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COVER ILLUSTRATION: John Moran, Interior of Library of F. J. Dreer Esq., Philadelphia. Albumen print on stereographic mount, February 1861. John A. McAllister collection, P.8464.8, Library Company of Philadelphia. For a discussion of Dreer and his colleagues collecting practices in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, see Anne Verplanck's article, "Making History."

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THE
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Sharing Swedenborg's "Sweets in Secret": The United Free-Will Baptist Church, ca. 1810–23

ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 28, 1912, about thirty thousand spectators lined Orthodox Street and Frankford Avenue to watch an illuminated procession of trade vehicles and floats demonstrating modern machinery, evidence of Frankford's role in making Philadelphia "the workshop of the world." The celebration concluded a week later with a parade highlighting Frankford's history. Representatives of the neighborhood's civic organizations and churches, arranged by founding date, followed the historical tableaux. The New Jerusalem Church of Frankford (Swedenborgian), one of Frankford's oldest congregations, chose to walk last to signify its "new era" of community service. The church had recently spearheaded the creation of an ecumenical social service cooperative

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designed to promote understanding among diverse community groups and provide healthy, engaging activities for neighborhood youth. Members of the New Jerusalem Sunday School, carrying an azure silk banner emblazoned with the church name and founding date, were greeted with hearty applause along the parade route.¹

Frankford's New Jerusalem congregation had not always enjoyed community support. In the spring of 1817, Thomas Boyle, a young Philadelphia laborer and "Free-Will Baptist" preacher, gathered a small band of religious seekers in Frankford "to wage war with satan [*sic*]." In a memoir published three years later, Boyle would describe how many who heard his emotional preaching "had a weeping time . . . sinners crying for mercy on every hand"; however, he would also document a hostile reaction among others: "the devil began to raise persecution on every hand—hell with its auxiliary engaged against us: even many who professed religion, poured out their wrath upon us in torrents."²

Boyle's account of his experiences in Frankford between 1817 and 1819 provides key insight into a virtually invisible, short-lived religious organization called the United Free-Will Baptist Church.³ The group ultimately embraced Swedenborgian theology, incorporating it within their own doctrinal framework without acknowledging its origins, illustrating a

¹"Floats Epitomize Frankford History," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 2, 1912, 6; Guernsey A. Hallowell, "History of Frankford," in *Frankford: A Souvenir Booklet in Connection with the Historical and Industrial Celebration* (Philadelphia, 1912), 67, 70; "Saving Frankford's Young: Knowledge Extension Society Formed by Minister Grows Rapidly," *Philadelphia Record*, Sept. 29, 1912; "Frankford, Philadelphia," *New-Church Messenger*, Feb. 5, 1913, 92; "Frankford Society," *New-Church Messenger*, June 9, 1915, 469; "Frankford Opens Industrial Fete," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 29, 1912, 3.

²Thomas Boyle, *Some Account of the Rise and Progress of the Free Will Baptist Church in the Borough of Frankford and Its Vicinity* (Philadelphia, 1820), 81, 78, 82 (quotes). This publication is listed in Richard H. Shoemaker, comp., *A Checklist of American Imprints for 1820* (New York, 1964), 42; however, no copy of the original has been identified to date. The only known copy of this work is a transcript (typewritten) made by New Jerusalem Church of Frankford member Guernsey A. Hallowell in 1930, from the original owned by Edna Randolph Worrell, great-granddaughter of a church founder and early minister, Isaac C. Worrell. It is held by the Swedenborg Library, Bryn Athyn College, Bryn Athyn, PA. In his preface, Hallowell indicates that his transcript, which includes his own footnotes, "is pagged as the original book." Citations to this transcript use the page numbers identified by Hallowell. Boyle's account of the church's "Rise and Progress" encompasses pages 69–88. Hallowell transcribed the entire volume, which also included Boyle's introductory remarks and church "Doctrine" and "Discipline," which will be discussed later.

³The name of Boyle's religious connection is spelled in various ways, including with a hyphen. To distinguish this independent sect from New England "Freewill Baptists" and Southern "Free Will Baptists," the spelling "Free-Will Baptists" is used, unless directly citing alternate spellings in titles or quotations. See William F. Davidson, "The National Association of Free Will Baptists," *The Baptist River: Essays on Many Tributaries of a Diverse Tradition*, ed. W. Glenn Jonas Jr. (Macon, GA, 2008), 129.

time when the New Jerusalem Church in America was “but a weakly plant, emitting its sweets in secret, unnoticed or despised.” The New Jerusalem Church of Frankford, direct descendant of the Free-Will Baptists, preserved Boyle’s account, saving the obscure sect that he helped found during the Second Great Awakening from the “spiritual abyss” and illuminating an evangelical side of Swedenborgianism that has generally been ignored.⁴

Scholars within and outside the New Church have studied Swedenborg’s influence on the elite, eccentric, and esoteric, but few have included Swedenborgians among those who contributed to the revivalism of the Second Great Awakening.⁵ New Church theologian Robert Kirven has argued that Swedenborg was influential in the late eighteenth-century “Revolt against Deism,” yet historian Eric Schlereth does not include Swedenborgians among the Protestant denominations that influenced American religious thought amid the growing deism of the early republic. Marion Bell acknowledges that “Philadelphia has been curiously neglected by historians” but does not begin her review of nineteenth-century revivalism in Philadelphia until the arrival of Charles Finney in the mid-1820s. She asserts that the city contained “a broad spectrum of religious life,” but her 1819 city map does not identify the New Jerusalem Temple at Twelfth and George (now Sansom) Streets that opened for worship in 1817. Richard Carwardine also focuses primarily on Methodist revivalism and Charles Finney’s “New Measures.” He notes “revival movements” in

⁴ John Butler describes the similarly hidden history of Keithian Quakers in “Into Pennsylvania’s Spiritual Abyss: The Rise and Fall of the Later Keithians, 1693–1703,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 151–70.

⁵ Sydney E. Ahlstrom cites Swedenborg’s influence “in Transcendentalism and at Brook Farm, in spiritualism and the free love movement, in the craze for communitarian experiments, in faith healing, mesmerism, and a half-dozen medical cults; among great intellectuals, crude charlatans, and innumerable frontier quacks,” in *A Religious History of the American People*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT, 2004), 483. Marguerite Block, in *The New Church in the New World: A Study of Swedenborgianism in America*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1984), provides a general overview, but does not include the church’s relationship to other denominations. Richard Silver, in “The Spiritual Kingdom in America: The Influence of Emanuel Swedenborg on American Society and Culture, 1815–1860 (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1983), emphasizes a common view that Swedenborg’s “odd philosophy” was “too complicated” and “hopelessly mystical,” resulting in “an upper middle class, elite movement,” a description that does not accurately represent the Frankford church (86–87, 301). Scott Trego Swank, in “The Unfettered Conscience: A Study of Sectarianism, Spiritualism, and Social Reform in the New Jerusalem Church, 1840–1870 (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970), synthesizes Swedenborg’s early reception in Europe and America, but focuses on the Lancaster (PA) society, founded in 1836 by “an elite group of self-assured men” (39), and its role in the *Kramph Will Case* that led to a schism in the New Church in the late nineteenth century.

Philadelphia between 1815 and 1818, but provides no details on these. Terry Bilhartz, in his study of Baltimore churches during the period, does acknowledge the city's New Jerusalem church. However, while affirming that most of its members "were low-propertied artisans," he only briefly discusses church leaders, concluding that Swedenborgians were unable to forge consensus with "mainline" Christian denominations, who "denounced" them "with one voice."⁶

Members of the New Jerusalem Church of Frankford were genealogical and theological descendants of those who took less traveled religious paths, those "on the margins of official Christendom" who exemplified the "alchemy of religious ideas" created when families of diverse cultures and faiths interacted within Penn's experiment of religious toleration.⁷ Long before Charles Finney coined the phrase, the sparsely populated and geographically fluid rural regions surrounding the city experienced an extended religious "burning over," allowing the continual regeneration of spiritual lives while keeping family and community roots intact. By the time Swedenborg was born in 1688, his Lutheran countrymen had been in the region fifty years, and the "cauldron of religious doctrines, rites, and practices" was bubbling in the Delaware Valley.⁸ In the year of his birth, the Germantown Friends' protest against slavery was presented at a meeting held in the home of English Quaker Richard Worrell in Oxford or "Tacony" Township, and the first permanent Baptist church

⁶ Robert H. Kirven, "Emanuel Swedenborg and the Revolt against Deism" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1965); Eric R. Schlereth, *An Age of Infidels: The Politics of Religious Controversy in the Early United States* (Philadelphia, 2013); Marion L. Bell, *Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Lewisburg, PA, 1977), 34–48, 15 (quote) (The temple is identified on Robert Desilver's 1819 *Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Environs . . . Inscribed to William Sansom . . .* [Philadelphia, 1819]); Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures,'" *Journal of American History* 59 (1972): 328, 340; Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford, NJ, 1986), 24, 133.

⁷ John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York, 1998), 11; Janet Moore Lindman, *Bodies of Belief: Baptist Community in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2008), 13; J. William Frost, "Pennsylvania Institutes Religious Liberty, 1682–1860," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112 (1988): 323–47. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania holds most of the extant records of the New Jerusalem Church of Frankford, which begin in 1824. No church registers exist for the Free-Will Baptists. Names identified in this study include only those noted in Boyle's memoir or other Free-Will Baptist publications and signatories of the 1819 incorporation.

⁸ Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware*, trans. William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia, 1874), x–xiii; quote, Lindman, *Bodies of Belief*, 11.

in Pennsylvania was founded on nearby Pennepek Creek.⁹ Within the next few years, the antislavery stance of many Quakers and their German Mennonite neighbors was fueled by the controversial George Keith, whose arguments against contemporary Quaker beliefs and practices forced many dissenting Friends, generally "poor and modest" artisans and farmers, into Anglican, Baptist, or "Christian Quaker" congregations.¹⁰ The Oxford Township meetinghouse that served all of these groups in the late seventeenth century became Trinity Episcopal Church in 1713.¹¹ Within the next decade, the German Baptist Brethren, or "Dunkers," joined fellow Crefelders in Germantown and Frankford, celebrating the first of their unique baptisms in the Wissahickon Creek on Christmas Day 1723.¹² By the 1770s, the doctrine of universal restoration, "the belief that an all-good and all-powerful God saves all souls," and a central tenet of the German Pietists, was gaining ground in Philadelphia. Jacob Duché, assistant rector

⁹The area in which Frankford is situated has been known by several names. The original Lenape name was interpreted by the Swedes as "Tacony," but the township was later called "Oxford" or "Dublin." Arthur H. Jenkins and Ann R. Jenkins, in "A Short History of Abington Meeting: With an Account of the Building of the Abington Meeting House," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association* 22 (1933): 116–17, note that early meetings for Friends "in the Tacony and Poquessing valleys" were "in the sections which we now call Frankford and Byberry"; Oxford Monthly Meeting was later called Abington, but was also referred to as Dublin. In early 1687, the Dublin Monthly Meeting decided to hold meetings "at the house of Richard Worrell, Jr., in Lower Dublin"; "The German Friends," *Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal* 17 (1844): 125–26, 265–67. The slavery protest was delivered to "the monthly meeting held at Richard Worrell's"; Kenneth Morgan, ed., *Slavery in America: A Reader and Guide* (Athens, GA, 2005), 370. Lindman, *Bodies of Belief*, 11–13; Eve B. Weeks, Morgan Edwards, and Mary B. Warren, eds., *Materials towards a History of the Baptists* (Danielsville, GA, 1984), 1:5–7; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America . . .* (Boston, 1813), 1:580–81; Horatio Gates Jones, *Historical Sketch of the Lower Dublin (or Pennepek) Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa. . . .* (Morrisania, NY, 1869). Pennepek's short-lived predecessor at Cold Spring will be noted later.

¹⁰ Butler, "Rise and Fall of the Later Keithians," 155. For an overview of the conflict, see J. William Frost, comp., *The Keithian Conflict in Early Pennsylvania* (Norwood, PA, 1980); Jon Butler, "Gospel Order Improved: The Keithian Schism and the Exercise of Quaker Ministerial Authority in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31 (1974): 431–52, esp. 448, for reference to Keithians in Frankford; and Weeks, Edwards, and Warren, *Materials towards a History of the Baptists*, 27–31. John W. Jordan, ed., *Colonial Families of Philadelphia* (New York, 1911), 2:1093, notes that "most" of the members of Oxford Friends' Meeting became adherents of "George Keith in his schism of 1702."

¹¹In addition to sources cited above, see Edward Y. Buchanan, *Historical Sketch of the Parish of Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1857); and George Harrison Fisher, "Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 27 (1903): 279–95.

¹²John Lewis Gillin, *The Dunkers: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York, 1906); Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park, PA, 2003). Richard E. Wentz, in "The American Character and the American Revolution: A Pennsylvania German Sampler," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44 (1976): 115–31, provides an overview of the importance of the Pietist tradition and religious folkways among Pennsylvania Germans of all sects.

of Christ Church and later a Swedenborg receiver, was strongly influenced by the Dunkers, as was Elhanan Winchester, whose sermons on universalism while pastor of First Baptist Church in Philadelphia resulted in a formal schism of the “Universal Baptists” from the traditionally Calvinist Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1786.¹³ In 1792, Ralph Mather, a Swedenborgian minister from Liverpool, settled in Germantown and established the first regular meetings for New Jerusalem church worship in Philadelphia. Like many of the Lancashire artisans who were drawn to the works of Swedenborg, Mather was a reader of the mystical writer Jacob Boehme, a fact that may have influenced his decision to live among German Pietists in America.¹⁴

Thomas Boyle was born in the midst of this cacophony of religious messages in the last decades of the eighteenth century, but few clues exist to illuminate his early spiritual journey. References to him in New Jerusalem publications illustrate his character but provide little biographical information. The tone of his narrative, as well as references in the census and city directories, suggest he was a “mechanick preacher,” raised in the city of Philadelphia and likely trained as a wheelwright. He and his family appear to have lived in racially mixed, working-class neighborhoods in the North and South Mulberry Wards or in Southwark.¹⁵ Linking him to a “Free-Will Baptist” community is more problematic. By the

¹³ Ann Lee Bressler, *The Universalist Movement in America, 1770–1880* (New York, 2001), 6; Clarke Garrett, “The Spiritual Odyssey of Jacob Duché,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119 (1975): 143–55; David Spencer, *Early Baptists of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1877), 29, 130–33; Richard Eddy, *Universalism in America: A History* (Boston, 1884), 1:28, 213–57, 400. Edwin Stone, in *Biography of Rev. Elhanan Winchester* (Boston, 1836), 29–34, notes the influence of Pietist Georg Paul Siegvolk’s *The Everlasting Gospel*, published in English in Germantown in 1753. Essays by Duché and Winchester illustrate the tension between religious freedom and religious toleration. Duché describes Philadelphia as a “happy asylum” for “[a]lmost every sect in Christendom,” but Winchester laments that the city has made his congregation “Outcasts” because of their non-traditional beliefs; [Jacob Duché], *Observations on a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious . . .* (Philadelphia, 1774), 9; Elhanan Winchester, *The Outcasts Comforted: A Sermon Delivered at the University of Philadelphia, January 4, 1782, to the Members of the Baptist Church, Who Have Been Rejected by Their Brethren, for Holding the Doctrine of the Final Restoration of All Things* (Philadelphia, 1782).

¹⁴ Carl Theophilus Odhner, *Annals of the New Church* (Philadelphia, 1898), 131. Mather brought Swedenborg to Liverpool audiences through open-air preaching in 1786, founding the first New Church there in 1791. When his Germantown congregation dissolved about 1798, he started one in Baltimore, where the German Dunkers permitted the use of their hall. See Clarke Garrett, “Swedenborg and the Mystical Enlightenment in Late Eighteenth-Century England,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45 (1984): 77–81; and Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 60, 198.

¹⁵ Boyle, *Some Account*, 80. In 1820, Thomas Boyle (aged twenty-six to forty-four) and family were in Frankford; another Thomas Boyle (over forty-five) and family were in South Mulberry Ward. A

mid-eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Baptist Association's "strongly Calvinistic Confession" dominated the theology of Baptist churches in the Delaware Valley and beyond, despite the early influence of English General Baptists or "Free-Willers."¹⁶ Scholars of the Free Will Baptist denomination in America differ over the historical primacy of Benjamin Randall and the New England Freewill Baptists versus Paul Palmer and the early General Baptists of North Carolina. However, Randall's Freewill Baptists had no churches south of New England before 1810. Missionary John Colby came to Pennsylvania that year, but only to the far northeast and west. General Baptist Paul Palmer may have preached in New Jersey in the eighteenth century, but no specific congregation planted by him has been identified in the mid-Atlantic. Whether Boyle's congregation was aware of these groups is unknown, but no evidence of their connection has been discovered and no congregation of "Free Will" or "Freewill" Baptists has been identified in the Delaware Valley prior to the establishment of a congregation by the "United Free-Will Baptists" in Philadelphia in 1814.¹⁷

Thomas Boyle described himself as a Baptist when he arrived in Frankford in 1817, but the content and style of his memoir suggest that he

Thomas Boyle, laborer, is listed in city directories, 1810–20, on Juniper Street near Mulberry (Arch) Street. In 1813, Thomas Boyle, "jun," wheelwright, was either the younger Thomas or a third generation. Three Thomas Boyles are in the 1811 directory and the 1810 census: laborer Thomas Boyle (over forty-five) and family on the alley behind Juniper Street, South Mulberry Ward; wheelwright Thomas Boyle and a woman, both about twenty-five, Pennington Alley, North Mulberry Ward; and an older Thomas Boyle and a woman in West Southwark. Gary B. Nash describes several free black families living in the Mulberry wards in 1810, including on Pennington Alley, in *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 163. Bruce Laurie notes that early nineteenth-century industrialization "pushed working people and the poor into cheaper housing in the newly emerging suburban districts," in *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia, 1980), 9.

¹⁶Prior to the association's "Calvinistic Confession . . . the Arminian Baptists had been the stronger in New England, and the colonies of New York and New Jersey" (Henry C. Vedder, *A Short History of the Baptists*, new and illus. ed. [Philadelphia, 1907], 306). The "Rhode Island Yearly Meeting of General Baptists" was organized in 1670; see John Sparks, *The Roots of Appalachian Christianity: The Life and Legacy of Elder Shubal Stearns* (Lexington, KY, 2001), 6. Emissaries of the Philadelphia Baptist Association converted General Baptists in North Carolina; see Davidson, "National Association of Free Will Baptists," 131–35. "Free-Willers" was an early English term for non-Calvinists; see I. D. Stewart, *The History of the Freewill Baptists for Half a Century* (Dover, NH, 1862), 31.

¹⁷Davidson, "National Association of Free Will Baptists," 129–39, gives an overview of the history of both groups. See also Ruth B. Bordin, "The Sect to Denomination Process in America: The Freewill Baptist Experience," *Church History* 34 (1965): 79–80; Sparks, *Roots of Appalachian Christianity*, 19–20; and Stewart, *History of the Freewill Baptists*, 326–28. Stewart states, "The early history of the Freewill Baptists in Pennsylvania is more deficient than that of any other State" (328). Colby first refers to visiting the Delaware Valley area in late 1817; see *The Life, Experience, and Travels of John Colby, Preacher of the Gospel* (Lowell, MA, 1838), 46.

likely had experienced Methodist revivalism. He permeates his narrative with evangelical language, a seamless blend of biblical quotes and missionary message. Many in his congregation experienced “the love of God shed abroad in their hearts,” shunned the “beggarly elements of the world,” and were “awakened to a sense of their lost estate.” He may allude to his own spiritual conversion in the introductory remarks to his account, when he lauds the “venerable [Francis] Asbury, [who], in conjunction with hundreds of his brethern [*sic*] and spiritual children, have gone forth as flaming heralds, and God by them has wrought a happy change in tens of thousands.” Boyle also implemented the Methodist form of evangelical structure. In addition to public preaching, he established “prayer band” meetings, a system John Wesley had adapted from the Moravians. Influenced by evangelical camp meetings, Methodist prayer meetings, even in urban areas, were becoming more revivalistic and emotional, focusing on “instantaneous conversion,” rather than the sustained commitment engendered by traditional class meetings.¹⁸

Boyle may have been affiliated formally with a Methodist church in Philadelphia prior to 1817. On October 25, 1806, a Thomas Boyle was admitted as a member of Union Methodist Church, after the customary six-month probation period. On the surface, Union seems an unlikely fit. A governance controversy at St. George’s Methodist Episcopal Church in 1801 resulted in the creation of the independent Union Methodist Society. Union’s primarily middle-class membership was “more exclusive” and less prone to emotional revivalism than St. George’s, whose own discriminatory practices led to the secession of African American members to form Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church in 1794. This Thomas may have joined Union because of his friendship with Ann Yarnall, a member of a class led by Union founders Lambert Wilmer and John Hood. On November 23, 1809, Thomas Boyle and Ann Yarnall were married at Union by Rev. Lemuel Green.¹⁹ Green also served Ebenezer Methodist Church in Southwark, which, like Mother Bethel, offered more enthusiastic, lay-

¹⁸ Dee Andrews, *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), 20–26; Boyle, *Some Account*, 71, 79–83; Jonathan C. David, ed., *Together Let Us Sweetly Live: The Singing and Praying Bands* (Urbana, IL, 2007), 6; Philip F. Hardt, “The Evangelistic and Catechetical Role of the Class Meeting in Early New York City Methodism,” *Methodist History* 38 (1999): 23–25. Also, Boyle’s New York colleagues in the connection were originally Methodists, as will be discussed later.

¹⁹ “Union Methodist Episcopal Church Records,” *Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Church and Town Records, 1708–1985* (from HSP microfilm), www.Ancestry.com. Dee Andrews, “The People and the

driven worship than St. George's or Union, with "fervid" preaching, "warm zeal," and singing with "quickness and animation." Like Mother Bethel, Ebenezer welcomed "wild and successful" Lorenzo Dow to preach.²⁰

Thomas Boyle is virtually invisible during the war years, 1812–14, but, like other Philadelphians, his trade was surely affected by the war-time embargo, the naval blockade of the Delaware, and the panic of 1814. He apparently did not serve in a Philadelphia militia unit.²¹ The spiritual journey that ultimately led to his conviction of believers' baptism, as well as Swedenborgian views of the Trinity and atonement, likely began during these years. He may have been drawn to the Lombard Street church of the Universalist Baptists, whose profession of belief in one God held a unique "Trinitarian plank" reflecting the doctrine of John Murray, "the father of Universalism." According to an early historian of the Universalist movement, "Murray's idea of the supreme deity of Christ alone, who is Father, Word, or Holy Ghost, according to manifestation, . . . was identical with the views of Swedenborg on this subject." However, controversy at the church during the War of 1812 and the suicide of their minister in 1814 led to the closure of the Lombard Street church in 1814 for two years. With the arrival of Abner Kneeland as pastor in 1818, "the Trinitarian theory was superseded by the Unitarian."²²

Boyle's spiritual questioning may have been fueled by the sermons and publications of radical religious and political reformer Elias Smith, whose *Herald of Gospel Liberty* was published in Philadelphia from 1811 to 1814.

Preachers of St. George's: An Anatomy of a Methodist Schism," in *Rethinking Methodist History: A Bicentennial Historical Consultation*, ed. Russell E. Richey and Kenneth E. Rowe (Nashville, TN, 1985), 125–33; Andrews notes, "A probationer could be admitted on trial at [Union] only if recommended by the leader of the class to which the person wished to belong" (128). Boyle has not been identified on a Union class list, but he previously may have been a member at St. George's. A Thomas Boyle was crossed off the membership list at St. George's exactly a year later than the one above joined Union; "Old St. George's Methodist Episcopal Records," *Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Church and Town Records*. Thomas Boyle clearly came to Frankford with a family, but the name of his wife or descendants have not been identified.

²⁰ *History of Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church of Southwark, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1890), 40, 48; Peggy Dow, *Vicissitudes Exemplified; Or, The Journey of Life* (New York, 1814), 102; Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 45.

²¹ Russell F. Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, and Edwin Wolf, eds., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York, 1982), 255. Boyle is not listed in *Muster Rolls of the Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War of 1812–1814*, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, ed. Samuel Hazard et al. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, PA, 1852–1949), 2nd ser., vol. 12.

