

# *Making History: Antiquarian Culture in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*

IN 1857, BENSON LOSSING thanked John Fanning Watson for his “suggestions respecting local inquiries,” adding “I am more and more surprised, as I daily look into the reminiscences [*sic*] of the past, at the total apathy of our citizens in regard to historical facts of great interest to all, with which our city abounds. The men and women of the Revolution have almost all departed from among us, yet I occasionally meet one whose recollection is exceedingly clear. From them I glean all that can be got, and hope to add a mite to your most valuable store.”<sup>1</sup> Lossing (1813–91), based in Poughkeepsie, New York, was a key figure in the generation of antiquarians that included Philadelphia’s renowned chronicler John Fanning Watson (1779–1860). Along with John A. McAllister (1822–96), Ferdinand Dreer (1812–1902), Edward Ingraham (1793–1854), Edwin Greble (1806–83), and Frank Marx Etting (1833–90) of Philadelphia, as well as Brantz Mayer (1809–79) of Baltimore, Lossing was among those mid-nineteenth-century collectors who exchanged, discussed, accumulated, published, borrowed, sold, and donated an array of documents, prints and, occasionally, relics related to colonial and early national America.<sup>2</sup> In seek-

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<sup>1</sup> Benson Lossing to John Fanning Watson, May 13, 1857, box 1, Benson Lossing Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

<sup>2</sup> Their counterparts in other cities included Jared Sparks, who published *The Life of George Washington* (Boston, 1839). See also Benson J. Lossing to George Palmer Putnam, Mar. 19, 1857, box 2, folder 60, George Palmer Putnam Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

ing out the recollections of descendants, images of original building construction, and artists' "good likenesses" taken directly from national figures, their interests and methods helped determine what information from the past was saved. These antiquarians' preservation and collecting activities played a role in defining and emphasizing what elements of Philadelphia's past were important, both at the time and in future decades.

Individual collectors in Philadelphia during the middle decades of the nineteenth century focused on a largely male, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant version of history that privileged their own cultural, economic, and gendered values and perspective. These collectors' remarks suggest that they perceived themselves as members of a cultural elite, responsible for saving their version of history. They concentrated on the papers and objects associated with colonial and early national political and military figures and devoted little attention to women, people of color, and individuals without wealth or power. Several motivations undergirded their efforts. Sometimes these were practical; antiquarians responded to the need to save what could be lost, such as buildings that were slated for demolition or manuscripts that might perish in a fire. Their collecting was also tied to concerns that varied with circumstances and individuals. For Lossing, who published historical books for a national audience, collecting information and images was connected to his livelihood. In the years surrounding the Civil War, some antiquarians preserved, published, or displayed historical material to bolster sectionalist or nationalist arguments.

Regardless of their motivations, these antiquarians' individual and collective ability to gain access to original materials, as well as to the abundant artistic, publishing, printing, and photographic resources in Philadelphia (and, in Lossing's case, New York City), aided them in promoting their interests. In antebellum Philadelphia, the juxtaposition of historic landscapes with urban flux; the concentration of artists, photographers, printers, and publishers; and the confluence of leading antiquarians shaped how historical authenticity was conceived at the time and, arguably, a century or more later. The antiquarians used reproductive technologies to help define accuracy, memory, and history decades prior to the turn of the twentieth century, a moment when broad quests for authenticity consumed Americans.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981), 302; Seth C. Bruggeman, *Here, George Washington Was Born: Memory, Material Culture, and the Public History of a National Monument* (Athens, GA, 2008), 57–58. Nearly

These antiquarians participated in a national trend of saving and collecting local materials, whether for private use, personal gain, or quasi-public consumption through historical societies. Throughout the nineteenth century, historical societies' collecting and preservation activities generally focused on a state, region, or city; most of these limited access to their collections, lectures, and other activities to an invited membership. In her broad analysis of these organizations, Alea Henle notes that they were largely founded by white professional men, often with long-standing ties to their locale. Officers and members of historical societies throughout the country corresponded with one another and shared publications. Yet with the exceptions of the American Antiquarian Society and Peter Force's ill-fated attempt to form the American Historical Society, none had a national purview.<sup>4</sup> Instead, through membership and leadership in historical organizations as well as their independent activities, Lossing, McAllister, and their cohort were part of a large, loosely connected collecting and preservation effort nationwide that gained momentum in the antebellum years. Concurrent endeavors in other locales included campaigns to save Washington's Headquarters (the Hasbrouck House) in Newburgh, New York, in 1850, and Mount Vernon in 1853.<sup>5</sup> In Philadelphia, activities during this period included renovations to Carpenter's Hall in 1856 and attempts to save William Penn's "Slate Roof House" on Walnut Street.<sup>6</sup>

Preservation efforts and the shaping of historical memory in Philadelphia are topics that have engaged numerous scholars, but limited attention has been paid to the antiquarians who were active in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Two notable exceptions are Charlene Mires's *Independence Hall in American Memory* and Gary Nash's *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*, which analyze mid- and

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eighty years before Walter Benjamin invoked the ability of reproductions to change the context of the original, Philadelphia's antiquarians shaped citizens' conception of historic people, places, and things through prints, photographs, and other visual media. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, by Benjamin, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1968), 214–18.

<sup>4</sup> Alea Henle, "Preserving the Past, Making History: Historical Societies in the Early United States" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2012), 1–2, 18, 59, 189–90, 195.

<sup>5</sup> On the Hasbrouck House and other buildings associated with Washington during the Revolutionary War, see Karal Ann Marling, *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876–1986* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 73–74.

<sup>6</sup> On the Slate Roof House, see Catharine Christie Dann, "'Governments, Individuals and Old Houses': The Slate Roof House of Philadelphia" (MA thesis, University of Delaware/Winterthur Program in American Material Culture, 2000), esp. 1–5.

late nineteenth-century preservation activities in the context of local and national social, economic, and political change.<sup>7</sup> Three antiquarians—John Fanning Watson, John A. McAllister, and Benson Lossing—have been the subject of extended analyses.<sup>8</sup> Histories of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia discuss the founding and early efforts of these organizations, particularly regarding collecting and preserving the city's past.<sup>9</sup> This analysis of antiquarians' activities prior to and during the Civil War contributes to an understanding of preservation and collecting and its impact over time. The antiquarians who concentrated on Philadelphia collected and preserved both the tangible (buildings, manuscripts, and relics) and the intangible (memories) evidence of the city and its residents. Their interests and biases were in part shaped by their interaction with historically minded individuals and groups in Philadelphia and elsewhere. The antiquarians, in turn, influenced later public and private collecting, particularly during the Centennial.

<sup>7</sup> Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory* (Philadelphia, 2002); Gary B. Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia, 2002). See also Doris Devine Fanelli, ed., *History of the Portrait Collection, Independence National Historical Park* (Philadelphia, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Deborah Dependahl Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell: John Fanning Watson," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1974): 3–52; John A. McAllister Papers, McA MSS 001, finding aid, Library Company of Philadelphia, <http://www.librarycompany.org/mcallister/pdf/mcallister.pdf>; Harold E. Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing and Historical Writing in the United States, 1830–1890* (Westport, CT, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas B. Wainwright, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Collecting by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1824–1974* (Philadelphia, 1974); Hampton L. Carson, *A History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1940); Edwin Wolf 2nd, *"At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin": A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1731–1976* (Philadelphia, 1976); Austin K. Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library (Printed, 1936, as "The First American Library"): A Short Account of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (New York, 1936).

Activities surrounding the Centennial have been addressed by many scholars, including Mires and Nash, and Bruno Giberti provides one of the more comprehensive overviews of the fair itself. Karal Ann Marling broadly contextualizes late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century preservation and memorialization activities in the United States, including the Centennial, in her investigation of the uses of George Washington's memory. Seth Bruggeman profitably examines the ideologies that shaped late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historic houses and period room settings in his examination of George Washington's birthplace. Through her investigation of the career and writings of Alice Morse Earle, Susan Reynolds Williams has interpreted turn-of-the-twentieth-century interest in a broadly conceived colonial past. Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Lexington, KY, 2002); Marling, *George Washington Slept Here*; Bruggeman, *Here, George Washington Was Born*, 53–59; Susan Reynolds Williams, *Alice Morse Earle and the Domestic History of Early America* (Amherst, MA, 2013); Michael A. McDonnell, ed., *Remembering the Revolution: Memory, History, and Nation Making from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Amherst, MA, 2013).

*Collecting Perspectives and Motivations*

Efforts to preserve Philadelphia's history and commemorate its citizenry's role in national events began in the eighteenth century. Early figures include Pierre Eugène Du Simitière (1736–84), who opened his American Museum to the public in Philadelphia in 1782. The Library Company of Philadelphia purchased his collection of manuscripts, pamphlets, and books (gathered with the intention of writing a book about the American Revolution) after his death in 1784.<sup>10</sup> Charles Willson Peale's portraits of colonial and early national figures, displayed in his museum in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, provided a carefully crafted public reminder of their accomplishments and characters.<sup>11</sup>

Several organizations in the city, with overlapping memberships that included Watson, Peter S. DuPonceau, and Roberts Vaux, among others, were active during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Antiquarians served on the boards and staffs of the Library Company, American Philosophical Society, and Historical Society, and their collecting interests and activities sometimes overlapped with these local institutions' efforts. The American Philosophical Society's Committee of History, Moral Science, and General Literature, begun in 1815, collected manuscripts related to the early United States and, particularly, Pennsylvania. The Penn Society, which gathered to celebrate the 142nd anniversary of William Penn's landing in 1824, provided the seeds for the creation of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) the same year.<sup>12</sup> One of the earliest state historical societies, the HSP began by collect-

<sup>10</sup> Library Company of Philadelphia, *Pierre Eugène Du Simitière: His American Museum 200 Years After* (Philadelphia, 1985); Hans Huth, "Pierre Eugène Du Simitière and the Beginnings of the American Historical Museum," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 69 (1945): 317–25; Wolf, *At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin*, 14. Early historical works included Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania, in North America* (Philadelphia, 1797–98). I thank Jim Green for his insights on early Philadelphia collecting.

