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Cover Illustration: Nellie Rathbone Bright with students at the Reynolds School, Nellie Rathbone Bright Family Papers (Collection 2057), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, available at http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/idno/15220. Nellie Rathbone Bright's career as a writer, educator, and activist spanned over thirty years and included founding a literary journal, serving as a school principal, and testifying before Congress. Yet she resigned abruptly from her last position in 1952, when she was in her mid-fifties. In this issue, Erika Kitzmiller traces this abrupt conclusion to the interconnected roles of race, gender, sexuality, and anticommunist hysteria. See Kitzmiller, "Nellie Rathbone Bright: Acclaimed Author, Educator Activist, Un-American Woman?"

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Robert Earnest Miller earned his PhD from the University of Cincinnati in 1991, where he currently teaches courses in modern US history. His interest in writing a biography of Raymond Walters stemmed from research he did for an earlier book, *World War II Cincinnati: From the Front Lines to the Home Front* (The History Press, 2014).

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Editorial

Production for this special issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* took place in the midst of local, statewide, and national debates about education. Just this summer, the School District of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers agreed to a new contract, even as funding for this deal remains uncertain. In the meantime, Governor Tom Wolf has spent much of his tenure embroiled in budget fights with the state legislature, in part over funding for education. Pennsylvania currently ranks forty-fifth in the nation in funding public schools, posing challenges especially for low-income and majority-minority school districts.[1]

Financial woes have also threatened the state's longstanding tradition of linking education to racial justice. Pennsylvania boasts the nation's oldest historically black university, Cheyney University. Cheyney helped train such luminaries as West Chester–born civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, who played a key role in organizing the 1963 March on Washington. Despite its central role in these historic struggles, Cheyney risked losing its accreditation earlier this year due to outstanding debts. The state university system has conditionally agreed to forgive these loans, but Cheyney's long-term future remains uncertain.[2]

[1] "How Will City Pay for Deal?" June 21, 2017, *Philadelphia Inquirer*.
[2] Susan Snyder, "State Throws Cheyney University $30 Million Lifeline," Aug. 22, 2017, *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

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2017 has also seen Pennsylvania at the center of national debates about education. Earlier this year, Senator Patrick J. Toomey was a key swing vote in the confirmation of Betsy DeVos as secretary of education. Controversy over DeVos's appointment focused on such issues as the role of religion in education, firearms on school campuses, the teaching of science, the proliferation of charter schools, and protections guaranteed by Title IX and for LGBTQ students. For weeks, Toomey's offices were so flooded with phone calls that constituents could not even leave voicemails. The fierce battle for Toomey's vote evidences both Pennsylvania's divided electorate and the state's national significance.

As these examples suggest, debates about education take place within a nexus of local, statewide, and national concerns, a fact of which contributors to this issue are very much aware. Ranging in topic from elementary school to postsecondary education, their articles deftly navigate between and among these registers, exploring such themes as the purpose of education, its relationship to citizenship, and its role in movements for civil rights. Guest editors William W. Cutler III and Jonathan Zimmerman, without whom this issue would not have been possible, deserve much of the credit for the variety of topics represented and the high quality of the articles in which they appear. At a time when 45 percent of Americans believe that higher education is bad for the nation, these topics seem particularly worthy of study.[3]

Christina Larocco
Editor

[3] Pew Research Center, "Sharp Partisan Divisions in Views of National Institutions," July 10, 2017, http://www.people-press.org/2017/07/10/sharp-partisan-divisions-in-views-of-national-institutions/.

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REVIEW ESSAY

Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and the Historiography of Urban Public Education in Pennsylvania

Historians of Pennsylvania have been interested in education since the beginning of the twentieth century. The earliest articles and books on this topic appeared long before the history of education became an established scholarly field. One explanation for this anomaly may be that the Quakers who founded Pennsylvania opened schools almost immediately. In effect, William Penn and his contemporaries enmeshed schooling in the colony's fabric. Among Penn's successors, Anthony Benezet has attracted the most attention from historians of education because he operated outside of the mainstream, teaching girls, the poor, and African Americans. But it was a non-Quaker, Benjamin Franklin, who did more than anyone else to identify Pennsylvania with the history of education. Knowledge that could be applied, he believed, was the key to opportunity, prosperity, and the common good. The commonwealth has basked in the reflected glow of this idea—as well as his work on behalf of homegrown learned institutions—ever since.[1]

Benezet and Franklin did most of their educational work in and around Philadelphia. This fact should come as no surprise given the times in which they lived. For most of the colonial era, Philadelphia and its environs were synonymous with Pennsylvania. Only Chester and Lancaster rivaled it as centers of commerce; in culture and politics Philadelphia was unequaled. In fact, it was the largest, richest, and most powerful city in the United States at the end of the eighteenth century. But Philadelphia's

[1] Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1920); Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1915); Woody, *The Educational Views of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1931); George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia, 1937). See also John Hardin Best, ed., *Benjamin Franklin on Education* (New York, 1962); and George W. Boudreau, "'Done by a Tradesman': Franklin's Educational Proposals and the Culture of Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 69 (2002): 524–57 (hereafter cited as *PH*).

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political and economic standing changed soon after that. It lost out to Washington, DC, as the seat of the federal government, and in 1812 Harrisburg replaced it as the capital of Pennsylvania. By the 1830s, New York City had become America's economic engine. Even Philadelphia's contributions to education were forgotten as reformers in Massachusetts and Rhode Island inspired and shaped the common school movement.[2] Philadelphia played, nonetheless, a vital role in the history of public education in Pennsylvania. The Quaker reformer Roberts Vaux led the way, persuading the state to establish and fund a system of pauper schools in the city in 1818. As historian Joseph J. McCadden first documented in 1937, Vaux's activism helped open these schools to all in the 1830s. William C. Kashatus revisited this topic many years later, arguing that Quakers shaped the tenor of Philadelphia's public schools for 150 years.[3] These important studies notwithstanding, the historiography of public education in urban Pennsylvania has largely neglected the years before 1850. Concentrating on the twentieth century, it has defined the history of urban public education in political terms, exploring the ways in which reformers, educators, and politicians modified methods, managed resources, and distributed benefits. Until recently, it left the suburbs out, even though educators there modeled their public schools after those in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Over time, historians have moved race and gender ahead of social class as explanatory concepts.[4] But they have not intertwined these variables into multifaceted arguments.

Beginning in the late 1960s, many historians began to look at the history of public education in urban America. Among others, Sam Bass

[2] Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York, 1983); Charles Leslie Glenn Jr., *The Myth of the Common School* (Amherst, MA, 1988).

[3] Joseph J. McCadden, *Education in Pennsylvania, 1801–1835, and Its Debt to Roberts Vaux* (Philadelphia, 1937); William C. Kashatus, *A Virtuous Education: Penn's Vision for Philadelphia Schools* (Wallingford, PA, 1997). See also William W. Cutler III, "Public Education: The School District of Philadelphia," *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/public-educationthe-school-district-of-philadelphia/ (hereafter cited as *EGP*).

[4] I have chosen to focus on the historiography of public education because most historians have chosen this topic. Public education has never included nursery schools or day care. For one explanation of this omission, see Marvin Lazerson and W. Norton Grubb, *Broken Promises: How Americans Fail Their Children* (New York, 1982). For a history of preschool education in Philadelphia, see Elizabeth R. Rose, *A Mother's Job: The History of Day Care, 1890–1960* (New York, 1999). The historiography of parochial schools is limited, while that of private and independent schools comprises almost entirely institutional histories. However, an overview and synthesis of both topics can be found in the *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*. See Francis Ryan, "Roman Catholic Education (Primary and Secondary)," *EGP*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/roman-catholic-education/; and David R. Contosta and William W. Cutler III, "Private (Independent) Schools," *EGP*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/private-independent-schools/.

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Warner Jr., Michael B. Katz, Stanley K. Schultz, Raymond A. Mohl, and Carl F. Kaestle searched the past for insights into the problems afflicting modern, urban, public schools. What they found in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia helped explain to their satisfaction the institutional inertia and poor quality that characterized these schools by the mid-twentieth century. They had never fulfilled the promise of educational opportunity for all, these historians argued, because this promise had never been genuine. The public schools in Philadelphia, Warner wrote, "were not expected to be innovators." Instead, their goal was to provide "mass low-cost education." According to Schultz, "those seeking a new urban discipline created as one of their most useful tools a system of public education."[5] In this historiography, the public schools of Philadelphia received limited attention. In *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*, Warner devoted less than a chapter to them. But he broke new ground in the field of urban history by building them into his analysis of social reform in cities, which, he argued, often undervalued public solutions to collective problems. Educational historian David B. Tyack also did not feature Philadelphia in *The One Best System*, his pioneering study of urban school bureaucratization. Instead, he made it one among several examples of cities where elite reformers modernized public education by centralizing its management, routinizing its work, and differentiating its workers, especially principals and teachers. Such bureaucratic improvements, these reformers argued, would eliminate favoritism, waste, and inefficiency. "Although the tactics and consequences of these reforms varied from city to city," Tyack wrote, "in each case the central ideology and central strategy were similar, marking these episodes as part of a nationwide urban 'progressive' campaign . . . which had earlier transformed other sectors of American life and which was now reshaping urban education."[6]

Thirty years ago, the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*) published a review essay on the historiography of public education in urban America. It focused on two books—one by a political scientist, the other by a historian. Philadelphia was not featured in either of them. Nor was any other city in Pennsylvania. Instead, political scientist

[5] Sam Bass Warner Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968); Stanley K. Schultz, *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789–1860* (New York, 1973), ix; Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York, 1971); Carl F. Kaestle, *The Evolution of an Urban School System: New York City, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA, 1973); Raymond A. Mohl, *Poverty in New York, 1783–1825* (New York, 1971).

[6] Warner, *The Private City*, 111–23; David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), 148.

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Paul Peterson and historian David Hogan cast Chicago in the leading role as they explored the contours of urban school reform between 1870 and 1940. Like Tyack, they argued that elite reformers were responsible for the modernization of urban schools, seizing control from immigrants and labor. Hogan placed a premium on socioeconomic status, explaining modernization in terms of class conflict. Peterson, on the other hand, took a more pluralistic approach, arguing that many stakeholders had to collaborate for modernization to take place.[7] Pennsylvania might have played an important role in this debate had Hogan published his study of Philadelphia schools, work, and family life, which he and Michael B. Katz undertook in the early 1980s. They built their research on the premise that educational change emerges from class conflict. But they never completed this work, and the historiography of public education in Philadelphia went elsewhere.[8]

In Chicago, color, not class, became the paramount consideration for historians of urban education. The growth of urban school segregation despite the *Brown* decision in 1954 and the civil rights legislation of the 1960s prompted both Amanda Seligman and Kathryn Neckerman to search for an explanation. Their decision to study Chicago made sense not only because of its large black population but also because of its important place in the historiography of public education in urban America. Seligman came to the conclusion that blue-collar whites on Chicago's West Side defended their neighborhoods and their public schools against those who wanted to desegregate them. White flight, she argues, was a last resort, not the first option for white families confronted by an influx of African Americans. Neckerman attributes school segregation and the concomitant failure of the Chicago public schools to policies adopted by the board of education and the school district's administration. Both managers and policymakers took the path of least resistance when deciding about such issues as school feeder patterns, ability grouping, and remedial education. If African Americans could not be excluded, at least they could be contained.[9]

[7] William W. Cutler III, "Class, Politics, and Urban School Reform," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (1987): 237–44 (hereafter cited as *PMHB*). The two books under review were Paul E. Peterson, *The Politics of School Reform, 1870–1940* (Chicago, 1985); and David John Hogan, *School and Society in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[8] Michael B. Katz and David Hogan, "Schools, Work, and Family Life: Social History," in *Historical Inquiry in Education: A Research Agenda*, ed. John H. Best (Washington, DC, 1983), 287.

[9] Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago, 2005); Kathryn M. Neckerman, *Schools Betrayed: Roots of Failure in Inner-City Education* (Chicago, 2007).

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In 2007 the distinguished historian Gary B. Nash assessed the state of historical writing about Philadelphia since the publication of the city's tercentennial history. In a historiographical essay published by *PMHB*, Nash argues that "a veritable meteor shower of scholarly works" had appeared in just a quarter century. This scholarship, he asserts, built upon the solid but increasingly anachronistic foundation laid by Russell F. Weigley, the editor in chief of the tercentennial history. In addition to advancing our knowledge of the city's political, economic, and military history, Weigley and his collaborators broke ground in such fields as women's, African American, and Native American history. They explored in creative ways the history of poverty and social welfare as well as the interactions among work, space, and economic activity. But by focusing on the contributions of the city's elites, it left a lot of room for others to innovate.[10]

Given the size and scope of the work Nash identified, it is disappointing that his essay neglects educational history almost completely. His bias toward the years before 1900 may explain this oversight, since much of what was published in the field between 1982 and 2007 focused on the twentieth century.[11] No comprehensive history of the School District of Philadelphia (SDP) has ever been written, but many authors have explored specific aspects of the city's recent educational history.[12] Some have built on the foundation laid in the 1970s, expanding our knowledge of public school modernization. Others have emulated Seligman and Neckerman, focusing on race and poverty. Still more have featured the relationship between public schools and their constituents. This scholarship has downplayed social class in favor of race and gender.

Some of the reasons Nash proffers for the surge in historical writing about the city could also be marshaled to explain the appearance of so much scholarship on public education. Changes in the faculty at the University

[10] Gary B. Nash, "Clio's Cornucopia: The Last Quarter Century of Historical Scholarship on Philadelphia," *PMHB* 131 (2007): 247–75; Russell F. Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York, 1982).

[11] Only two of the four books that we both have cited made education their focus: Vincent P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia*: *The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900–1950* (Philadelphia, 1979); and Nina de Angeli Walls, *Art, Industry, and Women's Education in Philadelphia* (Westport, CT, 2001).

[12] The Los Angeles and Detroit public schools have been the subject of books that examine their evolution over much, if not all, of their history. See Jeffrey Mirel, *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit, 1907–1981* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1993); and Judith Rosenberg Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools* (Stanford, CA, 1992). Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805–1973* (New York, 1974) covers perhaps the longest span of time of any urban school biography.

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of Pennsylvania, for example, certainly made a difference. Beginning in 1978, there was a senior scholar in the university's Department of History —Michael Katz—willing and able to supervise graduate students interested in urban public education. A new receptivity to their work by editors at regional journals and local university presses gave these young scholars added incentive. The acquisition by some local archives of manuscript and print collections bearing on the history of education in Philadelphia facilitated research. When the Historical Society of Pennsylvania acquired the papers of former mayor and school board president Richardson Dilworth, it became an important destination for historians of education. Established in 1967, the Urban Archives at Temple University assembled a critical mass of primary sources on public education.[13] Among its most important collections in this regard are the papers of black activist Floyd Logan, school reformer Helen Oakes, and the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission.

But what about Pittsburgh? With three research universities, it has always had the institutional capacity for cutting-edge scholarship in many historical fields, including public education. And the primary sources are there. In 1969 the School District of Pittsburgh gave a trove of records to the University of Pittsburgh. Covering the years 1836 to 1962, the collection includes minute books, enrollment rosters, and attendance reports. It documents the district's history from the time it was, like Philadelphia, divided into many subdistricts. Among its treasures are the enrollment records of Pittsburgh Central High School from 1855 to 1906. A comparable collection has never existed in Philadelphia. For many years, the SDP housed some of its historical records at its headquarters on Twenty-First Street. Stored in a library devoted to curriculum theory and development, this archive mainly consisted of annual reports and published board minutes. The district's earliest records—including handwritten minute and roll books from as far back as the 1820s—lived in a warehouse on the banks of the Schuylkill River; access to them was restricted. The district never developed a relationship with a local university or the Free Library of Philadelphia for the safekeeping of its historical records. In 1978 the Philadelphia Board of Education agreed to transfer many of them to the Urban Archives at Temple but rescinded the offer when city archivist Alan Weinberg objected. Today those records are scattered, some at the district's

[13] References to collections in the Urban Archives appear in the works of many authors cited in this essay.

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headquarters on North Broad Street and some in a dead storage facility.[14] Nevertheless, historians of education have often written about the district.

Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are, of course, not the only cities in Pennsylvania to operate school districts. Chester, Harrisburg, Reading, Lancaster, and Erie come to mind, and their public schools date back to the nineteenth century. Local historians have devoted some attention to them, and James P. Wickersham had at least some of them in mind when he published the first history of education in Pennsylvania in 1886.[15] But over the last fifty years, historians writing for scholarly journals and university presses have overlooked them. Perhaps this is because the limits and possibilities of public education writ large have been most apparent in big cities. That comparatively little has been published on Pittsburgh's educational history warrants its own explanation. It is probably the result of multiple factors, one of which is the orientation of the two most important urban historians to live and work there in the second half of the twentieth century: Samuel P. Hays and Roy Lubove. Hays was not much interested in schooling per se, and although what he wrote on urban reform in the Progressive Era influenced some historians of education, especially Tyack, Hays's own work on the history of Pittsburgh marginalized education.[16] Lubove did the same. In his voluminous scholarship on modern Pittsburgh, he devoted himself to such topics as social welfare policy, urban planning, and real estate development.[17] Had he combined the study of any one of these three topics with public education, the results could have been pathbreaking.

The historiography of school modernization in Philadelphia encompasses both the expansion of public schooling and its bureaucratization. It has never featured neo-Marxist ideas about class bias and elite domination. Instead, it has focused on the consequences of professionalization in public education, and, eventually, the role of race and gender. When

[14] David A. Horowitz to Michael P. Marcase, Apr. 25 and June 27, 1978, photocopies in the author's possession. Access to these records is sanctioned by the Pennsylvania Right to Know Law. It may be obtained through the SDP's Open Records Officer/Assistant General Counsel at 440 North Broad Street, Suite 313, Philadelphia, PA.

[15] James P. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (1886; repr., New York, 1969).

[16] Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55 (1964): 157–69; Tyack, *The One Best System*, 128; Maurine Weiner Greenwald, "Women and Class in Pittsburgh, 1850–1920," in *City at the Point*: *Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh, 1989), 33–68.