²² J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1883* (Philadelphia, 1884), 1446; Eddy, *Universalism in America*, 1:13, 308; Abel C. Thomas, *A Century of Universalism in Philadelphia and New York . . .* (Philadelphia, 1872), 56 (quote), 68–75.

In early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, the closest thing to a “Free-Will Baptist” church was likely Mount Zion Christian. Founded in 1807 on Smith’s unique brand of political theology, the congregation built its first meetinghouse on the southeast corner of Sixth and Christian Streets in the rough outskirts of Southwark.²³ Historically the residence of those employed in shipping and trade, Southwark’s role was solidified with the creation of the federal Navy Yard in 1801. Baptisms were often performed in the Delaware River at the Navy Yard to accommodate the neighborhood’s rising population. The popular William Staughton of First Baptist Church held open-air services “under the venerable willows” there from 1805 to 1811, and Frederick Plummer of Mount Zion Christian reported preaching to possibly “ten thousand souls” at the Navy Yard in 1811. One participant remarked, “[I]f the true God was ever worshipped in spirit anywhere in Philadelphia,” the Navy Yard was that place.²⁴

A severe critic of Methodist hierarchy, Elias Smith often reported on the attraction of his “Christian” theology to Philadelphia Methodists. Thomas Boyle may have been aware of an incident between Methodist minister Richard Sneath and “Christian” minister Frederick Plummer in April 1810. According to Smith, since the Christian Church’s arrival in Southwark, Sneath had “thundered out his slander against that small body, from the pulpit of Ebenezer [Methodist]; warning the inhabitants of Southwark, not to give anything to them, nor even hear them, as they were *Excommunicated Methodists* and *Backsliders*.” Despite Sneath’s warning, some Methodists took Plummer’s advice to “read the Scriptures of truth instead of their Discipline” and were convinced of the need to be “Buried in Baptism.” When Methodist minister Thomas Sargent refused to baptize them, as they already “had been sprinkled,” Plummer complied with their request. The Methodist leadership tried, and ultimately con-

²³“Christians” and Freewill Baptists were “kindred sects” (Michael G. Kenny, *The Perfect Law of Liberty: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America* [Washington, DC, 1994], esp. 46, 92, 232); Nathan O. Hatch, “The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People,” *Journal of American History* 67 (1980): 545–67; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1402–3; “Publish, and Conceal Not,” *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Aug. 30, 1811, 315. “[N]o street below South Street was laid out beyond Fifth Street until after 1807. West of this, Southwark was but sparsely settled and the vicinity was infested by gangs of footpads and ruffians” (M. Antonia Lynch, “The Old District of Southwark in the County of Philadelphia,” *Philadelphia History: Consisting of Papers Read before the City History Society of Philadelphia* [Philadelphia, 1917], 89).

²⁴Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1309; “Letter from Elder F. Plummer,” *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, May 25, 1810, 182; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. 6, *Baptist* (New York, 1860), 343–44.

victed, the renegades of "Breach of Discipline," or, in Smith's words, "for obeying the word of God."²⁵

A contentious schism within Mount Zion Christian over the biblical authority for legal incorporation, as well as personal tragedy, compelled Elias Smith to cease publication of *Herald of Gospel Liberty* in February 1814 and return to New England, concluding his "disastrous experience in Philadelphia."²⁶ Had he remained, the *Herald* certainly would have reported on an obscure sect, whose "Elders and Preachers," John Elliott and Samuel Stevens, "of the Free-Will Baptist Society in the city of New York," arrived in Philadelphia in November 1814.²⁷ Their reasons for leaving the Methodists were based on experiences similar to the controversy between Sneath and Plummer, illustrating that, despite the popularity of Methodist Arminianism, other issues of doctrine—such as mode of baptism, the nature of the Trinity, and the means and extent of religious "salvation"—were significant to those who were free to search scripture for themselves.²⁸

In 1809, Elliott, Stevens, and "a number of young men belonging to the [Methodist] society in New York" formed a series of prayer meetings "for the purpose of doing good." Revivalistic in tone, with spiritual songs and fervid prayers, the meetings were successful—"a number of souls were converted to God and changed from the error of their way," they reported. New York's Methodist leadership, which, according to theologian Philip Hardt, "set high standards for its probationary members" and "stressed gradual conversion" through formal class meetings, would have watched these sessions carefully. The young men soon discovered "truths" beyond those that prompted their conversion to Methodism. Stevens, describing the group's epiphany regarding baptism, explained: "It then appeared plain

²⁵ *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Aug. 30, 1811, 315. As noted later, Boyle's colleagues in New York were accused of being "Christians" by those who heard their preaching.

²⁶ Kenny, *Perfect Law of Liberty*, 189–95. In *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Feb. 25, 1813, 461, Smith describes the schism, noting "those who first called themselves the *Christian church* had been Methodists."

²⁷ John Elliott and Samuel Stevens, *The Latest Collection of Original and Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (New York, 1813), title page. John Elliott and Samuel Stevens, *The Discipline of the United Freewill Baptist Church, Together with Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Use of Its Members* (Philadelphia, 1819), 3, 11.

²⁸ Scholars of Methodist reform have attributed conflict within the church primarily to issues of church government. See Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (1957; repr. New York, 1965), 25; John Paris, *History of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Baltimore, 1849), 18; Sarah Brooks Blair, "Reforming Methodism: 1800–1820" (PhD diss., Drew University, 2008), 184; and Andrews, "People and the Preachers of St. George's," 131.

to us, from many passages of scripture, that immersion was the only way to follow our Lord to Jordan, and in the liquid grave to be buried with our Lord and Master.” Although Elliott and Stevens later asserted “boldly” that they never were “in connexion with the christian society,” they may have been influenced by “ever-proselytizing immersionists” such as Frederick Plummer, who reported baptizing in the North [Hudson] River in May 1810.²⁹

John Elliott, reputedly a Methodist lay preacher in England prior to his emigration, was in his mid-twenties with the nearly stereotypical physical features of a wild evangelist: “dark complex[ion], dark hair,” and “black eyes.”³⁰ According to Stevens’s account, Elliott took his request for immersion baptism to a Methodist elder, who refused to baptize anyone who had been christened as a child. The elder “gave him a book” to “satisfy him” and then began preaching sermons “pointed against baptism by immersion.” But the young men were adamant, and the New York Methodist preachers, in Stevens’s words, “finally had to perform a solemn ordinance they did not believe in.” They held baptisms at the waterside, but offered only pouring or sprinkling to demonstrate their “disapprobation” of immersion.³¹ The Methodists, viewing baptism as a “theological abstraction,” may have believed that offering the rite “in any way the candidate preferred” was an example of religious liberality, but for those convinced of immersion as a means to salvation, a way of controlling “their own spiritual destiny,” it was unacceptable.³² Rev. William White, pastor of Philadelphia’s Second Baptist Church, wrote of his displeasure at a similar Methodist baptism at the Delaware River in 1808. White accused Methodist minister Joseph Totten of using the event to preach that the two scriptural modes of bap-

²⁹ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 3, 10; Hardt, “Evangelistic and Catechetical Role of the Class Meeting,” 17; Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 201–2; “Religious Intelligence,” *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, June 22, 1810, 192. Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, in *American Methodist Worship* (New York, 2001), discusses the history and traditions surrounding baptism in the American Methodist church in chapter 4, “The Rites of Christian Initiation,” 82–117. On pages 98–99, she notes the increasing antagonism of Methodists toward the practice of immersion, indicating that Methodist preachers hoped to “debunk the ever-proselytizing immersionists” (98).

³⁰ Elliott is believed to be Rev. John Elliott who became involved with the Churches of God in Lancaster and then Reformed Methodism. C. H. Forney, in *History of the Churches of God in the United States of North America* (Harrisburg, PA, 1914), 315, says, “John Elliott was an Englishman, eminent as a preacher and theologian. Where and when he entered the ministry the records do not reveal.” Elliott’s description is cited in Kenneth Scott, comp., *British Aliens in the United States during the War of 1812* (Baltimore, 1979), 107.

³¹ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 4.

³² Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 17.

tism were "sprinkling and pouring," rather than accommodating the participants' "liberty of conscience."³³

By 1810, John Elliott had left the New York Methodist society over the baptism controversy and rented a house to hold meetings. Stevens, only nineteen and by his own admission "a methodist of the strictest sort," briefly remained one of Elliott's "greatest foes," believing "if we could knock him down, we, as methodists, should carry our point." Eager to save his friend and defend "the name of a methodist in the field of battle," Stevens and other "brethren [went] to pull down the house he had taken to worship God in." Despite this assault, Stevens and Elliott renewed their friendship and participated in one another's meetings. According to Stevens, the Methodist leadership then warned their members "that if any of them should be caught going to Elliott and Stevens's meetings, they should be turned out of their society." By 1811, Stevens and others "who thought it no crime to go where they found the Lord" left the Methodists. Using the language of liberty common to religious dissent of the time, they "were possessed of too much of the republican spirit to be thus tyrannized over by their bigoted leaders."³⁴ Unable to join a New York City Baptist congregation because of the "doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation," they formed the "United Freewill Baptist Church" in June 1811. Elliott and Stevens became elders and preachers and named three deacons and four trustees.³⁵

³³ William White, *Christian Baptism: Exhibiting Various Proofs That the Immersion of Believers in Water Is the Only Baptism . . .* (Burlington, NJ, 1808), 7. White decries the "utmost enthusiasm" (iii) with which "pedobaptists" had embraced former Baptist Peter Edwards's *Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Antipedobaptism: . . . Containing a Short Method with the Baptists* (London, 1795), which was likely the book given to Elliott. The "Short Method" was later included in an 1814 Methodist publication giving a "fuller authoritative statement on baptism" (Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 98).

³⁴ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 6–8. The location of the house where Elliott was preaching is unknown, but it was likely in the working-class neighborhood near Duane Street Methodist Church. See Paul Gilje, *Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987), 208–10, for a description of a similar incident in the neighborhood in 1810. Hatch, in *Democratization of American Christianity*, 35, notes the "primacy of the individual conscience" in the message of nineteenth-century "populist preachers."

³⁵ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 7–9, 14. The deacons were sailmaker Ebenezer Whiting, teacher Stukeley Hymes, and Rulef Duryea, likely of the Reformed Dutch Church of Oyster Bay, Long Island. New York City directories, real estate valuations, 1819 jury census, and newspapers confirm that Elliott held property on Duane Street, between Augustus and Cross, in the area soon called Five Points, "the most infamous section of the city"; Gilje, *Road to Mobocracy*, 240. Usually identified as a "grocer," Elliott may have used the property as a storefront church.

The Free-Will Baptists also questioned the traditional view of the Trinity, “the doctrine of three persons in one God, and one God in three persons,” which they considered “impossible . . . to prove from the scriptures.” It is unclear when their views began to take on a Swedenborgian tone. Elliott may have met the founders of New York City’s New Jerusalem society, which rented a meetinghouse on nearby James Street. In early 1812, society members Edward Riley, an English musician and printer, and Samuel Woodworth, an American printer, began publishing the *Halcyon Luminary and Theological Repository*, “the first American New Church monthly magazine.” Members of the Free-Will Baptist church likely would have been attracted to Woodworth’s explanation of Swedenborg’s perspective on the Trinity: “There is one true God [who] is the Lord Jesus Christ, at once Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”³⁶

In late 1812, Elliott and Stevens traveled to North Providence, Rhode Island, where they spent eighteen months preaching and baptizing. Missionary John Colby was evangelizing for Randall’s “Freewill Baptists” in the northwestern part of the state at the same time, but there is no evidence of the two groups having any connection with one another.³⁷ According to Elliott and Stevens, they baptized “a great number” and “ordained three preachers.”³⁸ They also likely completed *The Latest Collection of Original and Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, published in New York in 1813, a contribution to the “hymnodic revolution” sweeping America in the early republic. Their choices provide a glimpse of the energetic, revivalistic worship that they surely favored. Casting a wide net, they included traditional hymns by Charles Wesley and Isaac Watts; North American revival hymns by Mohegan Presbyterian Samson Occom and Nova Scotia “New Light” Henry Alline; works by English evangelists,

³⁶ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 5. “History of the New York Society of the New Church,” 1, [n.d.], transcript of J. P. Stuart’s Scrapbook, General Convention Records, Academy of the New Church Archives (Bryn Athyn, PA), notes an unnamed Methodist minister who officiated briefly. Swedenborg’s view of the Trinity is expressed in “Doctrines of the New Jerusalem,” *Halcyon Luminary* 1 (1812): 54.

³⁷ In June 1814, the “United Freewill Baptists” in North Providence stated that Elliott had preached there “about eighteen months” (Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 14). Colby stopped briefly in Providence in September 1812 and then traveled to Burrillville, where in December 1814 he formed the first “Freewill Baptist church” in the state (A. D. Williams, *The Rhode Island Freewill Baptist Pulpit* [Boston, 1852], 13–14).

³⁸ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 11. Deacons Goliah Williams and Joseph Angell and Elder James W. Angell likely are descendants of Roger Williams and Thomas Angell. James’s children may be architect Truman Angell and Mary A. Angell, Brigham Young’s wife (Orson Whitney, *History of Utah* [Salt Lake City, 1892–1904], 4:60–61).

such as Baptist Samuel Medley and Anglican John Newton; and contemporary camp meeting songs by Methodists Caleb Jarvis Taylor and John Adam Granade, Baptist John Leland, and Mother Bethel A.M.E. founder Richard Allen.³⁹

Elliott and Stevens left for Philadelphia in November 1814, establishing a Free-Will Baptist society there on December 31, 1814. Despite some local opposition, the society grew steadily, perhaps experiencing the "very animating revival" sweeping Philadelphia at the time. Coinciding with America's victory at the Battle of New Orleans and the national day of prayer and thanksgiving in January 1815, the revival began as a nonsectarian movement at Princeton College. In February 1816, James Patterson, an energetic young Presbyterian minister in the Northern Liberties, described a "novel" revival scene for his denomination: "The whole congregation was bathed in tears, and the house seemed to be filled as with a rushing mighty wind." Seeing that "the state of the public mind was highly favourable to religious investigation," the New Jerusalem Church in Philadelphia expanded its evangelism in 1816, creating the American Society for Disseminating the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church and laying the cornerstone for its temple. The temple's consecration in January 1817 coincided with the debut of a quarterly publication, the *New Jerusalem Church Repository*.⁴⁰

By April 1817, even the fledgling Free-Will Baptists were able to construct a modest frame meetinghouse on Queen Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, in Southwark, "through the blessing of God and the kind aid of the citizens." The choice of Southwark for the church's first permanent location in Philadelphia likely reflects the audience with whom their message most resonated. Their new building was in a rapidly developing area of Southwark, characterized by inexpensive frame dwellings that would

³⁹ For the rise of evangelical folk hymnody during the Second Great Awakening, see Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 146–61. Hymn authorship is primarily from <http://www.hymnary.org>.

⁴⁰ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 11; Joshua Bradley, *Accounts of Religious Revivals in Many Parts of the United States from 1815 to 1818*. (Albany, NY, 1819), 22–25, 252–57, quote 257; "Religious Intelligence," *Newark (NJ) Centinel of Freedom*, Apr. 25, 1815, 1–2; Robert Adair, *Memoir of Rev. James Patterson* (Philadelphia, 1840), 61. *New Jerusalem Church Repository for the Years 1817 & 1818* 1 (1817–18): 20–29, quote 27; William Strickland's drawing of the temple is the frontispiece of this volume. John McComb Jr. sketched the temple in 1822; see James F. O'Gorman, "A New York Architect Visits Philadelphia in 1822," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 117 (1993): 162–64, 172. The Academy of Natural Sciences purchased the "neat Gothic building" in 1826 to create "a commodious Hall" for its meetings and receptions (*National Gazette*, May 23, 1826, 2).

accommodate a steady influx of free African Americans and immigrants over the next several decades. Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church had purchased a burial ground in the 400 block of Queen Street in 1810, but its primary house of worship at Sixth and Lombard was several blocks north, within the city limits. Members of Southwark's African American community worshipped at First African Presbyterian Church on South Seventh Street, but First African Baptist Church was nearly two miles away near Vine Street and, like the Presbyterian church, would have embraced at least moderate Calvinism. Nearby Mount Zion Christian Church, now under Frederick Plummer's leadership and known for its attraction to "dissenters from all [other sects]," was likely a strong competitor. Like Mount Zion, the Free-Will Baptists used the Navy Yard for baptisms, noting in their advertisement for the new meetinghouse: "The public are likewise informed that there will be baptizing on next Lord's Day in the afternoon, between the hours of four and five o'clock, at the Navy Yard." Samuel Stevens's account stressed the church's inclusivity: "In this meeting house seats are all free, and we invite all our fellow citizens to worship the Lord there."⁴¹

Elliott and Stevens seem to have kept a low public profile in Southwark, but, within days of the newspaper notice announcing the opening of the Queen Street meetinghouse, Thomas Boyle emerged from the shadows. His account begins in April 1817, when Ellen Simmons, "who resided near the sixth mile stone" of the newly completed Bristol Turnpike, called at his home with a "pressing invitation to come to her neighbourhood, and hold a meeting." Ellen's husband, David P. Simmons, had recently purchased a seventy-six-acre farm along the Oxford Pike, having sold his successful packing business at Eleventh near Spruce. Simmons and brother-in-law Condy Raguet, founder of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, had patented an invention for baling with iron in 1809. Raguet was also a

⁴¹ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 11. A year after the meetinghouse opened, the block was still largely undeveloped; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 1818, 4, announced the sale of ten lots on Queen Street between Fifth and Sixth. Terry Buckalew, blog, *Friends of Bethel Burying Ground*, <http://preciousdust.blogspot.com>. *The Directory of African American Religious Bodies: A Compendium by the Howard University School of Divinity*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC, 1995), 29, notes that African American Baptists experienced "a gradual, barely perceptible drift toward the Arminian point of view . . . the trend was evident during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century." For the location of these churches, see James Mease, *Picture of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1811), 219, 221; and Thomas Wilson, *Picture of Philadelphia, for 1824* (Philadelphia, 1823), 45 (including quote on Mount Zion). The ad for the Free-Will Baptist church is in "The Public," *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 3, 1817, 3.

founder of the American Society for Disseminating the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church and a contributor to the *New Jerusalem Church Repository*. Boyle's account provides no clues as to why Ellen Simmons was so interested in his coming to Frankford. His views on the Trinity were already leaning in a Swedenborgian direction, so he may have read about New Jerusalem doctrine in the *Repository* or visited the temple and met David and Ellen Simmons or Condé Raguet. Ellen must have known him—or of him—and felt his religious views and preaching style would be a valuable addition to Frankford's spiritual life.⁴²

On May 18, 1817, Thomas Boyle preached for the first time in Oxford Township at the home of Ellen Simmons's neighbor, the "Widow Fisher." Mrs. Fisher was likely Sarah Dungan Fisher, widow of shoemaker Benjamin Fisher and great-granddaughter of Rev. Thomas Dungan of Rhode Island, who established the first Baptist church in Pennsylvania at Cold Spring, Bucks County, in 1684. Likely established on General Baptist principles, the Cold Spring church dissolved in 1702, perhaps due to the influx of Calvinist Welsh Baptists. Many of Dungan's descendants remained connected to its successor, Pennepek Baptist in Lower Dublin. The Fishers were married at Pennepek in 1761, moving to Oxford Township after the Revolutionary War. To descendants of Dungan's defunct congregation, the notice of Boyle's "Free-Will Baptists" in Southwark may have signaled a resurgence of General Baptist beliefs in the region.⁴³

In the early nineteenth century, there were only a few organized places of worship in Oxford Township: Trinity Episcopal on the outskirts, the Friends meetinghouse at present-day Unity and Waln Streets, the German Reformed church on Main Street (Frankford Avenue), and its offshoot, a German Lutheran church, located nearby. Founded in 1770

⁴² Boyle, *Some Account*, 77; Boyle did not tell his congregation that he was preaching Swedenborgianism until after his account of the Free-Will Baptist Church in Frankford ends. Deed, Jesse Comly to David P. Simmons, Apr. 1, 1817, Deed Book MR 17, 111-2, Philadelphia City Archives; Death of Ellen Simmons, "consort of David P. Simmons," *Pennsylvania Inquirer & Morning Journal*, Feb. 16, 1833. The six-mile stone is now in Wissinoming Park; Simmons also may have had a home closer to town. An ad for Simmons's business, noting the recent patent, appears in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 18, 1809, 1; and the sale of the "yard on 11th s of Spruce," in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 25, 1813, 1. For details on Raguet, see James M. Willcox, *A History of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, 1816–1916* (Philadelphia, 1916), 11–12.

⁴³ Boyle, *Some Account*, 77. Spencer, *Early Baptists of Philadelphia*, 18–47; Lindman, *Bodies of Belief*, 20–22; Alfred Rudolph Justice, comp., *Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke of Rhode Island and Dungan Genealogy* (Philadelphia, 1922), 152.

as a branch of the Germantown church, the German Reformed congregation was struggling by 1802—in part because the younger generation desired services in English—and began to rent space to other denominations. Benjamin Fisher served as a trustee during the transition and may have helped obtain the services of Baptist minister Burgess Allison of Bordentown, New Jersey, who began preaching often in 1805. Allison trained with Rev. Samuel Jones at Pennepek Baptist and was a noted educator and inventor. He collaborated with Frankford resident John Isaac Hawkins on several projects, including methods for making corn-husk paper and paper silhouettes. Hawkins was a Swedenborgian, leading some to speculate about Allison's theological views, which were likely more liberal than those of the Philadelphia Baptist Association. Allison “preached with great acceptance” at the German Reformed church in Frankford, leading to a secession of members, who, with members from Second Baptist in the Northern Liberties, founded the Frankford Baptist Church in 1807. At the same time, the German Reformed congregation requested ministerial support from the Philadelphia Presbytery, becoming Frankford Presbyterian Church in December 1807.⁴⁴

When Thomas Boyle arrived in Frankford in 1817, neither the Baptist nor Presbyterian churches had permanent leaders. The first regular minister of the Baptist church, Rev. David Jones, did not arrive until 1811, when the congregation was in the midst of “grievous difficulties.” He remained just two years. His farewell blessing may hint at exasperation over his inability to bring the congregation fully within the fold of the Philadelphia Baptist Association: “May the Lord grant to bless Frankford, and call many sinners to the knowledge of the truth.” The congregation had been unable to agree on legal incorporation, possibly reflecting the biblical concerns that split Mount Zion Christian Church in Southwark

⁴⁴Hallowell, “History of Frankford,” 33, 41; Thomas Murphy, *One Hundred Years of the Presbyterian Church of Frankford* (Philadelphia, 1872), 54; Spencer, *Early Baptists of Philadelphia*, 169–70; “Burgess Allison,” in Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 6:121–24. Thomas Jefferson identifies Hawkins “of Frankford, near Philadelphia” in an 1806 letter cited in *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph (Charlottesville, VA, 1829), 4:59. Hawkins's father was a New Church minister, and Hawkins became active in the New Church on his return to England about 1803; see Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 128, 241, 258, 260, 280. Richard DeCharms names Allison as one who “zealously” preached Swedenborg's doctrines to his “old church congregation” (*The Newchurchman—Extra . . . Containing a Report on the Trine* [Philadelphia, 1848], 140). DeCharms also notes William Boswell, ordained by Allison in 1809, was removed from Trenton Baptist in 1823 for preaching Swedenborgianism. Boswell then founded a “Reformed General Baptist” church in Trenton (John Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, N.J. . . .* [New York, 1859], 433).

the same year. Frankford Presbyterian Church had no resident minister between September 1816 and November 1818.⁴⁵

In the early summer of 1817, Boyle began preaching every two weeks, and by the end of August he had moved his family to Frankford. In addition to Mrs. Simmons and Mrs. Fisher, Boyle identifies others who offered him hospitality and supported his evangelism in the community, such as house carpenter and local constable Samuel Swope, farmer Robert Glenn, and Isaac Worrell, a descendant of Keithian Quakers. However, despite the area's fluid religious history—even the radical Abner Kneeland called Frankford “a pleasant village”—Boyle's memoir is replete with references to his perceptions of community hostility to the congregation. He recalled his first meeting in Frankford, when “Some would look in at the windows and doors, and then pass away laughing.” Later, he referred to threats “by the wicked, of being mobbed at the water side” during baptism, and verbal abuse by an unwelcome visitor to his home. Boyle did not identify the specific source of this hostility, which may have reflected disdain for his emotionalism, distrust of the doctrine he was preaching, local hooliganism, or his personal demons.⁴⁶ Methodist revivalism had met with some success in Germantown a generation before but was still struggling in Frankford as late as 1828, when Methodist diarist Hannah Bunting recorded this impression of the borough's religious life: “My heart is sore within me while I behold the total indifference manifested by most of the inhabitants of this village, with regard to the salvation of their deathless souls.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Spencer, *Early Baptists of Philadelphia*, 179–80; Spencer notes, “In 1808 an effort was made to obtain an Act of Incorporation, but for some unaccountable reason it was not obtained until 1824” (170).