<sup>11</sup> Peale began his museum next to his house at Third and Lombard Streets. The later iterations, at Philosophical Hall in 1794 and State House in 1802, were accessible to the public. Over time he and members of his family added portraits, natural history specimens, and other materials. David R. Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience* (Washington, DC, 1995), 15–17. On Peale's portraits as exemplars of republican character and virtue, see Brandon Brame Fortune, "Charles Willson Peale's Portrait Gallery: Persuasion and the Plain Style," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 308. Although the Peale Museum collection was sold in 1854, the city of Philadelphia purchased and continued to display many of the portraits. Doris Fanelli, "The Collection Becomes a Shrine, 1850–1900," in Fanelli, *History of the Portrait Collection*, 33–47.

<sup>12</sup> Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell," 10–15.

ing primarily documents, with a focus on figures such as William Penn; over time it acquired other colonial and early national materials. For most of the nineteenth century, its focus remained on major figures and elite families.<sup>13</sup> Its early councilors (board members) and members were largely drawn from the city's established elite families. Women and those not of native birth were not welcome as members until 1862, and the public did not have access to its resources. Antiquarians John A. McAllister, Frank Etting, and Edward Ingraham served as councilors to the society, and, as Gary Nash has noted, Watson was a significant figure at the HSP, albeit one who worked "behind the scenes."<sup>14</sup> In its collecting, membership, and leadership, the HSP had much in common with the individual antiquarians who focused on Philadelphia. Both collected a specific past, and what they collected was generally only available to a closely circumscribed group of people. The Library Company of Philadelphia, which continued to collect historical materials, as it had since the eighteenth century, was slightly more accessible than the HSP because it welcomed nonelites as members and opened its reading rooms to "civil gentlemen."<sup>15</sup>

Other, more public activities contributed to interest in the city's past. Prompted by Lafayette's visit to the city in 1824, Philadelphians renovated and redecored the State House (Independence Hall); they also memorialized John Adams and Thomas Jefferson upon their deaths in 1825 and celebrated the centennial of George Washington's birth in 1832.<sup>16</sup> In 1830, John Fanning Watson began publishing his *Annals of Philadelphia*, providing information about and further drawing attention to early life in the city. During the 1820s and '30s, Watson recorded the reminiscences of people who recalled events of the eighteenth century. His writings were first available through newspapers and then in published volumes; he produced expanded volumes in 1844 and 1857.

<sup>13</sup> On HSP's founding, see *ibid.*, 10–11, 15. On councilor Joshua Francis Fisher's collecting, see McAllister to Lossing, Dec. 13, 1863, Benson John Lossing Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Carson, *History of the HSP*, 1:123, 174; Wainwright, *One Hundred Fifty Years of Collecting*, 5; Nash, *First City*, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Nash, *First City*, 16–19, 247. Ingraham served as an HSP councilor 1836–37; McAllister 1860–84; and Etting was elected recording secretary in 1853 and the first Jewish councilor in 1859. Carson, *History of the HSP*, 2: 428–36.

<sup>15</sup> Wolf, *At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin*, 6, 8; Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, 11–12. John Jay Smith, the librarian from 1829 to 1851, was actively engaged in collecting historical materials until his death in 1881. With Watson and on his own, Smith produced publications of images of early documents, drawings, and objects in 1849. Nash, *First City*, 216.

<sup>16</sup> Mires, *Independence Hall*, 68–79.

Women and people of color, except for their associations with and recollections of the founders, rarely figured in the antiquarians' work. Watson was something of an exception. Although the *Annals* are infused with many biases of the time, Watson nonetheless included a broader swath of Americans than did antiquarians later in the century. He described not only architecture, history, and prominent early figures, but also individual Native Americans and African Americans.<sup>17</sup> He also relied upon women such as Deborah Logan (1761–1839), who was an important source for Watson, for information on people other than family members. Watson also relied on the “numerous early recollections of the early days” that a woman known as “Black Alice” had recounted to Samuel Coates and others in 1801, a year before her death, purportedly at age 116. Her longevity, as well as her distinct remembrance of William Penn, James Logan, and others, gave particular credence to her memories.<sup>18</sup> Letitia Penn, William Penn's daughter, also intrigued Watson. He appears to be the one who originated the story that William Penn built a house at 8 Letitia Court, later known as the Rising Sun Inn, in 1682 and gave it to her nineteen years later. Interest in its preservation would animate antiquarians for much of the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

Women's involvement in research and preservation—aside from their cooperation with Watson—was primarily limited to and centered on the domestic and, often, genealogical.<sup>20</sup> François Weil has noted that interest in genealogy accompanied people's desire to make clear their “pedigree, lin-

<sup>17</sup> John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia: Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants, from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders . . . to which is Added an Appendix, Containing Olden Time Researches and Reminiscences of New York City* (Philadelphia, 1830); Waters, “Philadelphia's Boswell,” 10–11, 15. See, for example, his discussion of “Indian Hannah,” Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:446–47. Etting refused to include portraits of “savages,” as well as political figures he deemed unimportant in his display of the city's portrait collection in Independence Hall. Nash, *First City*, 279–80. On antiquarian activities in other cities, see, for example, William B. Hesseltine and Larry Gara, eds., “The Historical Fraternity: Correspondence of Historians Grigsby, Henry, and Draper,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 61 (1953): 450–71.

<sup>18</sup> Waters, “Philadelphia's Boswell,” 10–15; Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 240, 246; Nash, *First City*, 41.

<sup>19</sup> Waters, “Philadelphia's Boswell,” 39–41; Fiske Kimball, “The Letitia Street House,” *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* 21 (1932): 147–51. The house was moved to Fairmount Park in 1883. On antiquarians' interest in architecture, see W. Barksdale Maynard, “Best, Lowliest Style!': The Early-Nineteenth-Century Rediscovery of American Colonial Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59 (2000): 338–57.

<sup>20</sup> During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, well-to-do women produced samplers and, less often, armorial needlework that documented family lineage. They, as well as men, kept track of family members' births, marriages, and deaths in family bibles and, occasionally, in charts. François Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 4–5, 52–54. It should

eage, and social status” at a time of increased geographic mobility; reinforce individuals’ relationships; affirm religious affiliations; and set themselves apart from those from other races, classes, and ethnic groups.<sup>21</sup> Women’s antiquarian research was a relatively private activity during this time, notable exceptions being the books about women that Elizabeth Ellet and Margaret Conkling published in the 1840s.<sup>22</sup>

Like men, women were interested in preserving the material culture of Revolutionary leaders and in promoting nationalist goals. Beginning with the effort to save Mount Vernon in 1853, Ann Pamela Cunningham and other women were actively involved in preserving historic houses as well as furnishing and interpreting their interiors. Quelling sectional controversies was one of Cunningham’s goals at the start of the project, but her rhetoric was later inflected with ideas about women’s influence on the domestic front and the language of resisting change more broadly.<sup>23</sup> Although her efforts in forestalling the Civil War did not succeed, she provided a model for preservation activities, broadly writ, to attempt to unite Southern and Northern interests during the Centennial, as well as for women’s involvement in preservation.

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be noted that Pennsylvania German households used *fraktur* to document births, baptisms, and other rites of passage; these were largely created by schoolteachers and other men who specialized in this form.

<sup>21</sup> Weil sees four phases of interest in the United States: until the mid-eighteenth century; from the mid-eighteenth century to the 1860s; from after the Civil War to about 1950; and post-1950. Weil, *Family Trees*, 4–5, 43, 55. The antiquarians do show evidence of interest in their own families’ genealogies. For example, in 1858, Etting supervised the photography of portraits of the Gratz family (his ancestors) that were owned by Major Alfred Mordecai. Salted paper prints taken by Walter Dinmore, [730 Chestnut Street], Philadelphia, October 1858, Prints and Photographs Division, Lot 4494, Library of Congress. On antebellum and late nineteenth-century genealogy, especially for those of Anglo-Saxon origins, see also William S. Walker, *A Living Exhibition: The Smithsonian and the Transformation of the Universal Museum* (Amherst, MA, 2013), 24, 82–83, 112, 115–22, 130–31, 141. Walker and others note the influence of Darwin, eugenicists, and anthropological displays in late nineteenth-century museums on sentiments about race and origin. Williams, *Alice Morse Earle*, 181, 187–88.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth F. Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York, 1848–50); Margaret Conkling, *Memoirs of the Mother and Wife of Washington* (Auburn, NY, 1850); Frances M. Clarke, “Old-Fashioned Tea Parties: Revolutionary Memory in Civil War Sanitary Fairs,” in McDonnell, *Remembering the Revolution*, 304.

