire*, rev., 206–7
- "Plan of Conduct" (Franklin), 349
- The Plastic Club records, 1888–2007, 196–97
- Plato, 348, 355–56, 365, 379
- Plumly, Benjamin Rush (abolitionist), 72–73
- Plunkett, Stephanie Haboush (scholar), 217
- pluralism, Dutch colony and, book on, 325–26
- Plutarch, 355
- Podair, Jerald, ed., *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction*, with Burton and Weber, rev., 454–56
- politics: "government of the world" and, 345–46; Panic of 1837 and, book on, 334–36
- Polk family (plantation owners), 446
- polytheism, 349, 351, 353
- Pomeroy, Samuel (US senator), on Chiriquí colonization plan, 61–62, 67
- Pontiac's Uprising, Paxton Boys and, book on, 204–5
- Poole, William, 331
- Poor Richard's Almanac* (Franklin), 370
- Pope, Alexander, 131
- positivism, 352
- Post, Amy (abolitionist), 67–68
- Potter, David (historian), 336
- Potter, Thomas (Indian captive), 433–43 passim
- Pottruck, David S., 409
- Pottruck Health and Fitness Center, 409
- Potts family, 406
- Pratt, Richard H. (founder, Carlisle Indian School), 213–14
- prayer, Benjamin Franklin on, 362–69
- Presbyterian Banner* (newspaper), 49
- Presbyterian Hospital and Osteopathic Medical School, 413
- "The President's Proclamation" (Still, White, Sr., and Wears), 69–70
- Previty, Joseph (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 319
- Priestley, Joseph (minister/chemist), 367
- Pritchard, Margaret (scholar), 328
- "Pro Bono Publico Jr." (writer), on huckstering, 160–62
- property. *see* land
- Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (Franklin), 377–78
- protest, history of, John Woolman and, book on, 206–7
- Public Education and Child Labor Assoc. of Philadelphia, 189
- Puckett, John L., "Penn's Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector," with Mark Frazier Lloyd, 381–430
- Pulaski Avenue, Germantown, PA, 85 (photo)
- Punch* (magazine), 68
- Purcell, Sarah J., book rev. by, 210–11



- Purvis, Robert, 63–64, 77; on Chiriquí colonization plan, 61–62; Emancipation Proclamation and, 76
- Purvis family, 266–67
- Putnam, Robert (scholar), 303
- Putnam, Sarah (children's nurse), 274
- Pyle, Howard (artist), book on, 216–17
- Quakerism: abolition and, book on, 206–7; captivity of Richard Bard and, 431–43 passim; in colonial America, book on, 203–4; *Epistle of Caution and Advice Concerning the Keeping of Slaves* and, 138; Friend's Overseers of the Press and, 138; Elias Hicks letters and essays, book on, 330–32; in Phila., book on, 115–16
- Quarles, Benjamin (historian), on colonization, 109
- Quist, John W., ed., *James Buchanan and the Coming of the Civil War*, with Birkner, rev., 336–37
- “the Rabbit” (masquerade party), The Plastic Club records and, 197
- race. *see also specific race*: desegregation of Phila. schools and, 305–10, 321–22; education reform and, book on, 457–58; ideas about freedom and, 17–22, 25–26; Phila. riots and, 293–300; trade cards and, 193
- Ramey, Jessie B., *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages*, rev., 212–13
- Randall, Joseph (anthologist), 127
- Rathbone, Richard (abolitionist), 290
- RDA (Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia), 381–430 passim
- Read, John Meredith, Jr. (politician/diplomat), 455
- Reagan, Ronald: education reform and, 457; ideas about freedom and, 28; judicial appointments of, 450
- Reconstruction: civil rights in the North during, book on, 118–19; Civil War, sectional conflict and, book on, 454–56
- Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia, 381–430 passim
- regulation, of hucksters, 155–77 passim
- religion. *see also specific religion*: African Americans in Germantown, PA and, 86–89, 91; Dutch and religious liberty, book on, 325–26; duties of, Benjamin Franklin on, 369–74; Benjamin Franklin and, 345–79 passim; John Fryer papers and, 199; “government of the world” and, 345–46; gravestone art and, book on, 446–47; Elias Hicks letters and essays, book on, 330–32; ideas about freedom and, 15–16; ideas on the nature of God and, 345–79 passim