⁴⁶ Boyle, *Some Account*, 79, 82–83; Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, 2:1093. Abner Kneeland uses “Frankfort, or Frankford, a pleasant village in Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania” to illustrate “proper names of two syllables, the accent on the first” in *The American Definition Spelling Book* (Concord, NH, 1814), 161.

⁴⁷ John F. Watson, in *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time . . .* (Philadelphia, 1857), 2:26, states, “The Methodists began to preach in Germantown in about the year 1798.” Stephen L. Longenecker, in *Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700–1850* (Metuchen, NJ, 1994), notes the importance of “Emotional religion” to German Pietists, stating that “Relations between the German revivalists and English-speaking Methodists were always close” (88, 134). *Memoir, Diary and Letters of Miss Hannah Syng Bunting, of Philadelphia*, comp. T. Merritt (New York, 1837), 1:136; Hannah's sister and brother-in-law led Methodist meetings in Frankford. A church was founded in 1830; see Hallowell, “History of Frankford,” 4. James J. Farley, in *Making Arms in the Machine Age: Philadelphia's Frankford Arsenal, 1816–1870* (University Park, PA, 1994), 119, states that in the mid-nineteenth century “most inhabitants of Frankford remained unchurched, or at least their names do not appear on existing church lists”; however, the only church list cited is “List of Members (no date), Frankford Presbyterian church.”

Antipathy to Boyle in the community may also reflect the annoyance of existing churches to the competition he represented. As Janet Lindman has noted in describing Baptist controversies in the colonial period, "The policy of religious toleration . . . did not prohibit interference from competitors." Daniel Walker Howe has argued that the "new" aspect of Charles Finney's evangelism in the 1820s was his nonsectarian message, which often caused those in mainstream denominations to see him "as an interloper and a threat." Boyle's account of his ministry in Frankford was openly critical of sectarianism and "proselyting [*sic*] to party spirit." Frankford's Presbyterian and Baptist churches, without strong leaders of their own at the time, may have viewed him similarly.⁴⁸ Bell has documented the divisive impact of Finney's revivalism on Philadelphia's German Reformed churches, exacerbated by the growing acceptance of English, the language of revivalism. Boyle's evangelism may have fueled similar friction in Frankford.⁴⁹

The congregation gradually expanded after Boyle's move to Frankford. On January 1, 1818, Boyle and the church trustees signed a contract to rent a half acre of property at Hedge and Guinea (now Plum) Streets, where they created a burial ground and built a meetinghouse that was ready for worship by early August 1818. The new meetinghouse was in the heart of what was Frankford's African American enclave, perhaps confirming the sect's positive reception by the African American community in Southwark. Members of Frankford's African Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church, formed nearby in 1817, may have seen in Boyle's meetings some of the enthusiastic evangelism of their own worship. Although none of the few persons known to be members of Frankford's Free-Will Baptist congregation at this early period have been identified as African American, it is likely that there would have been reciprocal interest between Boyle's flock and the A.M.E. church. Frankford's African American population would not have its own Baptist church for another fifty years, but the A.M.E. church was open to the preaching of Baptists, having invited English Baptist John Lawson to preach for them on his visit to Frankford in 1811. Lawson recalled, "They invited me to preach to them, which I did

⁴⁸ Lindman, *Bodies of Belief*, 19; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York, 2007), 172–73; Boyle, *Some Account*, 74.

⁴⁹ Bell, in *Crusade in the City*, 46, notes that "with the introduction of English into German Reformed services in Philadelphia in 1819, the revival influence entered the church for the first time." This language transition had already occurred in Frankford's German Reformed congregation, as discussed above.

often with great pleasure," though they were "extremely irregular in their behaviour at worship."⁵⁰

Boyle began to preach in the outskirts of Oxford Township, as well as in the meetinghouse in Frankford. Peter Fesmire, whose family had farmed in Oxford Township near Trinity Church since the mid-eighteenth century, invited Boyle to preach at his home, through the introduction of his brother-in-law, Thomas Rorer. Both Rorer and Fesmire were married to daughters of Henry Castor, a member of Frankford Presbyterian. Joseph Hallowell, a descendant of an old Chester County Quaker family, invited Boyle to preach at the octagonal, one-room Washington School near his farm, "Lawndale." Hallowell had purchased twenty acres on the Kensington and Oxford Turnpike near Trinity Church in 1813 and was likely involved in establishing the school by private subscription in 1814. When the school trustees closed the building to their use, Boyle lamented, in characteristic fashion, "the door was shut against us—Lord when will persecution cease!" The Hallowells then offered their home for "preaching, and also for band"; Boyle would recall the "many glorious joyful seasons we have had in this dwelling."⁵¹

⁵⁰ Boyle, *Some Account*, 82–84; Hallowell's footnote (83) notes that the property "was on the Southeast side of Hedge Street and Northeast side of Plum Street." Richard C. Allen, in "The Colored Population of Frankford," *Papers Read before the Historical Society of Frankford* 1 (1906): 8–9, states that Plum Street was once "Bowser's lane," home of Letitia Bowser, "a faithful and efficient member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Frankford." Bowser Street was previously known as Guinea Street, perhaps referring to the African origin of the residents. The 1818 contract to rent the property on Hedge Street is recorded in William Singleton & wife to Thomas Boyle & others, Jan. 1, 1818, Deed Book MR 18, 250–53, Philadelphia City Archives; the location on Hedge and Guinea Streets is noted on page 251. Bowser Street is identified as "formerly called Guinea Street" in New Jerusalem Society of Frankford to Revd. James Seddon, Trustee, Mortgage Book TH 8, 26–27, Philadelphia City Archives. The church building is shown at Hedge and Bowser on the map "Frankford, area of Black residence," in Henry Williams and Robert Ulle, "Frankford, Philadelphia: A 19th Century Urban Black Community," *Pennsylvania Heritage* 4, no. 1 (1977): 6. The authors note, "Between 1800 and 1880, the community was . . . bounded by Foulkrod Street to the north, Oxford (now Kinsey) to the west, Tackawanna Street to the south, and by Paul Street to the East," and that Second Bethel (now Campbell A.M.E.) was founded "in 1817 in Sarah Congo's home on Bowser Lane" and "was the only all-black church in the area until 1869," when Second African Baptist Church was founded (5, 7). For Lawson's visit, see, "John Lawson," in *Oriental Christian Biography, Containing Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Christians Who Have Lived and Died in the East*, comp. W. H. Carey (Calcutta, 1850), 2:417.

⁵¹ Boyle, *Some Account*, 84–85; George Martin Castor, comp., *The Castor Family of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1910), 72–73; Deed, Estate of Benjamin Cottman to Joseph Hallowell, Apr. 13, 1813, Deed Book IC 30, 352, Philadelphia City Archives. Lawndale was at present-day Rising Sun Avenue and Martin's Mill Road; from Boyle, *Some Account*, 84; Mary Paul Hallowell Hough, *The Hallowell-*

During the growth of the Frankford church in early 1818, the church in Southwark, now the First United Free-Will Baptist Church of Philadelphia, remained under the leadership of Stevens and Elliott, who were also evangelizing in Delaware. About this time, an unnamed “Free-will Baptist preacher” visited Philadelphia cloth merchant William Schlatter, who was publishing translations of Swedenborg’s writings and selling them at David Thuun’s book store on South Sixth Street, in addition to providing them free in bolts of cloth. Schlatter had inherited his missionary zeal from his grandfather, Swiss Pietist Michael Schlatter, “an enthusiastic denominational organizer” sent to establish German Reformed churches in colonial America. Members of Frankford’s German Reformed church would have known the family, particularly the strong Swiss component among the founders, which included the Castors. The young preacher, likely Boyle or Stevens, called on Schlatter to request Swedenborg’s writings because he understood that New Church members “held ideas similar to his own, on the divinity of the Lord, and he wished to investigate them.” Schlatter discussed New Jerusalem doctrines with him and gave him “a good stock” of books, including Robert Hindmarsh’s *A Seal upon the Lips of Unitarians, Trinitarians, and All Others Who Refuse to Acknowledge the Sole, Supreme, and Exclusive Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, published in Philadelphia in 1815. Over several months, the preacher returned for more books, as “his people were reading them,” but then he disappeared.⁵²

Schlatter would not hear from the Free-Will Baptists again for some time, but the books he provided them informed the creation of their doc-

Paul Family History (Philadelphia, 1924). For Washington School, see Franklin D. Edmunds, comp., *A Chronological List of the Public School Buildings of the City of Philadelphia, Pa.* (Philadelphia, 1934), 11.

⁵² William Johnston, *A Discourse on the Divine Trinity: In Which Is Proved That Jesus Christ Is the Supreme and Only God of Heaven and Earth* (Wilmington, DE, 1819); A letter recounting Boyle’s visit is quoted in the “Twenty-Second Report of the Manchester Printing Society,” *Intellectual Repository for the New Church*, n.s., 1 (1825): 240–44. The letter, likely written in late 1822 or early 1823, notes that the preacher visited “[a]bout five years ago” (243). Schlatter was ambiguous about the preacher’s visit; he may have met Boyle while he was still in Philadelphia in 1817. Although Schlatter is not identified in the report as the author of the letter, he was in correspondence with members of the Manchester Printing Society regarding the progress of the New Church in America throughout this period. The letter also notes the author’s republication of two of Swedenborg’s works (241), which corresponds with Schlatter’s known publication history; see Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 248, 253. The evangelism of the New Jerusalem Church in Philadelphia became one of several disputes with New England New Church leadership; see Block, *New Church in the New World*, 76, 105; quote on Michael Schlatter from Longenecker, *Piety and Tolerance*, 72. Murphy, in *One Hundred Years of the Presbyterian Church in Frankford* notes that “Its founders were, most of them, Swiss, from Basle” (50).

trinal framework, designed "to be as liberal as the gospel is free." Elliott and Stevens chose Philadelphia publisher Dennis Heartt to print *The Discipline of the United Freewill Baptist Church Together with Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Use of Its Members* in early 1819. Heartt briefly published the *Philadelphia Magazine, and Weekly Repertory* in late 1818 and, more notably, African American educator Prince Saunders's *A Memoir Presented to the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race, December 11th, 1818*. Although earlier hymn choices allude to an antislavery stance, the 1819 *Discipline* makes the position of the Free-Will Baptists clear, particularly at a time when the Methodist Church was becoming increasingly ambiguous on the issue to retain momentum in the West and South. Article 16 states, "No member shall buy, sell, or hold a slave."⁵³ The *Discipline* does not provide a specific scriptural citation or doctrinal source for this prohibition. The descendants of Keithian Quakers and German Pietists in Frankford likely already favored abolition, although some may have recalled the Baptist controversy of 1791, when wealthy Virginia planter Robert Carter, formerly a prominent Baptist, freed 442 slaves based on his understanding of Swedenborg's writings. Rev. Samuel Jones, pastor of Pennepek Baptist and a leader in the Philadelphia Baptist Association at the time, was directly involved in trying to quash Carter's "heresy."⁵⁴ However, while individual members of the New Jerusalem Church were beginning to speak out in

⁵³ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 12. At the 1804 Methodist Conference, "its utterances on [slavery] were measured. . . . While emancipation was still recommended to the owners of slaves, a failure to emancipate did not work forfeiture of membership in the Church"; from Lewis Curts, ed., *The General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1792 to 1896* (Cincinnati, OH, 1900), 67–68. See also Donald B. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780–1845* (Princeton, NJ, 1965), esp. 22–53; and Dee E. Andrews, "From Natural Rights to National Sins: Philadelphia's Churches Face Antislavery," in *Antislavery and Abolition in Philadelphia: Emancipation and the Long Struggle for Racial Justice in the City of Brotherly Love*, ed. Richard Newman and James Mueller (Baton Rouge, LA, 2011), 174–97.

⁵⁴ Hywel M. Davies, in *Transatlantic Brethren: Rev. Samuel Jones (1735–1814) and His Friends: Baptists in Wales, Pennsylvania, and Beyond* (Bethlehem, PA, 1995), 247, notes Rev. Samuel Jones's communications with Robert Carter of Virginia. Christopher Allen Rogers, in "A Dissident's Revolution: Religious Antinomians in American Culture, 1740–1830" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2006), 216, cites a 1791 letter from Philadelphia Baptist minister William Rogers to his colleague Rev. Isaac Backus in New England regarding Carter's embracing Swedenborg's "wild notions." See also Andrew Levy, *The First Emancipator: The Forgotten Story of Robert Carter, the Founding Father Who Freed His Slaves* (New York, 2005). Lindman, in *Bodies of Belief*, 168–72, discusses the collaboration of Jones and Carter in establishing a Baptist community in Virginia, prior to Carter's acceptance of Swedenborg.

opposition to slavery, “abolition was not a primary or unified cause among the earliest American Swedenborgians.”⁵⁵

The thirty-eight articles of the *Discipline* describe the society’s organization, theology, and form of worship, an amalgam of beliefs and practices that were familiar or sensible to the compilers. As Nathan Hatch has observed, “As preachers from the periphery of American culture came to reconstruct Christianity, they mingled diverse, even contradictory sources, erasing distinctions that the polite culture of the eighteenth century had struggled to keep separate.” The members were to hold weekly meetings where “there shall be full liberty given to the members to speak, sing, or pray.” The Lord’s Supper would be given monthly, “in the evening after preaching,” as midday was “unscriptural.” Quarterly district meetings would include a “love feast,” conducted in the Wesleyan tradition: a meeting of about two hours, consisting of song and prayer, bread and water only, and an opportunity for “each individual to speak of the dealings of God to them.” Both men and women had “the liberty of freeing their minds to the public, before or after preaching,” and “the sisters” were free “to have their prayer meetings by themselves, if they think proper.” Baptism by immersion was a key tenet, but new members were not “constrained to it, should their consciences lead them to think it not an immediate duty.” Baptism did not afford greater privileges; for example, in the election of deacons, “All members, both male and female, baptized and unbaptized, shall have full power to vote for or against them.” Preachers and officers had to be baptized by immersion. Preachers were to receive “a decent support from the church,” but officers were not paid. Officers included elders and deacons, familiar to Baptists and Methodists, but also “ruling elders,” more usually a Presbyterian role.⁵⁶

Children were not baptized, but the society adopted the primitive practice of “devoting” children, or what John Leland observed was “satirically called *dry-christening*.” As stated in the *Discipline*, “Infants shall not be sprinkled among us, but may be brought forward publicly to the elder, who shall lay his hands on them and call their names out in public.” Reflecting

⁵⁵ Katherine J. Speas, “What Would Swedenborg Do? Theology in Context during the Time of Slavery,” *Studia Swedenborgiana* 14 (2004): 21–38, quote 24; Block, *New Church in the New World*, 330–32.

⁵⁶ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 17–21, 38; Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 35; Richard O. Johnson, “The Development of the Love Feast in Early American Methodism,” *Methodist History* 19 (1981): 67–83.

Quaker and Mennonite tradition, the society prohibited "Swearing of every kind, in courts or elsewhere"; required that "all the members live in the habit of plainness, in their dress, in the habit of cleanness in their walk, talk and conversation"; and forbade lawsuits among members: "All differences and disputes that may fall out among us, shall be settled by impartial judges, free of any expenses whatever. Brother must not go to law with brother." The poor among the society were to have "particular care" and "immediate relief to their necessities." The society "reverenced and kept holy" the "Sabbath day, commonly called Sunday," by attending worship and avoiding "servile work," including cooking; and eschewed "All vain and unprofitable exercises or amusement, such as balls, plays, shows, cards, dice; all manner of gaming, drinking liquor to an excess, singing carnal songs, reading unchaste, unprofitable books; all backbiting, speaking evil one of another, lying, envying one another." However, the society's Sabbath-keeping and moral imperatives were not meant to be part of the growing political evangelism for moral reform. The *Discipline* prohibited political involvement, while tersely commenting on the state of local government: "The members shall not busy themselves with politics, or in bribing people to vote at elections." "Disorderly persons" could plead their case in quarterly and yearly meetings: "No member shall be cut off from among us until all proper means shall have been tried for his or her recovery," but, should reconciliation fail, the offender would be "disowned in the love feast."⁵⁷

An unusual aspect of the *Doctrine* is the way in which the compilers incorporated Swedenborgian theology, although without attribution. Following the articles is a section entitled "Opinion of the Trinity," for which the authors provide this preface: "As there has been much said concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, preached by John Elliott and Samuel Stevens, we have thought proper here to make mention of our belief of Christ; not, however, considering it as a creed, or a confession of faith, nor is any one constrained to believe this doctrine in order to become a member of this church." From that point on, the text is taken from

⁵⁷ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 18–21, 33; Armitage, *History of the Baptists*, 757; *The Writings of the Late Elder John Leland*, ed. L. F. Greene (New York, 1845), 120; Frank Lambert, *Religion in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), esp. 53–60. Sparks, in *Roots of Appalachian Christianity*, 45, calls "devoting of children" an "old Puritan infant baptismal rite." The *Discipline* reflects the blending of Keithian Quaker, German Pietist, and Baptist principles that began in the seventeenth century; see Lindman, *Bodies of Belief*, 15–19.

the New Church writings that William Schlatter had provided them. Of the forty-nine sections of Robert Hindmarsh's *A Compendium of the Chief Doctrines of the True Christian Religion as Revealed in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*, which Schlatter published in Philadelphia in 1817, the Free-Will Baptists included six: those explaining Swedenborg's concept of the "Divine Trinity," as embodied in the "One Person" of Jesus Christ, "similar to the human trinity of mind, body, and proceeding operation in every individual man"; and of the atonement, which rejected the traditional view of a vicarious sacrifice to satisfy divine justice. The *Discipline* authors did not include the section on baptism, which states: "it is immaterial whether the ceremony be performed [by] immersion" or by "sprinkling or affusion." Following the *Compendium* sections is the verbatim "Conclusion" to Hindmarsh's *A Seal upon the Lips*. The hymns chosen for the *Discipline*, a completely different selection from the 1813 hymnal, also reflect a shift toward a Swedenborgian perspective.⁵⁸

Despite the "depression of external circumstances" during the Panic of 1819, the spiritual prospects of the Free-Will Baptist community seemed promising. Stevens and Elliott established a society of Free-Will Baptists in Burlington, New Jersey, by March. In early April, the Free-Will Baptist congregation in Wilmington, Delaware, held the first meeting at its own place of worship, a former Quaker schoolroom on King Street. In June, Wilmington shoe merchant William Johnston published a sermon he had delivered at the meetinghouse, entitled *Discourse on the Divine Trinity; in Which Is Proved That Jesus Christ Is the Supreme and Only God of Heaven and Earth*. To counter accusations that Johnston's views were "so erroneous, that no Society of Christians" would "fellowship" with him, Thomas Boyle, "elder," and the deacons and trustees of the Free-Will Baptist Church of Frankford included an affidavit vouching that he was a member in good standing of their "connexion." Johnston concluded his publication with a "beautiful extract" from Hindmarsh's *A Seal upon the Lips*. In June, both Stevens and Johnston were preaching in the Wilmington area, not only in the Free-Will Baptist meetinghouse in the city, but also to textile

⁵⁸ Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 39–74, quotes 57 and 60; Robert Hindmarsh, *A Compendium of the Chief Doctrines of the True Christian Religion as Revealed in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg* (Philadelphia, 1817), 34, 36, 87; Robert Hindmarsh, *A Seal upon the Lips of Unitarians, Trinitarians, and All Others Who Refuse to Acknowledge the Sole, Supreme, and Exclusive Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia, 1815), 335–43. The New Church view of the atonement was akin to "Christians," Freewill Baptists, and Universalists; see Kenny, *Perfect Law of Liberty*, 92–93.

workers and their families at “the Free Meeting House near the Madison Factory” on Red Clay Creek and “the school room near Mr. Duplanties [*sic*]” on the Brandywine. However, John Elliott’s situation in New York was deteriorating rapidly. From April through August 1819, his property on Duane Street was among those advertised for public auction due to unpaid taxes. New York’s chancery court processed the sale in late August. By 1820, Elliott appears to have moved to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as an “independent preacher,” and William Johnston began organizing a “Union Meeting” of the “Christian and Free Will Baptist Connections” in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Wilmington. The Southwark church likely had dissolved by 1823.⁵⁹

With the decline of the New York and Wilmington societies, Frankford became the center of the Free-Will Baptist connection. Boyle claims to have preached to “six or seven hundred people” in the woods near the Hallowell farm on July 4, 1819. The society established a weekly prayer meeting for children aged nine to sixteen, “and numbers from the neighbourhood assembled with them.” Boyle also began preaching in Milestown on the Old York Road in Bristol Township, likely in the town’s new octagon school. The last home of Universalist George de Benneville, Milestown had routinely invited ministers of various theological views to

⁵⁹ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Third General Convention of the Receivers of the Doctrines of the New-Jerusalem Church, From Different Parts of the United States . . .* (1820), 34, in *Reprint of the Early Journals of the General Convention of the New Jerusalem*, part 1, *Journals One to Eight, 1817–1826* (Boston, 1888); Elliott and Stevens, *Discipline*, 261–63; Boyle, *Some Account*, 85–86; *Wilmington (DE) American Watchman*, July 23, 1817, 4, and Mar. 31, 1819, 4; William Johnston, *A Discourse on the Divine Trinity . . .* (Wilmington, DE, 1819), 1–10; *American Watchman*, June 12, 1819, 3. The Madison Factory was a woolen mill; “Mr. Duplanties” was the cotton mill of Duplanty, McCall, & Co. Elliott and Stevens had “business of importance” in New York (*American Watchman*, Mar. 31, 1819, 4). Ads for property sale, in *New York Columbian* and *New-York Evening Post*, Apr.–Aug. 1819; Chancery ad, *New York Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 18, 1819, 4; “Union Meeting,” *Wilmington Delaware Gazette and State Journal*, May 3, 1820, 1. Forney, in *History of the Churches of God*, 30, notes a John Elliott was minister of an “independent church, of Baptist tendencies” in Lancaster about 1816, affiliating with John Winebrenner’s Church of God about 1827. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, PA, 1844), 463, puts him there about 1820. Elliott was “disfellowshipped” [*sic*] by the Church of God in 1831 for “holding the doctrine of Universalism,” became a Methodist Protestant minister in 1833, and died as minister of Pittsburgh’s First Methodist Protestant Church in 1839; see Forney, *History of the Churches of God*, 315, and death notice, *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1838, 2. In 1826, Stevens published *The Latest Collection of Original and Select Hymns, Designed as a Companion for All Denominations*. He identifies himself and Elliott as “Elders and Preachers of the United Freewill Baptist Society in the city of Philadelphia,” but that society is not listed in Wilson’s 1823 *Picture of Philadelphia*. Southwark members may have joined the Second New Jerusalem Society, founded in 1823 by Manning B. Roche, formerly minister of Trinity Episcopal Church, Southwark; see Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 296.

preach at their schoolhouse. Yet, Boyle felt unwelcome there as well: “I lament that other denominations are not as friendly with us as I could wish, but stand aloof.” He wondered, “Lord, when will party spirit subside, and the watchmen see eye to eye!”⁶⁰

Elliott’s difficulties in New York may have spurred the Frankford congregation to pursue incorporation “for prudential reasons.” Joseph Hallowell traveled to Harrisburg to retrieve the incorporation papers for “The Free Will Baptist Church of Pennsylvania,” approved and filed on December 22, 1819. According to Boyle’s account, he made a dramatic return to the church “on Christmas night . . . to the great joy of all that were present.” Including Boyle, eighteen men had signed the constitution submitted with the request for incorporation, nearly all in their twenties and thirties and descendants of early Quaker and German Pietist families whose histories in the region were closely interwoven. As of 1820, their occupations were evenly divided between agriculture and “manufactures.” With the possible exception of Joseph Hallowell, they likely would all have been of moderate means. The preamble to the constitution encapsulated their ambitious goal to “be the means of the Salvation of thousands.”⁶¹

⁶⁰ Boyle, *Some Account*, 85–87; Eddy, *Universalism in America*, 27–28; Anne de Benneville Mears, *The Old York Road, and Its Early Associations of History and Biography: 1670–1870* (Philadelphia, 1890), 52–53.