<sup>23</sup> West articulates the connection between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ideas about domesticity and women’s participation in preserving and interpreting historic houses. Pamela West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America’s House Museums* (Washington, DC, 1999), 1–3. Cunningham, upon her retirement from the leadership of the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association of the Union, exhorted its members to let “one spot, in this grand country of ours, be saved from change.” “To the Council of the Ladies’ Mount Vernon Association,” June 1874, in Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association of the Union, *Historical Sketch of Ann Pamela Cunningham: “Southern Matron,” Founder of “The Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association* (New York, 1903), 48.

Philadelphia's midcentury antiquarians were centrally interested in historic, male figures. They continued many of Watson's interests and habits while making individual choices about what to save for posterity, what to place in their own collections, what to publish, and whether and how to lobby for the preservation of specific imperiled buildings. Remarking on Watson's influence, the writer of his 1860 obituary referred to him as the "father of the school of local historians who have done so much within the last half century to rescue from oblivion the early history of Philadelphia."<sup>24</sup> The antiquarians collected material that was, arguably, eclectic—prints, manuscripts, and relics—and largely ephemeral, of limited monetary value, and readily exchanged. The mixture of materials also mirrored the wide range of historical items exhibited at Peale's Museum, other displays of cabinets of curiosities, and, later, the various sanitary fairs.<sup>25</sup>

The antiquarians overlapped in their activities, motivations, and interest in specific types of materials but approached history from very different perspectives. McAllister was involved in his family's optical business, though his role in it is uncertain. His father, John McAllister Jr. (1786–77), collected historic materials at least on a limited scale.<sup>26</sup> The elder McAllister played a crucial role in the development of photography in Philadelphia; his son had access to his father's manuscripts, prints, and photographic images and to his connections.<sup>27</sup> The younger McAllister, the focus here, concentrated on collecting and distributing historical materials rather than publishing them.

Much of Benson Lossing's collecting and correspondence, on the other hand, was related to his research and publishing on colonial and early national topics; he would later publish about the Civil War. Lossing was New York City–based, but lived near Poughkeepsie and served as an

<sup>24</sup> Watson's obituary in the *United States Journal* is noted in Benjamin Dorr, *Memoir of John Fanning Watson: The Annalist of Philadelphia and New York* (Philadelphia, 1861), 85–86.

<sup>25</sup> Clarke, "Old-Fashioned Tea Parties," 295; Gary Kulik, "Designing the Past: History Museum Exhibitions from Peale to the Present," in *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig (Urbana, IL, 1989), 6–7.

<sup>26</sup> Neither the extent of the elder McAllister's collection nor how much of it was later owned by his son is known. McAllister Papers, finding aid. The elder McAllister created a scrapbook illustrated with prints and photographs of Philadelphia scenes that are accompanied by handwritten descriptions as a gift for Mrs. A. A. Auchincloss in 1859. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University.

<sup>27</sup> On access to individuals, McAllister noted "R[ubens] P[eale] an old friend of my Fathers'—Mention either or both of our names when you write." McAllister to Lossing, Dec. 18, 1863, Benson J. Lossing Collection, 1850–1904, folder 7, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. Mayer remarked to McAllister, "My kind remembrances to your venerable father." Mayer to McAllister, Mar. 10, 1862, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers.

active trustee of nearby Vassar College. Publishing was a central part of his livelihood. His best-known works include *The Pictorial Field-Books* of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War, which were written for a broad audience.<sup>28</sup> Lossing popularized history at the expense of interpretive and, sometimes, factual accuracy.<sup>29</sup> An artist as well as a writer, Lossing often copied period images to create wood engravings for his publications. He worked with a variety of publishing houses and enjoyed access to engravers and other professionals in the publishing industry in New York and Philadelphia. His *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* was his most successful book. The work, which promulgated the nationalistic perspective biographer Harold Mahan has identified as pervading most of Lossing's books, was advertised broadly, sold widely, and reviewed favorably. Reviewers were more critical of *The Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War*, a far less lucrative publication. Lossing wrote several books to capitalize on the Centennial; of these, only *Our Country* was a financial success, with over seventy thousand copies sold.<sup>30</sup>

Through their connections with historical institutions and publishing houses, these antiquarians' version of history had the capacity to reach broad audiences. The Lippincott (in Philadelphia) and Harper's (in New York) firms, to name but two, provided national distribution of antiquarians' writings and compendia, as did less-well-known firms, such as that of William Brotherhead in Philadelphia.<sup>31</sup> Artists and photographers in Philadelphia and New York were readily available to duplicate original materials that resided in civic repositories, rested in the hands of collectors, or were owned by descendants. The work of these antiquarians reached private audiences, small, keenly interested groups of individuals, and, in some cases, the broad, national reading public.

<sup>28</sup> On Lossing's publishing ventures, see Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 2, 85–87, 115–23. These included *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1851–52), *The Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War in the United States of America* (New York, 1866–69), and *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1869). Other notable works include his *Life of Washington: A Biography: Personal, Military, and Political* (New York, 1860). He also wrote a memoir of Greble's son, *Memoir of Lieut.-Col. John T. Greble, of the United States Army* (Philadelphia, 1870).

<sup>29</sup> Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 2, 5. See also David Levin, *History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman* (Stanford, CA, 1959), 9–11, 50–51.

<sup>30</sup> *Our Country: A Household History for All Readers, from the Discovery of America to the Present Time* (New York, 1879); Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 59–60, 63–64, 76, 85–95, 108–12. For examples of reviews and advertisements, see the *Literary World*, May 18, 1850, 508; *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, July 1850, 156, and Sept. 1850, 296; *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, Nov. 1, 1864, 30; and *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, May 1866, 465.

<sup>31</sup> Brotherhead also sold old and rare books. William Brotherhead, *Forty Years among the Old Booksellers of Philadelphia, with Bibliographic Remarks* (Philadelphia, 1891).

For many of these antiquarians, collecting interests, friendship, and, in some cases, family ties intersected. Ferdinand Dreer's pursuit of autographs led to his amassing many important early documents; the photograph of his library (see front cover) shows some of his collection.<sup>32</sup> Lossing apparently served as the impetus for Dreer's turn to the collecting of complete letters, rather than autographs alone.<sup>33</sup> Edwin Greble ran a steam, marble, and granite works and was married to Dreer's niece. Greble and Dreer were close friends, as were most of the others. Lossing remarked to Greble that "in you and Mr. Dreer I have genuine friends" and referred to McAllister and Dreer as "choice friends" in a letter to the former.<sup>34</sup> After Watson's death, his daughter Lavinia informed Lossing, "A cane of my Fathers which is intended for you will be taken care of here till an opportunity presents of sending it to you."<sup>35</sup> This gift of the cane was notable because it was a personal possession, rather than the typical offering of historical material, and her remarks further suggest that it conveyed a deeper level of friendship. Baltimorean Brantz Mayer regularly interacted with the Philadelphia-centered antiquarians. Mayer, by then no longer practicing law, founded the Maryland Historical Society in 1844 and wrote about the state's history.<sup>36</sup> Frank M. Etting was the cousin of Mayer's wife. Etting served as the recording secretary of HSP in 1855 and as a councilor in 1859, though he appears to have limited interaction with the organization. Etting is best known for his work to preserve and furnish Independence Hall in the 1870s.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Former president James Madison commented on the demand for his and others' autographs in the late 1820s and early 1830s to Charles Tudor Stewart, "I would cheerfully gratify you in the object of your pursuit, but like applications have already exhausted my files, and obliged me to give that answer. The autographs of Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Jay, two names you seem particularly to desire, I have no doubt can be easily obtained from public offices, or their family connexions." Madison to Stewart, Apr. 22, 1836, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress. I thank the staff of James Madison's Montpelier for this citation.

<sup>33</sup> Carson, *History of the HSP*, 2:60.

<sup>34</sup> Lossing described Dreer as "one of the most intimate of his [Edwin Greble's] friends." *Memoir of Lieut.-Col. John T. Greble*, 23. Lossing to Greble, May 4, 1865, box 12, folder 3, Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Lossing to McAllister, Feb. 14, 1862, box 2, folder 125, McAllister Papers.

<sup>35</sup> Lavinia Whitman to Lossing, May 13, 1861. Lossing Papers, HSP.

<sup>36</sup> He was deeply enmeshed in the United States' involvement in Mexico and, in 1867, began serving as paymaster for United States Army. In addition to writing books about Maryland history, he wrote extensively about Mexico.

<sup>37</sup> Brantz Mayer to McAllister, Feb. 18, 1862, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers. On Etting's role at Independence Hall, see, "The Collection Becomes a Shrine," 38–41, 44–45; on his activities at HSP and during the Centennial, see Nash, *First City*, 279, 281–82.