- Remond, Charles Lenox, 285–87
- Remond, Nancy, 286
- Remond, Susan, 286
- Remond family, 285–87
- Republican Party: draft resistance and, book on, 337–38; economics and, 159–65; Emancipation Proclamation and, 97–99
- The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States*, by Fiege, rev., 201–2
- Richards, Frederick DeBourg (photographer), 90
- Richards Biology Building, 408
- Richardson, Heather Cox (historian), 118
- Rickett's Circus, 274
- Ridner, Judith, book rev. by, 202–3
- Rizzo, Frank (Phila. mayor), 315–16, 319
- Roberts, Alasdair, *America's First Great Depression: Economic Crisis and Political Disorder after the Panic of 1837*, rev., 334–36
- Rockefeller family, UN headquarters and, 457
- Rockman, Seth (historian), 116
- Rockwell, Norman, 217
- Rodgers, Mary Rosabelle, 272, 290, 291 (photo)
- Rodin, Judith (Penn pres.), 429
- Roepel, Mike (city planner), 423
- Rooney, Dan, *Allegheny City: A History of Pittsburgh's North Side*, with Peterson, rev., 459–60
- Roosevelt, Franklin D.: ideas about freedom and, 23–24, 26; judicial appointments of, 451; Abraham Lincoln and, 454
- Roosevelt, Theodore, Herbert Welsh collection and, 195
- Rosswurm, Steven (historian), 330
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 438
- Routledge, George (publisher), 264
- Rowlandson, Mary (captivity narrative writer), 202
- Russell, Lord John (British foreign sec.), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 104
- Rustin, Bayard (civil rights advocate), 456
- Saarinen, Eero (architect), 408
- Sahlin, Axel (steel merchant), papers of, 194

- Sahlin, Axeline, Sahlin family papers and, 194  
 Sahlin, Robert Chandler, Sahlin family papers and, 194  
 Sahlin family papers, 1789–2007 (bulk 1880–2007), 194  
 Sandiford, Ralph (Quaker abolitionist), 115  
 Sandow, Robert M. (historian), 338  
 Sansom Committee, 411–12  
 Sarah M. Douglass school, 278  
 Sartain, Emily (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 196–97  
 Sartain, Harriet (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Sassoonan (Delaware headman), 236, 238  
 Sauers, Richard A., *The Fishing Creek Confederacy: A Story of Civil War Draft Resistance*, with Tomasak, rev., 337–38  
 Saunders, George Lethbridge (painter), 277  
 Scarouady (Seneca half-king), 246, 248, 250, 252  
 Schiller, Joyce K. (historian), 217  
 scholasticism, 352  
 School District of Philadelphia, 305–24 passim  
 “The School District of Philadelphia: A Critical Analysis” (H. B. Oakes), 311  
*School Executive* (journal), 301–2  
 Schudson, Michael (scholar), 302  
 Schurz, Carl (US senator), on emancipation, 37  
 Schwartz, Sally (writer), 204  
 science: “government of the world” and, 345–46; natural history in early America, book on, 332–33; in Phila., book on, 328–29  
 Scollitthy (Delaware headman), 236  
 Scots-Irish, gravestone art and, book on, 446–47  
 SDP (School District of Philadelphia), 305–24 passim  
 SECC (South East Chicago Commission), 400, 415–16  
 Second Confiscation Act, 48, 97–99  
 sectional conflict, Civil War, Reconstruction and, book on, 454–56  
 Segal, Eric J. (scholar), 217  
*A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives, of Outrages Committed by the Indians, in Their Wars with the White People* (Loudon, ed.), 438  
 Sessarakoo, William (slave), 135n  
 Seward, William H. (sec. of state), Emancipation Proclamation and, 100, 104  
 Seymour, Joseph, *The Pennsylvania Associators, 1747–1777*, rev., 329–30  
 Shade, William (historian), 336  
 Shafer, Henry Burnell (historian), 132  
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 290, 346  
 Shalev, Eran, book rev. by, 208–9  
 Shannon, Timothy (historian), on Delaware Indians, 235  
 Shapiro, Norma (judge), 451  
 Shaw, Stephanie (historian), 80  
 Shedd, Mark (Phila. school supt.), 315, 317  
 Sherman, William Tecumseh (general), 45, 77  
 Shingas (Delaware Indian), 238, 253  