⁶¹ The charter for “The Free Will Baptist Church of Pennsylvania” is recorded in RG-26 Corporation Bureau, Charter Book, 1819–1825 (vol. 3), 144–53, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA. The names on the 1819 constitution have been checked against 1820 US census returns and biographical information that exists for those whose descendants remained in the church over several generations. Although the family names would have been respected for their longevity in the area, there is no evidence that the congregation was wealthy or had a wealthy benefactor. While David P. Simmons was a prosperous businessman, no evidence has been discovered of his direct connection to the Frankford congregation; the David P. Simmons Receipt Book, 1813–1858 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) includes no payments to the Frankford church or recognizable members of it. Although many members of the New Jerusalem Church of Frankford would become part of the neighborhood’s middle class over time, the congregation was always of modest means and remained connected to the community, within a few blocks of its original location, for its entire history. Farley, in *Making Arms in the Machine Age*, 4, argues that “the people of Frankford valued property and its acquisition” during this early period, but his evidence is anecdotal. The young men of the Free-Will Baptist congregation undoubtedly hoped to build a good life for their families, but their involvement in this upstart congregation also demonstrates religious and community values. The thirty-six articles of the constitution were printed in the “Discipline” section of Boyle’s *Some Account*, along with a few additional membership admonishments, reflecting governance and worship practices similar to those identified in Elliott and Stevens’s 1819 *Discipline*. The issue of slaveholding is not specifically mentioned, which likely reflects a change in the focus of abolitionists in Pennsylvania by 1820, when the federal census enumerated only about two hundred slaves in the entire state, rather than a shift in

Boyle's account of the "Rise and Progress" of the Frankford Free-Will Baptists ends with their incorporation. His introduction to its publication is dated January 12, 1820, and signed "Your very unworthy Pastor." Although a common evangelical concept, Boyle's keen sense of "unworthiness" may reflect his unease at presenting the twelve "heavenly doctrines of the Free Will Baptist Church" without noting that they were virtually identical to the "Chief Articles of Faith of the New Church" as published in the *New Jerusalem Church Repository* in January 1817. By early 1821, Boyle publicly acknowledged that "his sermons were principally quotations" from Swedenborg's writings. Some "dissented and resigned their membership," but others assisted in the transformation.⁶² Boyle also reconnected with William Schlatter, who reported to printer Johnson Taylor on "better news at Frankfort [*sic*]" in February 1821:

Nearly all [Boyle's] congregations are firm believers in the Doctrines and he has a Considerable number of hearers in and near Germantown who are fast coming into the Doctrines. I have not heard of such an instance of sussesfull [*sic*] preaching. . . . and it may reasonably be inferred from what E S says on the subject that when the Clergy receive the Doctrines and preach them to thier [*sic*] congregations for a time, they may avow them openly and they will be cordially received. . . . [S]uch zeal as he is possessed with does not fall to the lot of many, he is in very moderate circumstances indeed save what his small school provides him, but Mrs. Simmons . . . informs me he is perfectly happy and contented, appearing only to live in the promoting [of] the cause of Truth [and] Christian love.⁶³

perspective among church members. In Boyle's critique of sectarianism, he laments that "professing Christians do not unite in the one common cause of religion," entreating them to "love the image of Jesus wherever we see it, if even in the sable sons of Africa" (*Some Account*, 73–74). Edward Raymond Turner discusses the progress of abolition in the state in *Slavery in Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1911), noting that by 1820, "in Philadelphia and the older counties it had almost entirely disappeared" (86).

⁶² Boyle, *Some Account*, 75; "Doctrine," 7–15; "Chief Articles of Faith of the New Church," *New Jerusalem Church Repository for the Years 1817 & 1818* (1817–18): 7–10; "New Jerusalem Society of Frankford" (anonymous history), ca. 1949, 2, copy of typescript provided to the author by the Swedenborg School of Religion, Newton, MA, Aug. 11, 1986.

⁶³ William Schlatter to Johnson Taylor, Feb. 14, 1821, William Schlatter Letter Book, 1814–25, William Schlatter Archives, Swedenborgian Library and Archives at Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA. Boyle was paid "for the tuition of poor children" under the 1818 "free school" law; Eleanor E. Wright, "Frankford's First Schools and School-masters," *Papers Read before the Historical Society of Frankford* 1 (1906): 52. Ellen Simmons's reference to Boyle's "very moderate circumstances" seems to confirm that she and her husband, David, were not providing substantial financial assistance to the church.

In a letter to Rev. Lewis Beers of Danby, New York, in April 1821, Schlatter reiterates Boyle's success in preaching "New Church" doctrines within an "Old Church" framework:

His church coming in the manner they have done is one of the most extraordinary circumstances that has occurred in the spreading of the new church, and it only serves to convince us that when Clergymen who are beloved by their flocks and have their eternal happiness at heart, receive the new doctrines, they will have great power over their minds, and lead thousands in the right way by the true light.⁶⁴

Schlatter knew that the young Baptist preacher exemplified the non-Separatist concept of the New Jerusalem Church. The non-Separatists, led by Anglican minister John Clowes, and Separatists, led by former Methodist Robert Hindmarsh, were identified in England as early as 1787, when Hindmarsh followers in London first proposed creating a separate denomination. Clowes and other Swedenborg receivers near Manchester were against this move, insisting that "the distinguishing characteristic of a New Churchman" was "the life of love and charity." In their view, requiring Swedenborg receivers to "quit every other society of Christian worshippers" had "the semblance of bigotry and intolerance."⁶⁵

Unlike the London receivers, the societies under Clowes's leadership were groups of "simple-hearted poor" in the rapidly industrializing communities around Manchester. One of the earliest societies, six miles north of the city at Whitefield, developed among the younger members of a "body of very poor people"—mainly farmers and handloom weavers—who were readers of the mystics Jacob Boehme and William Law. Clowes had found solace in these mystic writers himself, but understood the need of a new generation to be useful to their struggling communities. In Clowes's words, the mystics "never told him what to do with his hands and feet." The group began with *Heaven and Hell*, which has been called "Swedenborg's most readable book." It provided a new perspective on the relationship between faith and charity: "Moral and Civil Life is *the action* of Spiritual

⁶⁴William Schlatter to Lewis Beers, Apr. 12, 1821, William Schlatter Letter Book.

⁶⁵See Block, *New Church in the New World*, 61–72, for an overview of the schism. Quotes from Clowes's correspondence on the subject of the "new sect" in *Life and Correspondence of the Reverend John Clowes*, ed. Theodore Compton (London, 1874), 49.

Life; for Spiritual Life consists in *willing well*, and Moral and Civil Life in *acting well*." The Whitefield society, in the shadow of a new cotton mill, established a Sunday school and a short-lived shop and "manufactory" to support the church and its members. Such enterprises illustrate the appeal of Swedenborg over Wesley in these communities. In the words of Lancashire historian Malcolm Hardman, "To pass from Methodism to Swedenborgianism, in the early nineteenth century, is to pass from questions of individual sensibility to dilemmas of corporate responsibility."⁶⁶

Boyle likely was unaware of the New Jerusalem controversy in England, but at least one family in Frankford could describe it firsthand. In 1821, Frankford Presbyterian Church hired recent immigrant James Seddon to lead their Harmonic Society, founded by Jesse Castor in 1818. With the transition to English worship, younger members wanted to learn the "rousing songs" of contemporary revivalists. Born into a musical family, Seddon taught singing "by note" in the old English "Sol Fa" tradition. James, his widowed father Thomas, and younger siblings John and Mary, descendants of an old Lancashire family with a tradition of religious dissent, also imported the nonsectarian view of the New Jerusalem. Thomas, "a simple-hearted workingman," had led the New Jerusalem society in Ringley, an adjacent township to Whitefield. He helped bring John Clowes to preach in Manchester's northern suburbs, having first approached him "through his anxiety to obtain a clear and satisfactory view of the Divine Trinity." A visitor to the Ringley society in 1820 marveled, "This Society, consisting solely of persons confined to the humble walks of life, discussed with clearness the important doctrine concerning the Divine Trinity. What has hitherto been deemed incomprehensible by the learned, was shewn by them, from very many parts of Sacred Scripture, to be within the comprehension of the meanest capacity."⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Compton, in *Life and Correspondence of the Reverend John Clowes*, notes the "jealousy of the neighbouring clergy" when "the simple-hearted poor began to flock in crowds" to hear Clowes's informal lectures on the doctrines of Swedenborg (26). An account of the origin of the Whitefield society, including references to its school and shop, is given in *Aurora; or, The Dawn of Genuine Truth* 1, no. 9 (Jan. 1800): 317–20, quote 319. Clowes's quote on the mystics from *Life and Correspondence of the Reverend John Clowes*, 16. William White, *Emanuel Swedenborg: His Life and Writings*, 2nd ed., rev. (London, 1868), quote on *Heaven and Hell*, 227, quoting *Heaven and Hell*, 271; John F. Wilson, *History of Whitefield* (Whitefield, UK, 1979), 14 (reference to cotton mill); Malcolm Hardman, *Classic Soil: Community, Aspiration, and Debate in the Bolton Region of Lancashire, 1819–1845* (Madison, NJ, 2003), 86–101, quote 92.

⁶⁷ Murphy, *One Hundred Years of the Presbyterian Church in Frankford*, 73–79, 119–20; David S. Rorer, "The Main Street of Frankford during the 'Thirties,'" *Papers Read before the Historical Society*

The Seddons, like many of their neighbors, were victims of the dire effects of more than forty years of rapid industrialization and nearly two decades of war. Several of Frankford's early textile operations were founded by emigrants from the Manchester area in the early nineteenth century. By 1819, representatives of districts in England's industrial North declared that high unemployment, skyrocketing prices, and widespread death and disease were so "deep and general" that they were "too great for human endurance." Men and women from Whitefield were among tens of thousands who set out "full of hope and expectation" on August 16, 1819, to hear political reformer Henry Hunt at St. Peter's Field in Manchester, only to return "discomfited and maltreated" with news of the "Peterloo Massacre," the unprovoked government cavalry attack on their peaceful assembly. Considering the political unrest, poverty, and pollution transforming their once-pastoral community, the Seddons may have seen Frankford as a place to apply "New Jerusalem" principles to the industrialization process before it was too late. Schooled in the "Science of Correspondences," they may have found inspiration in the "spiritual sense" of "the church in Philadelphia": "those who are in truths originating in good from the Lord" (Rev. 3:7).⁶⁸

of *Frankford 2* (1909): 26; Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 153; Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 247; Woodville Woodman, *Singing at Sight Made Easy . . . The Lancashire (or English) System . . .* (London, 1860). Woodman was pastor of the Ringley New Jerusalem Society at this time, and later wrote "Fragments of the Early Social History of the New Church in the North. II.—Ringley," *Intellectual Repository* 18 (1871): 161. Anne Cooke and E. N. Kershaw, *History of the New Jerusalem Church, Kearsley, 1808–1908* (Farnworth, UK, 1908), 51–60, 3; Robert Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church, in England, America, and Other Parts* (London, 1861), 338. The visit to the Ringley society occurred September 17, 1820; Thomas, Mary, and John Seddon arrived in New York, July 8, 1820. According to his October 1825 Declaration of Intent, James arrived in Philadelphia at age twenty-seven in 1819; see Philadelphia District Court Naturalization Records, vol. 2, 14, Philadelphia City Archives.

⁶⁸William B. Dixon, "Frankford's Early Industrial Development," *Papers Read before the Historical Society of Frankford 2* (1912): 50–59; George Castor Martin, "Samuel Martin, Proprietor of the First Textile Mill in Frankford," *Papers Read before the Historical Society of Frankford 2* (1916): 243–44; Mary McConaghy, "The Whitaker Mill, 1813–1843: A Case Study of Workers, Technology and Community in Early Industrial Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History* 51 (1984): 30–53; "Meeting on Hunslet Moor," *Observer* (Manchester, UK), June 20, 1819. Robert Poole calls Peterloo "the bloodiest political event of the nineteenth century on English soil," in "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," *Past and Present* 192 (2006): 112. *Recollections of Whitefield and Its Neighbourhood, from 1800 to 1826* (Manchester, UK, [1897]), 11; *A Dictionary of Correspondences . . . Extracted from the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*, 6th ed. (Boston, 1872), 274. The New Church view of "correspondence" is the "internal sense" of the natural world, "the relation which natural things bear to spiritual things," unlike the literary ideas of "fable" or "metaphor"; see discussion and examples in Edward Madeley, *The Science of Correspondence Elucidated*, rev. B. F. Barrett, 6th ed. (Germantown, PA, 1883), 71–84, quote 728.

The Seddons likely heard of Boyle's unique congregation through Schlatter's correspondence with John Clowes and the Manchester Printing Society, founded by Clowes in 1782 to make Swedenborg's works more accessible. For the non-Separatists, Boyle's example was heartening. By the spring of 1822, he was preaching in eight different locations within a twenty-mile radius of Philadelphia, in both Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Based on Boyle's reports, Schlatter estimated he was preaching "to about 1000 persons at the different meetinghouses to which he [had] free access." Thomas Seddon assisted with the local societies and served as a New Church missionary in western Pennsylvania. An 1822 Frankford ordinance helped promote religious toleration in the borough, prohibiting "disturbing any congregation, society or meeting, assembled for the purpose of religious worship, by blowing horns or trumpets, shooting or firing guns, or by any other means with intent to disturb or interrupt the worship or devotion."⁶⁹

At the fifth convention of the New Jerusalem Church, held in Philadelphia, June 3–4, 1822, Boyle requested that his congregation "be received into fellowship" with the New Jerusalem Church, provided they might "still retain their form of Baptism by immersion and their name of Freewill Baptists of the New Jerusalem Church." The request was unanimously adopted. A special version of *Hymns for the Use of the New Church, Signified by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse*, published in Philadelphia in 1822, was issued the same year under the title *The Free-will Baptist Hymn Book: Compiled for the Lord's New Church*. The hymnals are identical, except for the collection of fourteen traditional baptismal hymns appended to the latter. To the non-Separatists, the desire of the Frankford Free-Will Baptists to retain their old name and mode of baptism was insignificant. As the report to Rev. Clowes and the Manchester Printing Society emphasized, "These people are now performing a great use; they are an intermediate link in the great chain, between the New and Old Church." Their example provided inspiration that the future would "see whole congregations of New Church men, worshipping the Lord Jesus under the form in which they had been educated and accustomed, and let

⁶⁹ William Schlatter to Holland Weeks, June 15, 1822 (quote), and William Schlatter to John Clowes, June 17, 1822, William Schlatter Letter Book; Cooke and Kershaw, *History of the New Jerusalem Church*, Kearsley, 57–58; DeCharms, *Newchurchman*, 630–31; *A Digest of the Ordinances of the Borough of Frankford* (Philadelphia, 1836), 51. No records documenting the background of borough ordinances this early are extant; from phone conversation with Philadelphia City Archives staff, Apr. 28, 2014.

that be Methodist, Quaker, Presbyterian, or Baptist, it will make no difference in the sight of our Lord, for he looks at the heart and not at the form.” However, like the Free-Will Baptists, who comfortably blended diverse religious ideas, the nonsectarian “Manchester liberals” and their American offspring are generally assumed to have “gone nowhere.” An early New Church minister used the Ringley society to illustrate the futility of the non-Separatist view: “Had the good old friends continued in their quiet way on Ringley Brow, they would simply have died out, and made no sign, and left no mark.”⁷⁰

Thomas Boyle’s spiritual zeal was his physical undoing. He died in his mid-thirties in May 1823, exhausted by “the glorious cause he had undertaken.” The Seddons and Isaac Worrell, ordained as a New Jerusalem Church minister in December 1823, continued the ecumenical course that defined the congregation over the course of its 150-year history.⁷¹ The 1825 charter for the “New Jerusalem Church in Frankford” may have pushed its Free-Will Baptist heritage into the background, but the congregation did not lose sight of it. Its sense of both church and community history distinguishes it from other reform congregations of the Second Great Awakening. Like other reform groups, the Free-Will

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Fifth General Convention of the Receivers of the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem . . .* (1822), in *Reprint of the Early Journals of the General Convention of the New Jerusalem*, 56–58, quote 57; William Schlatter to John Clowes, June 17, 1822 (quote). The report on the Free-Will Baptists, including notice of publication of their hymnal, appears in the “Twenty-Second Report of the Manchester Printing Society,” *Intellectual Repository for the New Church*, n.s., 1 (1825): 243. One of these hymnals is in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Block, in *New Church in the New World*, 71, contrasts the “non-sectarianism and catholicity” of the “Manchester liberals” with Hindmarsh’s position. Kirven, in “Emanuel Swedenborg and the Revolt against Deism,” 322, sees the choice as “sectarianism or oblivion”; and Jane Williams-Hogan, in “A New Church in a Disenchanted World: A Study of the Formation and Development of the General Conference of the New Church in Great Britain” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1985), 676, contends that in “social and organizational terms,” the position of Clowes and his followers “went nowhere.” New Church minister Jonathan Bayley discusses the early Ringley church in *New Church Worthies, or, Early but Little-Known Disciples of the Lord in Diffusing the Truths of the New Church* (London, 1884), 155.

⁷¹ “Obituary,” *Intellectual Repository for the New Church*, n.s., 1 (1825): 81–85. A memorial poem was written by Caroline M. Thayer and published with the title, “Tribute to the memory of The Rev. Mr. Boyle,” in *New-Jerusalem Missionary, and Intellectual Repository* 1, no. 2 (1823): 69–71. In 1821, Thayer had described the religious and gender discrimination of New York Methodists when she embraced Swedenborg’s doctrines, in *Letter to the Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of New-York: Stating the Reasons of the Writer for Withdrawing from That Church and the Circumstances of Her Subsequent Dismission from the Wesleyan Seminary* (New York, 1821); she ultimately returned to the Methodists. A small clipping from an unidentified Philadelphia newspaper, attached to the cover of the transcript of Boyle’s *Some Account*, shows that the New Jerusalem Church of Frankford was formally dissolved in May 1971.

Baptists interpreted scripture in a new way, but, unlike many, they did not “revolt against history” or dismiss the Old Testament. Instead, their young founders, heirs of dissenting traditions that embraced religious toleration and easily blended “science and superstition, naturalism and supernaturalism, medicine and quackery,” applied Swedenborg’s “modern,” scientific guide to the “internal sense” of the Bible and the natural world to create lives of charity and service in their rapidly transforming neighborhood.⁷²

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⁷² Hatch, “Christian Movement,” 559; Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 36. Hatch uses these apparent dichotomies as evidence of the fluidity of thought exemplified by evangelists such as Lorenzo Dow; however, these were also traits of early English and German dissent. For religious tolerance and folk practice among Pennsylvania Germans, see Longenecker, *Piety and Tolerance*; and Richard E. Wentz, “The American Character and the American Revolution: A Pennsylvania German Sampler,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44 (1976): 115–31. Many of the English immigrants that joined the Frankford church came from Lancashire, long identified as an area of religious diversity, where science and superstition intersected; see Hardman, *Classic Soil*; Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, UK, 1872); David Paxman, “Lancashire Spiritual Culture and the Question of Magic,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 30 (2001): 223–43; and John Percy, “Scientists in Humble Life: The Artisan Naturalists of South Lancashire,” *Manchester Region History Review* 5 (1991): 3–10.

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.”¹ 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.² In seek-

This project owes a large debt to Sandra Markham, whose extensive cataloguing of the McAllister collection enabled me to construct this analysis, and to Jose Feliciano, who transcribed many of the documents cited here. I thank Robin Veder and Julie Karney for comments on an earlier draft, as well as audiences at the American Antiquarian Society, the European Early American Studies Association, Princeton University, the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, and Penn State, Harrisburg. Tamara Gaskell, Rachel Moloshok, and two anonymous reviewers provided invaluable guidance. This research has been funded by fellowships from the American Antiquarian Society, Princeton University Libraries, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Hagley, and Winterthur, as well as a Research Council Grant and photography subvention from Penn State, Harrisburg.

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

² 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.³

³T. 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.⁴ 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 1853.⁵ 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.⁶

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

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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.⁷ Three antiquarians—John Fanning Watson, John A. McAllister, and Benson Lossing—have been the subject of extended analyses.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.

⁷ 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).

⁸ 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).

⁹ 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 1784.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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.¹² One of the earliest state historical societies, the HSP began by collect-

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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.¹³ 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."¹⁴ 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."¹⁵

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 1832.¹⁶ 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.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

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.²⁰ François Weil has noted that interest in genealogy accompanied people's desire to make clear their “pedigree, lin-

¹⁷ 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.

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

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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.²¹ 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.²²

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.²³ 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.

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.

²¹ 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.

²² 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.

²³ 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."²⁴ 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.²⁵

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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ 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.²⁸ Lossing popularized history at the expense of interpretive and, sometimes, factual accuracy.²⁹ 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.³⁰

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.³¹ 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.

²⁸ 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).

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ *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.

³¹ 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.³² Lossing apparently served as the impetus for Dreer's turn to the collecting of complete letters, rather than autographs alone.³³ 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.³⁴ 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."³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.³⁷

³² 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.

³³ Carson, *History of the HSP*, 2:60.

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ Lavinia Whitman to Lossing, May 13, 1861. Lossing Papers, HSP.

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ 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.³⁸

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!"³⁹ Increased immigration in the 1840s and '50s exacerbated ethnic, racial, and class tensions and fueled nativist sentiment.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

³⁸They 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.

³⁹John 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>.

⁴⁰Philadelphia 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.

⁴¹Geffen, "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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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-

⁴² Mires, *Independence Hall*, 84–86.

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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

⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York, 2008), 106.

⁵² 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."⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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

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

⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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.”⁵⁶ 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 Logonian 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.”⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

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

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ McAllister to Lossing, Jan. 13, 1857, Lossing Collection, University of Michigan.

⁵⁷ 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.”

⁵⁸ McAllister to Lossing, Dec. 26, 1856, Lossing Papers, HSP.

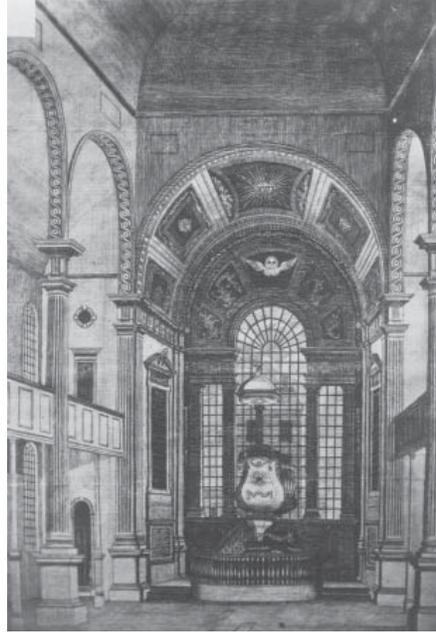


Fig. 3. McAllister & Brother, Interior of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Albumen print of a 1785 engraving by James Peller Malcolm, 1860. John A. McAllister Collection, (4)1322.F.65, Library Company of Philadelphia.

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?”⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

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.”⁶² Two years later, McAllister told Lossing, “A grandson of the late reverend Dr. Priestley left with us some weeks ago an engraving of

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² 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.”⁶³

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.⁶⁴

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.”⁶⁵ 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

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ Lossing to McAllister, Nov. 18, 1854, box 2, folder 122, McAllister Papers.

⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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.”⁶⁸ 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.”⁶⁹ For men such

⁶⁶ Lossing to McAllister, Apr. 28, 1854, box 2, folder 122, McAllister Papers.

⁶⁷ 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.