Collecting required financial as well as social capital. Some antiquarians relied upon one more than the other. Dreer and Ingraham, for example, had greater financial resources for collecting than McAllister and Lossing, while the latter's intellectual capital and national popularity helped him obtain materials.<sup>38</sup>

### *Uses of the Built Environment in Philadelphia*

When Watson reflected on changes in the city as early as 1831, he described a pervading atmosphere of "selfish reserve," a "sense of melancholy and loneliness" that, in his mind, represented "one of the positive evils of our cherished overgrown population." Watson expressed a pessimistic belief that "we have passed the maximum point of our happiness." The cause of this unhappy state was clear to him: "We have encouraged emigration & settlement 'till we are no longer a Family of Brotherly love!"<sup>39</sup> Increased immigration in the 1840s and '50s exacerbated ethnic, racial, and class tensions and fueled nativist sentiment.<sup>40</sup> Although other antiquarians' responses to changes in the city are not as transparent as Watson's, their nationalist-focused work took place during a period of significant immigration, urbanization, and industrialization, forces of unsettling change.

Although the emphasis on historic buildings and objects during the Colonial Revival in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been interpreted as a counterpoint to both factories and factory-made articles, concerns about mechanization were present in the midcentury industrializing city. In addition to factories and warehouses in the center of the city, large-scale industries operated in areas such as Kensington.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup>They and others collected British and European books, pamphlets, and prints as well. Madeleine B. Stern, *Antiquarian Bookselling in the United States: A History from the Origins to the 1940s* (Westport, CT, 1985), 21–47; Brotherhead, *Forty Years among the Old Booksellers of Philadelphia*, 7–8.

<sup>39</sup>John F. Watson, "Summer Excursions of Year 1831," July 1831, Watson Family Papers, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE, <http://content.winterthur.org:2011/cdm/compoundobject/collection/watsonfam/id/805/rec/4>.

<sup>40</sup>Philadelphia experienced anti-Catholic riots in 1844 and at least five riots fueled by issues of race and class between 1833 and 1842. Elizabeth R. Varon, *Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008), 162; Elizabeth Geffen, "Industrial Development and Social Crisis, 1841–1854," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell Weigley (New York, 1982), 309, 356; Mires, *Independence Hall*, 99–101; Nash, *First City*, 212–22.

<sup>41</sup>Geffen, "Industrial Development and Social Crisis," 326–27; Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 46.

Philadelphia's tallest building, the eight-story Jayne building (1850–51), was just two blocks east of the State House, in the same block as McAllister's shop. The fact that the oldest parts of many cities were along the waterfront (and, in Philadelphia and Baltimore, also near railroads) meant that historic and modern structures and activities often took place in the same spaces.

Even the State House and its yard became the site for very different purposes than the antiquarians sought to commemorate. Protestors staged labor demonstrations in Independence Square to connect their causes to their interpretations of Revolutionary ideals.<sup>42</sup> George Lippard repeatedly invokes the State House clock as the source of time in his novel *The Quaker City* (1845) and frequently mentions the bell, yard, and the building itself. Lippard's novels and serialized stories in newspapers were intended for and accessible to a wide audience. In his writing, he set scenes that were antielite in tone, expressed nativist sentiments, and skewered the widespread corruption in the city.<sup>43</sup> It should be noted that Lippard relied heavily on Watson's *Annals* and Jared Sparks's *Life of George Washington* (1842) for some of his historical information. He, in turn, influenced a number of antiquarians and later writers. Lossing, for example, believed and promulgated Lippard's account of the ringing of the Liberty Bell to proclaim the signing of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>44</sup> Through their rhetoric and activities, individuals as varied as labor protestors and sensationalist writers used historic individuals and spaces in Philadelphia to express their views on current social, economic, religious, and political conditions.

Immigration, urbanization, and industrialization dramatically changed how Philadelphia looked in the antebellum period as well as how individuals used and perceived the historic landscape. Scholars have linked these factors to the Colonial Revival in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but these forces also were present in Philadelphia at midcen-

<sup>42</sup> Mires, *Independence Hall*, 84–86.

<sup>43</sup> Lippard is also known for the anti-Catholic tone of much of his writing. Susan M. Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge, 2004), 13; Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations, Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley, CA, 2002), 40–41.

<sup>44</sup> Tara Deshpande notes that Lippard's interest in Jacksonian commercialism, manifest destiny, and the Mexican-American War also inflected his work. Deshpande, "Strange and Crowded History": Transnational Revolution and Empire in George Lippard's *Washington and His Generals*, in McDonnell, *Remembering the Revolution*, 250–55; David S. Reynolds, *George Lippard* (Boston, 1982), 40, 42, 65, 67. On Lippard and other authors who wrote popular history, see Gregory M. Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1840–1920* (Amherst, MA, 2008), 40–53.

tury and help explain efforts to glorify early leaders and events.<sup>45</sup> Lossing, McAllister, Dreer, and others collected at a moment when historic buildings were being replaced by new ones or used for unsettling purposes and when reproductive technology enabled antiquarians to capture and distribute their particular version of Philadelphia's—and the nation's—history.

### *Photography in Philadelphia*

Other historic and modern buildings housed the photographic, printing, and publishing ventures that helped record, collect, and distribute the information that so engaged the antiquarians and maintained the city's reputation as an important publishing center. Philadelphia's professional and amateur scientific communities experimented with photographic techniques and processes, and, beginning in 1839, the city became a national center for the production of these images.<sup>46</sup> At first, studios produced daguerreotypes (and, later, ambrotypes) that were single photographic images; to obtain duplicates, one had to sit for additional images or have them reproduced in a different medium, such as prints. Some of these prints—often portraits—were sold individually or bound in books.<sup>47</sup> The development of the wet collodion process in 1851 and the dry collodion process in 1855 made it possible to produce multiple copies of photographic images. By the 1860s, lithographers had begun to transfer negatives to stone to produce prints.<sup>48</sup> Given that the city had served as an important book publishing center since the eighteenth century, it is not surprising that Philadelphia became a nexus of photography, printing, and

<sup>45</sup> Marling, *George Washington Slept Here*, 75–76; Barbara Clark Smith, "The Authority of History: The Changing Public Face of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114 (1990): 54–55.

<sup>46</sup> William F. Stapp, "Robert Cornelius and the Dawn of Photography," in *Robert Cornelius: Portraits from the Dawn of Photography*, by William F. Stapp, Marian S. Carson, and M. Susan Barger (Washington, DC, 1983), 25–44.

<sup>47</sup> On the relationships among the production of paintings, prints, and daguerreotypes, as well as the specific ties between daguerreotypist M. A. Root and publisher John Sartain, see Ann Katherine Martinez, "The Life and Career of John Sartain (1808–1897): A Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia Printmaker" (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1986), 111–19. See also Gordon M. Marshall, "The Golden Age of Illustrated Biographies," in *American Portrait Prints*, ed. Wendy Wick Reaves (Charlottesville, VA, 1984), 29–82.

<sup>48</sup> George T. Eaton, "History of Processing and Image Stability," in *Issues in the Conservation of Photographs*, ed. Debra Hess Norris and Jennifer Jae Gutierrez (Los Angeles, 2010), 215–216; Sarah J. Weatherwax, "Peter S. Duval, Philadelphia's Leading Lithographer," in *Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia*, ed. Erika Piola (University Park, PA, 2012), 113.

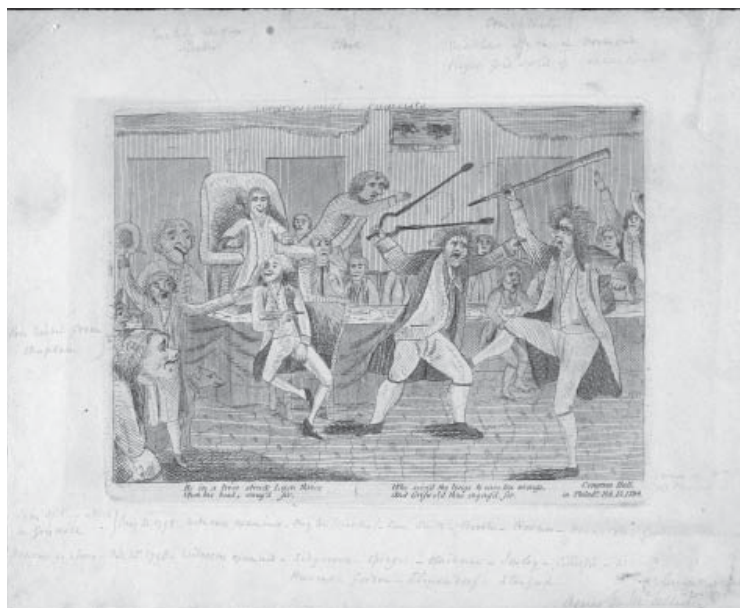


Fig. 1. Congressional Pugilists. Etching on wove paper, 1798. The image depicts the interior of Congress Hall in Philadelphia; the annotations are believed to be by John A. McAllister. On the original mat is noted, "This copy belonged to John McAllister, the antiquarian, given to his daughter Agnes Young McAllister. The writing is his. McAllister reprinted this plate, along with others by Birch, after Peale, etc., but this is the oldest copy I have found. MS Carson, April 24, 1943." Marion S. Carson Collection, LC-DIG-ppmsca-31832, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

publishing during the antebellum period; many of these businesses were in close proximity to one another.<sup>49</sup>

John A. McAllister's ties to the photographic community contributed to both architectural and artifactual preservation through reproduction and distribution. Regarding the print "Congressional Pugilists" (Fig. 1), Brantz Mayer relates, "I never saw or heard of the print; &, as you have facilities for such things I hope you will have it copied photographically as near the size of the original as possible. Some twenty or fifty, well distributed, will save a life of such a queer thing—of which none of us have seen a copy, or heard of one." Mayer's comment points to the McAllister

<sup>49</sup> Christopher W. Lane, "Lithographed Plates for Books and Periodicals: A Mainstay of Philadelphia Lithographers," in Piola, *Philadelphia on Stone*, 121.