 Shippin, Edward: on huckstering, 157; Paxton Boys and, book on, 205  
 Shippin, John (druggist), 141  
 Shippin, William, Jr. (Phila. Dispensary doctor), 140, 157  
 Shippin, William, Sr. (doctor), 141, 157  
 Shippin family, 274; James Gibson papers, 1712–1849 (bulk 1770–1849) and, 192  
 Shippis, Dorothy, book rev. by, 457–58  
 Shirley, William (maj. gen.), Delaware Indians and, 255  
 Shirley, William (son), 255  
 Silberman, Charles E., *Crisis in the Classroom*, 311–12  
 Sinkler, Wharton (doctor), 276  
 Six Nations, Delaware Indians and, 228–59 passim  
 skeptics, religious, 346  
 Skocpol, Theda (scholar), 303  
 Slack, Kevin, “On the Origins and Intention of Benjamin Franklin’s ‘On the Providence of God in the Government of the World,’” 345–79  
 Slaughter, Thomas P., book rev. by, 206–7  
 slavery: Dr. William Chancellor and, 126–45 passim; ideas about freedom and, 19–22; labor along the Mason-Dixon Line and, book on, 116–17; Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (website), 129  
 Slover, John (captivity narrative writer), 437  
 Smith, A. P., on Chiriquí colonization plan, 61  
 Smith, Adam (economist), 163  
 Smith, Elbert (historian), 336  
 Smith, Hanna Logan, 136  
 Smith, James (captivity narrative writer), 432, 438, 443  
 Smith, James McCune (abolitionist), 68  
 Smith, Jessie Willcox (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Smith, John, William Chancellor and, 136–39, 142

- Smith, Joseph C. (barber), 284  
 Smith, Sarah Cassey, 284, 287  
 Smith College, 304  
 Smock, Raymond W., book rev. by, 451–53  
 Social Science Plaza (Penn), 396, 398  
*Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (Woolman), 138  
*Some Historical Account of Guinea* (Benezet), 128–29  
*The Song of Hiawatha* (Longfellow), 290  
 “Song of the Times” (poem) (W. A. W. Baugh), 83  
 South East Chicago Commission, 400, 415–16  
*A Souvenir of Germantown Issued during the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation at Philadelphia, PA, September 1913*, 79–93 passim (with photos)  
 Sower, Christopher (printer), 137  
 Spahn, Hannah, *Thomas Jefferson, Time, and History*, rev., 208–9  
 Spanish-American War: Herbert Welsh collection and, 195; Alfred H. Whitaker diary and, 193–94  
 Speck, Frank (scholar), on the Delaware Indians, 229, 233n  
 Spencer, John P., *In the Crossfire: Marcus Foster and the Troubled History of American School Reform*, rev., 457–58  
 Spero, Patrick, book rev. by, 204–5  
 sports, Philadelphia Girls’ Rowing Club records and, 196  
 Stalin, Joseph, colonization and, 111  
 Stamp Act Congress of 1765, 16  
 Stamp, Kenneth (historian), 106, 336  
 Stanton, Edwin M. (sec. of war), 100  
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 20  
 Stassen, Harold (Penn pres.), 389  
 the Statistical Association, 69  
 steel industry, Sahlin family papers and, 194  
 Steele, Ian K., “A Miller’s Tale of Captivity, Ransom, and Remembrance, 1758–1811,” 431–43  
 Stenton house, 90  
 Stephens, Alexander H. (Confederate vice pres.), on slavery, 21  
 Stephens, Alice Barber (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197  
 Stephens, George (carpenter), 70–71  
 Stevens, Joseph E. (historian), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 101  
 Stevens, Thaddeus (US congressman), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 101  
 Stevenson, George (colonel), 434  
 Stewart, James (huckster), 152  
 Still, William, 69–70, 77, 116; *The Underground Rail Road*, 19  
 Stone, James W. (member, MA House of Reps.), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 103  
 Stonorov, Oskar (architect), 385  
 Storey, Moorfield (anti-imperialist), 23  
 Stout, Harry S. (historian), 453  
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 74; *The Christian Slave* (play), 264, 288, 290; preface to *The Garies and Their Friends* (F. J. Webb) and, 264, 283, 294; Mary E. Webb and, 290  
 Stowe, Henry, 264  