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

⁶⁹ 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?"⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ 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."⁷² On one occasion, Mayer asked McAllister to pass materials on to Dreer.⁷³ 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."⁷⁴ Some nine years later, Lossing referred to Greble and Dreer as his "aides-de-camp." This phrasing, which

⁷⁰ 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.

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² 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.

⁷³ Mayer to McAllister, Dec. 17, 1861, box 2, folder 150, McAllister Papers.

⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵

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.⁷⁶ 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."⁷⁷ 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."⁷⁸ 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."⁷⁹ 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."⁸⁰ In a letter to Dreer,

⁷⁵ 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.

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

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

⁷⁸ Horatio C. Jones to Lossing, May 15, 1861, Lossing Collection, University of Michigan.

⁷⁹ 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.

⁸⁰ 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.”⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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

⁸¹ Lossing to Dreer, Dec. 16, 1858, box 18, folder 34, Dreer Autograph Collection.

⁸² 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.⁸³

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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁶ 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."⁸⁷

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

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ McAllister to Lossing, Apr. 2, 1864, Lossing Papers, HSP.

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ McAllister to Lossing, Mar. 19 1864, Lossing Papers, HSP.

⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰

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.⁹¹ Mayer sold some of his material at

⁸⁸ Clarke, “Old-Fashioned Tea Parties,” 295, 300.

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

⁹⁰ Cited in Dorr, *Memoir of John Fanning Watson*, 85–86.

⁹¹ 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?⁹²

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 1911.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ Annie Hobbs of Laconia, New Hampshire, spent the day,

⁹² Mayer to McAllister, Apr. 30, 1870, box 22, folder 151, McAllister Papers.

⁹³ 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.

⁹⁴ 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!⁹⁵

Centennial guidebooks emphasized many of these sites, such as Independence Hall and Christ Church.⁹⁶ 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.”⁹⁷

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

⁹⁵ 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.

⁹⁶ 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).

⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹

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.

Penn State Harrisburg

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⁹⁸ 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*.

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

Row Housing as Public Housing: The Philadelphia Story, 1957–2013

IN THE EARLY 1920s, Bernard Newman, the executive director of the Philadelphia Housing Association, extolled the Philadelphia row house as the ideal affordable shelter, urging row housing as a viable solution to what the “housers” of the 1920s and 1930s—prominent reformers such as Edith Elmer Wood, Carol Arnovici, and Catherine Bauer—called America’s “housing problem.” No evidence exists that between the first and second world wars these housers, enthralled by European modernism, ever actually entertained Newman’s idea. Beginning in the 1950s, however, the idea that row housing—especially “used row housing”—could provide good, affordable accommodations for low-income, working-class families gained ascendancy among Philadelphia housing reformers, and by 1970 row housing had become a sizeable part of the city’s public housing stock. However, the late twentieth-century embrace of used row housing hardly signified reformers’ sudden adoption of Newman’s convictions about the efficacy of the row house. Instead it reflected, first, the city’s and the nation’s growing disillusionment with modernist public housing (and, for that matter, urban renewal) and the abrading of what historian Christopher Klemek has called the “urban renewal order.” Under planner Edmund Bacon, that order had flourished in postwar Philadelphia. Born out of early twentieth-century Progressivism, it proposed that government-orchestrated and government-funded action, guided by experts (urbanists, planners, engineers, and master builders, among others), could impose rationality upon the unkempt modern city. Second, the rekindled interest in old-fashioned row housing underscored not only the Quaker City’s dread about the widespread abandonment by whites of row housing itself but also its recognition of the stock’s great abundance, its low cost, and its availability for rehabilitation as public housing. This paper explores Philadelphia’s “Used House” experiment, and, ultimately, why it failed.¹

¹ On the history of the row house, see Mary Ellen Hayward, *Baltimore’s Alley Houses: Homes for Working People since the 1780s* (Baltimore, 2008); and Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture*

Unlike Philadelphia's row house—which, like the fabled log cabin, the Cape Cod cottage, and other colonial and colonial revival forms, basked somewhat in a patriotic glow—public housing in America, in almost any form, bore the stigma of the European functional Bauhaus architecture, and, thus, of feared European socialism. Still, public housing had found a niche in postwar Philadelphia, especially after 1950. In that year, the city's politically progressive and Democratic-aligned “Young Turks,” led by Philadelphia social elites and future city mayors Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth and the young, Princeton- and Harvard-educated lawyer Walter M. Phillips, wrested city government from decades of Republican Party control. Committed to modernist urban planning, government efficiency, and social and racial justice, the Young Turks framed a new city charter (adopted in 1950), revamped the city's moribund planning commission, and created a Commission on Human Relations dedicated to racial justice. Abetted by Washington and the newly enacted Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Act of 1949, which for the first time pledged the nation to “a decent home in a decent environment for every American,” city reformers such as Dorothy S. Montgomery (director in the 1950s of the Philadelphia Housing Association), Walter Phillips, G. Holmes Perkins (dean of the University of Pennsylvania School of Fine Arts), and the Cornell-educated architect/planner Edmund Bacon (apprenticed in Flint, Michigan, and fresh from World War II naval service in the Pacific) viewed public housing as part of the process of excising away Philadelphia's obsolescent industrial past and ushering in a modern and more physically attractive future for a “Better Philadelphia.”²

and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830 (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005). On Newman, Arnonovici, Bauer, Wood, housers, and the Philadelphia Housing Association, see John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920–1974* (Philadelphia, 1987), passim. On the history of public housing in America, see Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago, 1996); D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing* (Chicago, 2009); and Lawrence J. Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighborhoods* (Cambridge, MA, 2000). On disillusionment with public housing, see Catherine Bauer Wurster, “The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing,” *Architectural Forum* 106 (May 1957): 221. On “urban renewal order,” see Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago, 2011).

² On Young Turks, see Kirk Petchek, *The Challenge of Urban Reform: Policies and Programs in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1973); Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*, 97; and Guian McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008). On postwar modernism and Holmes Perkins in Philadelphia, see Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007). On Bacon, see Gregory L. Heller, *Ed Bacon: Planning, Politics, and the Building of Modern*

In this quest for urban reform and modernization, however, postwar housers and planners in Philadelphia—as in Boston, Baltimore, and many other cities—faced gigantic economic and demographic obstacles, among them rampant deindustrialization, suburbanization, racial change, and an aging infrastructure. After World War II, industry rapidly migrated south or suburbanized. Many firms simply vanished. Between 1957 and 1964, Philadelphia lost 29 percent of its manufacturing sector and 101,400 jobs.³

To the consternation of planners such as urbanite Ed Bacon, Philadelphia's affluent, tax-paying, white middle class followed industry and an earlier exodus of elites out of the city. (Indeed, much of Bacon's vision of a "Better Philadelphia" aimed to lure the city's white gentry back into the city.) Enticed by attractive Veterans Administration and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgage deals, mass advertising, the resurgent automobile market, and new freeways such as Philadelphia's Schuylkill Expressway, white-collar and working-class whites flocked to Montgomery and Bucks Counties, where by the 1960s ranch house and split-level subdivisions sprang up, seemingly overnight.⁴

As whites left the city, African American families arrived in their wake, many from the poor, agricultural regions of the rural South. Philadelphia had long nurtured a sizeable black population concentrated, but not ghettoized, in South Philadelphia and, to a smaller degree, in lower North Philadelphia. During World War II, as they had in World War I, African American in-migrants crowded into tiny bandbox tenements nestled into the narrow courts and alleys of lower North Philadelphia, south of Columbia Avenue. Philadelphia's black population, which had historically

Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 2013); and John F. Bauman, "Ed Bacon's Legacy," *Planning* 72 (Apr. 2006): 13–16; the reference to "Better Philadelphia" alludes to the "Better Philadelphia Exhibit" of 1947, which promulgated a modernistic vision of the future city.

³ Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*, 5–6. On postwar deindustrialization, see McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 25–27; William J. Stull and Janice Fanning Madden, *Post-Industrial: Structural Changes in the Metropolitan Economy* (Philadelphia, 1990), 22–43; and Ira Goldstein and William L. Yancey, "Public Housing Projects, Blacks, and Public Policy: The Ecology of Public Housing in Philadelphia," in *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy*, ed. John M. Goering (Chapel Hill, NC, 1986), 276–77. The dramatic shift in jobs can be seen graphically on Philadelphia business maps. See, for example, the cluster of jobs in central Philadelphia in *Franklin's Street and Business Occupancy Atlas of Philadelphia and Suburbs* (Philadelphia, 1946).

⁴ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, 2003); Kenneth Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985); John F. Bauman, "The Expressway 'Motorists Loved to Hate': Philadelphia and the First Era of Postwar Highway Planning, 1943–1956," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115 (1991): 503–33. On Edmund Bacon, see Heller, *Ed Bacon*, 124–25.

hovered around 10 percent of the city's overall population, rose to over 18 percent by 1950 and to over 33 percent by 1970. In North Philadelphia the black population soared from 22 percent of the total in 1930 to almost 70 percent in 1960.⁵

While new row housing spread in fits and starts throughout parts of Olney, Oak Lane, Overbrook, and the Oxford Circle area of the Northeast from 1937 to the eve of World War II, most of the city's housing stock—in fact, over 58.5 percent in 1980—had been built before 1939. Postwar homebuyers, blue-collar workers included, increasingly balked at purchasing row housing, with its twelve- to twenty-two-foot frontages and its postage-stamp front lawns or rear lots, especially when the Levitt Brothers in the 1950s advertised a new “rancher” for under \$10,000. Significantly, despite this postwar appeal of the new over the old, neighborhoods such as Olney, Frankford, Oak Lane, Lawndale, and Kensington (what *Philadelphia Bulletin* reporter Peter Binzen called “Whitetown, U.S.A.”) and areas where firms such as Rohm and Haas, Exide, Sears and Roebuck, and Standard Pressed Steel still provided secure employment remained, for a time, economically and demographically stable.⁶

But while such neighborhoods still flourished in far North Philadelphia, the forces of early deindustrialization, deepened by the Great Depression of the 1930s, inexorably eroded the urban fabric of much of the old manufacturing city and rendered the appearance of the city's working-class, streetcar-served neighborhoods, as well as its downtown, bleak. Planners during World War II became especially alarmed at the dour, gritty appearance of the downtown, which seemed increasingly obsolete and in desperate need of revamping. Redevelopment planning in Philadelphia actually commenced during the war, but, despite the city's grandiose urban renewal plans unveiled at the 1947 “Better Philadelphia” exhibit, which featured such modernist tours de force as downtown's Penn Center, urban blight seemed more intractable than ever by the mid-1950s. Moreover, clearing the city's murkiest slums, such as the “Triangle Area” adjoining

⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; New York, 1967); Matthew Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2005), 50–53; John F. Bauman, “Black Slums/Black Projects: The New Deal and Negro Housing in Philadelphia,” *Pennsylvania History*, 41 (1974): 311–39.

⁶ Carolyn Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division, and Conflict in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia, 1991), 73; Peter Binzen, *Whitetown, U.S.A.* (New York, 1971), passim; Herbert Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (New York, 1982), passim; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 237–38.

the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and the “Poplar Area” in lower North Philadelphia, displaced thousands of mostly poor African American families, worsening the city’s housing crisis, pushing blight further outward, and forcing Philadelphia’s public housing, all low-rise before World War II, to expand vertically.

Philadelphia’s Stigmatized High-Rise Public Housing

Nurtured by the ideas of Wood, Bauer, Aronovici, and other progressive housers who were convinced that the nation’s private housing marketplace had long failed to provide “safe and sanitary” housing for the working classes, and inspired by progressive housing movements in Europe dating to the nineteenth century, such as English civil servant Ebenezer Howard’s idea of the “garden city,” the foundations of public housing arose in America between 1933 and 1937 and were given legislative form in the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Act. In most cities, public housing, such as Philadelphia’s Carl Mackley Homes, was initially modeled on the designs of Weimar Germany’s Bauhaus school, taking the form of three or four blocks of low-rise buildings arranged about common space, with communal facilities. Indeed, only reluctantly, and in the wake of the 1949 Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing and urban redevelopment legislation and large-scale slum clearance, did the Philadelphia Housing Authority (henceforth called the Authority) concede the necessity for eleven-, fifteen-, and eighteen-story modernist towers. Inspired by the soaring, *Ville Radieuse* tower-city vision of Swiss-French architect Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (better known as Le Corbusier), Philadelphia architects such as Oscar Stonorov designed high-rise housing projects such as Schuylkill Falls, located in the verdant East Falls section of Germantown. Norris Apartments and Cambridge Plaza, high-rise monoliths, arose near Temple University in lower North Philadelphia.

From as early as 1952, the Authority’s executive director, Walter Alessandrini, seeking new sites for his federal allocation of public housing units, wrote Director of City Planning Bacon opposing building more public housing complexes in costly, congested slum areas such as North Philadelphia. Alessandrini begged Bacon “to approve small sites in integrated neighborhoods . . . [particularly] vacant sites in the Northeast on which can be erected approximately 500 units.” Sensitive to white protest, he confessed, “we are reluctant to make studies of sites north of Cottman

Street in the all-white Northeast unless we can obtain from the City Planning Commission areas . . . with some possible chance of approval.” In this area north of Cottman Street, Bacon hoped to salvage a portion of the city’s once-vast industrialism and preserve the city’s rapidly eroding middle-class tax base. For this “New Northeast” area, Bacon and the City Planning Commission drafted plans for modern industrial parks located near garden city–like communities of row and twin houses situated on grassy cul-de-sacs.⁷

In the mid-1950s, Alessandroni, with Mayor Clark, Bacon, and the city’s new housing coordinator, William Rafsky, joined a mounting chorus nationally fearful that public housing (particularly in high-rise towers) exacerbated an ominous pattern of urban racial segregation: a spreading and increasingly ghettoized black urban core surrounded by hostile white neighborhoods. The pattern must be halted. Neighborhoods must be stabilized, existing housing rehabilitated, housing codes enforced, and, as far as the Chamber of Commerce, the Philadelphia Association of Realtors, and the Home Builders Association were concerned, un-American public housing terminated.

Rehabilitation as an Alternative

President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s 1953 Advisory Commission on Government Housing Policies and Programs, headed by the famous Baltimore mall and festival market builder James Rouse, urged a neighborhood conservation alternative to the housing and slum clearance-oriented redevelopment plans implicit in the 1949 Housing Act. Rouse’s plan (which produced the Housing and Urban Renewal Act of 1954), modeled on successful neighborhood revitalization occurring in Baltimore’s Waverly section, did not entirely scuttle public housing but instead wedded it to urban renewal as part of a broader program that embraced housing code enforcement, zoning, “clean-up-paint-up-fix-up” initiatives, and housing rehabilitation.⁸ Section 314 of the 1954 Housing and Urban Renewal Act

⁷ On the wedding of public housing and renewal, see Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*, 139. On Bacon and industry and jobs in the Northeast, see McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 45–55. See Walter Alessandroni to Edmund Bacon, Oct. 1, 1952, Philadelphia Housing Authority Minutes, Oct. 6, 1952, Philadelphia Housing Authority Library, Philadelphia. [hereafter, HA Mins, date]. On Bacon’s garden city–type planning for the Northeast, see Heller, *Ed Bacon*, 77–79.

⁸ *Recommendations on Government Housing Policies and Programs: A Report of the President’s Advisory Commission on Government Housing Policies and Programs* (Washington, DC, 1953).

funded grants for demonstrations of how neighborhoods affected by blight might be renewed using code enforcement, FHA loans for rehabilitation, and other planning tools. In 1954, “in an effort to conquer once and for all the problem of slums” and prevent the “building in of blighting factors in city sections being newly developed and to get active neighborhood participation in the process,” Housing Coordinator Rafsky identified four city areas as test sites for what he termed a “Leadership Program”: Morton in Germantown, Hawthorne in the Frankford section, East Poplar in lower North Philadelphia, and Haddington in West Philadelphia.⁹

During the next two years (1955–57) Rafsky unveiled what he called in January 1957 “A New Approach to Urban Renewal in Philadelphia.” As part of the development coordinator’s effort to de-emphasize slum clearance and redevelopment in the city’s excrescent old slum areas, Rafsky, in concert with the Housing Authority, spotlighted “conservable” neighborhoods beyond the central city where the Authority and Rafsky in 1956 selected twenty-one sites for scattered, small-scale (as opposed to high-rise) public housing projects. Significantly, half would be located in white neighborhoods such as Logan, Olney, and the Northeast. Next, in the late spring of 1956, the city applied for a Section 314, \$179,000 grant from the Urban Renewal Administration to monitor the city’s new Leadership Area Program. While the Leadership Program fared well, Rafsky’s effort to scatter public housing in white neighborhoods such as Olney, Manayunk, Nicetown, and Oxford Circle met fierce white opposition and failed utterly.¹⁰

Failing to use public housing to batter down the walls of a deepening urban pattern of racial segregation, bemoaning public housing’s worsening reputation, and determined to better housing opportunities for Philadelphia’s growing African American population, in September 1956, two of the city’s foremost liberal organizations, the Philadelphia

⁹ See “Housing Act of 1954,” Pub. L. No. 560, 68 Stat. 590 (1954); also “Taking Profits Out of the Slums: Code Enforcement Spoils Market for Slum Housing in Philadelphia,” *Housing and Home Magazine*, Feb. 1956, box 63, Philadelphia D-1, folder 174, Records of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, RG 207, National Archives and Record Administration (hereafter, HUD 207); “Application by City of Philadelphia for Demonstration Grant under Section 314 of Housing Act of 1954,” Apr. 17, 1956, box 63, Philadelphia D-1, folder 174, HUD 207.

¹⁰ On Rafsky’s twenty-one sites, see Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*, 156–65; on white resistance, Kathleen Little of Germany Hill Civic Association to Albert Cole, administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency, June 19, 1956; and Herman Hillman, regional director of Region II, to Philadelphia Housing Authority, July 30, 1956, box 151, subject files 1947–1960, folder 483A Pa, HUD 207.

Housing Association (PHA) and the Citizens Committee on the City Plan (CCCP), formed the Joint Committee on Public Housing Policy (JCPHP) to undertake a reevaluation of the city's public housing policies. The year 1957 also marked the twentieth anniversary of the nation's public housing program. From the outset, the JCPHP fully acknowledged "recent widespread opposition to [Rafsky's] scattered-site concept" and the fact that "among many community groups public housing seems to be unacceptable." Philadelphia's liberal housers in 1957 never doubted the need for government-provided, "safe and sanitary," affordable housing to low-income families. As they promised Blair Lee, chairman of the Authority's board of trustees, they would approach their work "in a spirit of friendly cooperation."¹¹

Jefferson B. Fordham, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, chaired the joint committee, and both Richard Brown, president of the CCCP, and Dorothy S. Montgomery, executive director of the PHA, served as members. The committee's final report, entitled "Basic Policies for Public Housing for Low-Income Families in Philadelphia," concluded that public housing, launched in 1937 as a way to shelter the nation's submerged middle class, disproportionately "served the aged, large families, and minorities, especially those having chronic social and economic disabilities" in 1957. Public housing, confessed the JCPHP, "once viewed potentially as a vehicle for social justice, no longer operated as a tool for racial integration. It best served the black poor." The report condemned high-rise projects as "unsatisfactory for [large] family living." It admitted the failure of Rafsky's "scattered-site" plan to achieve racial integration. Finally, and somewhat dramatically, it proposed that the Authority make rehabilitated "used housing" an effective alternative housing strategy.¹²

The Advent of the Used House Program, 1957–58

Did the JCPHP regard used housing as a more politically acceptable means for racial integration? The "Basic Policies" report left that

¹¹ See Henry C. Beeritz, president of the PHA, and Richard P. Brown, president of the CCCP, to Mr. P. Blair Lee, chair of Philadelphia Housing Authority, Sept. 10, 1956, HA Mins, Sept. 10, 1956.

¹² Joint Committee on Public Housing Policy, "Basic Policies for Public Housing for Low-Income Families in Philadelphia," 1957, found in Housing Association of the Delaware Valley Papers, Urban Archives, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia (hereafter, HADV Papers); Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*, 180–81; Countryman, *Up South*, 78.

unclear. In any case, both the United States Public Housing Administration and the Philadelphia Housing Authority found merit in the idea. In Montgomery's opinion, Washington actually seemed more enthusiastic than the Philadelphia Authority. In fact, Alessandroni would later confess to Rafsky that "while the used house program . . . here in Philadelphia has potential for future use in other areas, I do not believe it can take the place of development either on slum clearance land or in open areas."¹³

In any case, the 1957 "Basic Policies" report, once forwarded to Washington, had a profound impact. A demure but plain-spoken Montgomery told Catherine Bauer Wurster in 1958, "In some ways our public housing report has been the most successful as far as outcome." "As you probably know," explained Montgomery, "the Public Housing Administration, grasping at straws, invited Philadelphia officialdom to Washington in the middle of January [1958] to push the used-house idea. The boys in the agency are much more interested in the idea than our Authority. The federal agency imposed no restrictions, no regulations, nothing; 'just go ahead and buy some houses.'"¹⁴

As Montgomery's remarks implied, in early January 1958 the JCPHP had met in the Authority's Chestnut Street offices to plan for the scheduled mid-January meeting in Washington at which it would personally present and defend its "Basic Policies" findings to Charles Slusser, the public housing administrator. In addition to the JCPHP members, Aaron Levine of the CCCP, Cushing Dolbeare of the PHA, Alessandroni and Drayton Bryant for the Authority, and Rafsky—recently promoted to development coordinator, in charge of providing city oversight of both housing and renewal efforts—also attended. Everyone at the early January meeting, including Rafsky, concurred that the delegation should highlight the policy committee's used housing proposal.¹⁵

On January 15, in Washington, DC, with Mayor Richardson Dilworth and Edmund Bacon now also present, Slusser made the used house proposal a central item on the agenda. While Rafsky and Bacon frequently interjected Philadelphia's demand for greater "flexibility" in dealing with Washington's strict cost-per-unit regulations for new project construc-

¹³ Alessandroni to Rafsky, Dec. 10, 1959, Urban Development Coordinator Unit Files, Philadelphia City Planning Commission Records (RG 145), Philadelphia City Archives; Dorothy S. Montgomery to Catherine Bauer Wurster, Apr. 3, 1958, box 330, folder 6431, HADV Papers.

¹⁴ Montgomery to Wurster, Apr. 3, 1958, HADV Papers.

¹⁵ Minutes of Special Meeting to Discuss Conference with Charles Slusser, Jan. 7, 1958, box 281, folder 4877, HADV Papers.

tion, Dilworth emphasized the importance of making used housing part of a “total approach” to urban renewal. Slusser, for his part, applauded the idea, but mainly, and significantly, as a way to lower the cost of public housing. Nor, as Montgomery noted, did Slusser, nor any of the other representatives of the US Public Housing Administration in attendance, see any legal or other obstacle to launching a pilot used housing program in Philadelphia. Dilworth, Rafsky, and Alessandroni forthwith informed Slusser that the city had identified the Haddington Leadership site for the “experiment” and pinpointed twenty-six houses ready for immediate purchase. At the end of the meeting the group settled on two hundred houses as a “reasonable” number for the pilot program.¹⁶

Slusser’s “grasping at straws,” to quote Montgomery, presumed some novelty to the used housing idea. However, there were precedents for used housing as a way to shelter low-income families. The Public Works Administration’s First Houses in New York City (1934) involved the partial demolition and reuse of nineteenth-century tenements. And Philadelphia’s federally backed, Quaker-sponsored Penn Towne (1953) in the East Poplar renewal area utilized used housing. As early as 1945, in testimony before the Senate Banking and Commerce Committee, Public Housing Administration Commissioner Philip Klutznik had stated his “firm belief that to the extent . . . [using] reliable existing housing and making it available for families of low income is feasible, it ought to be done.” In the late nineteenth century, as Montgomery reminded the January 15 gathering, Philadelphia’s Octavia Hill Society made great use of existing housing to better shelter the city’s poor.¹⁷

¹⁶ From Howard W. Hallman (PHA) to “The File”: Subject: Meeting on January 15, 1958, with Public Housing Administration in Washington, box 278, folder 4818, HADV Papers; on Slusser’s view of used housing, see also, *Housing Act of 1958: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives*, 85th Cong. 152–53 (1958). Under the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Haddington, together with East Poplar and the Morton area of Germantown, had been selected for a pilot Leadership Program, which tested zoning, housing code enforcement, and community involvement as tools for neighborhood revitalization. See final report of Housing and Home Finance Agency–funded Leadership Program in Philadelphia, Office of Development Coordinator (of Philadelphia) in cooperation with the Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Partnership for Renewal: A Working Program* (Philadelphia, 1960).