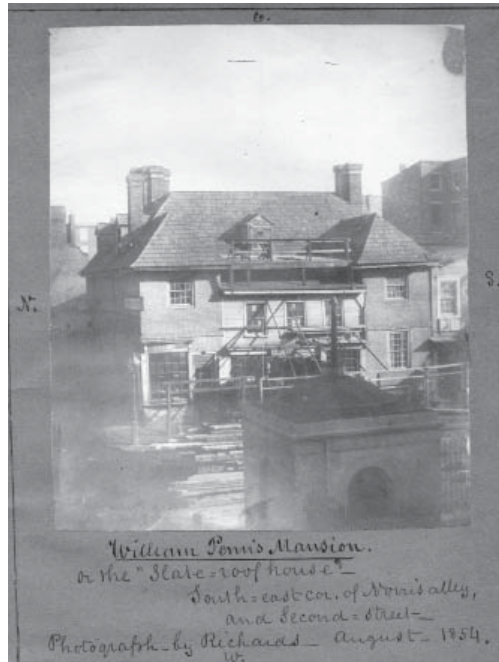


Fig. 2. Frederick DeBourg Richards, "William Penn's Mansion, or the Slate Roof House." Salted paper print, August 1854. P(2)2526.F.31 (Poulson), Library Company of Philadelphia.

family's role in the photographic community.<sup>50</sup> Mayer's request for a copy "as near the size of the original" refers to the need for a relatively large negative. At this time, paper photographs were produced from direct contact prints; techniques for enlarging images had not yet been perfected.<sup>51</sup> Mayer noted his interactions with photographers over the course of two decades and through the development of different processes in a letter to McAllister in 1862. He remarks upon Lossing's "beautiful specimen of photography," which he "handed to [his] daughter who is a very skilled photographic printer!" He also mentioned a daguerreotype he had made of himself about fifteen years earlier, which he asked Frederick Gutenknst, McAllister's "artist," to copy in photography. Mayer offered copies of the photograph to both McAllister and Dreer.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Mayer to McAllister, Jan. 24, 1866, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers; Marian S. Carson, "The Eclipse and Rediscovery of Robert Cornelius," in Stapp, Carson, and Barger, *Robert Cornelius*, 18.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York, 2008), 106.

<sup>52</sup> Mayer to McAllister, Mar. 10, 1862, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers.

McAllister and Lossing were among those who took advantage of the abundant photographic and printing resources in Philadelphia. For them, preservation took on many forms, including creating prints of paintings and taking photographs of buildings before they were demolished, as well as collecting descendants' memories. Writing to Lossing in 1856, McAllister enclosed a newspaper clipping about William Penn's house, also known as the Slate Roof House (Fig. 2). McAllister noted, "The old house will doubtful be demolished much to the regret of Antiquarians generally & especially to the lovers of Olden Times in Philadelphia." He added, "The Mess [Messrs] Langenheim's promise me that they will have a photograph made of the old building [Penn's house]—I shall see that they keep their word, for it is very important that we have a faithful picture of this relic—The Mess L's have applied to my Father for a list of buildings in Philadelphia of historical interest with the view of having them photographed."<sup>53</sup> William and Frederick Langenheim, who produced daguerreotypes and, later, paper photographs of historic sites, were among the early photographers who documented the city's architecture and streetscapes. As Kenneth Finkel and William Stapp have shown, McAllister, his father, and others participated in shaping Philadelphia's conception of its past through photographic images of people and places.<sup>54</sup> Knowledge of the reproductive processes available in the city extended beyond the antiquarians. The desire for multiples of photographic images and, as we shall see, copies of prints and special proofs for hand-tipping into extra-illustrated editions, drew on the talents of the city's photographers, artists, engravers, lithographers, and printers.

#### *Authenticity and Accuracy in Preservation*

Whether spurred on by specific events, discrete publishing projects, nationalistic impulses, or simply a strong interest in the past, these antiquarians were interested in saving material, selecting examples of high quality, and reproducing it for posterity and, occasionally, for profit. Their interests followed the pattern that Henle found nationally among

<sup>53</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Jan. 23, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP; Dann, "Governments, Individuals, and Old Houses," 1–5.

<sup>54</sup> Kenneth Finkel, *Nineteenth-Century Photography in Philadelphia: 250 Historic Prints from the Library Company of Philadelphia* (New York, 1980), 51–52, 25–44; George S. Layne, "The Langenheims of Philadelphia," *History of Photography* 11 (1987): 39–52. See also Lavinia Whitman (daughter of J. F. Watson) to Lossing, May 13, 1861, Lossing Papers, HSP.

historical societies: in their collecting of historic materials, they considered political items (documents, broadsides, pamphlets, etc.) the most significant. Over time, authorship and the age of documents would matter as well.<sup>55</sup> McAllister stressed the importance of publishing a group of William Penn papers in the hands of George M. Justice that, in his words, “contain much valuable information & it is to be regretted that copies of many of them have not been published.”<sup>56</sup> By collecting and publishing this material, McAllister, Lossing, and others participated in shaping how the nation’s, and the city’s, history was remembered both during the period and later.

Saving historical materials often involved using personal contacts among collectors and descendants. In pursuit of material related to the late Bishop William White (who served as chaplain to the Continental Congress and rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia), McAllister wrote, “I think I can obtain the loan of Mrs. Montgomery’s [one of the bishop’s daughters’] copy” of the engraving of the interior of Christ Church in 1785 or ’87 (Fig. 3). He went on to note the object’s size and engraver, adding, “There is but one other impression from this plate in existence & this one in a mutilated condition is in the Loganian Library—It occurred to me that you might wish to make a sketch this engraving—I think I can obtain the loan of Mrs. Montgomery’s copy—She is very careful of it—It barely escaped from the flames last year at the time Earle’s Gallery was destroyed.”<sup>57</sup> Access to descendants’ recollections was also important to McAllister. When he told Lossing, “Thomas H White Esq (son of the late Bishop W) was much disappointed that he did not have an opportunity of talking with you about his Father & of old times at Christ Church,” McAllister lamented the lost opportunity to learn more about the country’s first Episcopal bishop and made clear the role of oral history in his work.<sup>58</sup>

McAllister’s remark regarding the print of Christ Church’s interior is one of many allusions to making multiples through prints or photographs to ensure that images would survive. Writing to McAllister in 1869, Lossing

<sup>55</sup> Alea Henle discusses the concurrent increase in historical societies in Europe but notes that their impulses varied in many ways from American ones. Henle, “Preserving the Past, Making History,” 2–6, 167–68.

<sup>56</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Jan. 13, 1857, Lossing Collection, University of Michigan.

<sup>57</sup> McAllister to Lossing, May 17, 1855, Lossing Papers, HSP. A sketch of the pulpit appears in Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1859), 2:43. The title page notes that Lossing and Barritt produced the wood engravings “chiefly from original sketches by the author.”

<sup>58</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Dec. 26, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP.

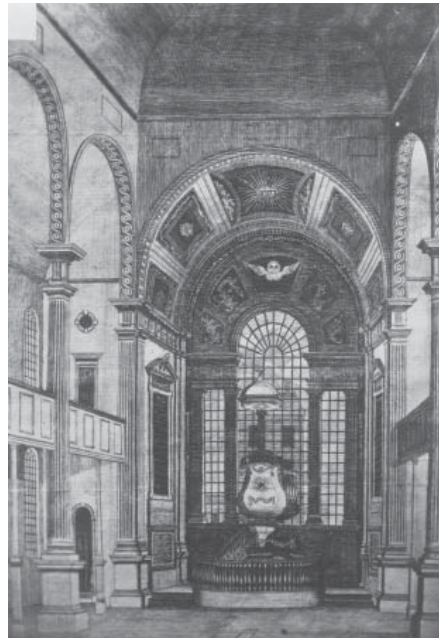


Fig. 3. McAllister & Brother, Interior of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Albumen print of a 1785 engraving by James Peller Malcolm, 1860. John A. McAllister Collection, (4)1322.F.65, Library Company of Philadelphia.

praised “Your Society” (likely the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) for creating prints from paintings of Revolutionary figures, thereby “saving from possible destruction, the portraits of our patriots and pre-revolutionary celebrities.” “But for your generous work,” he told his friend, “fire might destroy the original and the lines would be lost to the world. Have any of these ever been multiplied, in any form, before?”<sup>59</sup> Fear of fire was a frequent refrain, perhaps induced by fires at the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1831 and the Library of Congress in 1851; the latter destroyed much of Thomas Jefferson’s library.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Lossing to McAllister, Sept. 29, 1869, box 2, folder 125, McAllister Papers. For another instance of fear of fire, see McAllister to Lossing, Jan. 16, 1857, Lossing Papers, HSP.

<sup>60</sup> By 1869 the Library Company had begun to raise funds for a fireproof building. Carson, *History of the HSP*, 2:33. Regarding Independence Hall, it was noted in 1875 that, “Every precaution has been taken to render the whole building fire-proof.” Broadside, Board of Managers of the National Museum, *The National Museum, Independence Hall. Philadelphia, January 18th, 1875* (Philadelphia, 1875).