[17] Edward K. Muller, "Lubove's Pittsburgh," *PH* 68 (2001): 336–53; Raymond A. Mohl, "Roy Lubove and American Urban History: A Review Essay on Pittsburgh's Post-Steel Era," *PH* 68 (2001): 354–62.

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writing about Philadelphia, Tyack relied on the work of William H. Issel, who is best known for his article on the Reorganization Act of 1905, which led to the SDP's political and administrative centralization. Eager to weaken the city's many ward-based school boards, which they accused of corruption and patronage, reformers persuaded the state legislature to concentrate power in the hands of the city's central board of education. Less often cited are Issel's two articles on public education in the rest of Pennsylvania. The first, published in 1967, examined the role of the Pittsburgh Teachers Association in educational reform at the beginning of the twentieth century. It argued that this professional organization devoted itself to the improvement of the Pittsburgh public schools by advocating for such reforms as physical education, manual training, and medical inspections. The association, Issel maintained, also raised the status of teachers by working successfully for higher salaries and retirement savings. Issel built on this theme more than a decade later in an article about school reform and industrialization. Arguing against Michael Katz and others, Issel claimed that historians should look for the forces driving reform inside as well as outside the American educational system. They should pay more attention to the role that the professionalization of school administration played. Many administrators believed that they could stem the disorder that came with industrialization, he wrote, by "linking their ideology of social control to a successful campaign to widen their professional authority." Rather than class conflict, hubris and ambition were responsible for organizational change.[18]

In 1979 Richard B. Fishbane, who was then a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, published a demographic study of Philadelphia teachers in the mid-nineteenth century. Following the lead of the researchers at the Philadelphia Social History Project, he based his study on manuscript census records. Fishbane asked when and why the SDP employed more women teachers than men and if there were training requirements for them. He wanted to know if women could build a career in teaching, advancing from the lowest ranks to supervisory positions, and if so, how

[18] William H. Issel, "Modernization and Philadelphia School Reform, 1882–1905," *PMHB* 94 (1970): 358–83; Issel, "Teachers and Educational Reform During the Progressive Era: A Case Study of the Pittsburgh Teachers Association," *History of Education Quarterly* 7 (1967): 220–33 (hereafter cited as *HEQ*); Issel, "Americanization, Acculturation and Social Control: School Reform Ideology in Industrial Pennsylvania, 1880–1910," *Journal of Social History* 12 (1979): 569–90.

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many did. He discovered that the gender ratio in the SDP shifted dramatically from male to female between 1845 and 1865 and that by 1871 nearly all of Philadelphia's teachers (95 percent) were women. Because the district was slow to enforce any training requirements, many were young and inexperienced. Since many Americans viewed marriage as incompatible with teaching, especially at the elementary level, very few teachers remained on the job in the SDP for more than a decade.[19] The feminization of public school teaching followed a similar trajectory in Pittsburgh. But modernization came unevenly there. The Pittsburgh school board instituted mandatory certification requirements in 1911 but still barred married women from teaching.[20] In other words, because teaching was gendered, it was more than a job but less than a profession.

According to historian Jackie Blount, the preference for single women teachers decreased in the United States after 1900 and especially after 1940. Anxieties about sexual deviance, once repressed but now expressed, made marriage for educators, both male and female, an increasingly important criterion for public school employment. Educators whose career choices raised concerns about their sexual orientation ran the risk of ugly gossip, if not worse. Men were not supposed to teach very young children any more than women were supposed to manage large school districts.[21] These expectations most certainly affected the teaching profession in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but to what extent remains undetermined. Did married women outnumber their single counterparts sooner rather than later in urban Pennsylvania, and what role, if any, did race and social class play in shaping this development? By the 1950s, lesbians and gay men had established themselves in Philadelphia, creating a vibrant subculture that was visible to its members if not always to everyone else.[22] Was this also the case in Pittsburgh, and to what degree did this sense of community affect both teachers and students? These questions merit careful attention by historians of education.

[19] Richard B. Fishbane, "'The Shallow Boast of Cheapness': Public School Teaching as a Profession in Philadelphia, 1865–1890," *PMHB* 103 (1979): 66–84.

[20] Greenwald, "Women and Class in Pittsburgh," 42–43. See also Marguerite Renner, "Who Will Teach? Changing Job Opportunity and Roles for Women in the Evolution of the Pittsburgh Schools, 1830–1900" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1981).

[21] Jackie M. Blount, "Spinsters, Bachelors, and Other Gender Transgressors in School Employment, 1850–1990," *Review of Educational Research* 70 (2000): 83–101. For more on the context of these developments, see David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820–1980* (New York, 1982), 183–201.

[22] Marc Stein, *City of Brotherly and Sisterly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (2000; repr., Philadelphia, 2004), 3–13.

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One of the most imaginative works in the historiography of school expansion and modernization argues that the bureaucratization of the SDP and the growth of public secondary education should not be understood in terms of class domination. Published in 1988, *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838–1939*, by David F. Labaree, draws from sociology and economics to argue that bureaucratization was "a political intervention in a previously unregulated educational marketplace." Admission to Central was gendered until 1983; only boys could attend. But in the mid-nineteenth century, its meritocratic emphasis on talent and ambition made it accessible to both working- and middle-class applicants. Educators in Boston had moved in this democratic direction a generation earlier, when Horace Mann and Samuel Gridley Howe persuaded those in charge of the city's public school system to replace oral with written examinations for grade promotion and secondary school admission. According to historian William J. Reese, this attempt to standardize the assessment process "sparked a debate about the politics, meaning, and virtues of testing that has never ended." At Central High School the issue was the value of its credential, not testing. Operating in the equivalent of an educational free enterprise system, the school's diploma soon became so valuable to the city's middle class that the school board was forced to regulate admission and then expand access by opening competitors. At first, the board established an entrance examination that institutionalized the merit principle and helped to standardize the grammar school curriculum. Next came a quota system that guaranteed seats in Central's incoming class to every feeder school in the city's public school system. In 1885 the board opened a manual training high school for boys to provide another means by which to satisfy the city's educational aspirations. Another followed five years later, and many comprehensive high schools opened at the beginning of the twentieth century. In response, Central reformed its curriculum, replacing the practical course geared toward citizenship with a two-track system that offered either college preparation or vocational education. This, according to Labaree, was "as much a sign of class weakness as it was of class power" because it revealed "just how much the members of the middle classes had come to depend on the high school and its credentials." Finally, the board abolished the school's entrance examination, hoping to make it like every other high school in the city. Central did its best to remain distinctive, and the board rewarded this persistence in 1938 by making admission selective

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again. But the school had been in the hands of the bureaucracy, not the marketplace, for more than three decades by then.[23]

Labaree's explanation for the appearance of the city's first manual training high school differs substantially from that of Andrew Dawson, who argues that the origins of vocational education in the Philadelphia public schools can be found at one of the city's largest employers, the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and the nearby Spring Garden Institute. When Baldwin introduced piecework and wage labor in the 1870s, it undermined the apprenticeship system, paving the way for the classroom to become the locus of job training. The institute addressed the city's growing need for skilled industrial workers with a curriculum that included geometry, physics, and chemistry, as well as wood carving, painting, and mechanical drawing. It aspired to educate all Philadelphia children in the principles of manual labor, viewing them as fundamental to a liberal education. The SDP was slow to accept this idea because of its commitment to localism and patronage, but it eventually followed the institute's lead. After all, Philadelphia was a leading industrial city—the "workshop of the world," its boosters claimed. Dawson argues that this change also had a political dimension: it assuaged the bitterness felt by the city's craftsmen, who felt dislocated and disrespected by the demise of the apprenticeship system.[24]

Writing about how Philadelphians "got work" between 1840 and 1950, Walter Licht maintains that it was reformers more than educators or business leaders who were responsible for the introduction of vocational education into the high school curriculum. It was part of a three-pronged agenda that also included centralized management and compulsory education. "The business community in Philadelphia certainly spoke in favor of manual arts and trade training," Licht wrote. But "few Philadelphia firms expected the schools to equip young people adequately for the kinds of industrial employment available in the city." Commercial education in the schools was another matter altogether; it proved helpful to many white-collar businesses. But the school-to-work connection was weak in Philadelphia, Licht maintains, and if the schools

[23] David F. Labaree, *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838–1939* (New Haven, CT, 1988), 68, 78, 80, 82, 86–90, 162,168–70, 172; William J. Reese, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools: A Forgotten History* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 50–53, 101.

[24] Andrew Dawson, "The Workshop and the Classroom: Philadelphia Engineering, the Decline of Apprenticeship, and the Rise of Industrial Training, 1878–1900" *HEQ* 39 (1999): 143–60.

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had an impact on work, it was achieved by "raising the age of entrance" into the city's labor market.[25]

Girls and women benefitted more than boys and men from the commercial programs that some proprietary schools, parochial schools, and public high schools offered. Licht acknowledges this gender difference but does not make enough of it. In fact, the history of girls' and women's education in both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia remains largely unwritten. The Philadelphia High School for Girls and its partner for many years, the Philadelphia Normal School, deserve to take their rightful place in the historiography of urban public education. Such a study would build on the work of Catherine D'Ignazio and Nina de Angeli Walls. D'Ignazio examines the history of girls' sports in the city and the suburbs in her Temple dissertation. She shows that suburban girls were much more likely than their urban counterparts to participate in interscholastic sports, especially after 1930, giving them an advantage in college admissions. De Angeli Walls sheds light on the history of vocational education for women in her history of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women, known today as Moore College of Art and Design. Founded in 1848, it prepared both girls and women to be either skilled workers in education, business, and industry or sophisticated homemakers. When it acquired the authority to offer bachelor's degrees in 1933, it passed from the realm of secondary to higher education.[26]

Science played an important role in the modernization of public education at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many American educators believed that empirical research would lead to a theory of education. No less than their counterparts elsewhere, educators in Philadelphia embraced this view and then implemented it by developing and administering standardized tests. Concentrating on the work of superintendent Edwin C. Broome and his director of educational research, Philip A. Boyer, historian René Luis Alvarez has demonstrated that the SDP

[25] Walter Licht, *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840–1950* (Philadelphia, 1992), 66–67, 87, 93, 94, 96. For an account of an attempt by business leaders to teach the virtues of capitalism to public school students in Philadelphia and Reading—and labor's response to this effort—see Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, "Business Propaganda in the Schools: Labor's Struggle against the Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System, 1949–1954," *HEQ* 40 (2000): 255–78.

[26] Catherine D'Ignazio, "The History of High School Girls' Sport in the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia, 1890–1990" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2009); D'Ignazio, "How Did They Compete? Philadelphia High Schools Girls' Sports, 1904–1944," in *Philly Sports: Teams, Games, and Athletes from Rocky's Town*, ed. Ryan A. Swanson and David K. Wiggins (Fayetteville, AR, 2016), 53–70; Walls, *Art, Industry, and Women's Education in Philadelphia*, 97, 102–3, 106, 130.

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greatly increased its use of such tests in the 1920s. Achievement tests, Broome and Boyer believed, enforced academic standards, measured student proficiencies, and facilitated vocational guidance. Their extensive use increased not only organizational efficiency but also the chance that newcomers would learn the skills and values needed to survive, if not succeed, in urban America.[27]

For most of its history, Philadelphia has been home to many African Americans. The same is not true of Pittsburgh. Perhaps this explains at least in part why historians have devoted insufficient attention to the latter's educational history.[28] Even though their numbers were not large at first, blacks in Philadelphia constituted a visible and important demographic in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When the city's black population increased dramatically between 1920 and 1950, segregated neighborhoods and occupations rapidly proliferated. The combined effects of deindustrialization and suburbanization exacerbated these conditions. Good schools might have given black Philadelphians a fighting chance, but they never received equal treatment in the city's public school system. In the words of historian Harry C. Silcox, African Americans suffered from "delay and neglect" in the Philadelphia public schools from the beginning.[29]

While serving as a high school principal in the SDP, Silcox wrote a doctoral dissertation about the schooling of African Americans in Boston and Philadelphia. In *North of Slavery*, Leon Litwack showed that Massachusetts faced the injustice of school segregation before any other northern state. Silcox took this story further, especially for Pennsylvania. He demonstrated the lengths to which black Philadelphians were forced to go to obtain a proper education for their children. This lack of support eventually convinced some black leaders, such as Octavius V. Catto and Jacob C. White Jr., that "racial solidarity and self-help" were better than integration in public education. An assassin cut Catto down in 1871, but White, who lived until 1902, resisted the discrimination he and his students encountered. Under his supervision, more than a few alumni of the Roberts Vaux

[27] René Luis Alvarez, "Assessing the Modern Urban School System: The Institutionalization of Standardized Testing in Philadelphia, 1925–1930," *PMHB* 128 (2014): 193–220.

[28] For one of the few articles that deals with this topic, see Edward T. Price Jr., "School Segregation in Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *PH* 43 (1976): 120–37.

[29] Harry C. Silcox, "Delay and Neglect: Negro Public Education in Antebellum Philadelphia, 1800–1860," *PMHB* 97 (1973): 444–64.

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Consolidated School helped desegregate both Central High School and the Philadelphia High School for Girls.[30]

Raised in Philadelphia, Vincent P. Franklin made his hometown even more central to the revisionist historiography of African American education that emerged in the 1970s. In *The Education of Black Philadelphia*, he explored the role that black resolve played in the struggle against racial discrimination in the city's public school system. Fearful that they might lose their jobs, black teachers dissented when the NAACP protested rising segregation levels in the 1920s. But they got behind the Educational Equality League, founded by Floyd Logan, when it used the threat of black defection from the Republican Party to persuade the SDP to accept an African American school board member, employ more African Americans, and end segregated teacher eligibility lists. Accomplished between 1935 and 1937, these reforms anticipated the integrationist ideology that informed the civil rights movement a generation later. However, none did as much to strengthen black resolve as the rising tide of minority enrollment in the city's public schools that eventually and ironically made integration politically unattainable.[31]

Michael Katz's presence at the University of Pennsylvania led, in time, to several studies of race and education in Philadelphia. In general, these studies told the story of white resistance to school integration. Jon S. Birger, a master's student who went on to write for *Money Magazine*, studied the role of race and social class in the Philadelphia school system. He argues that 1960s desegregation never stood a chance after it became publicly identified with the city's deindustrializing economy and the rapid growth of its African American population. Threatened by the liberal agenda of school board president Richardson Dilworth and his handpicked superintendent, Mark Shedd, the city's white working class rejected reform, according to

[30] Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961), 149–51. For a more recent treatment of the same subject, see Daniel R. Biddle and Murray Dubin, *Tasting Freedom: Octavius V. Catto and the Battle for Equality in Civil War America* (Philadelphia, 2010). Harry C. Silcox, "A Comparative Study in School Desegregation: The Boston and Philadelphia Experience, 1800–1881" (EdD diss., Temple University, 1971); ibid.; Silcox, "Philadelphia Negro Educator: Jacob C. White, Jr., 1837–1902," *PMHB* 97 (1973): 75–98; Silcox, "Nineteenth Century Philadelphia Black Militant: Octavius V. Catto (1839–1871)," *PH* 44 (1977): 52–76. Abraham Lincoln High School, where Silcox worked in the 1970s, was 98 percent white in the 1970–71 school year. Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, *Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking in the Philadelphia Public Schools, 1970–1971* (Philadelphia, 1971), 11.

[31] Ronald E. Butchart, "'Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education," *HEQ* 28 (1988): 333–66; Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia*, 76–81, 125–26, 141–47.

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Birger, preferring bad schools to integrated ones. Anne E. Phillips offers a somewhat different explanation in her doctoral dissertation. She attributes the failure of desegregation efforts to school board recalcitrance, as well as the limits of federal law and the opposition of some white neighborhoods and their political leaders to busing. Their arguments parallel those made for Chicago by Amanda Seligman and Kathryn Neckerman. Taking yet another position, René Luis Alvarez blames the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, arguing that its support for desegregation was secondary to its members' rights and ultimately its own power in the city. "Like its trade union associates," Alvarez claims, the union "advocated racial equality . . . only if it did not threaten the seniority and security of its membership."[32]

Shedd's appointment would not have been possible without the political transformation of the biggest city in Pennsylvania. Once reliably Republican, Philadelphia gradually turned Democratic during the Great Depression and after World War II. So, too, did Pittsburgh, but Democrats in Philadelphia made school reform a higher priority than their Steel City counterparts. In 1965 they saw to the adoption of a new home rule charter, which reduced the size of the school board from fifteen to nine, and flirted with the idea of building new schools in clusters (otherwise known as educational parks) to induce school desegregation. Busing to existing schools was, of course, out of the question, as the city's mayor in the 1970s, former police commissioner Frank Rizzo, made clear, but a suit against the SDP filed by the Human Relations Commission in 1963 kept the segregation issue alive well into the 1980s. By then, the African American population of the SDP was so large that Constance Clayton, the first woman and the first African American to be the district's superintendent, tried to solve it by implementing voluntary desegregation measures.[33]

Race had played a significant role in the decisions the SDP made about when and where to build new schools in the 1950s and '60s. School construction had all but come to a halt over the preceding twenty years, and the district sorely needed many new buildings. According to Michael

[32] Jon S. Birger, "Race, Reaction, and Reform: The Three Rs of Philadelphia School Politics, 1965–1971," *PMHB* 120 (1996): 163–216; Anne E. Phillips, "A History of the Struggle for School Desegregation in Philadelphia, 1955–1967" *PH* 72 (2005): 49–76; René Luis Alvarez, "'There's No Such Things as an Unqualified Teacher': Unionization and Integration in the Philadelphia Public Schools," *The Historian* 65 (2003): 838–65.

[33] Kenneth J. Heineman, "A Tale of Two Cities: Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and the Elusive Quest for a New Deal Majority in the Keystone State," *PMHB* 132 (2008): 311–40; Cutler, "Public Education: The School District of Philadelphia"; Cody Dodge Ewert, "Educational Reform," *EGP*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/educational-reform/.