¹⁷ For Klutznik quote, see Robert Moore Fisher, *20 Years of Public Housing: Economic Aspects of the Federal Programs* (1959; Westport, CT, 1975), 142; on Octavia Hill, see John F. Sutherland, “Housing the Poor in the City of Homes: Philadelphia at the Turn of the Century,” in *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790–1940*, ed. Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia, 1973), 175–201.

Moreover, used housing comported with Bacon's plans for Society Hill, an aging, impoverished, but intact early eighteenth-century neighborhood. Drawn to modernism, Bacon nevertheless possessed an equally strong affinity for preserving elements of the historic fabric of the past as a framework for shaping the urban future. Like the townhouses of Society Hill, the row housing of North Philadelphia comprised a sizeable part of the city's historic cityscape. In the case of Society Hill, however, Bacon desired an elite residential clientele to be rehoused; in North Philadelphia, this clientele would consist of the poor.¹⁸

The Advent of Philadelphia's Used House Program

At the outset of this grand urban experiment, Philadelphia's liberal housers and planners, troubled by the course of public housing, clearly viewed used housing as a potentially more humane and racially integrative alternative to the city's housing problems. Like Slusser, Bacon, Montgomery, and Rafsky, they also saw it as a less costly solution, considering the abundance and availability of low-cost row housing. Why not have contractors rehabilitate moldering buildings in the city's old streetcar suburbs and sell them to the city's public housing authority?

Like the Authority, these well-meaning reformers seemingly ignored the looming problem of how to manage and maintain hundreds of units of "scattered" public housing. Nor did they compute the logistics of service delivery into their equation. Increasingly, in the late 1950s, public housing officials such as Chicago's Elizabeth Wood and even Philadelphia's Dorothy Montgomery fretted about the growing issue of "problem families" in public housing: mainly nonwhite, female-headed households that, in addition to poverty, faced a host of socioeconomic issues such as delinquency, poor health, low job skills, substance abuse, and crime.¹⁹

Public housers in the 1930s imagined low-income, working-class tenants residing in well-designed communities and assuming a major part of the maintenance responsibility. But, if high-rise public housing, with its issues of sterility and "indefensible space" distorted the idea of public housing as *communitas*, scattered-site public housing shattered it. While

¹⁸ On Bacon and Society Hill elite, see Heller, *Ed Bacon*, 125–26.

¹⁹ On "problem families," see Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster*, 168–73; for Montgomery reference, see HA Mins, July 10, 1958.

scattered sites freed tenants from the constantly prowling eyes of neighbors and the prying of Authority management, they also isolated poor tenants from convenient access to emergency assistance, not only for social problems but for everyday dilemmas such as pests, leaking pipes, clogged drains, and broken appliances, inevitable concerns even in newly renovated dwellings.²⁰

Finally, Philadelphia's used house program existed under the same Annual Contributions Contract (ACC) formula that by 1957 had already proved flawed in regard to the city's conventional public housing inventory. Under the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Act, which created public housing, local housing authorities (LHAs) built housing with monies acquired locally from bond issues sold to large city banks, such as Philadelphia's Girard Trust. Washington, in turn, insured the payment of these bonds via money raised from federal treasury-backed bonds whose payment was guaranteed via a yearly congressional appropriation. Thus, Congress provided almost 100 percent of the capital cost of public housing construction. The formula, however, left to LHAs the cost of managing and maintaining those modernistic behemoths. In the springtime of public housing, 1937–50, with tenants mainly consisting of steadily employed, intact families, project housing fared well. But as housing authorities erected more high-rises, and as tenant social composition changed, costly maintenance problems mushroomed. During World War II, public housing sheltered not only intact families, but families with secure jobs in war industries. Plentiful wartime jobs and government-enforced fair hiring practices attracted thousands of African American families from Virginia and North Carolina to the city. After the war, federal policy forced hundreds of those intact families with incomes over the maximum for continued occupancy out of public housing, while demobilization, deindustrialization, racially discriminatory hiring practices, and urban renewal activity rendered the city's tenant population—particularly black families—increasingly jobless, broken, and distressed. Tenant family sizes rose, poverty deepened, project rental income declined, and, as project physical plants aged, the costs and burdens of management and maintenance increasingly overwhelmed LHAs. Meanwhile, the solutions Congress proffered represented Band-

²⁰ For Bauer's, Ackerman's, and Mumford's visions of public housing, see Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (New York, 1934).

Aids, not surgery. Sadly, the authors of used housing in the late 1950s and 1960s ignored the implications of this fatal flaw.²¹

Philadelphia's used housing demonstration program began small in Haddington, a Conservation and Leadership Area. In Conservation Areas, the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority (RDA)—founded by Pennsylvania law in 1947 with the power of eminent domain to condemn and “take” private property for public purposes—hoped to stabilize neighborhoods, physically and socially, by involving community participation, enforcing city housing codes, upgrading city services, infusing federal rehabilitation monies, and building neighborhood leadership skills. Haddington sat in West Philadelphia, between Fifty-Second and Sixty-Third Streets and Market Street and Girard Avenue. A 190-block “streetcar suburb,” it was located eight blocks west of the RDA's heralded “University City” redevelopment area.²² Haddington perfectly fit Bacon and Rafsky's definition of a “C” or “Conservation Area,” a “neighborhood just beginning to show signs of blight.” Away from industry, with rows of tightly packed attached, duplex, and free-standing dwellings, Haddington was the kind of nonindustrial, middle-aged, white-collar neighborhood that, confronted by a growing African American population in West Philadelphia and fueled by the GI Bill and FHA low- or no-interest mortgage incentives, invited “white flight”—and, as sociologists Ira Goldstein and William Yancey have documented, African American settlement, FHA redlining, and public housing. Mill Creek, a redevelopment area adjoining Haddington, hosted the Louis I. Kahn–designed Mill Creek public housing project. Selected as a Leadership Area in 1954, Haddington quickly formed an active “Leadership Organization” and, with the city's help, undertook an American Public Health Association (APHA) survey, which rated 20 percent of the area's housing “deteriorated.” Photographs accompanying the survey displayed trash-littered lots and streets with abandoned automobiles.²³

²¹ Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster*, 168.

²² On Haddington, see Philadelphia City Planning Commission, *Annual Report, 1958* (Philadelphia, 1958); on the University of Pennsylvania, Martin Meyerson, and “University City,” see John L. Pluckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, “Martin Meyerson's Dream of ‘One University’: The Penn Presidency 1970–81, and Beyond,” *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 193–218.

²³ On Haddington, see Philadelphia Housing Association, *A Citizens Guide to Housing and Urban Renewal in Philadelphia*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1960), 59–60, plus maps; Ira Goldstein and William L. Yancey, “Public Housing Projects, Blacks, and Public Policy: The Historical Ecology of Public Housing in Philadelphia,” in *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy*, ed. John M. Goering (Chapel Hill, NC,

On Monday, December 8, 1958, in accordance with the city's "Cooperative Agreement" (by which the city, in lieu of its share of the project cost, agreed to vacate streets, forego property taxes, and provide services such as education, water, and sewer), the Housing Authority held a public hearing on its proposal to purchase two hundred single homes "for the purpose of renovation and occupancy by single families in the Haddington Area." Hearing no objection, Philadelphia launched the nation's "first Used-Housing Program." The initial house purchased by the Authority in Haddington, and the first to be opened for occupancy, was typical. This two-story dwelling had been built at the turn of the century. Before the Authority bought the vacant, deteriorating dwelling from the bank, it was the only abandoned house on the block. The Authority completely modernized it, redecorated it with a new concrete porch adorned with an iron railing, and installed brand new windows, electric fixtures, kitchen appliances, plumbing, and wallpaper.²⁴

Despite bright beginnings, the pioneer Haddington used house demonstration ended abruptly. On December 2, 1959, a lawsuit brought by Abraham White of the South Philadelphia Realty Board, joined by realty boards from North, West, and Northeast Philadelphia, challenged the legality of the program. At the time, only forty of the two hundred used single houses approved for the demonstration had been purchased. It was not until September 25, 1962, that the state supreme court ruled that the realty boards "had no standing in their attack on the city ordinance establishing the program." The program resumed in 1963.²⁵

1986), 262–89; on streetcar suburbs and white flight, see Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division, and Conflict*, 66–99; on APHA survey and conditions in Haddington, see final report of the Housing and Home Finance Agency–funded Leadership Program, *Partnership for Renewal*, 42–46.

²⁴ Philadelphia Housing Authority, "Notice of Hearing on Single House Purchase Program, Monday, December 8, 1958," mimeograph, Urban Development Coordinator Unit Files, Philadelphia City Planning Commission Records; James Hogan, *Scattered-Site Housing: Characteristics and Consequences* (Washington, DC, 1996), 71; on description of the first used home, see "Office of the City Representative—News Release, July 21, 1959, For Immediate Release: Philadelphia's urban renewal program scores another first today," Urban Development Coordinator Unit Files, Philadelphia City Planning Commission Records.

²⁵ *White and Philadelphia Realty Board v. City of Philadelphia* in Superior Court of Pennsylvania, 408 Pa. 397 (1962); *White et al. v. City of Philadelphia*, No. 1894, June term 1959–December 2, 1959, Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, WestlawNext©. Interestingly, the judge who in 1959 ruled that the Philadelphia Housing Authority had no right to purchase homes in Haddington was Judge Eugene V. Alessandrini, brother of Walter Alessandrini, executive director of the PHA. See HA Mins, Dec. 10, 1959.

Context

Sadly, in the late 1950s, hope faded among Philadelphia's civil-rights liberals for a city-engineered, racially integrated Philadelphia. At the same time, however, Philadelphia faced the awful fact of intensifying black joblessness, poverty, and resentment. The city's growing North Philadelphia ghetto embodied all of those combustible elements: high unemployment, gnawing poverty, police brutality, abominable, overcrowded housing conditions, and poor city services, plus the bulk of the Authority's mainly black-occupied high-rise public housing.

In the 1960s, the reality of those conditions exploded onto the front pages of the urban press. A southern-based civil rights movement had reached its crescendo with Martin Luther King's 1963 March on Washington, but in the wake of John F. Kennedy's assassination, long-festered issues of deeply entrenched urban black poverty and job and housing discrimination, including squalid public housing conditions, police brutality, and other forms of social injustice, exploded. Rioting broke out in the North Philadelphia ghetto August 28, 1964, after police attempted to arrest a black couple at an intersection near Broad Street and Columbia Avenue. The looting, fires, and street battles with police lasted four days.²⁶

Before August 1964, Philadelphia's African American civil rights organizations had staged sit-ins against city realtors and demonstrations at city hall protesting unfair housing and the lack of employment opportunities, especially unfair hiring practices in the construction trades. During the 1960s, the choleric Cecil B. Moore, who led Philadelphia's NAACP, turned the city's venerable civil rights organization into a militant force. Moore's inflammatory demeanor reflected the black community's growing disillusionment with the failure of Philadelphia's liberal reform establishment, including such bodies as the Commission on Human Relations (created under the city's 1950 city charter and directed after 1953 by the civil rights champion George Schermer) and the Housing Authority, to deliver on their promise to better the quality of life for poor and working-class black families.²⁷

²⁶ Countryman, *Up South*, 55–63; Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*, 188–89; Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), 159–62; John F. Bauman, Norman P. Hummon, and Edward K. Muller, "Public Housing, Isolation, and the Urban Underclass: Philadelphia's Richard Allen Homes, 1941–1965," *Journal of Urban History* 17 (1991): 264–92.

²⁷ Countryman, *Up South*, 178–79.

Philadelphia's post-1963 used housing program embodied not only evidence of liberal exhaustion but also of the city's heightened sense of urgency to somehow respond to the rising frustration and explosive militancy evident among its black community. Schermer clearly discerned this new motivation in a 1968 report for the National Commission on Urban Problems, known also as the (Senator Paul) Douglas Commission. Schermer entitled his report *More Than Shelter*. For anonymity's sake, he disguised Philadelphia's identity, referring to the city as "Frankelstown." The city's original 1958–59 "Used House Demonstration," contended Schermer, had effectively aimed to stabilize the Haddington Leadership Area by conserving the housing stock and the "mixed" racial configuration of this "transitional neighborhood." However, in 1964, he explained, in the face of white, working-class opposition, the Authority had turned to the mushrooming stock of vacant housing, not in mixed neighborhoods such as Haddington, but in predominately nonwhite areas, especially in North Philadelphia. If white hostility made it impossible to scatter public housing on vacant sites—something liberals desired in order to house the multitude of large black families uprooted by the state's highway plans and the city's muscular renewal program—then (with approval from both Washington and the city) couldn't all of the abandoned three- and four-bedroom housing scattered throughout North Philadelphia's Fairmount, Diamond Street, and Ludlow neighborhoods be viewed as a windfall?²⁸

Not only were these vacant sites undisputed, they were also readily accessible. Furthermore, as Slusser had acknowledged and applauded in 1958, housing the poor in used housing was much less costly than investing in new construction. The Authority estimated the average cost of acquiring a rehabilitated, three-bedroom dwelling in the year 1967 at about \$12,500. In that same year, the cost for building a three-bedroom unit in a new, "conventional" public housing project totaled \$22,300. Moreover, the used house program involved private-sector, not public, development, and thus more richly endowed the operation with the aura of free enterprise. Under the 1959 Housing Act, the Housing and Home Finance Agency's Section 202 program involved generous direct loans to private, nonprofit sponsors of rental or cooperative housing for elderly or disabled persons, a

²⁸ Gary Schermer Associates, *More Than Shelter: Social Needs in Low- and Moderate-Income Housing* (Washington, DC, 1968); on Ludlow, see online announcement that the Ed Bacon 2008 National Student Design Competition, called *Rebuild/Revive*, would focus on the Ludlow neighborhood: <http://philadelphiaacfa.org/competition-bacon-student-design.php>.

program that proved very popular. Moreover, in 1965 the new Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) introduced the “Turnkey” program, whereby private developers built new structures, then turned the keys over to the housing authority. Like Turnkey, the used house program intimately partnered the Philadelphia Housing Authority with private-sector developers/builders.²⁹

From the start, Philadelphia’s real estate industry, in spite of its anti-public housing rhetoric, had been deeply implicated in public housing. Several realtors sat on the city’s first housing authority board, and in 1964 Philadelphia’s most powerful real estate mogul, Albert M. Greenfield, chaired it. Nor were the building trades excluded. Norman J. Blumberg, head of the Building and Construction Workers’ Union, had sat on the board since 1952. Also on the board in 1964 was the Reverend William H. Gray, a prominent black clergyman who spoke for the city’s growing African American community.

As he had done in 1957 when introducing his Central Urban Renewal Area Program (the official name for his failed urban renewal initiative that included the twenty-one scattered public housing sites), William Rafsky in 1964 called the newly resuscitated used house program a “dramatic new approach.” Now vastly expanded, that program reached into Mill Creek in West Philadelphia, into upper South Philadelphia’s old African American Seventh and Thirtieth Wards, and into the historic Germantown section. It spread throughout old North Philadelphia from Vine Street to Lehigh Avenue, a region the Authority denoted the “Extended Midtown.”³⁰ Initially, beginning in late 1963, the new used house program concentrated on completing the unfinished inventory of two hundred houses in the Haddington Leadership Area. But on June 3, 1964, soon after approval by Washington, the Authority commenced rehabilitation work on five hundred dwelling units in the “Extended Midtown” area, just north of Center City in old neighborhoods such as Ludlow.³¹

²⁹ See, Slusser testimony, *Housing Act of 1958: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Banking and Currency*, 152–53; Rachel G. Bratt, “Public Housing: The Controversy and Contribution,” in *Critical Perspective on Housing*, ed. Rachel G. Bratt, Chester Hartman, and Ann Meyerson (Philadelphia, 1986), 341.

³⁰ See Office of Development Coordinator, “Report of Progress for 1964 and Highlights for 1965,” Urban Development Coordinator Unit Files, Philadelphia City Planning Commission Records.

³¹ Day and Zimmerman Consulting Services, *Used House Program of the Philadelphia Housing Authority* (Philadelphia, 1969), Pamphlet Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Urban Archives, Temple University Libraries (hereafter, Day Zimmerman Report); HA Mins, June 4, 1966.

In the wake of the August 1964 riots, the program burgeoned. Indeed, after September 1964 the used house program steadily dominated the Authority's agenda. Authority board member Gray, responding to the needs of the increasingly volatile black community, expressed particular enthusiasm for it. Accordingly, in December 1964 the Authority asked the Public Housing Administration in Washington for an astounding two thousand used dwelling units to be rehabilitated for low-income families.³²

Then, in 1966, propelled by Bacon's, Rafsky's, and the city's increasing alarm at the preponderance of vacant, abandoned, and crumbling housing, especially in North Philadelphia, the city launched what Rafsky proclaimed as a "New Tool": a three-year program to replace vacant lots and abandoned structures with a combination of rehabilitated used house units and new scattered-site public housing. That year, the Philadelphia Housing Authority asked Washington for not 2,000, but 5,000 dwelling units, 3,300 of which would be used housing and 1,700 new construction or turnkey units. Washington approved PA 2-4 and PA 2-5 on March 2, 1966.³³ Because city developers refused to risk building new housing on the city's execrable, junk car-littered vacant lots, only 200 of the turnkey units arose. The Authority converted the remaining 1,200 new construction turnkey units into used housing.³⁴

In 1971, black activist Shirley M. Dennis headed the fifty-year-old Housing Association of the Delaware Valley (HADV)—since 1968 the new name for the esteemed Philadelphia Housing Association (PHA)—and she increasingly aligned the organization with the city's growing Black Power movement. Dennis viewed the city's used housing public/private partnership as one important tool for infusing investment into the ghetto and, thus, as a way to stabilize salvageable neighborhoods such as the city's Fairmount section, just north of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway.

Despite being urged by both the HADV and its own consultants to broaden its public housing program as part of a more comprehensive urban renewal approach, the Housing Authority well into the 1970s steadily made the used house program its primary tool for expanding the city's

³² On the Reverend William Gray, see HA Mins, Sept. 14, 1964, and Dec. 16, 1964.

³³ See Day Zimmerman Report, 2; HA Mins, Mar. 2, 1966, and May 8, 1966. HUD assigned every major project nationwide (no matter how many units involved) a state designation PA and a number, i.e., PA-2.

³⁴ "The Used-House Program: Shaping a New Tool," Philadelphia Housing Association, Special Memorandum, no. 5, Aug. 1966, HA Mins, Oct. 29, 1966; see also HA Mins, Oct. 29, 1966.

public housing stock. After 1974, under the Richard M. Nixon presidency, the Section 8 voucher program (a key element of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1974) joined used housing to become one of the city's key tools for expanding access to affordable housing for low-income families. Section 8 enabled qualified, low-income, voucher-holding households to rent Authority-approved units for which they paid just one-fourth of their family income. By 1983 the Authority managed 7,081 units of used housing, one-third of its entire public housing inventory. Ninety percent of the low-income families living in those units were nonwhite.³⁵

Over the years 1958–70, the city's method for purchasing, rehabilitating, and employing used housing as public housing altered mainly in response to the enlarged scale of the program. In 1969 the Authority had hired as consultants the distinguished Philadelphia-based engineering, architectural, and construction firm of Day and Zimmerman to undertake a study of its used house program. Founded in 1901, with offices at 1500 Spring Garden Street, Day and Zimmerman over the years had been involved in everything from operating US munitions plants to helping build the Panama Canal to producing the silver-foil wrapping for Hershey's Kisses. The Day-Zimmerman study found the primary goal of the Authority's used house program to be converting "vacant, derelict city houses, mainly row houses, into sanitary structures with modern equipment and clean interior finishes." Prior to the 1963 Haddington demonstration, the Authority had acquired properties from individual owners and used its own personnel for rehabilitation work. Because this necessitated too great an expansion of its permanent staff, the Authority after 1964 contracted for its labor force in the open marketplace while still supplying the supervision and materials.³⁶

Beginning in July 1965, with the approval of the Public Housing Administration, the Authority purchased groups of rehabilitated properties from selected developers. As part of a process, it contracted with these developers to restore groups of derelict properties according to prescribed rigid standards and specifications. Upon completion of the work, the contractors transferred title of these rehabilitated properties to the

³⁵ See Philadelphia Housing Association, "Report on Recommendations for Philadelphia's Used-House Program," folder 592-2, HADV Papers; on the percent black residents in used housing, see Hogan, *Scattered-Site Housing*, 44.

³⁶ Day Zimmerman Report, 1–3; Schermer, *More Than Shelter*, 150.

Authority at “predetermined list prices” based on land costs, the cost of specified rehabilitation work, and the number of bedrooms in each unit. The Authority based its criteria for choosing contractors not only upon the quality of the firms’ past work but also upon their location in the city and where they stood on the rotation list.³⁷ Few builders or contractors for large, high-rise complexes made the list. Most were companies expressing a willingness to work at scattered urban sites.³⁸

At first, in the mid-1960s, these used house developers/contractors combed the streets of project areas for likely properties, purchased them, and brought their prospective candidates to the Authority for its inspection. If approved, work began and the Authority periodically monitored the rough work and the condition of the masonry, especially if the structure required a new wall. Two things, however, forced the Authority to alter this process. First, after the Authority greatly expanded its used house program in 1965, it discovered its staff incapable of carefully overseeing all the work underway citywide. Second, overeager developers purchased occupied properties. Beginning early in 1966, with city hall’s emphasis fixated more than ever on attacking the problem of abandoned housing, the city created the Philadelphia Housing Development Corporation (PHDC), modeled on the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC). Whereas PIDC was a bank for industrial sites, PHDC was a land bank for holding housing properties, including vacant lots. Pennsylvania empowered PHDC to “rehabilitate and resell existing residential properties and to construct or sponsor the construction of new housing for lower-income families.” It could also aid nonprofit companies to do the same. Slow to start, by 1968 PHDC streamed into the Authority’s used house program a fairly steady supply of properties, mainly three- to five-bedroom row houses. Although the Authority remained involved in the inspection process, PHDC handled the onerous contractual negotiations with developers.³⁹

James Hogan, in his 1996 study of scattered-site housing, found that many city housing authorities with used house inventories “creamed” their rolls to select tenants for this scattered housing. Philadelphia, seemingly,

³⁷ HA Mins, July 1965.

³⁸ Day Zimmerman Report, 1–3.

³⁹ HA Mins, Mar. 16, 1966; HA Mins, July 1966, “Proposed Draft of Memorandum of Understanding between the Philadelphia Housing Authority and Philadelphia Housing Development Corporation”; on PIDC, see McKee, *Problem of Jobs*, 255–63; on PHDC, see Hogan, *Scattered-Site Housing*, 45; and Schermer, *More Than Shelter*, 150.

did not. While families living in Philadelphia's used housing in the 1990s were generally larger, their overall profile closely resembled families living in conventional public housing units: 80 percent received Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and most were nonwhite. Furthermore, like the low-income families residing in conventional public housing, these families often required intensive services.⁴⁰

Even though the PHDC in the late 1960s provided a steady flow of used houses to the Authority, it proved insufficient to relieve the Authority of its dependence on private developers to supply it with inventory. Who were these developers/contractors? Many, such as Abram Singer, Harold Lupowitz, and Enoch Johnson, were smaller firms intimately familiar with particular neighborhoods. But, as the used house program grew ever larger—especially between 1966 and 1967, when PA 6-29, PA 2-4, and PA-2-5 got underway—only larger firms capable of purchasing and rehabilitating derelict housing in huge blocks of fifty to one hundred units competed, firms such as Gladrene, Inc., L. E. Wilson, Columbia Investments, Tollin and Grayboyes, Larand, Inc., Caldwell Builders, and Tower and Wendell. By 1968, when the size of the program had skyrocketed, many of the smaller firms, no longer able to deliver expeditiously on their contracts to buy and rehabilitate blocks of houses, dropped out.⁴¹

Between 1964 and 1970, almost forty developer/contractor firms purchased, rehabilitated, and sold used houses to the Authority. The Home Builders Association of Philadelphia represented these developers. The large developers' workforce of carpenters, bricklayers, electricians, and others looked for support to the Building and Construction Trades Council (BCTC). These rival entities, the union and the developers, continually lobbied Washington, the city, and the Authority for favorable contracted wage rates and for higher contracted per-unit prices for rehabilitated used housing.⁴² After 1965, HUD, rather than its predecessor, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, established the crucial average contractual sale price per unit of rehabilitated used housing, set at \$12,500 in 1963. As Philadelphia magnified the size of its used house program, labor rates and fixed sale prices per rehabilitated unit likewise gained ascendancy as key issues. For example, in November 1965 Lindsay Construction submitted

⁴⁰ Hogan, *Scattered-Site Housing*, 45.