These men feared loss through ignorance as well as fire. McAllister confessed to Lossing in 1856:

If the members of our historical society had been more watchful last year they would have prevented the destruction of a huge pile manuscripts (most of them run to 1800) of great value which have slumbered for more than half a century in the garret of the old homes S.E. 6th Chestnut Str—Edw Ingraham Esq. rather of an Antiquarian turn recorded valuable and interesting manuscripts from the old loft—Our councils last year authorized improvements to be made in the upper part of the building & gave the contractor permission to dispose of the manuscripts for old paper—The contractor who had no reverence for such matters sold them for a trifle to a paper mill in the city—I am told that several cartloads were disposed of—What a sacrilege.<sup>61</sup>

McAllister makes it clear that the HSP did not take the action necessary to preserve the manuscripts, and he condemns the contractor; regretfully, his use of the word “recorded” to describe Ingraham’s role is too opaque to interpret. McAllister’s interest in preservation is couched in terms that suggest he viewed his and Lossing’s roles as those of unusually knowledgeable watchdogs. Whether by dint of knowledge or contacts, McAllister’s letter implies, their work required perspicacity.

Beyond the mere fact of preserving antiquarian materials, these men were preoccupied with the quality of the items they collected. They searched for the “best” likeness of a colonial or early national hero. Regarding a portrait of Washington believed to be by James Sharples, McAllister boasted to Lossing, “Rev. Mr. Neill of this city has permitted us to copy from the original, this likeness of Washington, & I take pleasure in sending an impression. . . . It was the last portrait for which Washington sat. The pentagraph [*sic*] was used, so that the face and feature are authentically true, while the genius of the artist has given them a most noble & impressive impression.”<sup>62</sup> Two years later, McAllister told Lossing, “A grandson of the late reverend Dr. Priestley left with us some weeks ago an engraving of

<sup>61</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Jan. 24, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP. See also Maryland Historical Society, *History, Possessions, and Prospects of the Maryland Historical Society, Inaugural Discourse of Brantz Mayer as President of the Society; Baltimore, March 7th, 1867* (Baltimore, 1867), 27.

<sup>62</sup> McAllister to Lossing, June 15, 1862, box 2, Lossing Papers, Syracuse University. Similarly, John Spear Smith, founder of the Maryland Historical Society, noted, “The portrait by Stewart is of course vastly superior to that of St. Memin and is of earlier date. It is drawn as to how he appeared in his uniform of Major General with the badge of Cincinnati. If a photograph of it would not be too costly, I should certainly prefer it.” Smith to Lossing, Apr. 30, 1860, Lossing Collection, University of Michigan.

Dr P that we might copy for card photographs. He told me that he considered this the only reliable picture of his grandfather.”<sup>63</sup>

It was not only images of people that needed to be accurate; dedicated antiquarians also sought the original (that is, colonial or early national, before later additions) appearance of buildings and information about their changes over time. Lossing noted to McAllister in 1854:

I perceive by one of the papers you have sent me that the Hall of Independence has been again “renovated.” Patriotism, good taste and I hope public sentiment, requires that it should assume the precise aspect, as nearly as possible, that it was when Charles Thomson attended the final reading of the Declaration of Independence. I speak freely of a locality in your city, because it rightfully concerns the whole nation—aye the whole domain of Freedom in fact and in hope.<sup>64</sup>

Lossing’s remarks remind us that visiting historic sites was another way to experience the nation’s past and that the accuracy of renovations affected those who set foot in the buildings as well as those who saw them in prints and photographs.

Two years later, in 1856, McAllister enclosed an image of the State House in a letter to Lossing, explaining, “Several photographs have been prepared from the old engraving [see Fig. 3] representing Christ Church interior 1785—I take this early opportunity of sending one of the smaller impressions. This view of Christ Church is valuable as exhibiting the appearance of the church at a very interesting period, since which time extensive alterations (not improvements) have been made in the Chancel and also in the galleries.”<sup>65</sup> For McAllister, as for Lossing, it was the appearance of a building at the time it housed a critical function during the Revolution or early national period that mattered.

Historical accuracy, seemingly regardless of the medium employed, was important. Lossing complained to McAllister in 1854:

I do not possess a copy of Birch’s Views of Philadelphia. They must become more and more valuable to Philadelphians, as the city rapidly increases, and its aspect changes. The custom, formerly, of putting the date of execution

<sup>63</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Jan. 29, 1864, Lossing Papers, HSP. Ten years later McAllister again referred to the quality of an image: “I also send a small copper plate engraving of the State Houses and Wings—An excellent view of the building as it now stands—I think it is the best that has ever been published.” McAllister to Lossing, Apr. 11, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP.

<sup>64</sup> Lossing to McAllister, Nov. 18, 1854, box 2, folder 122, McAllister Papers.

<sup>65</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Apr. 11, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP.

upon Engravings, is an excellent one, and I am sorry to see it omitted, as it is at the present. The date is often a clue to the meaning, and also enables one to form a judgment of the relative excellence of a picture, as a work of the graphic art, by comparing it with the best contemporary productions.<sup>66</sup>

Antiquarians were fascinated with the interplay between the original—whose appearance they appeared to seek from a desire to ascertain factual data—and the copy. The authentic, original, and most “correct” image was sought. Once hunted down, it was then copied, through a print, photograph, or both. They preserved the original by making it a duplicate, ensuring it would never be lost to fire or ignorance. But by duplicating—whether for themselves, a narrow audience, or a broad public, and through prints, extra-illustrated books, or mass-market print publications—they gave these reproductions an aura of authenticity.

There were others reasons to collect: McAllister, Mayer, Ingraham, and others sought images for extra-illustration. In these volumes, the compiler (often the owner), rather than the publisher, tipped in images.<sup>67</sup> McAllister wrote Lossing in 1870, “I have another copy [of Lossing’s *Mount Vernon*] in sheets carefully put away for illustrating when I can find the leisure to do so. I have collected many illustrations, (autographs, photographs badges, engravings &c) & look forward with just pleasure to inlaying and arranging them.”<sup>68</sup> Brantz Mayer prevailed upon McAllister to scour shops in Philadelphia for prints of “Green, . . . Cadwallader, & Dr. Rush,” advising him to opt for “large octavo uncut copies” if he did not have duplicates. Mayer complained, “Our print shops and 2nd hand shops, in Baltimore, are thoroughly exhausted in respect to portraits. I believe your City is more prolific and better supplied in print and portrait shops.”<sup>69</sup> For men such

<sup>66</sup> Lossing to McAllister, Apr. 28, 1854, box 2, folder 122, McAllister Papers.

<sup>67</sup> Brotherhead notes that, “Ingraham spent many a day in looking over my collection, and added many rare historical prints with which his famous collection of books was illustrated.” Brotherhead, *Forty Years among the Old Booksellers of Philadelphia*, 8. Some collectors had others create the editions. Irving Browne, *An Account of Some of the Books Containing Extra Illustrations, in a Private Library* (Troy, NY, 1874). On extra-illustration, see Erin C. Blake and Stuart Sillars, *Extending the Book: The Art of Extra-Illustration* (Seattle, WA, 2010), 4–7; Daniel M. Tredwell, *A Monograph on Privately Illustrated Books: A Plea for Bibliomania* (New York, 1881), 2.

<sup>68</sup> McAllister to Lossing, July 3, 1870, Lossing Papers, HSP. See also Lossing to McAllister, Feb. 14, 1862, box 2, folder 125, McAllister Papers.

<sup>69</sup> Mayer to McAllister, Apr. 29, 1868, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers. Naval officer and author George Henry Preble asked for “portraits or pictures of scenes of battles mentioned” to illustrate his “own special copy with family photographs & autographs & engravings of the persons mentioned by name in its pages—which will make it unique and a heirloom to my children.” Preble to McAllister, Dec. 26, 1870, box 3, folder 183, McAllister Papers.

as Lossing and Mayer, writing historic volumes that were illustrated with engravings overlapped with their collecting material for their personal use. They shared with other antiquarians the desire to make unique versions of books and, in doing so, further supported the printing and publishing trades.

These antiquarians' activities make it clear that they were each other's eyes and ears, pointing one another to materials they deemed important. Lossing asked McAllister's help in finding the silver urn presented to Lt. James Biddle in 1812, requesting, "If any of the family owns it, will they provide a photograph or daguerreotype of it, for to Engrave for me [*sic*] work?"<sup>70</sup> Other correspondence among this group of antiquarians details their cooperative efforts in locating a "miniature of Washington painted by Peale," sharing an engraving of Episcopal bishop William White "in his prime," and tracking down a specific engraving of Washington.<sup>71</sup> In addition to giving Dreer historic materials and showing him others, Watson provided Dreer with "the Copper plate of places in Phila of which you may print some copies, if you wish; or I will sell you the plate itself, at a moderate price."<sup>72</sup> On one occasion, Mayer asked McAllister to pass materials on to Dreer.<sup>73</sup> Antiquarians knew one another's projects and pursuits, had shared interests, and opened doors for each other. Writing on the death of Ingraham in 1854—at the beginning of much of this correspondence—Lossing admitted to McAllister, "I was not acquainted with him personally, but we had corresponded and I felt that I knew him as a brother delves in the musty recesses of the past."<sup>74</sup> Some nine years later, Lossing referred to Greble and Dreer as his "aides-de-camp." This phrasing, which

<sup>70</sup> Lossing to McAllister, Jan. 1861, box 2, folder 124, McAllister Papers. See also James Biddle to Lossing, Feb. 7, 1861, box 1, Lossing Papers, Syracuse University. The urn appears in Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, 453; the original, now in the United States Naval Academy Museum Collection, was crafted by Philadelphia silversmiths Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner in 1813. Donald L. Fennimore and Ann K. Wagner, *Silversmiths to the Nation: Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner, 1808–1842* (Woodbridge, UK, 2007), 126–27.