 Strettell, Robert (PA provincial official), Delaware Indians and, 228  
*The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction*, by Burton, Podair, and Weber, eds., rev., 454–56  
 Stuyvesant, Peter, religious liberty and, 325  
 suffrage. *see* voting  
 Sumner, Charles (US senator), 100; Frank J. Webb letter to, 289 (photo), 290  
*Sunday Times* (London newspaper), 264  
 Super Block area (Penn), 404 (map), 408 (photo)  
 Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 155  
 “The Surgeon and the Abolitionist: William Chancellor and Anthony Benezet,” by David L. Crosby, 126–45  
 Swarts, Mary (huckster), 169  
 Tamaqua (Delaware Indian), 238, 246, 252  
 Tanacharison (Seneca half-king), 243, 245n, 246  
 Taney, Roger B. (chief justice, US Supreme Court), Emancipation Proclamation and, 98, 101, 106  
 Tata Iron and Steel Company, Sahlin family papers and, 194  
 Tate, James (Phila. mayor), 392  
 Taubin, Harold (city planner), 399, 403, 406  
 taxation, in Germantown, PA, 90  
 Temin, Annette (CCPEP pres.), 313–14  
 Temple, Henry John (Lord Palmerston) (British PM), on the Emancipation Proclamation, 104–5  
 Temple University, 317, 382; School of Medicine, John Fryer papers and, 198

- terrorism, ideas about freedom and, 30
- Thomas, Arthur (Phila. Board of Ed. pres.), 315
- Thomas, Dr. C., 285
- Thomas, Edward M. (congressional messenger), on Chiriquí colonization plan, 60
- Thomas Jefferson, Time, and History*, by Spahn, rev., 208–9
- Thomas Sovereign Gates Memorial Pavilion, 389
- Thompson, Stith (folklore scholar), 445
- Thomson, Charles, on Delaware Indians, 258–59
- Thones Kunders house, 90
- Tickler* (satiric newspaper), 149
- time, Thomas Jefferson and, book on, 208–9
- Tomasak, Peter, *The Fishing Creek Confederacy: A Story of Civil War Draft Resistance*, with Sauers, rev., 337–38
- Torres-Matrullo, Christine (Phila. Board of Ed. member), 320
- Townsend (escaped slave), 38
- trade, in early America, 147–77 passim
- Trade Card Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, ca. 1800–2000 (bulk 1800–1900), 193
- Transylvania College, John Fryer papers and, 199
- Treaty of Friendship of 1736, 237
- Trotter, William M. (cofounder, Niagara Movement), 81
- The True Image: Gravestone Art and the Culture of Scotch Irish Settlers in the Pennsylvania and Carolina Backcountry*, by Patterson, rev., 446–47
- Truman, Harry S., judicial appointments of, 451
- Truman Doctrine, ideas about freedom and, 26
- Trumbell, Lyman (US senator), 97, 98
- Turner, Henry McNeal (A.M.E. bishop): on Chiriquí colonization plan, 62; on emancipation, 46, 55, 75; on northern anti-abolitionists, 50; on visiting the White House, 60
- Turner, Joseph (PA provincial official), Delaware Indians and, 228
- Turner, Nat, 294
- Tyson, Thomas (Quaker abolitionist), 115
- UCSC (University City Science Center) (Penn), 417–28 (with photos)
- Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Stowe), 74
- Underground Railroad, 294
- The Underground Rail Road* (Still), 19
- The Unfinished Life of Benjamin Franklin*, by Anderson, rev., 447–49
- United Nations, location of headquarters for, book on, 456–57
- United Presbyterian Orphan's Home, book on, 212–13
- United States. *see also* colonial America; early America: District Court for Eastern PA, book on, 450–51; environmentalism and, book on, 201–2; history of freedom in, 13–31; imperialism and, 22–24; as world power, American Revolution and, book on, 207–8
- United States Capitol, Civil War and, book on, 451–53
- United States Congress, confiscation acts of, 35
- University City Science Center (Penn), 417–28 (with photos)
- University of Chicago, 415
- University of Pennsylvania, 307, 317; expansion of, 381–430 (with photos)
- University Planning Office (Penn), 399, 403
- University Redevelopment Area plan of 1950, 391
- University Square commercial complex (Penn), 413 (photo)
- Up South* (Countryman), 423
- urban renewal, expansion of Penn and, 381–430 passim (with photos)