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Clapper, the SDP built no new schools between 1939 and 1948. The construction program that the district initiated after that concentrated on the city's expanding black and white neighborhoods. But it also mirrored the segregated housing patterns that were confining African Americans to the same neighborhoods in West and North Philadelphia that whites had fled. A similar construction pattern had characterized the SDP's response to population growth at the end of the nineteenth century. It had concentrated then on prosperous neighborhoods such as Germantown and Frankford. Between 1945 and 1976, Clapper's research shows, the SDP built mostly in areas that were already segregated, making future attempts to integrate its schools both impolitic and expensive.[34]

Clapper's argument runs counter to the oft-cited belief that urban school segregation resulted from forces that were beyond the control of policymakers. White flight, it holds, was not just or even an individual response to demographic change multiplied many times over. Like Clapper, Ansley T. Erickson has shown in her study of metropolitan Nashville that school segregation often resulted from conscious decisions made by public officials and private developers. By binding housing and schooling together, they greatly increased the odds that Nashville and its public schools would be segregated. Educators reinforced this pattern by shaping the curriculum to track minority students into compensatory and vocational education. Thus, even in school districts like Nashville's that integrated by busing, the races could be separated.[35]

Beginning in 2006, the historiography of race and education began to focus on what blacks, not whites, did. The first scholar to take this tack for Philadelphia was Matthew J. Countryman, whose book on the Black Power and civil rights movements in the city includes a chapter on public education. By this account, Dilworth and Shedd tried to substitute decentralization for desegregation when it became apparent to them and some black leaders that the city's racialized politics and large minority population precluded integration. In a school district that had become majority black, desegregation proposals only increased existing tensions. Even educational parks that would enroll students from many

[34] Michael Clapper, "School Design, Site Selection, and the Political Geography of Race in Postwar Philadelphia," *Journal of Planning History* 5 (2006): 244, 248, 250, 258–59; William W. Cutler III, "A Preliminary Look at the Schoolhouse: The Philadelphia Story, 1870–1920," *Urban Education* 8 (1974): 391.

[35] Ansley T. Erickson, *Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and Its Limits* (Chicago, 2016), esp. chap. 4.

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different neighborhoods turned out to be a polarizing proposition. Dave Richardson, Cecil B. Moore, and other black leaders formulated a new reform agenda. They demanded black studies and community control, making desegregation secondary to the political goals and cultural needs of African American parents and children. But they could not achieve these objectives. "Like the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy," Countryman notes, "the Philadelphia school crises of 1967–68 can be viewed as an example of excessive black demands and poorly conceived liberal policies pushing white working-class Democrats into the arms of conservative politicians."[36]

Expanding on Countryman's work, Matthew Delmont has demonstrated in multiple publications how black integrationists like Ruth Wright Hayre and Floyd Logan laid the groundwork in the 1950s for what would come in the next decade. As principal of the William Penn High School for Girls, Hayre insisted that education would not be wasted on low-income, minority students. Many educators, including James Bryant Conant, saw cultural deprivation, not aptitude, there, but Hayre insisted that her students had great potential. She encouraged some to attend college, urged others to take full advantage of the vocational curriculum at William Penn, and exposed all to Philadelphia's cultural inheritance. She worked with Floyd Logan, another integrationist. A clerk for the Internal Revenue Service, Logan never had to contend with the gender bias that Hayre and her students faced in the SDP. But he knew racism and discrimination firsthand, and he worked against them in public education for more than four decades. In 1947 he endorsed the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission's call for a public college in the city that would be free for low-income and minority students. A public relations campaign against school segregation that he launched after the *Brown* decision set the stage for the protests that Moore and the NAACP waged against segregation at Girard College, a private high school for boys, and in the SDP. Delmont

[36] Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2005), 236–37, 249, 255–56. For an article about an early attempt by black leaders to attack school segregation in the Philadelphia suburbs, see David Canton, "A Dress Rehearsal for the Modern Civil Rights Movement: Raymond Pace Alexander and the Berwyn, Pennsylvania, School Desegregation Case, 1932–1935," *PH* 75 (2008): 260–84. In the 1960s, Pittsburgh's school superintendent, Sidney Marland, led an effort to build educational parks to deal with his district's school segregation problems. But the NAACP opposed his Great High Schools plan for distracting attention from desegregation, and it was abandoned when Marland left in 1968. See also Ansley T. Erickson, "Desegregation's Architects: Education Parks and the Spatial Ideology of Schooling," *HEQ* 56 (2016): 574–76. Not surprisingly, Pittsburgh's role in this article is relatively small, especially by comparison to New York City's. Philadelphia receives no mention.

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calls some of Philadelphia's most prominent leaders of that era, including the television personality Dick Clark, hypocrites. They defended the status quo, characterizing it as innocent, so that they could "avoid integration without publicly supporting segregation." Like Countryman, Delmont also argues that Logan's goals were unrealistic because he "underestimated the extent of entrenched white resistance."[37]

Erika Kitzmiller has added another dimension to the story told by Countryman and Delmont. Her essay on Nellie Rathbone Bright in this issue of *PMHB* shows how one determined black educator transformed a Germantown elementary school into a force for racial uplift and social justice in the community. Like Hayre, she refused to accept the idea that black children could not benefit from a rigorous academic curriculum. But she also used her position as the principal of the Hill Elementary School in Germantown to promote more recreational opportunities and better housing for African Americans.

Marcus Foster ranks with Ruth Wright Hayre and Superintendent Clayton as one of the most respected educators in recent Philadelphia history. As told by historian John P. Spencer, his story exemplifies the tension between school-based reform and a more comprehensive approach to the problem of educational inequality. Foster served as the principal of three schools in the SDP, including Simon Gratz High School, one of the most troubled in the district. An advocate for realistic reform, he tried to chart a middle course between "the extremes of demanding too little and expecting too much of the schools as agents of equal opportunity." At Dunbar Elementary School he instituted a "compensatory education" program that became a model for the Ford Foundation's Great Cities School Improvement Program and the educational policies of the Lyndon Johnson administration. Like Hayre and Bright, Foster tried to overcome cultural deprivation by maximizing school resources and raising both teacher expectations and student aspirations. The challenges he faced at the Catto Disciplinary School taught him to appreciate the challenges of urban public education. The complex lives of his students, both at home and at school, pointed to the need for a broad-based approach to educating them.[38]

[37] Matthew Delmont, "The Plight of the 'Able Student': Ruth Wright Hayre and the Struggle for Equality in Philadelphia's Black High Schools, 1955–1965," *HEQ* 50 (2010): 204–30; Delmont, *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia* (Berkeley, CA, 2012), 97–99, 101–2, 105–7, 122–23, 125; Delmont, "Working Toward a Working-Class College: The Long Campaign to Build a Community College in Philadelphia," *HEQ* 54 (2014): 439.

[38] John P. Spencer, *In the Crossfire: Marcus Foster and the Troubled History of American School Reform* (Philadelphia, 2012), 10–11, 17, 55–57, 67, 70–71, 97–104, 133–34.

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When Foster became the principal at Simon Gratz in 1966, the school was struggling. Its reputation for disorderly students and low reading levels was so insidious that some parents and community leaders called for reforms across the entire school system. Even black educators in the SDP were vulnerable to criticism. Foster responded by asking everyone to take responsibility for student achievement, linking it to the empowerment of the next generation. But it was his decision to side with his students and their parents in a dispute with some white neighbors and the board of education over the expansion of the school's footprint into the surrounding neighborhood that made him famous. He knew just how much the black community in the area wanted more classrooms and a new gymnasium. His support for these improvements resonated with those who favored Black Power and put him on course for much bigger things. In 1969 he became the Associate Superintendent for Community Affairs in the Shedd administration and, less than two years later, the superintendent of schools in Oakland, California. There his career and his life came to a sudden and tragic end when he was assassinated by members of the Symbionese Liberation Army for "crimes against children."[39]

North Philadelphia and Germantown were not the only places where educators, parents, and citizens tried to defend their public schools from the effects of racism. As Abigail Perkiss has demonstrated, activists in West Mount Airy organized to keep their middle-class neighborhood and its public schools from becoming segregated. They promoted West Mount Airy as the perfect compromise between Center City and the suburbs—convenient, urbane, and liberal. For more than twenty years they succeeded in attracting and keeping both black and white residents, but their efforts to prevent local public schools from becoming predominantly black failed as many white families regretfully determined that the SDP was incapable of meeting the needs of their children. Overcrowded and underfunded elementary schools did not help, but neighborhood high schools with bad reputations forced their hand. When their children reached seventh or eighth grade, they opted out, enrolling their children in private schools or moving to the suburbs.[40]

[39] Ibid., 135–38, 146, 158, 159–67, 220–21.

[40] Abigail Perkiss, *Making Good Neighbors: Civil Rights, Liberalism, and Integration in Postwar Philadelphia* (Ithaca, NY, 2014), 59, 92–93, 99, 105–6, 112–13. For a study of a high school in northwest Philadelphia, see Erika M. Kitzmiller, "The Roots of Educational Inequality: Germantown High School, 1907–2011" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2012).

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The neighborhood activists in West Mount Airy were not alone; as my work has revealed, they had many peers and predecessors. Florence Cohen, for example, was a committed integrationist with the Ogontz Area Neighbors Association; she made public education a priority in the 1960s. Gladys "Happy" Fernandez helped found the Parents Union for the Public Schools (PUPS) an advocacy group that took on the SDP and the teachers' union. Her work with PUPS led to a distinguished career in politics and higher education. But it was Helen Oakes who became the most visible and probably the most influential citizen activist in the city. She cut her teeth with the West Philadelphia Schools Committee, which worked in the 1960s to prevent the total segregation of the public schools. When it ceased to exist in 1971, Oakes set out on her own, publishing a monthly newsletter on public education in Philadelphia for seventeen years (1972–89). It led to her appointment to the Philadelphia board of education, but her expertise turned out to be a mixed blessing there. As a woman, a newcomer, and now an insider, she was expected to be a team player.[41]

By the time Helen Oakes came along, many women had served on the Philadelphia school board. In fact, they were so entrenched by 1975 that one, Mrs. Dolores Oberholtzer, was elected vice president. But it was a circuitous path to that destination. In 1915 Mary Van Meter Grice allowed the Equal Franchise League of Philadelphia to recommend her for appointment to the Philadelphia board of education. Active in the Home and School League, Grice was known for her support of Progressive reforms. Had she been selected, she would have been the first woman ever to serve on the board. But that honor went instead to the wife of a local college professor. Asked about her appointment in 1920, Anna S. Lingelbach declined to respond, "saying she wanted to confer with her husband first."[42] Men often took such deference for granted, and male dominance on the board has persisted. Although two women have served as superintendent—Clayton (1982–93) and Arlene Ackerman (2008–11)—no woman ever presided over the school board, and only one, Marjorie Neff, did so over its successor, the School Reform Commission.[43] The interplay among gender, race, and social class in Philadelphia school

[41] "William W. Cutler III, "Outside In and Inside Out: Civic Activism, Helen Oakes, and the Philadelphia Public Schools, 1960–1989," *PMHB* 137 (2013): 301–24; Cutler, *Parents and Schools: The 150-Year Struggle for Control in American Education* (Chicago, 2000), 190–92.

[42] Cutler, *Parents and Schools*, 76, 78, 82.

[43] A former teacher and principal in the SDP, Neff assumed the chair in May 2015, taking over from her colleague Bill Green III, the son of the former mayor.

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politics deserves more attention than it has received from historians of education.

Over the last two decades, many reformers have favored some form of privatization in public education. For-profit vendors of educational services entered the marketplace, promising to make public education more efficient and effective. When Pennsylvania legalized charter schools in 1997, many families opted for them. The cost to the SDP has been substantial, most notably in declining enrollments and increased per pupil expenses. Historians have yet to explore these developments, but some social scientists have studied them. One study of Philadelphia and Chester concluded that school privatization is more likely to be implemented in small cities with big enrollments of minority students. Impoverished and politically isolated, the Chester Unified School District hoped to prevent the proliferation of charters by inviting the Edison Corporation to run most of its schools. The SDP, on the other hand, limited private vendors like Edison to a modest role by marshalling its political assets against them. Another study examined the "diverse provider model" of educational management that was implemented in Philadelphia after the state took control of the SDP in 2001. Written by a trio of sociologists, this study concludes that the SDP never relinquished control of the city's public schools. Its decision to hire seven outside providers—three for-profit companies, two nonprofits, and two universities—blurred the lines between public and private education. But the SDP retained "a strong central role," overseeing the private providers that managed low-performing schools and the district's own Office of Restructured Schools.[44]

Anyone interested in the history of education in Pennsylvania should visit the website of the *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*. A large and ambitious online resource, its education portfolio includes more than a dozen articles dealing with such topics as parochial schools, independent schools, and the public schools of Philadelphia. Almost all take a regional perspective, examining their subject matter in not only southeastern Pennsylvania but also southern New Jersey and northern Delaware. Most cover familiar ground, but some explore new territory. The essays on

[44] Robert Maranto, "A Tale of Two Cities: School Privatization in Philadelphia and Chester," *American Journal of Education* 111 (2005): 151–90; Eva Gold, Jolley Bruce Christman, and Benjamin Herold, "Blurring the Boundaries: A Case Study of Private Sector Involvement in Philadelphia Public Schools," *American Journal of Education* 113 (2007): 181–212. See also Camika Royal and Simone Gibson, "They Schools: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy under Siege," *Teachers College Record* 119 (2017), http://www.tcrecord.org/library, ID No. 21719.

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high school sports and public education in the suburbs break ground on two important topics. Mentored by colleges, both public and private high schools made competitive athletic programs central to their educational mission in the first half of the twentieth century. The formation in 1913 of the Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic Association opened the door to the state regulation of high school athletics, but in Philadelphia championship competition between public and Catholic high schools dominated the sports scene for more than four decades (1938–79). At the same time, many rural public schools became suburban—that is, more modern—by consolidating for efficiency and bureaucratizing for uniformity. They hired superintendents and opened high schools. Beginning in the 1960s, however, suburban educators shied away from comparisons with their urban counterparts because this meant acknowledging their own difficulties with such problems as school crime and segregation.[45]

Public education in urban America faces an uncertain future in 2017. Many city school districts are not just struggling—they are in danger of collapse. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Pennsylvania. Public investment in both the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia public schools has fallen so far so fast that it is not impossible to imagine a time when these two public educational systems will cease to exist. Politicians know that Pennsylvanians no longer have the level of confidence in public education that once led them to take it for granted. In 1970 the state adopted legislation that gave public employees, including teachers, the right to bargain collectively and even strike under limited circumstances. Political leaders believed that government had the power to manage conflict and solve problems, and nowhere was this confidence stronger than in public education. But according to historian Jon Shelton, the teacher strikes that paralyzed both the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh public school systems over the next decade helped to discredit such liberal thinking.[46] By the 1990s, neoliberals were openly questioning the value of public education. The rise of the Tea Party and the election of President Donald Trump could

[45] Catherine D'Ignazio, "High School Sports," *EGP*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/high-school-sports/; William W. Cutler III and D'Ignazio, "Public Education: Suburbs," *EGP*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/public-education-suburbs/.

[46] Jon K. Shelton, "Against the Public: The Pittsburgh Teachers Strike of 1975–1976 and the Crisis of the Labor-Liberal Coalition," *LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 10 (2013): 55–75. See also Shelton "'Against the Public': Teacher Strikes and the Decline of Liberalism, 1960–1981" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2013); and Shelton, *Teacher Strike! Public Education and the Making of a New American Political Order* (Urbana, IL, 2017).

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increase their momentum. But as the historiography reviewed in this essay demonstrates, the roots of such thinking go deep. They reach down to the misplaced faith of so many in the efficacy of school modernization and to the powerful consequences of depression, deindustrialization, and demographic change in Pennsylvania. Of course, the history covered here is not just about decline and failure. It also tells of growth, expansion, and even empowerment, especially by minorities and women. Which of these will historians feature in twenty-five years if they write about public education in urban Pennsylvania again? That, of course, remains to be seen.

Temple University, emeritus WILLIAM W. CUTLER III

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Selling Gentility and Pretending Morality: Education and Newspaper Advertisements in Philadelphia, 1765–75

ABSTRACT: In the decade before the American Revolution, advertisements for education commonly advanced appeals to gentility while simultaneously promising that instructors oversaw appropriate moral development of students. As the consumer revolution unfolded and greater numbers of colonists possessed goods formerly reserved primarily for elites, all kinds of educators (schoolmasters and -mistresses, language tutors, dancing and fencing masters) marketed manners, morality, and comportment—their own and that learned by their pupils—as means of distinguishing the truly genteel from pretenders. In so doing, they fashioned impressions of exclusivity while simultaneously selling their services to any who paid their fees. Advertisements concerning schoolmasters who duped others demonstrated the cultural fragility inherent in pretenses of gentility and morality.

WHEN SAMUEL BLAIR PROPOSED opening a boarding school near Philadelphia in 1771 to provide young men with "an advantageous private education," he assured parents of prospective students that "those who are inclined to trust him with their children, may expect that all due care will be taken of their morals, their manners, and their persons, as well as their instruction" in reading, writing, arithmetic, Greek, and Latin at his "convenient house . . . where a considerable number may be comfortably and decently accommodated."[1] Blair informed Philadelphia residents of his intentions by inserting a notice in the advertisement section of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Like others who placed advertisements concerning education during the decade prior to the American Revolution, he emphasized several ancillary goals, especially shaping the "morals" and "manners" of his charges. Tapping into a

[1] Samuel Blair, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1771.

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more general public preoccupation with self-presentation and social status, schoolmasters and other colonists who placed these notices presented, as Lawrence Cremin puts it, "learning as a road to gentility."[2] They resorted to concepts of gentility to sell their services in the midst of a consumer revolution that increasingly placed "genteel" goods in the hands of the middling sorts (and even, to a lesser extent, the poor) in addition to the gentry, though the former certainly did not purchase fashionable clothing, decorative housewares, and other markers of status to nearly the same extent as the latter. Still, colonists from all backgrounds had greater access to all kinds of consumer goods, frequently described as genteel in newspaper advertisements, by the second half of the eighteenth century.