<sup>71</sup> S. M. C. Henry to Lossing, Dec. 3, 1859; and McAllister to Lossing, Dec. 26, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP; Lossing to McAllister, May 19, 1855, box 2, folder 122, McAllister Papers; Lossing to Mayer, June 28 and Sept. 1, 1857, box 2, Brantz Mayer Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>72</sup> John Fanning Watson to Ferdinand Dreer, Mar. 5, 1860; see also Mar. 6, 1860, box 200, folder, 20, Dreer Autograph Collection. Shortly before Watson's death, Dreer purchased manuscripts from him on the Revolutionary War and Philadelphia's early history. Dorr, *Memoir of John Fanning Watson*, 85.

<sup>73</sup> Mayer to McAllister, Dec. 17, 1861, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers.

<sup>74</sup> Lossing to McAllister, Nov. 18, 1854, box 2, folder 122, McAllister Papers.

harkened to the Revolution or Civil War, reinforced their ties of friendship and kinship.<sup>75</sup>

Scholars have observed that midcentury antiquarians in the United States explicitly and implicitly sought to address the Southern and Northern divide before, during, and after the Civil War.<sup>76</sup> Patricia West argues that Ann Pamela Cunningham, founder of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, saw her organization as "a bond of union and political regeneration," while in practical terms she heeded advice that the association should "be careful to exclude every political feeling or influence."<sup>77</sup> At the same time, some Northerners privileged Revolutionary men's characters and ideals in the context of the Civil War. Horatio Jones, thanking Lossing for his gift of *The Life of Philip Schuyler*, wrote, "Like everything from your pen, it is full of interest, and at this special season, when so many who were high in command are proving recreant to their trust, it is delightful to read of our pure Revolutionary patriots."<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Lossing drew upon the legacy of Revolutionary heroes to lionize Greble's son, who perished in the Civil War. His body lay in state at the State House, where, as Lossing memorialized, the "walls were hung with portraits of many of the founders of the republic, for whose preservation he had freely given his life."<sup>79</sup> During this period, Northern and Southern antiquarians invoked both nationalism and sectionalism. Relics, too, intrigued these men. Watson reported to Greble in 1860, "I visited my house in Germtn to day, & have brot you the promised Gift of the Ladies Pin Cushion, made of Amcn Silk raised in this Country, to which is appended Silk of Dresses worn at the Meschianza. Also damask of Mrs. M Washington."<sup>80</sup> In a letter to Dreer,

<sup>75</sup> Lossing to Greble, May 19, 1865, box 2, Lossing Papers, Syracuse University. We know that Greble, Lossing, and Dreer traveled together on at least one occasion, reconnoitering Civil War sites in 1866. Dreer to Greble, Nov. 16 and 21, 1898; see also May 11, 1866, photograph of Lossing, Dreer, and Greble atop Lookout Mountain, Edwin Greble Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. On Lossing's trips during the war as well as his travels from March to November 1866 for his history of the Civil War, see Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 85–90. McAllister collected Civil War ephemera; see, for example, John A. McAllister Civil War Manuscripts, McA MSS 024, Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>76</sup> On Lossing's Civil War publishing, see Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing*, 59–60, 78, 85–95.

<sup>77</sup> West further makes clear that Cunningham, though a "moderate, was sympathetic to her native South." West, *Domesticating History*, 28–30.

<sup>78</sup> Horatio C. Jones to Lossing, May 15, 1861, Lossing Collection, University of Michigan.

<sup>79</sup> Lossing, *Memoir*, 83. Several months before his death (Apr. 19, 1861), Greble wrote his son, "The blood of Revolutionary patriots is in your veins" (49). On the State House as a site of mourning for "nationally prominent men" from the 1840s onward, see Mires, *Independence Hall*, 87.

<sup>80</sup> Watson to Dreer, Mar. 5, 1860, box 200, folder 20, Dreer Autograph Collection.

Lossing reported, "This is written with a gold pen, in a silver case. It was presented to General Anthony Walton White, by General Washington."<sup>81</sup> Writing with a hero's pen further conveyed the historicity of the material that Lossing and Dreer studied and reinforced their roles in preserving, sharing, and reproducing historical materials. That they made these and other remarks about relics, copies, and kinsmen on the eve of the Civil War is telling. Yet their work had ideological roots that preceded these short-term iterations of nationalism and sectionalism, and their impact would continue well past the war. Many of the documents and objects that the antiquarians preserved in the 1840s and '50s served as the basis for the displays at the Sanitary Fairs during the war and, later, at the Centennial. This group of antiquarians, like their brethren in other cities, would shape the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century iterations of the Colonial Revival.

### *Historic Relics and Sanitary Fairs*

The public display of historical materials at the sanitary fairs overlapped with the antiquarians' private collecting. The sanitary fairs, held in many Northern cities in 1863 and 1864, raised funds for food, clothing, and medical supplies for Union soldiers and highlighted historical and contemporary accomplishments. Displaying historical materials helped promote both nationalist and sectionalist sentiments. The Philadelphia Sanitary Fair included a "Relics and Curiosities" department, and the New York one had a "Colonial Kitchen." Lossing remarked upon the success of the vignette he created at the Poughkeepsie fair. Called "Dutchess County Room 100 Years Ago," it included local elite women dressed in the costumes of their forbearers.<sup>82</sup> Although there were men's and women's committees for the fairs, women's involvement focused on domestic activities; in Philadelphia, they handed out bills of fare at the restaurant and sold goods that they and other women had knit and sewn. The presence of such

<sup>81</sup> Lossing to Dreer, Dec. 16, 1858, box 18, folder 34, Dreer Autograph Collection.

<sup>82</sup> On the Philadelphia fair, see stereographs by A. Watson 5781.F.170c and d, Library Company of Philadelphia. On the Poughkeepsie fair, see Lossing to McAllister, Mar. 17, 1864, box 2, folder 126, McAllister Papers. Mrs. Benson Lossing is listed as a lender to the room. *Report of the Dutchess County & Poughkeepsie Sanitary Fair, Held at Sanitary Hall, in the City of Poughkeepsie, from March 15 to March 19, 1864* (Poughkeepsie, NY, 1864), 21–23.

goods enabled women to support the war through another household role: consumption.<sup>83</sup>

McAllister and Lossing were among those who contributed materials to the fairs and convinced others to do so as well. McAllister asked Lossing's advice about the arrangement of one group of relics.<sup>84</sup> Dreer served on the committee on autographs for the Philadelphia fair for exhibition. The group sought

Memorials of the present Rebellion, and of the former wars of this country, or any memento of our conquests by Land or Water.

Under the head of RELICS, may be enumerated all objected connected with the public or private life of distinguished individuals of ancient and modern times; and with noted places, periods, and events, in the history of nations and the world.<sup>85</sup>

Some of the autographs were for exhibition, and others were for sale. Dreer gave the fair "a valuable collection of autographs & the manuscript journal of Mason & Dixons" to sell.<sup>86</sup> McAllister purchased items and collected memorabilia from it and other fairs. He sent engravings he acquired at the Philadelphia fair and hinted to Lossing, "If [he] had any printed hand bills, Circulars, Cards &c issued during [his] Fair [presumably, the one in Poughkeepsie] please bear in mind that they will be very acceptable for my War Scrapbooks."<sup>87</sup>

Fairs included displays of machinery, art, and historical relics, as well as parades, concerts, and other events. Important to our understanding of how historical materials were received is how they were displayed. Frances

<sup>83</sup> See Charles J. Stillé, *Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, Held at Philadelphia, June 1864* (Philadelphia, 1864), 20, 62, 98. Much of the real labor at fairs was left to African American and other servants. Clarke, "Old-Fashioned Tea Parties," 302. See also Beverly Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair* (Knoxville, TN, 1988), 5; Charlotte Emans Moore, "Art as Text, War as Context: The Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York's Artistic Community, and the Civil War" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2009), 237, 287–300, 304.

<sup>84</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Apr. 2, 1864, Lossing Papers, HSP.

<sup>85</sup> US Sanitary Commission, *A Priced Catalogue of Autographs, Relics and Curiosities, Books, Pictures and Engravings for Sale at the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission* (Philadelphia, 1864). See also circular of the Committee on Relics, Curiosities, and Autographs, box 2, Lossing Papers, Syracuse University.

<sup>86</sup> McAllister to Lossing, Mar. 19 1864, Lossing Papers, HSP.