- Urwin, Gregory J. W. (historian), 113, 453
- Vallandigham, Clement (US congressman), 110
- Valley Spirit* (newspaper), 40
- Vanderbilt University, John Fryer papers and, 199
- Van Doren, Carl, 448
- Van Evrie, Dr. J. H. (anti-abolitionist), 51–52; “An American Ethnological View of the Negro Question,” 51; “Free Niggerism,” 51
- Van Pelt, Charles Patterson, 396
- Van Pelt-Dietrich Library (Penn), 394, 396–98, 397 (photo), 408
- Varon, Elizabeth (historian), 116
- Vashon, George B. (civil rights activist), 60–61, 118
- VCRC (Volunteer Community Resources Council), 424
- Vermont, constitution of 1777 and, 36

- Vernon, Shirley J. (architect), family history papers of, ca. 1984–ca. 2006, 197  
 “The Vernon Story” (Vernon), 197  
 Verplanck, Anne, book rev. by, 328–29  
 Vietnam War, ideas about freedom and, 26  
 vigilance committees, 19, 294  
 voluntarism, 351–52  
 Volunteer Community Resources Council, 424  
 voting rights, 17–18, 20–21  
 Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (website), 129
- Wadsworth, James S. (general/abolitionist), 455
- Waldstreicher, David (historian), 115  
 Walking Purchase of 1737, 237  
 Wall, Gurnay (slaveship captain), 129  
 Walter, Thomas U. (architect), US Capitol and, 452–53  
 Walters, Kerry S. (historian), 349, 350  
 wampum belts, 236, 245n, 440  
 War of 1812, westward expansion and, book on, 211–12
- Washington, Booker T.: on Emancipation Proclamation, 71; 1913 Emancipation Proclamation commemoration and, 81; *Souvenir of Germantown* and, 81; *Working with the Hands*, 83
- Washington, Elizabeth Fisher (artist), The Plastic Club records and, 197
- Washington, George: America’s rule under, 207; Fort Necessity and, 245; Germantown, PA, and, 89; Abraham Lincoln and, 58; US Capitol and, 451; Conrad Weiser papers and, 192
- Washington, Martha, revolutionary politics and, 210
- Watson, John Fanning, *Annals* of, 89–90
- Wax, Darold D. (historian), “A Philadelphia Surgeon on a Slaving Voyage to Africa, 1749–1751,” 129–35, 131n, 133n–135n
- Wears, Isaiah (abolitionist), 69–70, 78
- Weaver, Karol K., *Medical Caregiving and Identity in Pennsylvania’s Anthracite Region, 1880–2000*, rev., 215–16
- Webb, Ann, 271–72, 276, 280–81, 284, 293, 300
- Webb, Annie E. Wood, 265–72, 265n, 266 (photo), 285–87, 290, 300
- Webb, Edith, 270
- Webb, Elizabeth Susan, 271, 276, 278–79, 278 (photo), 293; family chart of, 272; “Lines Addressed to a Wreath of Flowers, Designed as A Present for Mary Ann” (poem), 278
- Webb, Ethelind, 291 (photo)
- Webb, Eugenie, 276
- Webb, Francis, 271–73, 284
- Webb, Frank J., 276, 299 (photo); family chart of, 272; family of, 271–92 passim; *The Garies and Their Friends*, 261–300; letter to Sen. Charles Sumner from, 289 (photo), 290; “The Linford Studio” (performance), 290; “The Martial Capacity of Blacks,” 287; Phila. race riots and, 293–300
- Webb, John G., 271–72, 276, 279–80, 284–87, 285 (photos), 290, 293, 300
- Webb, Louisa Charlotte Burr, 271–77
- Webb, Mary, 271–72
- Webb, Mary Espartero, 264, 272, 288, 288 (illustration), 290; “The Linford Studio” (performance), 290
- Webb, Mary Rosabelle Rodgers, 272, 290, 291 (photo)
- Webb family, 271–92, 272, 291 (photo), 299 (photo)
- Weber, Jennifer L., ed., *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction*, with Burton and Podair, rev., 454–56
- Weed, Thurlow (politician), 100
- Weekly Anglo-African* (newspaper), 63, 65, 70
- Weidensaul, Scott, *The First Frontier: The Forgotten History of Struggle, Savagery, and Endurance in Early America*, rev., 202–3
- Weinberger, Jerry (scholar), 350, 375
- Weisberg-Roberts, Alicia (scholar), 329
- Weisenthal, Louis (landlord), 409–10
- Weiser, Conrad (Indian agent), 202; Gen. Edward Braddock and, 248, 250; on King George’s War, 241; Onondaga council and, 246; papers of, 1741–1783, 191–92
- Welsh, Herbert (political activist), collection, 1759–1935, undated (bulk 1898–1925), 195–96