⁴¹ See, HA Mins, June 4, 1964, and Nov. 7, 1969.

⁴² See, for example, *ibid.*

five units of rehabilitated housing, for which the Authority paid \$58,505 (or \$11,701 per unit). Soon after, the larger Gladrene got \$281,332 (or \$14,806 per unit) for nineteen homes.⁴³

The size of the program itself became an issue. By late 1966, with the enhanced scale of the city's used house program under PA-2-4 and PA-2-5, the larger Philadelphia developers, with permission from HUD and the Authority, undertook to rehabilitate whole neighborhoods. For example, as part of the used house program, and working closely with the Authority's architectural consultant, Joe J. Jordan, the development firm of Tollin and Grayboyes, in addition to rehabilitating a large number of used houses in North Philadelphia neighborhoods, proposed to construct several new two-story dwellings on Reno Street, between 3819 and 3855, and 3826 and 3846, as well as nine new two-story, three- to six-bedroom, single-family turnkey houses on the south side of Reno Street and ten two-story, two-bedroom, two-family turnkey row houses on the south side of nearby Parrish Street. This was all part of a broad neighborhood reconstruction that called for widening Reno Street by eight feet on each side and providing fifteen parking spaces for incoming tenants. The city and the Authority approved the plan.⁴⁴

Another large-scale used house public/private undertaking involved the developer Gladrene Builders, the Authority, and the Smith, Kline, French (SKF) Pharmaceutical Corporation (later Smith, Kline, Beckman and now a British firm, GlaxoSmithKline). Having yet to move its headquarters and plant facilities to suburban Philadelphia, seeking better relations with its neighbors, and hoping to improve the environment of its lower North Philadelphia, largely African American Fairmount neighborhood (site of its laboratories in the 1960s), SKF partnered with the city, the Authority, and Gladrene in a pilot program. SKF not only extended low-interest loans to the developers but also provided security for the many properties under rehabilitation. This area, a neighborhood of three- and four-story Greek Revival and Queen Anne homes that lined magnificent, architecturally rich streets such as Mount Vernon, became a major focus of the Authority's "Midtown" used house program.

By 1967, in a memorandum of understanding with the Authority, SKF broadened its involvement to include establishing an information ser-

⁴³ HA Mins, statistics for month of Nov. 1965 on PA-2-69; see HA Mins, Mar. 2, 1966, Aug. 15, 1966, and Aug. 14, 1969.

⁴⁴ HA Mins, Dec. 5, 1966.

vices center at Seventeenth and Mount Vernon Streets to facilitate the “orderly transition of residents from poor to improved housing,” and to extend general assistance to area residents. The Authority and SKF agreed “to cooperate fully with each other in the development and execution of all phases of the program for housing [in the Authority’s Used-House Program] all current residents of the Spring-Garden area [Fifteenth Street to Twentieth, Spring Garden to Fairmount].”⁴⁵

However, the issue of race forever haunted the program. News of the Authority’s five-thousand-unit PA 2-4 and PA 2-5 program, its large-scale Reno Street renovation, its work with SKF in the Fairmount area, and its June 1967 proposal to extend its used house program beyond the five designated areas into other “feasible locations” aroused political fears that the Housing Authority would infiltrate low-income black families into the entire fabric of residential Philadelphia. On July 5, 1967, the Authority’s executive director, Thomas McCoy, received a letter from Patrick McLaughlin, Rafsky’s successor as development coordinator in the mayor’s office. The letter expressed alarm about the Fairmount/Spring Garden area where the Authority worked with SKF. McLaughlin noted that whereas “in the past” the Authority had “on the one hand made promises to stay out of certain areas [white Oxford Circle for one] . . . at the request of community groups; on the other it . . . [was now buying] up large blocks of houses in a concentrated area merely because they were available and their development . . . economically feasible.” McLaughlin and the mayor’s office called these policies “undesirable” and asked the Authority to, as policy, “no longer guarantee any person or group that its used house program would bypass a particular area; [that] it would no longer [as it did on Reno Street and in the Spring Garden area] acquire more than 10 percent of all residential structures, nor more than 20 percent of all vacant residential structures; and, [finally,] that where it rehabilitated structures for multi-family use, it [must] provide 1000 square feet of recreational space for every 10 children.”⁴⁶ The Authority, in fact, had already, on May 8, 1967, approved a policy of purchasing no more than four houses per city block and would shortly discontinue developing multifamily used housing.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ HA Mins, June 6, 1966; on SKF partnership, see “Memorandum of Understanding between Philadelphia Housing Authority and Smith, Kline, French Laboratories,” HA Mins, ca. Jan. 1967.

⁴⁶ Patrick H. McLaughlin to Thomas J. McCoy, July 5, 1967, HA Mins, July 10, 1967.

⁴⁷ HA Mins, May 8, 1967.

More of the mayor's office's fears about Housing Authority hegemony may have been allayed when in January 1968 the Authority agreed that it would form with the PHDC a centralized property service to assure not only a steady flow of used houses to the Authority but also to make the service "the exclusive acquisition source for all properties used under the Authority's program." The Authority would no longer operate in the open market. Under PHDC's "Property Service," used housing continued to become a significant part of the Authority's housing stock, but by 1970 so did "leased housing" (Section 23) and turnkey housing.⁴⁸

Fatal Problems

While both Schermer's 1968 and Day and Zimmerman's 1969 studies found Philadelphia's used house program a cost-effective and useful way to house low-income families, both also noted serious problems. In fact, almost from its very beginning in 1958 the program faced problems that challenged its quality, usefulness, and cost-effectiveness, and, ultimately, doomed it. Many of the early difficulties involved the Authority's relationship with its corps of developers, especially the imposition upon developers of federally established contractual wage rates for the large private labor force involved and the rigid cost limitations demanded by Washington on the contracted price for rehabilitated used houses. Another set of problems arose over the issue of quality itself, both of the used houses purchased on the open market by developers and of the rehabilitation work provided by them. Last, but no less significant, the frequency and cost of Authority-delivered maintenance proved deeply problematic.

From the start, wage rates proved contentious. Once the Authority in 1963 undertook large-scale used house rehabilitation and negotiated with developers for the regular delivery of between fifty and one hundred units of rehabilitated used housing at a set price, the issue of the wage rates paid by developers to masons, electricians, carpenters, and other building tradesmen arose almost immediately. In October 1964 the Authority

⁴⁸ HA Mins, Nov. 6, 1967; Schermer, *More Than Shelter*, 151; Day Zimmerman Report, 11; on leased housing, see Rafsky "Report of Progress for 1964 and Highlights for 1965," Urban Development Coordinator Unit Files, Philadelphia City Planning Commission Records. Note that PHDC acquired much of its housing via gifts and sheriff sales. The location of all of the Housing Authority's properties, used housing and conventional, appeared graphically on maps found in the "Report of the Philadelphia Housing Authority," in *Mayor's Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1966), Mayor's Reports, 60-16.1.1, A-190, Philadelphia City Archives.

suspended work on all rehabilitation contracts after the electrical workers' union struck over developers failing to comply with the fair labor provisions inserted in the Authority's contract. For developers, fitting a profit line into the used house purchase price after calculating labor costs and considering the Washington-determined contracted-for sale price of a finished house meant balancing on a tightrope.⁴⁹

Developers, therefore, fudged on the wage rates. Complaints mounted in 1966 when the Philadelphia BCTC charged that certain developers on used house contracts had not only failed to pay prevailing wages but also were not complying with the Authority's published specifications for rehabilitation work. A January 1966 Authority resolution bound developers to pay the prevailing wage rates plus fringe benefits dictated by the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, which stated that federal contractors and subcontractors must pay laborers and mechanics no less than the "locally prevailing" wages per skill level. The Authority board, which always included a labor representative, directed McCoy to have the Public Housing Administration investigate the alleged wage-rate infractions as well as the charges about developers' failure to meet quality specifications. At their next meeting, the board extended the Davis-Bacon rule to all subcontractors and ordered developers to prominently post the prevailing wage rule on every house being rehabilitated.⁵⁰

However, the dispute that involved the Authority, HUD, the Department of Labor, the Home Builders Association, and the BCTC festered throughout the summer of 1966, holding up work on forty-three units of used housing. The Authority held its ground on the Davis-Bacon wage rates as determined by the Department of Labor and posted at all used housing sites. Meanwhile, on behalf of the developers, the Home Builders Association appealed one ruling after another. In the end, the association reluctantly agreed to move forward with the 1966 plan for five thousand used housing units so long as the Authority promised to make adjustments if the courts found in the developers' favor.⁵¹

The struggle pitted the BCTC, anxious to preserve wage standards, against the Home Builders Association, anxious to seek profit, and both against the Authority, Washington, and the used house mission. The wage-rate battle never abated. Broadening the market citywide between

⁴⁹ HA Mins, Oct. 19, 1964.

⁵⁰ HA Mins, Mar. 2, 1966, and Mar. 16, 1966.

⁵¹ HA Mins, Apr. 26, 1966, Aug. 1, 1966, Aug. 15, 1966.

1966 and 1969 brought hundreds of moldering, vacant shells of row houses into play, for which—given the soaring inflation of the Vietnam War years—Washington and the city seemed willing to pay as much as \$16,000 once the units had been rehabilitated. Earlier, in 1964, the Housing and Home Finance Agency had set the average price for a rehabilitated used house at \$12,500. However, as James Loughlin of the BCTC pointed out, even at \$16,000, rehabilitating vacant shells forced developers to cut both quality and wages in order to squeeze out a modest profit on the completed product. Large developers, argued Loughlin, who had existing union wage agreements with the BCTC could be forced out of the program or forced to cheat on wages. The problem only worsened by 1969 when, in the face of an 11 percent increase in the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage rate, HUD raised its average contractual price for a rehabilitated used house only 5 percent. Moreover, in the mind of many Philadelphians, the press in particular, paying \$16,000 for the once-abandoned row house located in a shabby neighborhood, in a city where real estate values were precipitously declining, reeked of another problem: scandal. Having developers squeeze out profits by skimping on labor and materials produced mediocre if not actually shabby work, which rendered the Authority—with its budget constrained by chronic congressional underfunding and the deficiencies built into the ACC—ill-equipped to police. This compromised quality and, in short time, forced poor tenants in scattered sites to cope with the outcome: poorly maintained houses devolved again into slums.⁵²

The Quality Issue

Indeed, quality emerged as another key issue in Philadelphia's grim saga of used housing. Unless bequeathed a shell, developers invariably stripped down a used house to the bare walls and often replaced a wall. As Day and Zimmerman observed in 1969, the bulk of these often decrepit properties dated to the turn of the century or earlier; some, especially those that came to the PHDC via condemnation, were marginally salvageable. Artisans with the skills necessary to stabilize and renovate such ancient,

⁵² James L. Loughlin, business manager of Building and Construction Trades Council to Honorable James H. J. Tate, mayor of Philadelphia, Jan. 19, 1968, in HA Mins, Jan. 19, 1968; see the resolution forbidding developers to spend more than \$16,000 on purchase of used housing, in HA Mins, June 17, 1968; Richard Ettner, executive vice president of Building Construction and Trades Council to Thomas McCoy, June 5, 1969, HA Mins, June 5, 1969.

decaying structures were not readily available. Drywall invariably replaced plaster. At the height of the program in the late 1960s, some Authority inspectors proved unreliable. As early as 1966 the Philadelphia press, joined by Pennsylvania Republican senator Hugh Scott, accused the Authority of corrupt dealings with developers. Such charges—some substantiated, others not, and many dealing with questions of quality—invariably delayed the program.⁵³ In September 1969, a concerned president of the North Philadelphia Realty Board wrote Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney enclosing a photograph showing—in violation of a HUD ruling—used row houses acquired by the Authority having less than fourteen-foot frontages. Charges of favoritism and corruption in the Authority triggered a Philadelphia grand jury probe early in 1969, which in 1970 found irregularities, including payoffs of city inspectors and approval of unqualified developers. As James Hogan discovered in his study of scattered-site housing, such irregularities occurred in other cities as well.

A 1969 General Accounting Office (GAO) official report found numerous quality issues. It charged that only 35 percent of Philadelphia used housing was being rehabilitated into single-family residences; the goal had been 79 percent. Houses were being acquired in undesirable neighborhoods—next to junkyards or in commercial areas. It described “improper” roof and wall insulation, “inadequate” room sizes, “inferior” water pipes, and nonexistent coat and linen closets.⁵⁴

Maintenance as an Issue

Maintenance and quality were closely intertwined. In Haddington, the Authority had originally (and naively) planned that the residents themselves would perform maintenance. Shortly, the Authority assumed the responsibility. It proved overwhelming. In 1979 the Philadelphia Community Resource Center did a small study of the used housing in the city’s West Kensington neighborhood, once a heavily industrialized section of the city, now savaged by deindustrialization. It had been a predominantly working-

⁵³ HA Mins, Aug. 29, 1966.

⁵⁴ Lester P. Condon, assistant secretary for administration, to George Romney, secretary of HUD, Apr. 15, 1970, RE: “Draft of Report to Congress on Review of Used House Method of Providing Low-Rent Public Housing,” box 91, Subject Correspondence, 1966–1973, PRO 9, Low Rent Public Housing, April 8–12, 1970, HUD 207; Hogan, *Scattered-Site Housing*, passim.

class Polish and British American neighborhood in 1950, but poor African Americans and Hispanics occupied 90 percent of the area's 840 used houses in 1979. The Community Resource Center studied a random 5 percent sample (or forty-two units) of West Kensington's Authority-owned used housing stock. The study, though small, revealed the dire consequences of lax maintenance and a realization of the Authority's early worst fears about the program. It found cracked and rotten walls and floors in a fourth of the bathrooms. One-third of the kitchens had ceilings that leaked and one-quarter had peeling paint. Roofs leaked in a fourth of the units, and a third suffered broken windows. Residents complained about the absence of job opportunities in West Kensington, the lack of neighborhood stores for shopping, and the dearth of recreational facilities for children. Indeed, the Authority's inability to manage its scattered-site housing (and its conventional units as well), in part, led to a federal takeover of the organization in 1992.⁵⁵

Ludlow affords another good case study of the intersection of quality and maintenance. In 1964, city inspectors decreed over two-thirds of the housing in this crime-ridden neighborhood "substandard," and WFIL ran a television exposé unveiling the area's horrific conditions. It was that same year, however, that planner Edmund Bacon made Ludlow one of the targets for the Authority's post-1964 used housing expansion. Located in the heart of the city's illegal drug trade, Ludlow, alas, readily succumbed to the conditions documented in the 1969 GAO report. Significantly underfunded, plagued by the constraints of the ACC, and amid unchecked neighborhood decline, the Authority found itself unable to keep up with the maintenance of its conventional public housing, much less its scattered-site used housing. Vandals plundered the ill-maintained and ill-monitored used housing units. City inspectors in Ludlow in the late 1980s found house after house where both wiring and plumbing had been ripped out. Ninety-three percent of the neighborhood's housing violated city housing codes. When the Authority discovered the conditions of its used housing units to be too severely dilapidated, they, like the homes' previous owners, simply abandoned them. In the 1990s and early twenty-first century, Ludlow became increasingly Hispanic, and Hispanic development corporations joined the PHA and the Philadelphia Office of Housing and

⁵⁵ Community Resources Center of Philadelphia, "Scattered-Site Housing in West Kensington," ca. 1980, HADV Papers; on federal takeover, see Hogan, *Scattered-Site Housing*, 74.

Community Development to create the Ludlow Village Homes and make other housing, recreational, and neighborhood improvements. Despite these heroic efforts, the area and its housing remained and remains a patchwork of good and bad. Very recently, the Authority has undertaken an award-winning, HUD-sponsored, HOPE VI (Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere) project in Ludlow with the expectation that it will spur a renaissance of the economically stricken neighborhood.⁵⁶

Denouement

Philadelphia unveiled its used house program in 1957 with an “aha” moment sparked by a recommendation in a report submitted by a joint committee of the Housing Association and Citizens’ Committee on Planning and chaired by University of Pennsylvania Law School dean Jefferson B. Fordham. Rather than build unpopular, sterile, inhumane high-rise monstrosities, why not rehouse low-income, already ill-housed families in the city’s growing stock of blighted, decaying, even abandoned row houses located in revitalized traditional neighborhoods, the city’s old streetcar suburbs? Alas, these best-laid plans grievously failed to bear the expected fruit. Although the Authority continued to acquire used housing well into the 1970s and beyond, the momentum had already ceased on April 14, 1969. With scandal swirling about the used house program, Frank Steinberg, then chair of the board of trustees of PHA, opened the Authority’s monthly board meeting by expressing his “deep anguish and injury”:

We have all given our time and our efforts, voluntarily without any compensation, to meet the tragic needs of housing for the poor, low-income people of the city of Philadelphia. We have, to date, been actively engaged in the Used House Program and in spite of all the handicaps and roadblocks, and the numerous almost insurmountable problems, purchased over 4,000 rehabilitated used houses in which the Authority has housed over 4,000 families consisting of over 20,000 people. . . . We have been informed on numerous occasions by . . . HUD that the Philadelphia Housing Authority

⁵⁶ See Alyssa Ribeiro, “Forgotten Residents Fighting Back: The Ludlow Community Association and Neighborhood Improvement in Philadelphia,” in *Beyond Civil Rights: African American and Latino/a Activism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Brian D. Behnken (Athens, GA, forthcoming); see the 2008 Ed Bacon Student Design Competition focusing on the Ludlow neighborhood, <http://philadelphiacfa.org/competition-bacon-student-design.php>.

has made the finest showing in the entire United States in the production of used houses. . . . Unfortunately, however, the entire public housing program, including the Used House Program, is a very unpopular program at the present time. Instead of being commended for our fine contribution to this program we are being condemned for the same. We are now being vilified, criticized and condemned by the news media. . . . [I]n addition . . . the Housing Authority's activities today are being investigated by three separate Governmental agencies.⁵⁷

Politically besieged in 1969, the fortunes of the city's once-flaunted used house program hardly improved over time. It never overcame the quality and maintenance problems that beset it in 1969. Indeed, the city's housing situation only grew worse. Just as Philadelphia's postwar, liberally inspired jobs initiative spearheaded by PIDC, had, in Guian McKee's words, only "slowed the process of deindustrialization," the city's used house program merely restrained somewhat the process of housing abandonment. It did not halt it. As Ira Goldstein and William Yancey concluded, postindustrialism entrapped together housing, jobs, and racism in an ominous and deadly web that doomed to failure any once-promising prospect for using deteriorating row housing to reverse the city's pre-1957 ghetto-building public housing policy. With few exceptions, after World War II, once-flourishing industries and jobs vanished from central North Philadelphia, Kensington, Richmond, Nicetown, Frankford, and even Olney. Concomitantly, the quality of the city's vast grid of row, twin, and duplex housing deteriorated and, with it, the city's tax base that funded schools and city services. Neither the Housing Authority, with its crimped resources, nor the private renters and homeowners left behind possessed the means to maintain blocks of aging row houses, whether built in the 1880s, 1890s, or late 1930s.

During the 1970s, planner Edmund Bacon despaired over the blight engulfing Philadelphia housing. He kept a thick file of newspaper and magazine clippings bemoaning residential deterioration, especially in North Philadelphia, "where," according to one clipping, "thousands of unemployed and often untrained blacks and Puerto Ricans live in crumbling houses," a number of them owned by the Authority. In October 1970 one report counted over 20,000 abandoned houses in Philadelphia, and, despite the fact that the Housing Authority had rehabilitated over 5,700

⁵⁷ See HA Mins, Apr. 14, 1969.

abandoned houses, the city feared that without massive federal aid the situation would only get worse. It did. In January 1975, Mayor Frank Rizzo's administration announced a \$76 million program to raze 17,000 abandoned houses and rehabilitate another 3,000. Rizzo's initiative had little impact. "Urban Ghost Towns Haunt the City," headlined the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in October 1988. The story highlighted boarded-up storefronts, bottle-strewn empty lots, tumble-down abandoned houses, and numerous empty, disintegrating factory buildings. Critics compared North Philadelphia with the bombed-out industrial centers of Western Europe during the heavy air raids of World War II. "Key to Saving City?" posed a headline in the January 2, 1977, *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*: "Train Youth as Carpenters and Painters."⁵⁸

By the mid-1990s the Philadelphia Housing Authority owned 7,559 units of "simple row units or duplexes or triplexes" scattered in blocks in neighborhoods throughout the city. These, of course, were in addition to the 8,700 units of Section 8 certificates managed by the Authority and its 15,000 units in "conventional" developments. Whether conventional or used housing, the Authority's inventory, more and more poorly maintained, existed amid the ruins of what was once one of America's great industrial cities, a metropolis lauded nationally as the "City of Homes." The Authority was briefly seized by Washington in 1992 and declared a "Troubled Housing Authority" in 1998. Under a new management team, the Authority later used HOPE VI monies to demolish most of its conventional high-rise complexes and to completely remodel many of its low-rise developments, such as the Richard Allen Homes. However, in 2009 it still managed almost 6,000 units of used housing, 1,500 of which sat empty and disintegrating. That year, HUD authorized the Authority to begin divesting itself of 1,800 units of its used house inventory. The noble experiment had ended. Historian Nicholas Dagen Bloom has pointed out that, independent of the US Public Housing Administration, the city and state of New York invested heavily in both the quality and the long-term maintenance and protection of its public housing stock. In New York

⁵⁸ See "Rizzo Steps Up Program to Raze, Fix Empty Housing," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 27, 1975; "Urban Ghost Towns," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 10, 1988; and "Key to Saving City," *Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 2, 1977, all in Edmund N. Bacon Papers, 292.II.B.2.1, University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives, Philadelphia. On race, deindustrialization, and urban decline in Philadelphia, see James Wolfinger, *Philadelphia Divided: Race and Politics in the City of Brotherly Love* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), 177–204.

City, he argues, public housing worked.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the Philadelphia Housing Authority, like so many others nationwide, failed to heed the early warnings of Catherine Bauer Wurster, Edith Elmer Wood, and other housers of the 1930s that affordable, low-income housing should never be cheap or poorly managed. Slusser and the Philadelphia housers/planners in the era 1957–70 believed that in used housing they had miraculously discovered not only a socially salutary but a low-cost solution to the problem of housing low-income families. They had not.

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⁵⁹ Nicholas Dagen Bloom, *Public Housing That Worked: New York in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 2008), passim.

BOOK REVIEWS

Historical Archaeology of the Delaware Valley, 1600–1850. Edited by RICHARD VEIT and DAVID ORR. (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 2014. 440 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$54.95.)

Richard Viet and David Orr's edited volume confirms Gabrielle Lanier's characterization of the early Delaware Valley as a "mosaic." This collection includes essays on various groups including Lenapes, Quakers, Pennsylvania Germans, and African Americans. It presents the reader with the stories of well-known individuals such as Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon; even the pirate Blackbeard makes an appearance. However, equal importance is given to the anonymous inhabitants of the Philadelphia almshouse and the unnamed residents whose trash found its way to the privies of tenements. In exploring the period from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century in places as diverse as urban Philadelphia, backcountry Schaefferstown, estates such as the Woodlands, and the African American community of Timbuctoo, New Jersey, the contributing authors verify the variety of cultures, topics, and ideas archaeology can illuminate.