<sup>87</sup> McAllister to Lossing, July 1, 1864, folder 7, Lossing Collection, University of Michigan. These included images of the Battle of the Brandywine and Benjamin West's graves. He added, "I have saved many documents for you issued by the Central Fair Committee & so has Clement Bailey which he will send in a few days." See also McAllister to Lossing, Apr. 2, 1864, Lossing Papers, HSP. For materials McAllister collected from the fairs, see box 1, folder 1, John A. McAllister Sanitary Fairs Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia.

Clarke notes that Revolutionary War objects and images were “massed” together at the fairs, not unlike the historical materials in museums at the time. Further, relics were displayed beside machinery that represented the state of the art of manufacturing.<sup>88</sup> One can interpret the positioning of the historic and the modern in close proximity in several ways. First, that looking backward and looking forward were not considered contradictory actions. Second, the massing of a wide range of historic material—from flags to documents to relics—suggests that fair organizers, like the antiquarians under discussion here, did not make the same distinctions or create the same hierarchies among historical objects of various mediums that are often made today.<sup>89</sup> More significantly, the collecting in the decades before the fairs—and, for that matter, the Centennial—suggests that antebellum antiquarians had a crucial role in shaping the Colonial Revival.

### *The Antiquarians' Legacy*

What happened to the materials that these men collected? Some ultimately went to historical organizations, others were sent to auction, and others stayed with family members. Following Watson's death, the *United States Journal* reported:

A number of manuscript works, pictures, and other relics relating to the revolutionary struggle, and to the early history of the city, have been placed in the Philadelphia Library, and Ferdinand L. Dreer, of this city, has recently purchased from Mr. Watson a large number of manuscripts relating to the same subject. The deceased was the father of the school of local historians who have done so much within the last half century to rescue from oblivion the early history of Philadelphia.<sup>90</sup>

Watson's daughter, Lavinia Whitman, helped perpetuate his legacy through the publication of his memoir. John A. McAllister Jr.'s daughter, likewise, recorded her father's memories as well as her recollections of him, albeit in private correspondence.<sup>91</sup> Mayer sold some of his material at

<sup>88</sup> Clarke, “Old-Fashioned Tea Parties,” 295, 300.

<sup>89</sup> One committee focused on “relics, curiosities, and autographs.” Franklin Peale to William Vaux, Mar. 9, 1864, box 1, folder 1, McAllister Sanitary Fairs Collection.

<sup>90</sup> Cited in Dorr, *Memoir of John Fanning Watson*, 85–86.

<sup>91</sup> Agnes Young McAllister, *Memoirs and correspondence of John A. McAllister Jr.*, 1874, box 8, folder 10, William Young Papers, 1765–1900, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. The tone of his daughter's notations suggests an oral history, with her occasional interpretations and additions.

auction, having noted in 1870, as he considered a more nomadic life with the Army,

After one has amused himself for many years making collections in any literary pursuits, it is a hard thing to contemplate their dispersal. But, possession without Enjoyment is a barren thing; and the mere ownership of books, pictures, engravings, Coins, and Autographs, packed in boxes and stored in warehouses or bank-vaults, is as little calculated to give pleasure to an intelligent person as any thing I know. On the Contrary—is it not best to realize the money value of what you cannot use or enjoy, and so, enjoy the income of what else is fruitful?<sup>92</sup>

His peripatetic career aside, Mayer's remarks suggest that he lost interest in the material. Much of Lossing's collection was sold by his family after his wife's death in 1911.<sup>93</sup> Lossing's descendants, like Mayer, were able to take advantage of the increased interest in historical materials, particularly manuscripts signed by important early figures, as these men's vocations and avocations had increased the historic and monetary value of their own materials. McAllister presented his trove, which included some of his father's and grandfather's materials, to the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1886. The materials that these men collected later became part of public collections. Mayer's and, particularly, Lossing's books were available to the public through libraries or booksellers.

Their legacy can also be found in the Centennial, held in Philadelphia in 1876, which can be viewed as a fulfillment and expansion of the antiquarians' work. The yearlong event celebrated the progress of the United States, highlighted the nation's historic past, and attempted to rebuild a nation torn by the Civil War. Although all states' roles in the nation's founding and development were celebrated, the event's location in Philadelphia meant that that city could be in the fore, as out of town visitors often spent several days at the fair and additional time in the city.<sup>94</sup> Annie Hobbs of Laconia, New Hampshire, spent the day,

<sup>92</sup> Mayer to McAllister, Apr. 30, 1870, box 22, folder 151, McAllister Papers.

<sup>93</sup> Lossing's family sold his rare books, autographs, book manuscripts, and drawings at Anderson Galleries in 1914 and 1917, as well as privately. Anderson Galleries, *Original Manuscripts and Drawings by the Late Benson Lossing: A Remarkable Collection of Great Historical Importance* (New York, 1917); *New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1914. Large portions of his material ultimately ended up in public collections.

<sup>94</sup> Lyman Stedman to Lucretia Sibley, Oct. 22, 1876, folder 12, Lucretia Sibley Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. Stedman wrote from Brown's Island, Hancock County, West Virginia. On the Centennial broadly, see Giberti, *Designing the Centennial*.

visiting first . . . Independence Hall, where can be seen much of historical interest . . . such as the Original Constitution of the U.S. . . . Portraits of the fathers of our country . . . the furniture used in their executive sessions . . . the old “Broken bell of Liberty” Clothing worn by Washington and other Statesmen. The Silver Inkstand and the Pen used in signing the Constitution of the U.S. and other relics important to us Americans. We also sat down in a pew formerly occupied by Wash, Franklin, Lafayette, and others at “Christ Church.” While viewing these interesting, time worn relics a feeling of awe and reverence came over us. . . . They seemed sacred in as much as they have been owned and handled by those great and good men. While their venerable forms have passed away and have mingled with the common dust their names are fresh in our memory. Peace to their sacred ashes!<sup>95</sup>

Centennial guidebooks emphasized many of these sites, such as Independence Hall and Christ Church.<sup>96</sup> Frank Etting opined in 1876, “The actuality . . . of our Founders is already losing itself in the mists of the past; so long, however, as we can preserve the material objects left to us which these great men saw, used, or even touched, the thrill of vitality may still be transmitted unbroken.” He added that the “Treaty Elm, the residence of Penn, the Home of Washington, the ‘strong box’ of Robert Morris, the walking stick of Franklin” were “talismans with which to conjure up forms and figures, and endow them with life,” that would, as Gary Nash has noted, “annihilate distance in time as in space.”<sup>97</sup>

The Centennial was also a watershed moment for women’s involvement in preservation. As in the case of the sanitary fairs, women’s contributions to the historical sections largely consisted of domestic-related displays and activities. Yet at the Centennial the scale of their involvement was different. Each state had a pavilion, and there was a Women’s Pavilion that included art, manufacturing, and myriad other accomplishments of

<sup>95</sup> Annie E. L. Hobbs Journal, Oct. 1876, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Hobbs appears to have resided in Laconia, New Hampshire. For another mention of Independence Hall, see Marion Boyd Allen Diary, 1875–76, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. Allen lived in the Boston area.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, William Mann, *Philadelphia and Its Places of Interest Published and Printed for Our Centennial Visitors* (Philadelphia, 1876); James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia, 1876).

<sup>97</sup> Frank M. Etting, *An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania Now Known as the Hall of Independence* (Boston, 1876), 1–2; Nash, *First City*, 279.

women.<sup>98</sup> In the years that followed, women undertook much of the work in preserving and interpreting the many historic houses that opened in the late nineteenth century, although they did not always constitute the leadership of the organizations that owned the properties. Writers such as Alice Morse Earle, who helped spread the Colonial Revival through books during this later period, also focused their information on domestic activities.<sup>99</sup>

The activities of the antiquarians discussed here helped place Philadelphia and specific sites in the city in a central role in the history of the nation's founding. In the decades before the Centennial, antiquarians followed city and private developers' destruction of Philadelphia's historic landscape; they communicated with the widows, sons, and daughters of colonial and early national figures; and they had a keen knowledge of the then-private collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In their own way, they also preserved a measure of what could not be saved intact. The photograph of a building that was about to be destroyed or the creation of a print from a portrait that was deemed the best likeness by someone who knew the sitter substituted for the real, but absent, thing. They preserved the original by duplicating it, whether for themselves, a narrow audience, or a broad public, through prints, photographic images, extra-illustrated books, or mass-market books, thereby ensuring that it would never be lost to fire or ignorance. At a moment of broadening literacy and increased access to print culture, the antiquarians promoted a particular view of the past through the historical, human, and capital features of Philadelphia. Using the nexus of photography, printing, and publishing resources available to them in Philadelphia and New York, Lossing, McAllister, and other antiquarians made public many of the fruits of their exchanges and, in turn, helped shape a shared understanding of what was historic in Philadelphia, how its citizens and others defined accuracy, and how later generations would perceive authenticity.

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<sup>98</sup> Mary Frances Cordato, "Toward a New Century: Women and the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 113–35; April F. Masten, *Art Work: Women Artists and Democracy in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 2008), 224–27. It should be noted that in the 1870s, Pennsylvania women constituted the Independence Hall board of managers; those from other states served as corresponding secretaries. Board of Managers of the National Museum, *National Museum, Independence Hall*.

<sup>99</sup> Marling, *George Washington Slept Here*, 31–52, 91–93; Williams, *Alice Morse Earle*, 43, 52, 57.