Simply possessing items associated with refinement, however, did not make one genteel. True gentility, Richard Bushman argues, required a "transformation of personality" that "lifted properly reared persons to a higher plane."[3] Many colonists believed that education facilitated this transformation. Accordingly, schoolmasters, tutors, and others who provided some sort of instruction incorporated promises of genteel learning, supplemented with additional attention to moral rectitude, into marketing appeals aimed at both elite and middle-class colonists. Families among the former, presumably, already ranked among the genteel, but the rising generation needed instruction to cultivate certain knowledge and skills to maintain their status. Rather than limit themselves to teaching the upper classes, however, schoolmasters and other instructors seized on the social mobility that characterized eighteenth-century America to encourage middling families to engage their services. Depending on the concerns of the reader, advertisements for educational opportunities simultaneously addressed status anxieties experienced by the elite and offered paths for social advancement to middle-class colonists.

This essay examines connections between education, gentility, and morality in advertisements placed in Philadelphia newspapers during a period of rapid population growth accompanied by expanding opportunities for students to obtain instruction from schoolmasters and other instructors between 1765 and 1775. It focuses on two major categories of newspaper notices.[4]

[2] Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783* (New York, 1970), 367.

[3] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 25.

[4] I examined 140 notices appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal* between 1765 and 1775. Schoolmasters attempting to attract new students placed ninety-three of these notices; another twenty notices advertised employment opportunities for schoolmasters. The

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Instructors advertising their classes or lessons placed the first type. Both the men and women who ran boarding schools and Latin academies and the tutors who offered such special subjects as foreign languages, dancing, or fencing emphasized that they conducted their lessons in an atmosphere of politeness and morality. They also promoted their services by suggesting that refined individuals possessed the skills that they offered to teach. In so doing, they presented potential students and their parents with a strategy for asserting their own social status by acquiring skills and pursuing activities associated with metropolitan elites. The men and women who placed advertisements for education crafted their notices to be read in multiple ways, delivering different messages to potential students and their families from different backgrounds. They played on the anxieties of the gentry, who observed the lower classes increasingly dressing like them, owning similar housewares, and consuming foods and beverages previously considered luxury items as both groups participated in the consumer revolution. In response, schoolmasters and tutors implied that the refinement achieved through educational endeavors would continue to distinguish the elite from the upstarts. Yet they also encouraged patronage from those upstarts, offering tantalizing promises that their instruction would produce transformations in character and comportment that would help their students achieve true refinement, not just the material trappings of wealth. These advertisements had a dual purpose: they preserved an aura of hierarchy in educational pursuits by associating certain subjects and activities with high-class gentility, and they simultaneously opened up learning opportunities to prospective students who did not necessarily come from elite backgrounds. They sold—or attempted to sell—gentility to a broad reading public. Thus, they highlighted a tension between popularizing goods and services and the continued association of codes of gentility with elite social standing.

Although these notices suggest what might have occurred in classrooms in Philadelphia in the late colonial period (or, at least, what the advertisers wanted readers to imagine took place under their tutelage), their greater significance lies in the ideas about the purpose and value of education that schoolmasters and tutors advanced as they marketed their services. These advertisers believed that gentility, although a fluid and contested concept,

remaining twenty-seven notices featured devious schoolmasters and runaways posing as schoolmasters. These notices come from a sample consisting of every third issue published by both the *Gazette* and the *Journal*. Some notices appeared in multiple issues; the figure of 140 does not include second and subsequent notices.

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would effectively resonate with prospective students and their parents. These advertisements must be read on their own terms, acknowledging the intentions of the advertisers while recognizing both that they may not have delivered on all their promises and that readers may have been skeptical of the claims they advanced. With those caveats in mind, appeals to gentility constituted a central component of advertisements for various forms of education in Philadelphia's newspapers during the decade before the revolution. By that time, the prosperity created by the Seven Years War permitted greater numbers of Philadelphians to participate more actively in the consumer revolution. When the ability to acquire an array of imported goods was no longer confined as exclusively to the affluent, many turned to educational pursuits to distinguish themselves from their social inferiors who merely made purchases.

This essay also examines a second set of notices about schoolmasters accused of immoral or criminal conduct and runaway servants who falsely posed as schoolmasters. These advertisements underscore that the pursuit of gentility was a precarious undertaking in late provincial society and suggest that it could be hard to tell feigned gentility from the real thing. Thus, the items highlight the anxieties present in the milieu of mobility—geographic and, especially, social—in eighteenth-century America. Even the schoolmaster, who was meant to embody respectability and morality, could easily misguide patrons. The comportment that supposedly signaled gentility and learning could also, it seemed, be easily mimicked by men of obscure social origin. The advertisers in the first set of notices went to great lengths to demonstrate their own gentility or to offer assurances that their pupils would achieve true refinement in part because the scandalous actions of the schoolmasters and runaways in the second set of advertisements revealed the problematic nature of gentility itself. Individuals could strive for gentility as they nurtured their inner character and exhibited proper comportment, but achieving gentility also depended on the assessments of others—verdicts achieved through careful observation. Schoolmasters, tutors, and other instructors realized that they were under scrutiny by both prospective patrons and other colonists, even as they implied that their services would prepare their charges to withstand similar scrutiny. Notices warning against schoolmasters accused of improper conduct and runaway servants masquerading as educators appeared alongside advertisements placed by teachers who emphasized genuine gentility as one of the most substantial benefits of the services they sought to sell.

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Several related factors contributed to Philadelphia's emergence as a center of educational opportunity, to the status consciousness of many of its residents, and to the appeal of codes of gentility. A commercial port city, Philadelphia experienced a high rate of population growth, expanding from eighteen thousand residents in 1765 to twenty-five thousand by 1775. Commerce and population growth, in turn, contributed to increased social mobility and heterogeneity. By the 1760s, according to Lawrence Cremin, Philadelphia had become a center of educational debate and innovation due to a "continuing influx of men and ideas from all over the Anglo-European world."[5] As the city's overseas connections intensified, Philadelphia residents developed an interest in presenting their city as a cultural rival of European cities. Status consciousness emerged especially sharply during the 1760s in the wake of the Seven Years' War. For several decades, commerce had allowed certain families to amass great wealth; the war accelerated this process. The conflict reshaped the social structure of port cities by presenting new possibilities for profit to merchants who provided military supplies and by demanding greater sacrifices from the poor in the form of higher taxes. Thomas Doerflinger cautions, however, against "confusing [increasing] stratification with rigidity and lack of mobility" and convincingly argues that Philadelphia's bourgeoisie had numerous opportunities for upward social and economic mobility, a prospect that provoked some concern among the upper classes.[6]

By the 1760s the consumer revolution had accelerated and expanded to include just about every segment of colonial society. Middling colonists purchased greater numbers of imported wares, but even some of the poor occasionally obtained tokens previously reserved for the upper crust. Advertisements for various forms of education appeared alongside even greater numbers of advertisements for consumer goods, often in the form of extensive lists of assorted merchandise that merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans described as "genteel," "fashionable," and available at "low prices." Low prices increasingly put supposedly genteel goods within the grasp of middle-class colonists, even if elites continued to engage in the most conspicuous consumption. As Richard Bushman suggests, new habits of

[5] Cremin, *American Education*, 378.

[6] Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1986), 45. Doerflinger suggests that social mobility depended on "contacts, capital, or experience." I propose that education also acted as a means of advancement. See Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, 57.

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consumption, social mobility, and aspiring cosmopolitanism among the city's population contributed to a near obsession with gentility.[7]

The gentry experienced other challenges in the 1760s and 1770s. Stuart Blumin notes that "artisans and other middling folk fought for and gained political recognition during the Revolutionary era."[8] The erosion of deference politics began in the 1760s, as colonists across the social spectrum responded to perceived abuses by Parliament. Even as the rabble gained some degree of political power through their protests in the streets, the elites deployed gentility as a means of continuing to distinguish themselves from the inferior ranks. Some middle-class colonists, on the other hand, saw opportunities to enhance their overall position in colonial society by wedding aspirations to gentility with new modes of political participation. Amid the consumer revolution and political upheavals, educators believed that appeals to gentility offered a powerful marketing strategy to attract both students from elite families concerned with maintaining their status and at least some middling students with ambitions for social mobility.

The opportunities for conspicuous consumption in an increasingly well-integrated commercial empire played a major role in the deployment of gentility in Philadelphia; print culture and advertising, in particular, helped publicize the possibilities made available by an "empire of goods."[9] As Julie Williams notes, "advertisements helped strengthen the image of the New World colonies as connected to Europe, as prospering, as offer-

[7] On population growth and the effects of the Seven Years' War, see Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), 257–58, 310, 313. On social stratification, see Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, 20–36. On social mobility, see Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, 45–69. On gentility, see Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 61–62. See also Lynn Matluck Brooks's comments on an emerging American gentry that "sought to match European models of cultivation in behavior, dress, and style of living," a trend reinforced among Philadelphia residents as many began to receive professional training in medicine or law abroad. Lynn Matluck Brooks, "Emblem of Gaiety, Love, and Legislation: Dance in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115 (1991): 63.

[8] Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (New York, 1989), 62.

[9] T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776," in "Re-Viewing the Eighteenth Century," special issue, *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 467–99. Shortly after the revolution, Rosemarie Zagarri indicates, printers targeted readers "who were consciously fashioning themselves into proper ladies and gentlemen." Rosemarie Zagarri, "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 55 (1998): 206. See also Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York, 2004); Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 119 (1988): 73–104; and Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50 (1993): 471–501.

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ing all the accoutrements of civilization and ease."[10] During the second half of the eighteenth century, Blumin indicates, "Philadelphia and other cities had acquired an affluent upper stratum that rather successfully emulated the opulent lifestyles of the European upper class."[11] Ridding the city of its image as a rustic pretender required more than purchasing luxury goods and fashionable clothing or altering the appearance of streets and buildings by importing carriages and building mansions. In his examination of the emergence of the American middle class, Blumin devotes a lengthy section to careful examination of "the material lives of middling folk" in the last third of the eighteenth century in order to contrast their conditions with the privileged elite. He concludes that limited abundance existed in Philadelphia, "reflected most clearly in the cramped and modestly furnished homes of the middle stratum of the urban population—homes that resembled those of the poor more closely than those of the rich."[12] Material circumstances, however, do not tell the entire story of class formation or of the attempts of the elite to ward off threats to their privileged positions.

According to their advertisements, schoolmasters and tutors recognized gentility as a powerful talisman for promoting their services both to the gentry who sought to protect their status and to the middling sort who wanted to join their ranks—or at least distinguish themselves from the poor. In that regard, schoolmasters who placed advertisements in the 1760s and 1770s offered a precursor to what Bushman has called the "vernacular gentility" of respectability among the middle class in the early nineteenth century.[13] In their efforts to attract students, schoolmasters and other instructors anticipated a modified form of gentility that began to coalesce much more broadly a quarter century later. Similarly, J. M. Opal identifies a "democratization of gentility" that resulted from the curricula and competition among students of humble origins within academies established in the rural northern states from the 1780s through the 1820s.[14] Opal indicates that advanced learning in the early national period was often disruptive; it alienated children from parents as the

[10] Julie Hedgepeth Williams, *The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America: Colonists' Thoughts on the Role of the Press* (Westport, CT, 1999), 228.

[11] Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 39.

[12] Ibid., 57–58.

[13] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 208–9.

[14] J. M. Opal, "Exciting Emulation: Academies and the Transformation of the Rural North, 1780s–1820s," *Journal of American History* 91 (2004): 456.

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younger generation aspired to new stations and eschewed responsibilities within the household economy. Even if they anticipated such unfortunate outcomes, educators never gave voice to such concerns in advertisements intended to lure the middle classes to their academies in the 1760s and 1770s. From a marketing perspective, gentility offered only possibilities, not problems. Yet it is important to remember that these instructors did not target middling readers exclusively. Newspaper notices for educational opportunities indicated that achieving urban elegance required certain residents to modify their behavior, but, in efforts to garner as many students as possible, they stopped short of specifying which residents. They left it to their upper- and middle-class audiences to make their own determinations about how they saw gentility operating in their lives.

Tutors often recommended instruction in such genteel activities as dancing, fencing, or speaking French, but there was no definitive checklist of which or how many of these skills an individual must acquire to achieve gentility. Just as colonists acquired consumer goods that simultaneously exhibited personal taste and familiarity with current fashions, individuals also chose (as their finances permitted) to cultivate a variety of genteel skills and pastimes. Material goods, proper comportment, and the ability to dance, fence, or speak French complemented each other. Possessing material goods did not necessarily mean one had attained mastery of manners or other markers of gentility; colonists capable of demonstrating they had acquired several of these attributes diminished the possibility of observers suspecting their outward appearance of refinement was possibly artificial rather than an authentic and intrinsic quality. Members of the gentry were expected to exhibit as many of these genteel skills as possible, but newspaper advertisements from this period suggest that instructors left it to students of middling means to choose which they wished to pursue.

Philadelphia residents enjoyed greater access to newspapers and their advertisements than did most colonists. Two English-language newspapers ran continuously in Philadelphia during the decade before the revolution. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal* each offered their readers a weekly selection of editorial letters, poetry, and items extracted from other newspapers as well as space for commercial advertisements and other notices placed by the public. The *Gazette* and the *Journal* not only served the city of Philadelphia and surrounding villages but also the remainder of Pennsylvania and the nearby colonies of Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland. Accordingly, colonists from throughout the

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mid-Atlantic submitted notices to newspapers published in Philadelphia, touching on everything from runaway servants and slaves to business and educational opportunities.[15]

Advertisers who placed notices in newspapers played an active role in the process of cultural transmission, a role sometimes overlooked by historians who in their examinations of colonial newspapers place most of their emphasis on the goals and authority of printers. In contrast to other newspaper items (letters, editorials, extracts from other newspapers) selected by the printer for inclusion, advertisements appeared as the result of a business transaction between printer and advertiser. Since printers exercised little editorial prerogative in excluding proffered notices or shaping their content, advertisements generally are a good index of the interest and outlooks of a broad social constituency in Philadelphia and its hinterland. Moreover, Philadelphia newspapers printed between 1765 and 1775 regularly devoted at least one-quarter of their space to advertisements and frequently distributed half-sheet supplements devoted almost entirely to notices of all kinds, bringing the proportion of advertising between half and two-thirds of the issue on such occasions. Thus, editors ceded a fair amount of space to people with viewpoints potentially different from their own. Some historians have dismissed these advertisements, regarding them as "irrelevant commercial notices" full of details pertinent only to a few or as items that list "information in a straightforward manner, and nothing more."[16] I hold, however, that the advertisers who placed them implicitly incorporated their understanding of culture and society into the texts of these notices. The notices *were* full of miscellaneous details, such as which shop had just received a new shipment of millinery goods from London or when and where an estate auction would occur, but they also featured a subtext of status values. By reading between the lines, subscribers became aware of the status distinctions implicit in many notices. From

[15] Four other English-language newspapers ran in Philadelphia during a portion of the period, most of them starting publication in the three years before the revolution. According to Richard Brown's tally, only eighteen weekly and biweekly newspapers appeared in the colonies (all in port towns) in 1760. Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1770–1865* (New York, 1989), 111.

[16] For "irrelevant commercial notices," see Brown, *Knowledge Is Power*, 128. For "information in a straightforward manner," see Williams, *Significance of the Printed Word*, 200. For an extended consideration of the role of notices in the context of colonial newspapers and readership patterns, see chapter 10, "The Printed Word as Advertisement," in Williams, *Significance of the Printed Word*. For a balanced depiction of the agency of both printers and readers, see Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740* (New York, 1994), 249–50.

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this perspective, advertisements played an important role in circulating—and challenging—conceptual frameworks of social hierarchy and mobility.

Due to the city's size and diversity, Philadelphia residents enjoyed a relatively large selection of educational opportunities during the decades prior to the revolution. Formal schooling became available to greater numbers of students in the latter half of the century. The number of teachers working in Philadelphia nearly quadrupled, with an average of at least twenty-two offering their services each year between 1765 and 1775.[17] In the ensuing competition for students, several teachers established reputations that allowed them to cultivate a substantial clientele that filled their classrooms for more than a decade. Others, less fortunate, closed their doors and pursued other occupations after only a season or two of teaching, their students readily absorbed by other schools.

Schoolmasters hoping to attract students from the upper echelons of society to their "Latin" schools modeled colonial education after classical curricula in European schools. Children from more humble backgrounds learned to read and write from their parents or attended small "English" schools that provided instruction in basic skills. Although a large portion of the colonial population received some instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, fewer colonists attended schools where they learned history, geography, natural philosophy, or the classics. Male scholars outnumbered female students, in part because Latin schools did not accept girls and young women. Some instructors, however, did open boarding schools for girls in Philadelphia shortly before the revolution. In addition to attending various types of schools, students received private instruction from tutors who taught pupils at home. Despite these differences in curriculum and clientele, schoolmasters running every type of school attempted to fill their classrooms by placing advertisements in Philadelphia's newspapers.[18]

[17] On the increase in the number of teachers, see Cremin, *American Education*, 538–39. This represents a fairly reliable minimum number of teachers in Philadelphia. Others may not have appeared in advertisements and other records.

[18] On using European schools as a model, see Malcolm S. Knowles, *A History of the Adult Education Movement in the United States* (Huntington, NY, 1977), 7. On including the classics in the curriculum, see Dennis Barone, "Hostility and Rapprochement: Formal Rhetoric in Philadelphia before 1775," *Pennsylvania History* 56 (1989): 15–32; Robert Middlekauff, "A Persistent Tradition: The Classical Curriculum in Eighteenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 18 (1961): 54–67; and Meyer Reinhold, "Opponents of Classical Learning in America during the Revolutionary Period," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112 (1968): 221–34. On English schools, see David D. Hall, "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600–1850," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William L. Joyce et al. (Worcester, MA, 1983), 18. On educational opportunities for women in the mid-Atlantic, see Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–*

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Selling Education: Social Status through Gentility

This section singles out for special attention three features of notices placed by instructors announcing new schools, classes, and private tutoring services: the explicit association between morality and gentility as a central feature of both schoolmasters and classroom education, the emphasis on the spatial segregation and elegance of the classroom setting, and the close association of gentility with certain ancillary skills, especially dancing and foreign languages. These features all reveal how advertising encouraged an association between instruction and elite gentility: prospective students were extended an open invitation to acquire gentility for a fee. As with any marketing endeavors, the claims made in the advertisements reflect ideas that the advertisers expected would resonate with potential customers. They do not necessarily reveal the realities of what occurred in any particular classroom, nor how readers interpreted or reacted to the appeals advanced in the advertisements. Still, the emphasis on gentility as a selling point suggests a broader cultural preoccupation with refinement.