The book itself is divided into fifteen chapters, arranged in roughly chronological order. The authors—who include cultural resource managers, curators, government archaeologists and preservation specialists, university professors, and graduate students—present interpretations of topics such as religion, race, ethnicity, occupation, and class. Several of the essays are explicitly conceived as correctives; for example, the authors of chapter 2, on Burlington Island during the seventeenth century, reevaluate the findings of late nineteenth-century archaeologist Charles Conrad Abbott. In other cases, common interpretations of cultural change among post-contact Native Americans, assimilation among German immigrants, and Quakers' ideas of plainness are questioned and revised. In his discussion of Timbuctoo, Christopher P. Barton weighs in on the Herskovits-Frazier debate about the nature of African American cultural development, challenging the theories of both.

One of the strengths of the book is that its various chapters stand alone and can be plucked from the volume for use in college classes both within and outside the field of archaeology. Yet, when read as a whole, the reader is left to ponder areas of intersection that are not explicitly addressed. For example, chapter 5, which explores a German farmstead and distillery in Schaefferstown, begs comparison with chapter 9, which interprets the material world of a German baker in Philadelphia. The exploration of British mercantilism in the context of a circa

1774 shipwreck at the Roosevelt Inlet in the lower Delaware Bay (chapter 7) sheds light on the domestic production of bottles and table wares at Wistarburgh's glassworks, which is discussed in chapter 4. Findings concerning the estates of the Logan family (chapter 6), William Hamilton (chapter 12), and Joseph Bonaparte (chapter 13) invite a more comprehensive study of this category of cultural landscape.

While *Historical Archaeology of the Delaware Valley's* content is rich, the book is also insightful in how it explains the process of archaeology and increasing efforts to involve the public. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which legally requires archaeological study in some cases, was the impetus for some of the work highlighted in the volume. Private land owners and nonprofit organizations spearheaded others. At the Roosevelt Inlet, dredging to reclaim sand resulted in the discovery of a shipwreck after artifacts were strewn across the beach.

Whatever the beginnings of each project, this volume aims to take archaeology beyond the technical reports that comprise the "gray" literature of the field. Excavations have been entirely undertaken by volunteers—both professionals and interested community members—at Marcus Hook, while in Philadelphia a National Park Service facility allows visitors to learn about the processing and study of artifacts unearthed in preparation for the construction of the National Constitution Center. Archaeology at places such as the Logan family's Stenton, Independence National Historical Park (including Franklin Court), and the Schaeffer farmstead influences the interpretation of these historic sites. In Trenton, archaeological finds populate the Trenton Potteries Database, inform local presentations and tours, and are the focal point of Petty's Run Archaeological Site, created when public pressure prevented the backfilling of a completed excavation. This printed book is, therefore, just one part of a larger project on the part of the authors and others to make archaeology accessible and meaningful to more people.

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CYNTHIA G. FALK

A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America. Edited by JAN STIEVERMANN and OLIVER SCHEIDING. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013. 284 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$69.95.)

A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America resulted from a conference held at Mainz University in 2009 to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the 1709 migration to North America. The symposium explored social, economic, political, cultural, and religious reasons why the mass migration began that year and its impact on the development of "American" culture.

The first part of the book focuses on migration and settlement. Marianne S. Wokeck explores the role of Joshua Kocherthal (also known as Joshua Harrsch) in prompting relocation to New York and suggests that cultural go-betweens made the migration successful. Rosalind J. Beiler contends that without the aid of the diplomats who assisted in providing passports, securing transportation, and arranging funding, Mennonites and “poor Palatines” would not have been able to participate in the 1709 migration. Philip Otterness focuses on the interactions between German-speaking migrants and the Native Americans in the Schoharie Valley of New York, noting that distrust between the two ethnicities developed over time.

The second section of the book examines the material and intellectual culture of the German-speaking immigrants. Cynthia G. Falk focuses on how New York’s Palatine immigrants interacted with other ethnic groups by examining the material culture of the region. Patrick M. Erben comments on the German-language literature of colonial America, noting that denominational poetry and linguistic traditions reflect the commonalities between English and German language literature that evolved into an “American” literature. Matthias Schönhofer explores the transatlantic connections necessary for the research of botanist Gotthilf Henry Ernst Mühlenberg, who, while serving as a pastor in Lancaster, corresponded with fellow clergymen in Pennsylvania and with scientists in Germany.

The final section of the book examines the development of ethnic and religious identities. Marie Basile McDaniel’s chapter explores whether German-speaking immigrants maintained their ethnic identity upon arrival or assimilated into English society. Jan Stievermann’s essay on German pacifist denominations examines the impact of the war for independence on these groups and the public perception of loyalism during the war. Over time, the peace churches withdrew from political activity because of these experiences. Liam Riordan analyzes *taufscheine* as a way to understand the evolution of Pennsylvania German culture in the postrevolutionary era.

All of the selections in this volume effectively describe and analyze the influence of German-language cultures from the 1709 migration through the Revolution. Each author provides a unique perspective to the theme, incorporating current interpretations and historiography on the topic. Extensive documentation provides the reader with a wealth of sources to research further on these topics. When appropriate, the book includes illustrations, including photographs and architectural floor plans in Falk’s chapter and facsimiles of *taufscheine* in Riordan’s. *A Peculiar Mixture* is a welcome addition to the growing academic literature on the impact of German-speaking immigrants in the colonial period.

Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country. By IAN K. STEELE. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. 708 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Between 1745 and 1765 the growing imperial rivalry between Britain and France sparked violence in the Allegheny country between the region's white settlers, traders, and soldiers and its Indian inhabitants. Ian K. Steele notes that "at least 2,873 who could have been killed immediately in these Allegheny wars were not. Amid the horrors and outrages . . . the taking of captives continued to be a major objective and amelioration" (183). Unlike New England captives, the nearly three thousand captives taken in Allegheny warfare have received little attention by scholars. In *Setting All the Captives Free*, Steele places captives at the center of his study of warfare in the Allegheny country in the mid-eighteenth century. In this wide-ranging study, Steele examines the capture of white settlers and traders by the Ohio Indians as well as soldiers and Indian warriors taken prisoner by the British and French military. Using colonial newspapers, archival collections, printed narratives, letters, monographs, folklore, and genealogical websites, Steele has compiled an impressive database that reports thirty-nine variables "concerning 6,130 people captured or killed in Allegheny warfare between 1745 and 1765" (xiv).

Indian raiders, colonial militaries, and European regulars all brought their own motives and cultural traditions to the taking, treatment, and return of captives. Steele traces the changes and continuities in the taking of captives in peacetime and wartime. Before the Seven Years' War, Steele contends that Allegheny Indians "had shown little interest in white captives . . . but war caused them to fight with their customary emphasis upon raiding for captives" (73). Unlike European and colonial military forces, who took prisoners for exchange, Delaware, Shawnee, and Mingo war parties primarily took captives to adopt into their own communities; however, captives could also be used as slaves, ransomed to the colonial authorities, or sold to the French or other Indian nations. Using captivity as a lens to view Allegheny warfare, Steele provides new perspectives on these well-studied military actions and a better understanding of Indian strategy, tactics, and diplomacy.

In one of the most interesting chapters of the book, Steele shows that age, gender, and race were key determinants affecting captivity, acculturation, and escape. As he points out: "By 1765 the Ohio Indian communities contained more than 10,000 people, and perhaps 15 percent of them were whites" (216). Acculturation was most successful among captives taken between the ages of three and six, who quickly lost their native language and remembered little of their former lives. Although the Ohio Indians successfully incorporated captives into their communities, Steele contends that the number of escapes challenges the "exaggerated claims about the allures of becoming a white Indian" (231). Yet the longer captives were held, the less likely they were to escape. The success of Indian acculturation

can be appreciated by noting that “of 242 captives still living with the Indians after five years, only 7 ‘escaped’” (235).

Surprisingly, given the propaganda of the time and the continuing interest in female captivity narratives, male captives outnumbered female captives by three to one, and four out of five escapees were male. However, “most captives whose fate is known neither became white Indians nor escaped” but were redeemed by negotiation and, less successfully, by force (232). Those captives freed by the intervention of the colonial authorities, rather than through their own efforts, faced suspicions and could be called upon to prove their allegiance to white society.

Setting All the Captives Free concludes with a nuanced examination of the changing purposes of Allegheny captivity narratives over time. These narratives could serve political or military purposes or affirm their authors’ loyalty to white society and rejection of Indian culture. Steele’s study of who was taken captive, how they were taken, and by whom yields new insights into the military and cultural contest for the Allegheny country in the mid-eighteenth century.

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The Complete Antislavery Writings of Anthony Benezet, 1754–1783: An Annotated Critical Edition. Edited by DAVID L. CROSBY. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014. 300 pp. Notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

In this careful edition of Anthony Benezet’s published works against slavery, David L. Crosby argues that the Quaker schoolteacher and activist was “the pivotal figure in the eighteenth-century campaign to abolish slavery and the slave trade” (1). Historians Maurice Jackson and Jonathan D. Sassi similarly credit Benezet for moving abolitionism from discussion primarily within the Society of Friends to an international forum of antislavery writers in France, Great Britain, and North America.

Crosby has performed a great service in preparing this edition of Benezet’s antislavery writings. The editor provides a brief general introduction focusing on Benezet’s significance; succinct introductions to each of the eight publications selected for this book; footnotes for clarification and identification of Benezet’s sources; an appendix on editorial method and choice of copy texts; and appendices identifying people and places in Benezet’s works. Readers should consult Crosby’s textual appendix before studying the essays in order to understand his editorial alterations and rationale for choice of texts. While not all scholars will agree with Crosby’s decisions, his careful discussion of the process by which he chose copy texts demonstrates his judicious approach. Because Benezet’s manuscripts no longer exist, Crosby used the last published version that the author approved.

Anthony Benezet’s works confirm his intellectual range, from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting’s *An Epistle of Caution and Advice Concerning the Buying and*

Keeping of Slaves (1754), the meeting's first statement denouncing slavery, to his book *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (1771), in which he documented the impact and horrors of the Atlantic slave trade. Crosby makes a good case that Benezet was the principal author of the 1754 *Epistle*, though no firm evidence exists. He played a central role in developing the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's ban on slaveholding among Friends, a process that had begun in the late seventeenth century and included abolitionists such as Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, and John Woolman. Crosby seems to separate Benezet from his forebears and the colleagues with whom he produced the solid Quaker base on which the international movement grew. Benezet's essay *Observations on Slavery* (1778) demonstrates that he remained close to his roots, as he argued that "slavery which now so largely subsists in the American Colonies is another mighty evil which proceeds from the same corrupt root as war; . . . in the generality it sprang from an unwarrantable desire of gain, a lust for amassing wealth" (222). Two decades earlier, Benezet, Woolman, John Churchman, and other Friends had connected the Seven Years' War with slavery and sinfulness, especially greed.

Crosby's fine volume provides ready access to Benezet's antislavery writings, which were, in fact, pivotal to the abolitionist movement. While he built upon the works of Quaker opponents of slavery and remained part of that tradition, Benezet broadened the scope of abolitionism through schools for African Americans, publishing empirical evidence about the slave trade and slavery, and fostering a transatlantic, ecumenical antislavery movement.

Lehigh University

JEAN R. SODERLUND

Ship of Death: A Voyage That Changed the Atlantic World. By BILLY G. SMITH. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. 328 pp. Illustrations, notes, glossary, index. \$35.)

Billy G. Smith's study explores a facet of the burgeoning British antislavery movement that yielded surprising results. He traces the late eighteenth-century voyage by members of a British abolitionist society intent on founding a West African colony on Bolama Island, where they endeavored to prove the viability of "hiring rather than enslaving [Africans]" (2). In their subsequent voyages, these abolitionists transported African mosquitoes to the Caribbean, North America, and Britain, unwittingly spreading yellow fever and killing hundreds of thousands, thereby, as Smith proposes, "chang[ing] world history" (ix).

Smith is quite right. Yellow fever slew thousands of British and French soldiers on Hispaniola, depleting their forces and enabling the immune African slaves' Haitian Revolution to succeed. Without Haitian support for the Louisiana Territory, Napoleon opted to sell Louisiana to the United States. Yellow fever rav-

aged Philadelphia, a prominent political and cultural center, and significant consequences resulted, including the relocation of the US capital to Washington, DC. With careful argument buttressed by historical detail, Smith convinces the reader that the “ship of death” indeed served as a catalyst of change in world history.

A number of historians, most conspicuously, David Brion Davis, have applauded Britain’s sacrifices in carrying out its abolitionist mandate. Smith’s narrative, while attesting to the cause’s nobility, ventures beyond this interpretation to highlight its limitations. The antislavery colonists’ treatment of Africans, insists Smith, was flawed, informed as it was by paternalist conceits and an ardent belief in the benefits of African “uplift” through European education. The British treated African natives as inferiors, and the colonists’ leader, Philip Beaver, imitated slaveholder behavior by whipping a recalcitrant African worker.

“Economic considerations also played a role” in the settlers’ decision to form the antislavery colony, Smith explains. “While a handful of affluent voyagers envisioned the colony as a way to even greater wealth, many . . . of the immigrants, especially laborers and servants and their families, fled Britain out of economic desperation” (28). In spite of the colony’s radically democratic constitution, the upper- and middle-class colonists disdained the working-class colonists’ habits and behavior, particularly their putative disregard of the Protestant work ethic.

Smith has traveled the world to gather an impressive range of sources for this work. Despite the inherent difficulties in discovering sources on women, slaves, Africans, and the working classes, he incorporates their side of the colonization experience. The work’s themes are effectively communicated through use of illustrations, such as a Hogarth sketch of a British slum, which poignantly demonstrates why working-class Britons would depart home for an uncertain colonial future (38).

The work is a bit discursive at times, and the description of yellow fever’s long-term effects on Philadelphia and the United States is too brief. These small issues aside, however, Smith’s work stands as a valuable addition to the historiography of British antislavery activity and the European-African-American transatlantic exchange.

University of South Carolina

JAMIE DIANE WILSON

Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia, 1828–1878. Edited by ERIKA PIOLA. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press in association with the Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012. 320 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

From the days of Benjamin Franklin and the American Revolution, printing has had strong roots in Philadelphia. Long after the capital of the United States

moved to Washington, DC, in 1791, however, Philadelphia remained a hotbed for innovation and activity in commercial print. *Philadelphia on Stone* is a collection of essays that explore varied innovations in print and lithography in the mid-nineteenth century and the Philadelphia printers who moved the medium forward.

The first half of the book introduces us to people and processes. Michael Twyman's chapter, "Putting Philadelphia on Stone," provides insight into the materials and the significant amount of manpower involved in preparing, printing, and finishing lithographic pieces. He paints a picture of a critical moment in time, when human labor—male and female alike—was at its peak and about to tip over into mechanical automation. Biographies of leading printers James Queen and Peter S. Duval, by Sara W. Duke and Sarah J. Weatherwax, respectively, illustrate the many changes that the industry underwent in a short period of time. They detail how the lithographers opened shops, enlisted business partners, expanded their businesses, suffered losses from fires, underwent bankruptcy, and still pushed forward, committed to the business and the craft and innovating at breakneck speed.

The second half of the book focuses on popular print genres. Bookplates, periodicals, architectural prints, news prints, and landscapes helped push the boundaries and expand the audience of the medium, bringing recognition not only to Philadelphia artists and printers but to the city itself. Authors Christopher W. Lane, Dell Upton, Erika Piola, and Donald H. Cresswell share images of local storefronts, churches, landmarks, and parks as well as examples of the advertisements, labels, and certificates that gave Philadelphia lithographers a chance to show off their skills and provided a significant source of income for their shops. One of the most critical technical developments during this period was the inclusion of color in the printing process, rather than as a finishing effect done by hand. As printers such as Queen, Duval, and John T. Bowen adopted color printing, they funded and produced prints of popular scenes and serials, such as Bowen's reduced version of John James Audubon's *Birds of America*, to appeal to a wider consumer audience.

At a time when printing is utilized for mass marketing and print is declared "dead" every other day, this publication is a welcome reminder of the remarkable effect that can be obtained by placing ink on paper, as evidenced by the large number of images reproduced within. The histories are narrative and engaging and expose the passion and craft that underlay what was a commercial industry. The authors have captured a vibrant time in lithography, particularly in Philadelphia, and have made it accessible to a modern reader through this beautiful publication.

Abraham Lincoln and Treason in the Civil War: The Trials of John Merryman. By JONATHAN W. WHITE. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011. 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.94; paper, \$18.95.)

Jonathan W. White, assistant professor of history at Christopher Newport University, provides a new understanding of habeas corpus, military trials of civilians, and the controversies surrounding these issues during the Civil War. White goes beyond the well-established literature on the case *Ex parte Merryman*, in which Chief Justice Roger B. Taney ruled Lincoln's suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus unconstitutional and Lincoln refused to reverse course. Innumerable historians, political scientists, and, especially, legal academics have addressed the theoretical civil liberties issues at play in the *Merryman* case. White is not much concerned with whether Lincoln's actions were legally justified. His insights lie elsewhere. However, he perceptively distinguishes between constitutional arguments over suspension of habeas corpus and over military trials.

White utilizes the manuscript records of lower courts and a wide range of primary and secondary sources rather than relying solely on traditional legal materials. He attends closely to actual law enforcement on the ground. A variety of insights emerge. He provides an outstanding analysis of the riots that Union troops faced in Baltimore and the destruction of the railroad bridges in and out of the city. White makes clear how difficult it was for the government to combat such treasonous activities in the ordinary courts. Not only was treason particularly difficult to prove, but cases had to be brought before Southern-sympathizing judges and juries in areas where opposition to the war was widespread. These problems forced the Lincoln administration to resort to military arrests, temporary confinement, suspension of habeas corpus, and military trials of civilians. The administration used the threat of trial in tandem with offers of amnesty to persuade Southern sympathizers to desist.

Most illuminating is White's description of how critics and victims of Lincoln's enforcement politics used the courts to attack what they saw as assaults on liberty. Upon his release, Merryman sued his military captor for false arrest, seeking \$50,000 in damages. Those held without recourse regularly sued for damages, often in courts administered by Democratic judges and in regions of the country where jurors were disenchanted with the war. (White does not point out that although Lincoln may have refused to acquiesce to Taney's *Merryman* opinion, it would carry powerful precedential weight in those lawsuits.) The litigation posed a serious threat to military officers, civilian officials, and members of Lincoln's cabinet. Congress was painfully slow to respond, and its legislation proved ineffectual. Moreover, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1863 that regularized Lincoln's unilateral suspension of the writ seemed to bar military trials of civilians, mirroring the position of his critics.

White's most controversial proposition is that Lincoln ignored Congress, just as he had Taney, by failing to comply with the Habeas Corpus Act. He says that Lincoln claimed final authority to decide whether his acts were constitutional and ignored judicial decisions or laws to the contrary. For evidence, White relies on Lincoln's actions rather than his words, which rather clearly eschew such a claim. Curiously, White fails to note the obvious fact that conflicts over constitutional interpretation in most of the nineteenth century were resolved by the people. Nowhere was that more true than during the Civil War, where Taney's *Merryman* opinion, Democratic charges of despotism, Lincoln's defenses of his course, and congressional debates and resolutions were all aimed at a public that responded in around-the-clock elections, especially in the great referendum represented by the presidential election of 1864.

This is an important book, and not only for legal and constitutional historians and historians of the Civil War. It is an object lesson in the way that ordinary litigation has been used to obstruct and affect public policy—beyond the great cases that constitute our constitutional law.

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MICHAEL LES BENEDICT

The Philadelphia State Hospital at Byberry: A History of Misery and Medicine. By J. P. WEBSTER. (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2013. 176 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Paper, \$19.99.)

Byberry State Hospital. By HANNAH KARENA JONES. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2013. 128 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Paper, \$21.99.)

A visitor to the site of the huge state mental hospital in Northeast Philadelphia would find almost no trace of an institution that once housed over six thousand inmates. Two recently published books try to tell the story of Byberry, the informal name for what for many years was known as the Philadelphia State Hospital. Each book draws upon historical photographs, newspaper accounts, and public records but makes use of few other primary sources.

Institutional care for the mentally ill began in the part of Philadelphia now called Society Hill. From the 1730s, a public almshouse housed the destitute, including many individuals with mental illnesses and disabilities; in the 1830s, this institution was relocated to West Philadelphia at Blockley (and in 1919, it became Philadelphia General Hospital, closed by Mayor Rizzo in 1977). Society Hill also was the location for America's first private hospital, which included several rooms for the insane. Created to relieve overcrowding at the city asylum, Byberry began its life as a mental institution in 1907 by housing inmates in exist-

ing farm buildings and houses in the “City Farms at Byberry” in the far Northeast of the city, gradually adding buildings and staff.

The subtitle of Webster’s book promises a history of misery and medicine, but the work is stronger in recounting the former than in charting the latter. Much of Byberry’s early history was shaped by meager funding and patronage-driven staffing; consequent crises of abuse and neglect periodically captured public attention. Webster is particularly attentive to how Byberry, as a city institution, reflected the whims of city bosses, builders, and architects much more than the needs of patients.

After cycles of scandal, transfer of control of the hospital to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania led to bigger buildings but little progress in treatment. Pennsylvania’s largest hospital was often its most poorly funded. Like other American state hospitals, Byberry promised cure but only provided custody, often at or below basic levels of care. The absence of effective therapies or community alternatives—combined with meager state support, ineffective oversight, and organizational inertia—guaranteed a poor future for the institution.

Webster’s particular interest is in explaining how the hospital’s physical plant and leadership evolved. His connection to Byberry deserves comment; he explains in his preface that he first explored the grounds just a few years after the last patients had been transferred out. Accompanied by his friend Jay, busy tagging the walls with graffiti, Webster explored what Jay called the scariest place on earth. Webster has created a website that explores Byberry’s history, and his book captures his obsession with the abandoned site and its ruined buildings. Two of his own photographs show the hospital’s morgue and a women’s residence years after both were left to rot.

While it also provides a brief history of the institution, Jones’s book concentrates on the patients’ daily lives and conditions, the staff, therapy and treatment, activities, and the hospital and its community. In doing so she presents a vivid portrait of life in a twentieth-century state mental hospital, reflecting both its staff’s efforts to cope with severe underfunding and its failure (far more than just occasional) to provide care to a huge resident population.

Viewing pictures of patients and staff in sometimes degrading circumstances can be painful and raises ethical issues that neither book discusses. Jones sometimes chooses to blur the faces of those involved, but it is not always clear why some faces have been blurred and others left untouched. In some cases, she blurs the images of staffers whose appointments to the hospital were presumably matters of public record. In other cases, she presents inmates, sometimes naked or in shameful circumstances, with no attempt at disguising their identities. These photos strip the veil from the custodial state hospital, showing instances of neglect that indicate how far an institution could fall (see, for example, raw sewage on the day room floor on page 51).

Like many state hospitals, Byberry provided a home for those who did not fit into other communities; it became one of what sociologist Andrew Scull called “con-

venient places for inconvenient people.” Both books discuss the case of Catherine Sinschuck, incarcerated after wandering the streets “hopelessly babbling.” In fact, Catherine had just lost a child conceived out of wedlock and also suffered the death of the child’s father. Catherine’s “babbling” was actually speech in her native Ukrainian. After forty-eight years in Byberry, she was transferred to a community site, and her face “lit up” when finally in the presence of a Ukrainian speaker.

Particularly fascinating elements of the Byberry story are the attempts by reformers to catch the public’s attention about its shortcomings. Conscientious objectors were assigned to staff Byberry’s wards during World War II. Horrified by what they saw, covert photographs were smuggled out and published. After the war, the pioneering journalist and reformer Albert Deutsch included a chapter in his exposé *The Shame of the States* that called Byberry “Philadelphia’s Bedlam.” Whatever the general public knew or didn’t know about the institution, state officials were well aware of the real state of affairs within it.

Students of Byberry and other state mental hospitals will want to read both books. Jones does the better job of presenting the daily life of the patients and staff of this huge state mental hospital and has created an excellent combination of carefully chosen photographs and well-crafted text that depicts life at the institution. Webster is more attentive to the institution’s founding, physical development, leadership, and demise.

These books were written for popular audiences, but the absence of sustained reference to the scholarly literature about mental hospitals has its costs: Was Byberry an isolated case of a single hospital’s failure, or a case (perhaps an extreme case) of institutional decline that affected most state hospitals in the country? Nonetheless, both books succeed in increasing a reader’s curiosity about the big questions of mental health care. Are we doing a better job today dealing with serious and chronic mental illness? What are the lessons that our society can learn from the Byberry story?

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GEORGE W. DOWDALL

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