- Welsh, John (diplomat), Herbert Welsh collection and, 196
- “We ‘Now Have Taken up the Hatchet against Them’: Braddock’s Defeat and the Martial Liberation of the Western Delawares,” by Richard S. Grimes, 228–59
- West, Benjamin (painter), 445

- West Philadelphia, expansion of, 381–430  
passim (with photos)
- West Philadelphia Corporation, 383, 399, 413–20
- West Philadelphia Schools Committee, 305–12
- westward expansion, War of 1812 and, book on, 211–12
- “*We Will Be Satisfied With Nothing Less*”: *The African American Struggle for Equal Rights in the North during Reconstruction*, by Davis, rev., 118–19
- Wharton family, 142
- Wharton School, 389, 390, 398, 405–6
- Whitaker, Alfred H., Spanish-American War diary, 1898–1899, 1998, 2010, undated, 193–94
- Whitaker, Mary, Alfred Whitaker letter to, 194
- Whitaker family plot, 194
- White, Elizabeth (cranberry farmer), 188
- White, Jacob, Jr. (abolitionist), 64, 66, 78
- White, Jacob, Sr. (abolitionist), 69–70
- White, Jonathan W., book rev. by, 337–38
- White, Ronald C., Jr. (historian), 113, 455
- White, William (Indian captive), 434
- White, William (Episcopal bishop of PA), on huckstering, 157
- White family (cranberry farmers), 188
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 74, 294
- Wicks, Judy (restaurateur), 411
- Will, Captain (Delaware Indian), 253
- William and Sarah Biddle, 1633–1711: Planting the Seed of Democracy in America*, by Biddle, rev., 203–4
- Williams, Peter, Jr. (minister), 295
- Willing family, 274
- Willson, Joseph, 271
- Willson family, 266
- Wilmot, David (US congressman), on DC abolition, 47
- Wilson, Henry (US senator), 97
- Winch, Julie (historian), 115
- Wine Enthusiast* (magazine), 194
- Winkeller, Mark (writer), 401
- Wissahickon Boys Club, 80, 87
- Wister, Cathrine, 141, 141n
- Wister, John (merchant), 137–38
- Wister, Salome, 137–38, 141, 141n
- Wister, Sarah, 141, 141n
- Wister family, 137–38, 141, 141n
- Wolensky, Kenneth C., *The Life of Pennsylvania Governor George M. Leader: Challenging Complacency*, with Leader, rev., 218–19
- Wolf (ship), 129–30, 133–35, 142–43
- women: Delaware Indians’ role as, 229–59  
passim, 231n, 233n; as hucksters, 147–77  
passim, 151n, 165n, 170n, 172 (lithograph), 174n, 175 (drawing); ideas about freedom and, 17–18, 20–21, 28, 29  
(photo); Philadelphia Girls’ Rowing Club records and, 196; The Plastic Club records and, 196–97; voting and, 17–18, 20–21
- Women’s Residence Hall (Penn), 393 (photo)
- Women’s Walk through Hill Square (Penn), 393 (photo)
- Wood, Annie E., 265–72, 265n, 266 (photo), 285–87, 290, 300
- Wood, Edith, 265–72, 265n, 279–80
- Wood, Gordon (historian), 374
- Wood, Mary Virginia, 265–67, 272
- Wood family, 265–72, 265n, 266 (photo)
- Woodlands Cemetery Company papers, 1798–1990, 194–95
- Woodland Walk (Penn), 396, 397 (photo)
- Woodward, George A. (brig. gen./judge), 338
- Woodward, George W. (judge/gubernatorial candidate), 338
- Woolman, John (Quaker abolitionist): book on, 206–7; *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, 138
- Working with the Hands* (B. T. Washington), 83
- World War I, ideas about freedom and, 24
- World War II, ideas about freedom and, 24–27
- Wormley, Billy, 65
- WPC (West Philadelphia Corporation), 383, 399, 413–20
- WPSC (West Philadelphia Schools Committee), 305–12
- Yeager, Kevin, book rev. by, 446–47
- “You Feel So Out of Place”: Germantown’s J. Gordon Baugh and the 1913 Commemoration of the Emancipation Proclamation,” by David W. Young, 79–93 (with photos)
- Young, David W., “You Feel So Out of Place”: Germantown’s J. Gordon Baugh and the 1913 Commemoration of the Emancipation Proclamation,” 79–93 (with photos)
- Young Men’s Christian Assoc., 80

Zeisberger, David (Moravian missionary),  
    Delaware Indians and, 231  
Zeta Psi fraternity house (Penn), 393 (photo)  
Zilversmit, Arthur (historian), 106  
Zipp, Samuel (historian), 457  
Zmora, Nurith, book rev. by, 212–13  
Zuckerman, Michael (historian), 422