Schoolmasters and tutors describing classes and academies typically stressed education as an opportunity to inculcate morality as well as refinement, closely associating moral education with the cultivation of manners and gentility. The emphasis on moral training was reinforced by Lockean educational theory, which posited that since a child's mind was formed by experience, it was imperative, as Jay Fliegelman writes, to "properly" shape that mind before it became "corrupted by exposure to the wrong set of influences and impressions."[19] Samuel Blair, who promised to teach children the basics of reading, writing, Latin, and Greek, also assured parents "that all due care will be taken of their morals, their manners, and their persons."[20] Mr. A. Grinshaw, who said that he "genteelly boarded and diligently instructed" young gentlemen at his academy in Leeds, likewise assured parents that he paid "Due regard" to his "young Gentlemen's . . . morals and behavior."[21] Female instructors also yoked together morality and gen-

1850 (New Haven, CT, 1986), 170; and Karin Wulf, *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Ithaca, NY, 2000), 46–50. For educational opportunities available to black residents of Philadelphia, see Nancy Slocum Hornick, "Anthony Benezet and the Africans' School: Toward a Theory of Full Equality," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (1975): 399–421.

[19] Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority* (New York, 1984), 15.

[20] Samuel Blair, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1771.

[21] A. Grinshaw, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 25, 1770.

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tility. In her notice advertising instruction for young children, Sarah Hay promised to "implant the principle of religion and virtue in the minds of the children" and assured that her instruction would yield a "proper manner of speaking and genteel behavior."[22] None of these advertisers elaborated on how they would achieve those ends; instead, they asked parents to trust that such lessons would indeed be incorporated into their curricula. They did not specify the extent of this instruction, but they did seek to make a favorable impression by acknowledging that moral instruction should be a part of genteel learning.

Schoolmasters and those advertising vacant positions for schoolmasters also emphasized instructors' characters, stressing that their instruction and interaction with students would, or should, reflect their own morality. This, too, was in accord with a Lockean pedagogy in which learning occurred in part through the study of exemplars, starting with the tutor. Instructors advertising their boarding schools, as well as those seeking employment as schoolmasters, touted their own reputations for moral integrity along with their competence in the relevant subject matter. One hopeful young man "of good character" informed prospective employers that he "may be depended upon for his honesty and sobriety."[23] The public certainly expected as much from individuals entrusted with educating children. In February 1766, Joseph Garner and John Todd offered "Unexceptionable Recommendations, respecting Morals," for another schoolmaster, who intended "to open a School in the Country."[24] Ten of the fourteen notices announcing employment opportunities for schoolmasters explicitly included "moral behavior and unexceptionable character" among the applicants' necessary qualifications.[25] In short, advertisers promised that

[22] Sarah Hay, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 16, 1768. When Mrs. Roger proposed to open a boarding school "for the Education of young Ladies" in Philadelphia in 1773, she wrote that "she flatters herself, that the Attention she shall pay to the Health, Morals and Behaviour of the young Ladies committed to her Care, will entitle her to the Favour of the Public." Mrs. Roger, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1773. See also Matthew Maguire, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1769; Mathew Maguire, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 4, 1770; Honore L'Angier, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 21, 1770; and Thomas Powell, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1772.

[23] "WANTS A PLACE," advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 18, 1767. See also "WANTS EMPLOY," advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1770; and "A Young Man," advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 20, 1774.

[24] Joseph Garner and John Todd, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1766.

[25] Joseph Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 21, 1766. See also "Lower Ferry on Sasquehanna," advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 3, 1770; "Salary of ONE HUNDRED," advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1772; James Hunt, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Mar. 17, 1773; and John Ward, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1773.

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students would learn the codes of gentility and morality from instructors who were genteel and moral themselves.

Tutors also stressed their own respectability and social status, often by listing other occupational and social affiliations. Francis Daymon opened two notices by introducing himself not only as "Master of the French and Latin Languages," but also as "Librarian to the Library Company of Philadelphia."[26] This granted him additional authority as both a scholar and a supporter of the genteel Library Company. Paul Fooks followed a similar path when he reported that he had "been appointed Professor of the French and Spanish Languages in the College of this City."[27] He further underscored his reputation by indicating in three notices that he served as a notary.[28] Such affiliations portrayed tutors as appropriate role models and instructors by placing them in the context of polite society and attempted to eliminate questions or doubts about their backgrounds.

Many instructors also noted that the gentlemen and ladies of Philadelphia endorsed and sponsored their activities. William Linn, for instance, proclaimed that his plans for teaching the classics and other subjects at his boarding school had already received the approval of a "few Gentlemen in this city, who have fallen upon this plan."[29] Similarly, Mr. Pike, a dancing instructor, stated that he opened his school "agreeable to an Invitation from several respectable Families in this City." Recently arrived from South Carolina, where he had been "Ten Years a Teacher in Charles-Town," Pike assured Philadelphia residents unfamiliar with his reputation that many "respectable Gentlemen" visiting Philadelphia from the southern colony could vouch for him.[30] In July 1774, dancing master Peter Sodi announced that his "Intention was to open a School next September, but is obliged, at the Desire of a Number of Gentlemen and Ladies, to open it immediately."[31] By establishing the enthusiasm of respected community members, instructors implied that their acknowledged gentility and social connections could, in turn, enhance the status of their students.

Many instructors, especially those providing learning experiences traditionally associated with the elite, positioned their potential students within

[26] Francis Daymon, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 15 and Nov. 2, 1774.

[27] Paul Fooks, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1766.

[28] Fooks, advertisements, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1768, and *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 8, 1767, and Aug. 18, 1768.

[29] William Linn, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 19, 1773.

[30] Mr. Pike, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1774.

[31] Peter Sodi, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 6, 1774. See also John Baptist Tioli, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Feb. 6, 1766; and Lucy Brown and Ann Ball, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 3, 1771.

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genteel circles. Thirty-two of the thirty-eight notices for language or dancing instruction addressed would-be students as "ladies" and "gentlemen." Nearly half of the advertisements for boarding schools and Latin academies addressed either prospective students or their parents in these terms, including Matthew Maguire's solicitation of "Gentlemen or Ladies, who shall be pleased to intrust their Children to his Care."[32] In contrast, schoolmasters overseeing English schools with less advanced and less refined curricula nearly always blandly announced their classes without addressing readers directly, using neither the polite "ladies" and "gentlemen" nor the plain "pupils" and "parents" found in some advertisements for academies.[33] One typical advertisement simply stated "ON Monday . . . will be opened an EVENING SCHOOL, where will be taught Writing and Arithmetic, by LAZARUS PINE."[34] The differing terms of address suggested that a student's choice of subjects and learning environment determined his or her entitlement to respect and deference. Advertisers like Maguire left it to readers to decide if they ranked—or aspired to rank—among the "Gentlemen or Ladies" of Philadelphia.

In port cities like Philadelphia, B. Edward McClellan argues, genteel families "feared outside influences and tried to isolate" their children.[35] Many instructors attempted to fend off fears about the dangers of contamination by plebian culture by emphasizing that their classrooms pro-

[32] Matthew Maguire, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 27, 1769. The remaining instructors who ran boarding schools and Latin academies did not address their potential patrons as "ladies" and "gentlemen" but instead used language similar to advertisements for English schools, often placing shorter notices that succinctly described the curriculum. See Richard Harrison, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1765. Other instructors who did not explicitly refer to their patrons as "ladies" and "gentlemen" used other strategies to assert their gentility, such as lengthy elaboration of the curriculum and learning environment. See J. Witherson, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Mar. 16, 1769.

[33] I located only two instances, both attributable to the same teacher, of a schoolmaster promoting his English school to "Young Ladies" and one notice from a "*Writing Master*" who proposed "to attend YOUNG GENTLEMEN or LADIES." See John Reid, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 20, 1765; Joseph Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1766; and Christ-Church School-House, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1766. For examples of schoolmasters addressing "pupils" or "parents," see Joseph Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 21, 1766; Moles Patterson, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1767; Thomas Powell, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1772; and Alexander Power and William Power, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1772.

[34] Lazarus Pine, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1770.

[35] B. Edward McClellan, *Moral Education in America: Schools and the Shaping of Character from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, 1999), 7. Similarly, Irish instructors (usually teaching Irish students) boarded their students "to better supervise and protect them from the temptations of city life." Elizabeth Nybakken, "In the Irish Tradition: Pre-Revolutionary Academies in America," special issue, *History of Education Quarterly* 37 (1997): 175.

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moted a closed and controlled learning environment.[36] William Linn, for instance, presented his boarding school for "Twelve young Gentlemen" as "a medium betwixt domestic and public education, the former affording too little stimulation, the latter dangerous to the morals of youth."[37] Linn promoted his "PRIVATE ACADEMY" as a center of study that provided insulation from the moral disorder associated with the diverse social backgrounds of students enrolled in English schools. In addition, he suggested that his academy could provide students with opportunities superior to those enjoyed by the elite who received their education exclusively from tutors in their own homes. Rather than suffering from "too little stimulation," he claimed, his students participated in an active academic environment that prompted them to enhance their learning through both competition and social interaction with other young men of a similar age and social position. Linn's advertisement implied that his pupils, when properly educated, would be able to interact safely with friends, acquaintances, and strangers in public venues.

Like Linn, other schoolmasters of boarding schools and private academies emphasized that their schools would sequester children from the vices of the city. Joseph Garner stressed that his academy had "a large Yard, fit for the Relaxation of Youth after School Hours, well inclosed, and probably more agreeable . . . than the Liberty of the Streets, where Vice is only too often so predominant, as to render the Care of the Parent or Guardian, and Vigilance of the Teacher, both abortive."[38] Garner similarly acknowledged that neither parents nor tutors could adequately supervise children and youth throughout the entire day; he proposed that his "well inclosed" academy provided protection for his pupils from the attitudes and behaviors of the lower castes they would encounter on the street. Garner implied too that his academy could better preserve the morality and gentility of his students than a common day school that forced students to navigate the streets between school and home on a regular basis. Ultimately, parents had to make that determination for themselves, but Garner crafted his advertisement to guide readers toward just such a conclusion.

[36] As opportunities for formal schooling expanded throughout the eighteenth century, some responsibility for maintaining social order shifted from the household to the classroom. Cremin, *American Education*, 485, 519, 537.

[37] William Linn, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 19, 1773.

[38] Joseph Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Sept. 11, 1766. Garner placed this notice on at least three occasions. See also Garner, advertisements, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 21 and Sept. 4, 1766.

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Similarly, Mary McCallister emphasized the benefits, especially protection from disorder, of attending a boarding school rather than an English school easily infiltrated by students of low social status. In May 1767, she informed the residents of Philadelphia that she intended to open a boarding school "for the education of young ladies," as none existed in the city at that time. Offering her students a complete education in one location eliminated "the disadvantage and fatigue of transversing the streets to different schools, whereby their attention to learning must be greatly interrupted and hindered."[39] Her students could, therefore, more easily attain "the more polite part of education."[40] Only in a later announcement did McCallister enumerate the courses available at her school. She placed far more importance on the cultural advantages associated with attending a boarding school, an appeal that she likely hoped would resonate with both the elite and middle-class students who aspired to social mobility.

Despite many notices' claims to offer a genteel education in serene settings, it is certain that the realities of the classroom were sometimes considerably different than advertised, as harried teachers sought to make their living in a competitive environment. Some instructors resorted to a strategy of issuing tickets to their lessons in order to restrict the number and regulate the social heterogeneity of their students. For example, in addition to his boarding academy, in the evenings Joseph Garner and his wife ran an ordinary English school with a practical curriculum that attracted students from various social backgrounds. Increased accessibility apparently led to chaos in the classroom. "Recently," he stated, "Numbers of genteel Persons either can[n]ot gain Admittance, from the Throng of Children, or, if admitted, are so incommoded, as to be under a Necessity of quitting the School."[41] In yet another notice, Garner was forced to state, "No Persons whatsoever will be admitted but Scholars, except Parents or Guardians."[42] This situation prompted Garner to inform the public that "Tickets shall be delivered . . . to Persons of Credit" in order to gain entrance to his schoolhouse.[43] The schoolmaster intended for the ticket system to eliminate the "Inconvenience" of this disruptive "Throng," the better to

[39] Mary McCallister, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 7, 1767.

[40] McCallister placed a second notice to respond to questions and requests for additional information that arose from her first advertisement. McCallister, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 4, 1767.

[41] Joseph Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1766.

[42] Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1765.

[43] Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1766.

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appeal to "genteel Persons" whose patronage he was in danger of losing. More so than most other educators who placed advertisements, Garner indicated that he wished to actively exclude some potential students; he did not elaborate on what qualified those who received admission tickets to their status as "Persons of Credit," but in distinguishing them from the "Throng" he extended some sort of validation to those invited to continue under his tutelage. After all, he asserted, he wanted to make sure that "genteel Persons . . . gain Admittance" to his school. Like other schoolmasters who made appeals to gentility in their advertisements, Garner left room for readers from a variety of backgrounds to decide that his notice was aimed at them. Students from elite families who subsequently received tickets would consider admission an entitlement due to their status, while students from middling families graced with tickets could interpret the gesture as acknowledgement that they exhibited some qualities or characteristics that the schoolmaster recognized as belonging to the ranks of the genteel. Either way, Garner flattered his pupils and their families even as his new policies allowed him to more closely monitor his students and to exclude any who did not conform to the polite expectations he wished to enforce. That this problem arose at all, though, indicated the fragility of inclusive, broad-based attempts to link education and gentility.

To strengthen their claims to offer a genteel education, many schoolmasters also emphasized the luxury and refinement of the classrooms and living spaces at their schools. In addition to sequestering his students away from the vices of the street, Joseph Garner claimed that his "commodious House" was "very extensive, the Rooms very elegant, and so well adapted to the Design of carrying polite Literature into Execution, as to admit of many Boarders, without interrupting each other in their private Studies."[44] William Linn's boarding scholars resided in the house of Elizabeth Montgomery, which Linn described as having "a very convenient and pleasant situation for the purpose, free from the noise of the city."[45] Similarly, when Thomas Powell advertised his boarding school he specifically described his house as "considerably enlarged, for the Accommodation of Boarders; he has several commodious Apartments adjoining his House, well adapted to instruct Youth in."[46] While the schoolmasters may have exaggerated these conditions in their advertisements, they likely conjured

[44] Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 11, 1766.
[45] William Linn, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 19, 1771.
[46] Thomas Powell, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1772.

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images of elegant classrooms and spacious living quarters to remind prospective students and their parents of urban mansions and the refinement with which they were associated.

In addition to promising to sequester their students from the disorder of the streets and common schools, instructors alleged that they carefully supervised classroom interaction, especially by regulating contact between students of the opposite sex. Not surprisingly, many enrolled only students of their own sex. Of the seventy-six notices that indicated the sex of prospective students, thirty-three followed this pattern, including all eleven notices placed by female instructors. When both sexes did congregate in the same classroom, the notices usually assured the public that "the strictest Decorum among the Youth of both Sexes" was "duly attended to."[47] When male teachers elected to offer their services to both male and female students, they more often imposed sexual segregation by scheduling separate classes for male and female students. Matthew Maguire adopted this strategy, stating that through experience he "discovered sundry inconveniences to result from teaching Youth of *both* Sexes" and thus planned to enroll "YOUNG LADIES only" in the daytime lessons at his English school. He invited young men to attend evening classes at the same location.[48] Most instructors who boarded students accepted only students of their own sex, even if they allowed students of both sexes to attend daytime lessons. In June 1774, for example, Francis Daymon advertised that he continued "to teach Ladies and Gentlemen the French language" but would only "take young gentlemen to board."[49] By taking these precautions, instructors suggested that their schools not only protected students from the external vices of the street but from improprieties that might arise internally. In their advertisements, schoolmasters pledged that they

[47] Joseph Garner, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1765. Twelve notices indicated that instructors taught male and female students in the same classroom. Of the remaining thirty-one notices, five were placed by male instructors who offered classes for girls only and twenty-six by male instructors who taught students of both sexes but at different times.

[48] Matthew Maguire, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 4, 1770. Peter Sodi did the same, informing the "Ladies and Gentlemen of this City" that he was about to open a dancing school "where he will attend . . . in the Mornings upon young Gentlemen, and in the Afternoons upon young Ladies." Sodi, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 6, 1774. For examples of others using this strategy, see Paul Fooks, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1766; John Baptist Tioli, advertisements, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Sept. 7, 1769, and Nov. 15, 1770; and Martin Foy, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Sept. 12, 1771.

[49] Francis Daymon, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 15, 1774. Matthew Maguire was among the rare exceptions. When he attempted to open a boarding school for children of both sexes, he assured parents that the "young Gentlemen and Ladies are accommodated with separate apartments." Maguire, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 27, 1769.

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provided careful oversight and direction for students to learn their lessons in an environment of social and sexual order, though parents likely suspected that disorder sometimes reigned when working with cohorts of enthusiastic children or willful youths.

Dance and foreign language instructors had the additional option of providing classes in the students' homes. Many ran small academies and went to great lengths to stress the genteel features and comportment experienced in their classrooms, but, acknowledging that their potential customers might prefer home instruction, they almost always offered private lessons. Thus, Monsieur Duvernay informed prospective French students that "If any Gentlemen or Ladies, have a mind to be taught privately, he will wait upon them at any time at their respective dwelling places."[50] Mr. Pike, a dancing master, set aside three days each week so that he too could "attend on Ladies or Gentlemen . . . at their own houses."[51] Teaching students in their own homes preempted the possibility of inappropriate interaction between students of the opposite sex, an especially salient matter for dance instruction, which required physical contact with partners, and even for foreign language instruction that involved conversation that might be considered unseemly or awkward in mixed-sex settings. An instructor visiting the student's home also granted additional cachet and prestige to the lessons.

Ancillary aspects of education, including instruction in dancing, music, fencing, and foreign languages, had a close association with metropolitan refinement.[52] At the same time, these subjects suffered from the taint of immorality, especially in this provincial city so recently dominated by Quakers suspicious of cosmopolitan entertainments. In this context, many notices sought to convince the public of the social advantages of dancing and French lessons and to free them from the possible suggestion of corruption and decadence.[53] Such strategies worked to the benefit of both upper- and middle-class students who hired language tutors and dancing masters.

[50] Monsieur Duvernay, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 7, 1773.

[51] Mr. Pike, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1774.

[52] According to Lawrence Cremin, colonists followed many of Locke's suggestions for structuring education. In addition to academic knowledge derived from books, he encouraged accomplishments in the performing arts (including dancing, music, and fencing) and the manual arts (such as gardening, joinery, metalwork, and bookkeeping). Except for classes on bookkeeping, newspaper advertisements suggest that colonists interested in social status eagerly embraced the former category while virtually ignoring the latter. Cremin, *American Education*, 362.

[53] Many dancing masters taught students of both sexes to dance but also provided fencing lessons for male students. Adding the short sword to the male curriculum allowed them to differentiate between male and female students, reducing the risk of men becoming effeminately genteel by engaging in dancing and language lessons that merely reflected the specialized skills taught to their sisters.

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Many dance and language instructors explicitly associated their classes with gentility by using phrases such as "polite and useful" and "that genteel part of polite education" in their advertisements.[54] One language instructor, Paul Fooks, described French and Spanish as "polite and useful," elaborating that he could assist students to learn to read, write, and speak these languages "with Propriety" and "with the utmost Purity and Elegance."[55] Some punched home the gentility theme by emphasizing the difficulty and social value of their teaching. A French dancing instructor named Viart, for instance, cautioned, "It is not every one, who pretends to teach this delicate art, who will take pains to instruct their pupils, in those rules of decorum and politeness, which are so absolutely necessary to be inculcated into them, before they can step abroad, into the world with elegance and ease."[56] As Lynn Matluck Brooks indicates, dancing provided opportunities to "display proper breeding, manners, and bearing."[57] Dancing academies, according to C. Dallett Hemphill, became "schools of good manners in their own right," rivaling attendance at boarding schools as markers of social status.[58]

Dancing masters and foreign language tutors further attempted to publicize the advantages of their classes by emphasizing their own ties

Fencing matches also provided a means for young men to exhibit and defend a genteel code of honor. In November 1769, Michael Bontamps Fartier proposed "to open his Fencing Room, where he will be glad that all the connoisseurs in that science, who may have leisure and inclination, would be pleased to honour him with their presence." He then extended a specific invitation to Martin Foy, challenging the rival fencing instructor to a friendly wager and duel. Concerns with reputation and status prompted him to make the challenge in response to "aspersions, propagated by Mr. Foy's partisans, to the great disadvantage of Mr. Bontamps and family." Participating in a duel allowed the two fencing instructors to work through masculine aggressions through simulated violence. Such rituals gave the two participants, as well as any of their pupils who observed the match, a common masculine identity, an identity that focused on genteel honor and symbolic protection of their personal and family reputations. Michael Bontamps Fartier, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Nov. 2, 1769.

[54] For "polite and useful," see Francis Daymon, advertisements, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Apr. 7 and Nov. 24, 1773. For "that genteel part of polite education," see Alexander Russell, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 25, 1773; Alexander Russell, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Sept. 8, 1773; and Mr. Francis, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Dec. 1, 1773. In total, sixteen of thirty-eight notices for dancing or language instruction explicitly described such activities as genteel pursuits.

[55] Paul Fooks, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1766. Fooks made similar claims in two later advertisements. See Fooks, advertisements, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 8, 1767, and June 16, 1768.

[56] Viart, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 15, 1773. See also Paul Fooks, advertisements, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1766, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 8, 1767, and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1768.

[57] Brooks, "Emblem of Gaiety," 65–66. For a lengthy description of dancing and genteel culture in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century, see Brooks, "Emblem of Gaiety."

[58] C. Dallett Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860* (New York, 1999), 91.

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to Europe. French tutor Charles Raboteau, for instance, guaranteed satisfaction by emphasizing that his qualifications derived from European connections: "he is descended of French Parents, was regularly educated in London, and has travelled and resided some Years in France."[59] Similarly, Martin Foy introduced himself to Philadelphia as a "Dancing-Master, Just arrived from EUROPE; HAVING acquired from the most eminent professors the true movements of a Minuet, with proper graces and most exact time, in the newest and politest taste," as well as other dances "in the genteelest manner."[60] Female instructors also considered a European background an asset. Thus, schoolmistresses Lucy Brown and Ann Ball stressed that they could successfully teach French, as they were "lately arrived from Paris, having acquired, by 14 years study, the French language in the politest taste."[61] Many Philadelphians desired to portray their city as the cultural equivalent and cosmopolitan rival of European cities. In this context, some advertisers sought to emphasize that receiving dancing and foreign language instruction from masters trained in Europe was superior to, and more stylish than, those classes offered by tutors educated in the colonies.

Even as dance and language instructors emphasized the prestige conferred by the skills they taught, their notices also made appeals to a fairly broad audience as they attempted to popularize their subject by emphasizing its ease of acquisition when properly taught. This is certainly true of a notice placed by Francis Daymon in November 1774, when he informed readers of the *Pennsylvania Journal* that

> The French Language by its beauty and facility to learn has become universal in all Europe, and is now so prevalent in England that it is looked on as a very essential and necessary piece of education; besides, it is so much in vogue among the modern writers, that it is impossible to read a News-Paper, magazine, or even a Novel with pleasure and profit, without a proper knowledge of it. The *American Youths* have long thought the study of it difficult, and not to be attained without an HERCULEAN labour,

[59] Charles Raboteau, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1765.

[60] Martin Foy, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 14, 1767. Even the simplest notices indicated some sort of connection to Europe. One sparse notice read in its entirety "GENTLEMEN and LADIES may be taught the French Language at their own Houses, by a Person educated in France. Inquire for Mr. Clarke at Mrs. Henderson's in Front-street, two doors below Walnut-street." Mr. Clark, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Nov. 19, 1767. See also Paul Fooks, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1766; and Monsieur Duvernay, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 7, 1773.

[61] Lucy Brown and Ann Ball, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 3, 1771.

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> great fatigue, and immense expence: but this ill grounded notion seems to have proceeded from the uncouth and disadvantageous manner in which some ignorant and unskilful masters have communicated their instructions. . . . As for the pronunciation in particular, to teach it by grammatical rules is a practice altogether absurd and ridiculous; besides, all the grammars are defective in this article; and to support my opinion, I shall only say, "*Pronunciato enim nec scribitur, nec pingitur, nec eam hauriri sas est nisi viva voce*."[62]

This notice demonstrates the tension between elite associations and broad appeal. Daymon's reference to magazines and novels assumed that prospective students could read at a relatively sophisticated level and had sufficient leisure to enjoy reading for pleasure as well as funds to purchase books or connections to borrow and share them. Alternately, it might have invoked feelings of inferiority and self-consciousness among prospective students who did not already easily read newspapers, magazines, and novels "with pleasure and profit," thus implicitly encouraging them to remedy that situation by enrolling in his courses as quickly as possible. Furthermore, by including a Latin quotation, Daymon framed his advertisement to appeal to those valuing a classical education. On the other hand, he argued that instruction need not entail "immense expence," indicating that non-elite students could afford his lessons. And, as he competed with others to catch his readers' attention, he presented himself as a superior instructor whose expertise could confer sophistication on any student who chose to study with him. Daymon managed, then, to present a portrait of exclusivity designed to appeal to readers of different backgrounds and statuses.[63] Even as he placed foreign language instruction in the context of European elegance, he appeared to address upwardly mobile readers aspiring to gentility as well as to elites among the gentry.

[62] Francis Daymon, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Nov. 2, 1774. The Latin quotation translates as "Since the pronunciation is neither written nor represented, it is not right to draw it up unless by direct testimony."

[63] Readers of various social positions probably read, or at least noticed, this advertisement since it was situated among notices from shopkeepers and estate executors. Although most dancing masters did not offer such lengthy justifications, some followed Daymon's lead by implying that the quality of their instruction would permit any individual to learn appropriate genteel conduct both on and off the dance floor. Mr. Pike offered a special class "for such persons as may have forgot, or had not an opportunity to dance very young," promising "they may be taught a genteel address, with a proper carriage" in addition to dancing. Mr. Pike, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1774. See also Viart, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 25, 1773.

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In order to promote this appeal among readers, tutors often attempted to make their courses sound popular, prompting students to enroll so they could possess the same genteel learning as their neighbors. In a notice seeking students for a "Ladies only" class, Daymon indicated that he had "a number already engaged."[64] In September 1771, he suggested that prospective students apply "speedily" or risk not receiving a place in his class.[65] Three years later, Daymon again used the same device, advising new students to "apply soon, the advertiser having very few hours disengaged."[66] Paul Fooks claimed that he offered a particular class in French and Spanish "at the request of several young gentlemen, who are desirous of learning those polite and useful languages," indicating that genteel colonists realized the value of such instruction without needing prompting from their tutors.[67] This implication also alerted those who had not sought instruction that they needed to develop similar tastes in order to assure their social position among the genteel. Charles Rabouteau restricted the numbers in his French class, stating, "I do not intend to take above a Dozen for this Winter, that so I may be able to perfect them; and there are some already engaged."[68] Martin Foy also encouraged parents to quickly enroll their students in classes to learn the newest and most fashionable dances "or it cannot be expected that they will be capable to perform them with any approbation this winter."[69] He played on readers' insecurities, warning that those who could not dance the most recent steps would be easily spotted and publicly embarrassed. As instructors competed to sell their services, they made their classes sound popular and necessary for both gaining and maintaining recognition as a member of refined circles. As a widening array of consumers purchased goods described as "genteel," schoolmasters and tutors peddled refinement through learning experiences to any clients who wished to engage their services. These advertisers played on social anxieties and aspirations as they simultaneously addressed both those who already ranked among the gentry and those from the middling sorts who aspired to join the company or earn the recognition and respect of the elite.

[64] Francis Daymon, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Apr. 7, 1773.
[65] Daymon, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1771.
[66] Daymon, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Nov. 2, 1774.
[67] Paul Fooks, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 18, 1768.
[68] Charles Rabouteau, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1765.
[69] Martin Foy, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 7, 1772.

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Morality Undermined: Frauds and Runaway Schoolmasters

Educators made various appeals to prospective students or their parents to obtain their patronage in a competitive environment. At the same time, members of the public placed notices warning of instructors who committed misdeeds or runaways posing as schoolmasters. These notices provide a glimpse of how the lay public contemplated the relationship between gentility, morality, and education as well as popular concerns with discrepancies between appearances and true character. The advertisers in the previous section advanced conceptions of gentility that by definition incorporated morality as a necessary component. Richard Bushman notes that during the eighteenth century, the members of the upper class blended gentility and morality "into a single system for living," sometimes depending on the latter to mediate some of the excesses of the former, such as rampant pride and luxury.[70] Educators who advertised their services underscored that they respected and strove to abide by aristocratic understandings of the relationship between gentility and morality. Yet merely asserting gentility gained through learning did not guarantee moral character, as the following advertisements documenting a variety of unscrupulous behaviors demonstrate. Schoolmasters and tutors in Philadelphia provided assurances that their own gentility, as well as the genteel qualities their lessons bestowed on students, rested on a foundation of moral rectitude. They did so in part to compensate for stories of counterfeit gentility performed by schoolmasters. Such accounts raised suspicions about schoolmasters throughout the colony, including those in the crowded urban port, and undermined one of their favorite and most common marketing appeals.

About 5 percent of all newspaper notices for male runaways (excluding slaves) mentioned education in one way or another, usually reporting that a schoolmaster absconded from a particular community or indicating that an absent servant with little or no teaching experience might try to pass himself off as a schoolmaster.[71] Other scholars have suggested that distin-

[70] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 60.

[71] A systematic sampling of every third issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal* between 1765 and 1775 yielded 501 notices about male runaway servants and absconding freemen. Of the twenty-seven notices examined here, eleven concerned runaway servants who masqueraded as schoolmasters, and thirteen more concerned freemen or runaway servants who worked as schoolmasters but fled their community, usually after committing a crime. Three more ambiguous notices concerned freemen who may or may or may not have worked as schoolmasters, who absconded after committing a misdeed, and who likely sought employment as schoolmasters in their efforts to evade detection. Of the seventy-three notices about female runaways sampled, none indicated that the runaways had ever taught or might attempt to disguise themselves as schoolmistresses.

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guishing between truly genteel persons and those who falsely simulated gentility became a major cultural preoccupation in the revolutionary and early national periods. Such analyses connect this preoccupation with high rates of occupational and geographic mobility.[72]

During this period, colonists believed that an individual's comportment ought to correspond to and confirm his or her social status, even as a growing number believed character and talent, rather than birth, should determine that status. Runaways undermined the connections linking education, gentility, morality, and status. Because schoolmasters were entrusted with the moral and cultural education of others, their failure to embody the standards of morality or abide by social conventions could be particularly threatening.[73] In September 1766, for instance, William Beale claimed that runaway schoolmaster George Denson "appears to be a sober, quiet . . . Man," but these appearances merely hid his "deceitful" character. Beale reported that the runaway schoolmaster "artfully obtained a Pass from his Employers" and "did artfully and insinuatingly obtain Goods of me the Subscriber, and others, to a considerable Value."[74] Although the theft angered Beale, he seemed more concerned about Denson's deception. It appears that the schoolmaster earned and then betrayed Beale's trust. Twice describing the schoolmaster's deeds as "artfully" accomplished, Beale gave priority to the schoolmaster's duplicity.

Runaway servants who masqueraded as schoolmasters forfeited the public trust from the moment that they entered a community. Ephraim Moore reported that runaway servant Bryan Feilis might "endeavour

[72] Notices connecting education, runaways, and pretensions of gentility created a framework for expressing the dangers of relying on appearance to assess another's true self, thus encouraging readers to be cautious in their own assessments of others, especially when entrusting their children to the tutelage of strangers. On appearances, character, and reputation during the revolutionary and early national periods, see Steven C. Bullock, "A Mumper Among the Gentle: Tom Bell, Colonial Confidence Man," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 55 (1998): 231–58; Toby L. Ditz, "Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 51–80; Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1999), 111–44; David Waldsteicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," in "African and American Atlantic Worlds," special issue, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 56 (1999): 243–72; and Larzer Ziff, *Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print, and Politics in the Early United States* (New Haven, CT, 1991), 59–71.

[73] Consideration of these runaway schoolmasters fits well with the existing scholarly emphasis on metallurgists and doctors who engaged in crime and counterfeiting during the late colonial and early federal periods. All three perpetrated their frauds by employing "the behavioral and cultural attributes of gentlemen." Bullock, "Mumper Among the Gentle," 244. On colonists carefully observing each other, see Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 61; and Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution*, 114–15.

[74] William Beale, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1766.

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to get into School or Book-keeping, as he is capable of either of those Businesses," but indicated that although Feilis might possess the necessary technical knowledge, he did not fit the required moral profile.[75] The runaway used an alias, forged a pass, and pretended to understand other trades of which he had no real knowledge. Many runaways committed such misdeeds in the process of absconding. In total, nine runaways forged passes and ten changed their names. Forged passes and aliases facilitated an uneventful departure from one community and a surreptitious entry into the next community under false pretenses.[76]

Often, absconding schoolmasters and runaway servants posing as teachers were also accused of stealing goods, including clothing, horses, and money. For instance, Dennis Salmon, a man who "pretends to be a Schoolmaster, and has been in that Employ," ran away from East Bradford Township in Chester County in May 1768. Mary Gruen charged that he "clandestinely took with him, a valuable large dark bay Mare."[77] Similarly, in March 1774, Thomas Ennalls alerted the public that a Dorchester County schoolmaster, Joseph Anderson, ran away and "took with him about 18 or 20 Pounds in cash, that was stolen."[78] Runaways with connections to education were accused of committing theft slightly more frequently than others in the notices sampled. Such accusations were leveled at 30 percent of runaway schoolmasters, compared with 27 percent of all of runaways. Theft, along with other misdeeds, undermined popular conceptions of the schoolmaster as a moral and, by extension, genteel individual.

Probably more disturbing to the subscribers who placed these notices was the threat to their reputations and judgment posed by absconding schoolmasters and imposters. In May 1771, Robert Braden submitted a notice describing the activities of Andrew McCalla in Sussex County, New Jersey. Braden explained that he "became security for one ANDREW McCALLA, that he should answer to an action of Bastardy, at our Court of Quarter Sessions. And since the said McCalla has run away, and as it is like to prove very detrimental to myself and family, it is to be hoped that all lovers of honesty and justice will use their endeavours to apprehend him." He further warned that McCalla "assumes the character of a kind of a schoolmaster, but is no great scholar." McCalla broke from the code

[75] Ephraim Moore, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1768.

[76] See Bullock's analysis of Tom Bell, an infamous colonial confidence man who committed frauds while garbed as a member of the clergy. Bullock, "Mumper Among the Gentle," 232–33.

[77] Mary Gruen, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 26, 1768.

[78] Thomas Ennalls, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 2, 1774.

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of morality and gentility on several counts.[79] The bastardy case called his sexual propriety into question. He further violated masculine honor by absconding when another had given security on his behalf, an offense that threatened not only Braden but the welfare of his entire family. Although McCalla misbehaved, Braden suffered the social and legal consequences because he misjudged the schoolmaster's character.

Similarly, Michael Simson, a schoolmaster in Upper Dublin Township in Philadelphia County, absconded in February 1770, taking "sundry Recommendations with him from the Inhabitants where he has kept School."[80] For a time, Simson, "a likely Fellow," apparently managed to meet the academic and personal expectations assigned to schoolmasters; several residents granted him their recommendations. In the end, however, this outward appearance disintegrated, and Simson revealed his true character. Robert McDowell, who placed the advertisement, did not elaborate on the specifics of Simson's crimes, indicating only that the residents who recommended him had been hoodwinked. McDowell may have been embarrassed that he and the others who had vouched for the schoolmaster could not easily distinguish between pretenders and men of true morals. The advertisement was designed to give public notice of their initial misjudgment.

Many of the advertisements concerning errant schoolmasters highlighted objectionable behaviors and character traits closely associated with deceit and trickery. Prominent among them was glib or excessive talking and bragging. George Hadams, a schoolmaster who had absconded from Strasburg Township in Lancaster County, was a "perpetual Talker" and "a great bragger."[81] Another runaway schoolmaster was "remarkably talkative."[82] Deceivers also betrayed themselves via impudence or ingratitude. Hadams was, for instance, "impertinent," while the runaway schoolmaster William Bailey had behaved "in the most ungrateful manner to the subscriber."[83] Such traits, in retrospect at least, were the visible signs

[79] Robert Braden, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 30, 1771.

[80] Robert McDowell, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 8, 1770.

[81] Strasburg Township, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1770.

[82] William Fitzhugh, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 24, 1766. Similarly, runaway servant and schoolmaster Robert Watson was "apt to boast much of his learning." William Parrish, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 8, 1766. For further examples of schoolmasters who boasted or bragged, see Benjamin Craige, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 27, 1769; and John Garwood and John Hover, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 7, 1773. For other "talkative" schoolmasters, see Craige, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 27, 1769; and William Laird, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1770.

[83] John Shaw, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 13, 1774.

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through which imposters could be—and should have been—recognized. Their masquerades also extended to the pretended possession of skills. Thus, one notice cautioned that Bryan Feilis, a runaway servant claiming to be a schoolmaster, "pretends to understand navigation."[84] The advertisement describing the sexual miscreant Andrew McCalla noted that he was, in fact, "no great scholar," though he had "assumed" the "character of a schoolmaster."[85] In a similar fashion, the advertisement denouncing Hadams noted that he "pretends to great knowledge."[86] In short, false schoolmasters sparked social and cultural disruptions that extended far beyond the realm of education.

The case of George Hadams, the schoolmaster from Lancaster County, sums up the clamor caused by deceptive schoolmasters who preyed upon the gullibility of others. Hadams appeared in two notices, one placed by a committee of outraged Strasburg residents, the other by a man Hadams had swindled. In the first notice, the subscribers indicated that the fast-talking and "impertinent" Hadams had presented himself as a former officer in the British navy and an experienced teacher. The subscribers soon "found, by experience," however, that Hadams was "a notorious cheat, a wilful liar, and a wicked debauched person, unworthy to live among any civilized people." In addition to deceiving the community as to his true character, Hadams had also secured recommendations under false pretenses. Moreover, he "did also take with him two deeds" after being entrusted to safeguard them while drawing up a third deed, thus depriving one Benjamin Brackbill of his rightful property. The Strasburg men attempted to protect their purses and their reputations as respectable citizens by offering a reward for the stolen deeds and warning others not to trust the unscrupulous schoolmaster. "[W]e think it incumbent on us," they stated, "to caution the public against such an atrocious villain."[87] The six men who placed the notice thus attempted to reestablish themselves

[84] Ephraim Moore, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1768. For others who "pretended" to possess various skills, see William Laird, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1770; and Robert McConaughy, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 5, 1770.

[85] Robert Braden, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 30, 1771.

[86] For others who "pretended" or "professed" to possess skills applicable to teaching, see Paul Isaac Voto, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Feb. 15, 1770; John McDonald, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 10, 1770; Evan Griffith, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 12, 1770; Samuel Lafever and James Wilson, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 29, 1771; Jesse Bonsall and John Pearson, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 30, 1772; and W. Yates, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1774.

[87] Strasburg Township, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1770.

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as a fellowship of concerned and respectable citizens who could still act as competent moral arbiters.[88]

Less than a month after the Strasburg committee placed their notice, another notice concerning Hadams appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, this time placed by William Laird, another resident of Lancaster County. Laird also wanted Hadams "brought to justice." The former schoolmaster apparently devoted as much effort to confidence games as he did to teaching school. He sold a silver watch to Laird on credit. Laird maintained his end of the bargain by giving Hadams a bond for the agreed price, but he allowed the schoolmaster to hold onto the watch for a few days. Hadams promptly absconded with both the watch and the bond. Laird admitted that Hadams had initially seemed "much upon the gentleman order" but now rejected this assessment in view of his deceitful and criminal conduct.[89] Outward appearances belied inner character.

Men like Hadams were especially threatening because they managed to insinuate themselves into communities of respectable residents. Through the successful mimicking of skill, industry, and refined manners, they initially appeared to embody the moral and genteel schoolmaster; their ultimate betrayal, as Larzer Ziff writes, "called into question the nature of true identity" and the criteria for judging it.[90] As Peter Thompson states, "Philadelphians, and their contemporaries elsewhere," wished to believe "that one's inner self, one's private or subjective identity, could be properly judged from, and ought properly to be displayed in, public behavior."[91] The duplicitous schoolmaster cast doubt on this notion that public conduct could be a reliable basis for identifying social status and personal morality. Such figures also prompted many educators to emphasize their own gentility, refinement, and morality as a means of reassuring prospective students and their parents.

Newspaper notices regarding education demonstrate the fluidity of social status in Philadelphia between 1765 and 1775. Many residents attempted

[88] The subscribers further underscored the qualities commonly expected of a schoolmaster by advertising for an honorable schoolmaster to replace Hadams. They placed their request for a new schoolmaster directly between the warning about false recommendations and the description of stolen deeds. This section of the notice first emphasized that any applicant should be "an honest sober person, properly qualified to teach" and later stressed that "Good Encouragement will be given to such a one, coming well recommended; no other need apply." Strasburg Township, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1770.

[89] William Laird, advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1770.

[90] Ziff used this phrase when analyzing the case of Stephen Burroughs, a confidence man who successfully and repeatedly posed as a schoolmaster and preacher during the years following the revolution. Ziff, *Writing in the New Nation*, 60–61.

[91] Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution*, 116.

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to transform their provincial city into a refined counterpart to European metropolitan centers, calling attention to features—from fashion to luxury goods to architecture to education—that reflected their own polish and gentility. Instructors who placed advertisements in the city's newspapers used the power of print to portray their goods and services as genteel to multiple audiences. They often emphasized their own gentility and morality, indicating that their lessons could transfer these qualities to their students. In particular, they emphasized that their education in gentility could benefit individuals concerned with maintaining their social status or, alternately, aid those interested in enhancing it. Such assertions involved a tension between associating gentility solely with the elite and opening up its acquisition to the general public. Gentility added commercial value to boarding academies, Latin schools, dancing lessons, and foreign language instruction. With assistance, the advertisements implied, members of the reading public could learn to embody refinement, no matter their background.

Packaging morality and gentility as items that could be purchased had its disadvantages in a population that liked to imagine that genteel conduct should be a reliable guide to a person's social origins and refined character. The interest in the duplicitous schoolmaster and other confidence men, however, illustrates the perils of a social world in which schoolmasters and tutors (as well as merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans who marketed and sold an expanding array of "genteel" goods) encouraged greater numbers of colonists to attain and display cosmopolitan sophistication. The suggestion that common readers could purchase their own little piece of gentility reinforced the difficulty of distinguishing truly reputable individuals from those who merely masqueraded as refined. In a geographically and socially mobile society, readers learned, sometimes to their chagrin, that refined appearances did not necessarily provide guarantees of integrity or a clear measure of social standing. Yet, in marketing their services to prospective students, schoolmasters played on both anxieties and aspirations. In the process, they made little effort to distinguish among potential customers, instead brandishing the allures of gentility to both the gentry and the middling sort. Through their advertisements, schoolmasters in Philadelphia sought both to insulate themselves from and to benefit by some of the status confusion they helped to create and perpetuate.

Assumption College CARL ROBERT KEYES

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Philadelphia's Free Military School and the Radicalization of Wartime Officer Education, 1863–64

Abstract: In 1863 leading voices from Philadelphia's antislavery circle aligned with veteran Union officers to establish a school that would prepare white soldiers for officer examinations with the United States Colored Troops. The Philadelphia Free Military School offered a stark partisan contrast to the prevailing military education model at West Point, an institution maligned for supposedly failing to inculcate proper notions of political loyalty. The FMS succeeded in training enlisted men and noncommissioned officers in the art of command by drawing heavily from specific units with strong pro-Republican pedigrees.

Colonel John H. Taggart had no time for nonsense. "You Goddamned son of a bitch," he allegedly screamed to an unruly recruit in August 1861, "If you don't shut your glab, I'll have you in chains in less than five minutes!" When the volunteer refused to comply, Taggart reportedly assaulted him to make an example of anyone who refused to take soldiering seriously. Despite going on to lead the Twelfth Pennsylvania Reserves regiment during Maj. Gen. George McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, Taggart resigned when charges finally caught up with him. Frustrated by his exile from the army but desperate to contribute somehow, Taggart instead followed the troops of his old command as a war correspondent for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. He was an experienced newspaperman, having worked stints before the war with John W. Forney's Republican-supporting *Philadelphia Press* and later as publisher of the *Sunday Mercury*, a role he discontinued when his financial partner hoisted

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the flag of contempt for the Lincoln administration. In December 1863, Taggart accepted his most important position yet for furthering the Union war effort—that of "chief preceptor" for a program called the Philadelphia Free Military School (FMS).[1]

From its inception in December 1863 until its funds expired in September 1864, the FMS educated white soldiers of lower ranks interested in applying for officer positions in the United States Colored Troops (USCT). The school offered approximately one thousand soldiers and civilians the opportunity for swift promotion by offering to lead African Americans. Its application records, which survive in the Abraham Barker Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, show how Philadelphia's Republican benefactors utilized the mounting radicalism and organizational expertise from the Union army—especially the Army of the Potomac—to form perhaps the nation's first officer candidate school.[2] This institution, established at the height of the Northern debate over loyalty and emancipation, attempted to break down the traditional paradigm of military education in the United States as represented by West Point. By 1863 the Union war effort had shifted, adding to its goals the abolition of slavery as well as the use of freed slaves in USCT regiments as a means to achieve its ends. This shift required, in the opinion of many Northern Republicans leading the war effort, a radicalization of the military education model from one focused primarily on command training to one that also emphasized political reliability. The result was a school that tested Republican loyalty, weeded out those who harbored reservations about its radical agenda, and encouraged active political participation.

Applications to enroll in the FMS poured in from the most conspicuously pro-Republican units in the Union army. Men may have desired pay, the prestige of wearing shoulder straps, or even a simple furlough away from the front lines, but they applied in large numbers in the first

[1] "General Orders No. 55," in *Index of General Orders, Army of the Potomac, 1861* (Washington, DC, 1862); Thomas P. Lowry, *Tarnished Eagles: The Courts-Martial of Fifty Union Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels* (Mechanicsburg, PA, 1997), 208–12; Martin D. Hardin, comp., *History of the Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps* . . . (New York, 1890), 196–99. The *Press* characterized Taggart's private and military experience: "Col. Taggart is a Philadelphia printer, and has seen much service in the Army of the Potomac. The power to impart knowledge is a prominent characteristic of Col. Taggart. In fact he was the military reporter for a number of years in Philadelphia before the rebels raised their bloody arms against the ensign of the nation." See "Military Instruction," *Philadelphia Press*, Dec. 29, 1863.

[2] Registration Volume, Abraham Barker Collection on the Free Military School for Applicants for the Command of Colored Regiments (Collection 1968), Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter Barker Collection, HSP).

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place because Republicans in the army and at home had successfully radicalized many outfits, convincing soldiers by mid-1863 that emancipation was a necessary cornerstone of hard war.[3] Once enrolled in the school, students confronted a rigorous curriculum aimed at testing their loyalty to the emancipationist agenda and filtering out anyone who might embarrass the USCT experiment.

* * *

African American regiments formed the Civil War's most revolutionary military project, one that recruited, trained, and deployed nearly two hundred thousand men of color. Naturally, this endeavor saw its share of false starts and difficulties. White prospective officers faced a maze of army bureaucracy, at the end of which lay a stern examination administered by Brig. Gen. Silas Casey's staff in Washington. Men who led USCT regiments must know their business even better than their counterparts in white regiments, officials believed, because African Americans would require exceptionally trained commanders to keep them in line on the battlefield. Editorialists who observed the process agreed. The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Colonel Taggart's old journal, asserted that "colored troops require better officers than the regiments of white soldiers. The former have in the great majority of instances been deprived, by the spirit of slavery, of the opportunity of acquiring the simplest rudiments of education."[4]

[3] The preeminent work on the subject of white officers in the USCT remains Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, 1990). In his measured analysis, Glaathaar acknowledges the role of abolitionist sentiment but also emphasizes the allure of higher pay and promotion. He also insists most officers, like the rest of the country, were largely racist before the war (see *Forged in Battle*, 11, 40–41). James M. McPherson takes issue with this latter portrayal and highlights the great number of officers who had espoused abolitionism before the conflict; see *Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War* (New York, 1996), 90–91. On white attitudes toward black soldiers, the key works are McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York, 1997), and Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York, 2007), which generally view white soldiers' acceptance of black comrades; and Gary W. Gallagher, *The Union War* (Cambridge, MA, 2011) and Jonathan W. White, *Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln* (Baton Rouge, 2014), which collectively offer a reminder that most soldiers viewed racial issues through the lens of restoring the Union. On the topic of political culture more broadly in the North during the conflict, see Mark E. Neely, *The Boundaries of American Political Culture in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2015).

[4] Frederick M. Binder, "Philadelphia's Free Military School," *Pennsylvania History* 17 (1950): 284–85; Keith Wilson, "Thomas Webster and the 'Free Military School for Applicants for Commands of Colored Troops," *Civil War History* 29 (1983): 103; "Officers of the Colored Troops," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Apr. 19, 1864. Binder's and Wilson's articles are the only other essay-length studies of the Free Military School. For a brief contextualization of the school within the wider USCT project, see

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The process of applying for a USCT commission was protracted and stressful for ordinary soldiers in the Union army, and it was meant to be. After all, inconvenience and anxiety mitigated the number who tried to transfer simply for an easy chance at higher rank, a problem that marred the endeavor at its inception. When one of Pvt. Oliver Wilcox Norton's tentmates left in February 1863 to assume command of an early black regiment, for example, Norton sneered privately that "friends got him the commission . . . [and] if our negro soldiers are officered by such men, I'm afraid they won't amount to much." Levi Duff of the 105th Pennsylvania agreed. "I am conscious," he opined early on, "that many officers are now appointed to the command of 'Colored Troops' who have no confidence in or fellow feeling for that unfortunate race and I am sure such officers will fail in their endeavors to make them appear respectable soldiers."[5] A central problem for USCT commissioners and examiners was how to find men who could command effectively while representing the controversial project maturely.

After a short trial period of examinations in mid-1863, General Casey and his colleagues determined that only half the men they examined could satisfy the board's strict requirements. Casey had written the army's standard text on small-unit tactics, so soldiers who lined up for examination were shocked to find that the board tested their liberal arts educations as much as their command expertise. The general and his radical Republican compatriot, Col. Samuel M. Bowman, quizzed veteran soldiers on such topics as European history and the great captains of antiquity. One veteran of the famed "Iron Brigade" even had to explain why he failed to sport the clean white collar and fresh haircut of a proper gentleman for his appearance before the board; Casey and Bowman expected applicants for the politically sensitive USCT positions to invest in their outward appearance, after all.[6] "[T]he tests were not practical, but scholastic and theoretical," complained a soldier from the Twenty-Second Massachusetts after the war, "and men whose records would secure commissions in their regiments

Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865*, repr. (Lawrence, KS, 1987), 217–21. The politics of the *Inquirer* were moderate by the standards of the day, given that the paper eventually accepted the emancipation policy; see William Dusinberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia, 1856–1865* (Philadelphia, 1965), 147.

[5] Oliver Willcox Norton, *Army Letters, 1861–1865* . . . (Chicago, 1903), 140, 184; Levi Bird Duff, *To Petersburg with the Army of the Potomac: The Civil War Letters of Levi Bird Duff, 105th Pennsylvania Volunteers*, ed. Jonathan E. Helmreich (Jefferson, NC, 2009), 172; Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 43, notes that some officers sought simply to "dump" bad men from their own white regiments.

[6] Michael E. Stevens, ed., *As If It Were Glory: Robert Beecham's Civil War from the Iron Brigade to the Black Regiments*, repr. (Lanham, MD, 2007), 152–56.

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if vacancies existed failed to pass examination." The Bay Stater was particularly irked over Casey's demand for a classical education as the mark of a reliable gentleman officer. Practical experience in the field should count for more than a soldier's "knowledge relative to the color of Julius Caesar's wife's hair," he griped. In the minds of board members, however, corporals and sergeants who understood company drill could be found practically anywhere by mid-1863. The prerequisite of an academic education appeared elitist to critics, but examiners seemed to believe it offered the best guarantee of respectable motivations among candidates.[7]

In addition to the demands of officers overseeing the project in Washington, red tape within the army slowed an already protracted process to an agonizing crawl. The difficulties in Cpl. Robert K. Beecham's experiences applying from the Second Wisconsin demonstrate the tangled web of bureaucracy and conflicting partisan loyalties that retarded progress. In May and June 1863, the *Washington Chronicle*, one of the most widely distributed papers in the army, printed War Department Orders 143 and 144, outlining the adjutant general's stipulations for examining white officers. One of these announcements caught Beecham's eye. Noting that "testimonials from his Commanding Officers" would be necessary for any man wishing to face the examination, Beecham applied to Capt. Nathaniel Rollins of Company H for permission. Rollins, a former lawyer who contributed regularly to the antislavery *Wisconsin State Journal*, hastily forwarded Beecham's application to regimental commander Col. Lucius N. Fairchild, soon to emerge as a leader of the Republican Party in Wisconsin. Fairchild sent these materials to Brig. Gen. Solomon Meredith, a prewar Democrat who had switched to attend the Republican State Convention of Indiana in 1860 despite personally opposing abolition. The moderate Meredith dutifully passed Beecham's papers along to Brig. Gen. James S. Wadsworth, abolitionist First Division commander and former Republican candidate for governor in New York. Finally, Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds's staff forwarded Beecham's application, and in late June 1863 the young corporal received a notice from Secretary Stanton's office to present himself for examination as soon as he could obtain an appropriate leave of absence from corps headquarters. By the time Beecham was able to request leave, however, the Battle of Gettysburg intervened and bled much of the Republican leadership out of the First Corps. Maj.

[7] Edwin C. Bennett, *Musket and Sword, or the Camp, March, and Firing Line in the Army of the Potomac* (Boston, 1900), 315–16.

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Gen. John Newton, an ersatz commander brought in to replace the fallen General Reynolds, filed away Beecham's request. Newton was a conservative Democrat who proclaimed after the war that "in argument" he saw the Rebels on firmer ground, admitting, "had I been influenced by that, I should have been a confederate." He was not a favorite among First Corps troops, and Beecham had little use for the uninspired outsider. Frustrated by headquarters' inattention, the young Iron Brigade man confronted the major general in his tent, where Newton coldly replied that further red tape stood in Beecham's way. The exasperated corporal tore his papers in the general's face, brushed past a provost marshal, and boarded the next train for Washington.[8]

The USCT application process needed an instrument to mediate its difficulties, impart the necessary knowledge to command, and ensure the political reliability of those who were interested. Philadelphia's Republican elite rose to the challenge, forging a civilian-military alliance that worked to ease General Casey's burden and, in the process, upset the prewar military education paradigm. Spearheading the effort was the Union League of Philadelphia, which had sprung to life after Republican electoral setbacks in the midterm elections of 1862. It provided an outlet for pro-administration passions among the most well connected of the city's patriciate and mobilized public support for the war. Philadelphia Republicans, including some in the Union League, faced an uphill battle during the war because of the city's close economic ties with the South. Antislavery voices before the conflict had "watered down" their rhetoric to appeal more broadly to these interests, and Democrats who had gone into hiding for the first year and a half of the struggle reemerged in the heady late summer of 1862 to denounce emancipation. In mid-1863, undeterred members of the Union League established the Supervisory Committee for the Enlistment of Colored Troops to raise African American regiments and offer white officers the tools necessary to lead these units into combat.

[8] "Official . . . General Orders No. 143," *Washington (DC) Evening Star*, May 28, 1863 (2nd ed.), p. 1; US War Department, *The War of the Rebellion; A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, vol. 29, part 2 (Washington, DC, 1890), 26–27; Stevens, *As If It Were Glory*, 145–51; Alan D. Gaff, *If This Is War: A History of the Campaign of Bull's Run by the Wisconsin Regiment Thereafter Known as the Ragged Ass Second* (Dayton, OH, 1991), 59–60, 328; William B. Styple, ed., *Generals in Bronze: Interviewing the Commanders of the Civil War* (Kearny, NJ, 2005), 167; Stephen W. Sears, *Controversies and Commanders: Dispatches from the Army of the Potomac* (Boston, 1999), 142; on Solomon Meredith's politics and that of his Nineteenth Indiana, see Craig L. Dunn, *Iron Men, Iron Will: The Nineteenth Indiana Regiment of the Iron Brigade* (Indianapolis, IN, 1995), 4–5; and Alan D. Gaff, *On Many a Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade* (Bloomington, IN, 1996), 214–15, 329, 391.

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Over one hundred "wealthy and influential" citizens funded the committee with donations ranging anywhere from two to five hundred dollars. Their names and contributions graced the pages of the *Philadelphia Press* (a "belligerently enthusiastic advocate" of emancipation, as historian William Dusinberre has described it). The cornerstone of the committee's effort was the Free Military School on Chestnut Street, a classroom designed to train interested white soldiers in the art of command ahead of their examinations. To fulfill the leadership role at the school, the committee hired former Republican newspaperman Colonel Taggart.[9]

With its role in filtering out politically unreliable candidates, the FMS stood atop two years of radical efforts to impugn the prevailing educational model represented by the United States Military Academy. Since the war's onset, Republicans in Congress had launched repeated attacks against West Point as a bastion of pro-Southern, proslavery sentiment. President Lincoln's first secretary of war, Simon Cameron, led the initial charge against the academy after losing numerous graduates to Southern loyalties. For an institution aimed in part at fostering a sense of national identity among the officer corps, the large number of Southern defections must represent "a radical defect in the system of education," he declared. Senator Henry Wilson wanted the corps of cadets refilled with loyal Northern men, while Lyman Trumbull of Illinois derided West Point as little better than a national trade school, a drain on public coffers where young men went to learn how to build fortifications but nothing else that would prepare them for high-toned careers. Senator William P. Fessenden agreed, adding that its curriculum neglected ethics for the sake of a "narrow, exclusive, miserable spirit." Not to be outdone, Senators Zachariah Chandler and Benjamin F. Wade called for the academy to be abolished altogether, Chandler even crying that it had produced more traitors than "all the institutions of learning and education that have existed since Judas

[9] Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence, KS, 2002), 98–128; Dusinberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, 148, 156, 168; "United States Colored Troops," *Philadelphia Press*, Feb. 4, 1864. Historians have debated whether the rise of the Union Leagues in cities across the North indicated a specifically pro-Republican movement or simply a means of addressing the revulsion to partisan fissures. Mark Neely states that the leagues were convenient for the Republican message but did not have their roots in "cynical" tactics to win elections; see Neely, *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 48–49. William A. Blair identifies two strands of Union Leagues: the smaller, more rural organizations raised as "vigilante committees" to patrol treason among Democrats and the more sophisticated leagues in metropolitan areas aimed at supporting the war effort financially. Philadelphia's Union League led the pack among the latter. See Blair, *With Malice toward Some: Treason and Loyalty in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2014), 202–3.

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Iscariot's time." The charges were patently unfair in many respects—West Point graduated a majority who remained loyal to the Union and more than a few who embraced abolitionism—but the war was blurring lines of nuance in Northern politics.[10]

Supervisory Committee Chairman Thomas W. Webster, who led the effort to establish the FMS, relied on the support of such radical senators as Wilson and Wade. Strengthened by these connections, Webster decided the FMS should be more than just a classroom in which to memorize battalion drills or learn the science of tactics; it should combine the rudiments of military education with a refresher course in basic liberal arts. In this way, the school would resist the West Point model, where the "liberal and humanitarian sentiments" went unexplored, and where, radicals believed, imbuing loyalty in its pupils took a backseat to imparting an unimaginative scientific curriculum. In addition to tactics and the articles of war, therefore, the Supervisory Committee focused the school's curriculum on the liberal arts by furnishing students with textbooks on "Mathematics, Arithmetic and History, and Maps and Atlases for instruction in Geography."[11]

The committee also expressed a clear expectation that applicants would use the opportunity to internalize whatever Republican rhetoric they encountered. In addition to preparing men for their examinations, the goal of the FMS was to test applicants' wartime radicalization and foster it even further, providing the sort of reward for Republican loyalty that, radicals believed, had been absent from the army for too long. In late 1863 an announcement circulated to Union armies stating that men who felt they were "making a sacrifice" to transfer into the USCT had no place in the experiment. The opportunity to lead black troops was an opportunity to give "Liberty to Slaves, and Manhood to Chattels, as well as Soldiers to the

[10] T. Harry Williams, "The Attack upon West Point during the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25 (1939): 491–504; James L. Morrison Jr., *"The Best School in the World": West Point, the Pre-Civil War Years, 1833–1866* (Kent, OH, 1986), 131–33; Lori A. Lisowski, "The Future of West Point: Senate Debates on the Military Academy during the Civil War," *Civil War History* 34 (1988): 5–21; Carol Reardon, *With a Sword in One Hand and Jomini in the Other: The Problem of Military Thought in the Civil War North* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012), 55–88. Ironically, West Point had adopted a five-year course just before the war aimed precisely at expanding beyond its engineering-based curriculum, but this initiative received such strong backlash from administrators and students alike that it collapsed by 1861; see Morrison, *"The Best School in the World,"* 114–25. On the issue of West Point cadet loyalty and the outbreak of the war, see Wayne Wei-Siang Hsieh, *West Pointers in the Civil War: The Old Army in War and Peace* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009), 91–111.

[11] Henry Wilson to Benjamin F. Butler, May 18, 1864, and Benjamin F. Wade to Benjamin F. Butler, May 18, 1864, both in Barker Collection, HSP; Silas Casey to Thomas W. Webster, Jan. 28, 1864, quoted in Wilson, "Thomas Webster and the 'Free Military School,'" 108; *Free Military School for Applicants for Command of Colored Troops . . .* , 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1864), 22.

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Union." The Supervisory Committee's allies in Washington agreed that broad identification with the antislavery message should be a prerequisite for command, and General Casey noted "it would be perfectly proper" to examine the "morality" of students at the school. Students followed the committee's wishes and imbibed the views of Philadelphia's antislavery element wherever possible. When the abolitionist Rev. Joseph Parrish Thompson lectured on the evils of the Confederacy at the Academy of Music, for example, FMS students joined him onstage in a gesture of support, since Thompson had lost his eldest son in the war, while a second son commanded black troops in the Seventh USCT. The result of all these efforts was what one supporter called a "Colored West Point School," an academy to elevate white volunteers "of liberal education, culture and excellent social position" to positions as politically reliable and competent junior officers.[12]

Advertisements for the FMS proliferated in late 1863 and 1864. The *Philadelphia Press* flooded its classified page on a weekly basis with news of the school's progress, while the *Free Press* of Burlington, Vermont, relayed the recommendation of an officer from the Army of the Potomac: "We have received such endorsement of [the FMS] from a most experienced and capable soldier . . . that we commend it to the notice of those who are looking for [a] military position." A first edition printing of the school's recruiting pamphlet ran out after eight thousand copies found their way into Union soldiers' hands. Taggart and the Supervisory Committee appealed to the egalitarian virtues of the American volunteer by advertising that "every candidate stands upon his merits—the most obscure corporal or private stands an equal chance with the most favored and influential citizen." Even though private funds paid for much of the school's overhead, soldiers who wished to attend the "free" school had to find room and board elsewhere. But the benefits of attending were great, as the vast majority of those who finished their coursework passed the USCT officer examination.[13]

[12] Ira Berlin et al., eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 2, vol. 1, *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1982), 406n2; Casey to Webster, Jan. 28, 1864, quoted in Wilson, "Thomas Webster and the 'Free Military School,'" 108; John M. Forbes to Benjamin F. Butler, Apr. 11, 1864, and Thomas W. Webster to Edwin M. Stanton, Apr. 22, 1864, both in Barker Collection, HSP; "Rev. Joseph Parrish Thompson," *Philadelphia Press*, Feb. 11, 1864.

[13] *Free Military School*, 5; "Military Notices," *Philadelphia Press*, Dec. 28, 1863; "Officers for Colored Troops," *Burlington (VT) Free Press*, Jan. 8, 1864; George L. Stearns to Horatio Seymour, June 16, 1863, in New York State Adjutant General's Office Correspondence and Petitions, New York State Archives; Thomas W. Webster to J. W. Phelps, Jan. 8, 1864, quoted in Wilson, "Thomas Webster and the 'Free Military School,'" 106; *Free Military School*, 3, 5.

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Liberal arts aside, the rudiments of effective company and battalion drill would still be paramount. Colonel Taggart convinced the Supervisory Committee that ideological agreement with the USCT project alone was insufficient if African American troops were to be entrusted to ambitious white officers: "No sympathy for the colored race, unless attended with military knowledge, and power to command men in battle, can avail." An ability to command effectively in combat was a political imperative, as the USCT experiment would only be successful if it acquired battle honors. To that end, Taggart convinced the committee to hire Col. Albert L. Magilton, a West Pointer from the famous class of 1846, to act as professor of military tactics. Magilton, a veteran of commanding Pennsylvania Reserves, trained his soldier-students in infantry tactics, army regulations, and "general information," which included European military history. Under his tutelage, the men faced strict evaluation from the minute they stepped into the school on Chestnut Street. Those deemed worthy of First Class status could expect training in the art of brigade maneuver, while those of the Second, Third, and Fourth Classes gained expertise in the school of the battalion, the company, and the soldier, respectively. Once enrolled, students attended classes three times daily (except Sundays) for thirty days.[14]

Classroom lectures on European history were well and good, but Taggart wanted to open his students' eyes to the realities of leading African Americans. Shortly after the school opened, he secured an agreement with Col. Louis Wagner, the commander of USCT training exercises at nearby Camp William Penn, for prospective officers to interact with black enlistees for the first time. Colonel Wagner was a veteran of extensive service in the Eighty-Eighth Pennsylvania, an Army of the Potomac outfit from the division of antislavery commander Abner Doubleday. Wagner and his younger brother had emigrated from Germany after the failed European liberal upheavals of 1848. The officer took a bullet to the leg on Chinn Ridge at Second Bull Run while leading the Eighty-Eighth in battle. In February 1863, still smarting from the wound, the twenty-four-year-old volunteered to lead Philadelphia's USCT training ground at Camp Penn, which became the official outdoor classroom for the FMS.[15]

Wagner was an activist as well as an officer, and under his leadership Camp Penn gained a reputation as the radical twin to the FMS proj-

[14] *Free Military School*, 5.

[15] Jeffry D. Wert, "Camp William Penn and the Black Soldier," *Pennsylvania History* 46 (1979): 340–41; Roger D. Hunt and Jack R. Brown, *Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue* (Gaithersburg, MD, 1990), 640.

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ect. While commanding the camp, Wagner rattled the political scene in Philadelphia by hosting Frederick Douglass and insisting USCT recruits disregard notices excluding them from railroad cars. Later, when a black sentry at the camp fired on a white assailant from nearby Norristown and citizens insisted on a civil trial, young Wagner refused to relinquish the marked soldier. As new regiments completed their training, the lieutenant colonel led them in parades down Broad Street past the Union League, even when, in one instance, a white civilian tried to "snatch the color away" from a black sergeant. Pvt. George W. Beidelman, a self-proclaimed Jacksonian Democrat from the Seventy-First Pennsylvania, recorded his political conversion to suspicious family members back home while serving as the camp's quartermaster and Wagner's liaison to the FMS. "Thank God, the inhuman and hell-begotton [*sic*] prejudices, which would deprive these people of the dearest privileges of men and citizens, are fast disappearing," he observed. Army of the Potomac veterans like Taggart, Wagner, and Beidelman proved indispensable to the civilian-military alliance working to radicalize military education.[16]

Sensing its political importance as the vanguard of the USCT enterprise, critics targeted the FMS from all sides. The conservative *Daily Ohio Statesman* sarcastically savaged the school (which it incorrectly claimed had been "established at the national expense") for failing to educate blacks for command positions even as the antislavery voices in the Philadelphia Union League espoused racial equality. African American civil rights proponents in the opposing corner leveled the same criticism without the mockery. In July 1864 they assembled at Sansom Street Hall and published resolutions denouncing the school as an agent of prejudice. "We look upon the establishment of a military academy in our midst," the citizens proclaimed of the FMS opening its doors only to whites, "as one of the surest and best ways of continuing this prejudice." Of course, responsibility for prohibiting black officers lay ultimately with those in Washington's high corridors of power, not the classrooms of Philadelphia's school or the meeting halls of the Union League.[17]

[16] Donald Scott, "Camp William Penn's Black Soldiers in Blue," *America's Civil War*, Nov. 1999, 48–49; Martin W. Öfele, *German-Speaking Officers in the United States Colored Troops, 1863–1867* (Gainesville, FL, 2004), 44; *Free Military School*, 8, 26; Catherine H. Vanderslice, ed., *The Civil War Letters of George Washington Beidelman* (New York, 1978), 183–96. Louis Wagner continued his radical efforts after the war, making it part of his policy as a commander of the Grand Army of the Republic to incorporate black veterans; see Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), 119.

[17] "Free Military School for Officers of Negro Troops," *Daily Ohio Statesman*, Jan. 10, 1864; "The Colored Mass Meeting," *Philadelphia Press*, July 28, 1864.

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Although army regulations forbade black junior officers, USCT enlisted men could still rise to noncommissioned officer ranks. Col. Samuel Bowman, a strong supporter of the FMS and a member of Casey's examination board, found when he assumed control of recruiting that most African American enlistees were woefully ill-equipped to perform the duties of a corporal or sergeant. In early 1864, therefore, he proposed sending the more ambitious of these enlisted men to Philadelphia for training in Taggart's school. At least twenty-one African Americans—"active, intelligent, educated young men"—responded to the invitation and journeyed to the FMS. There, the school's senior-most white students and prospective officers set aside time for an "auxiliary school" to tutor the USCT enlistees on the basic duties of platoon drill. By the time this project took hold, Supervisory Committee Chairman Webster wrote to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton that FMS students "are enthusiastic in their views regarding the duties of the colored race to the government in this war and the duties of the people and the government to this race."[18]

* * *

The FMS emerged from unique cooperation between Republican elites on the home front and antislavery army officers. Its large applicant pool and success rate were the results of a rising tide of pro-emancipation sentiment in many units throughout the Army of the Potomac in particular. Men in these regiments had arrived at this sensibility after months of witnessing slavery in the South firsthand and, even more importantly, after staging a vociferous backlash against peace activists at home who attacked the war effort, the administration, and the president's controversial policies. If the war were to be won, soldiers in these units believed, it would require obedience to the administration and ready acquiescence to the policy of emancipation; when calls for peace at home grew louder, soldiers' willingness to fight for the freedom of slaves as a part of "hard war" grew stronger.

When the Union Army first learned of the experiment to raise black troops in early 1863, derision in the ranks ran high. As if swallowing the Emancipation Proclamation had not tested patience enough—and its adoption had indeed exposed deep rifts in the army—news of the wide-

[18] *Free Military School*, 12–13; Samuel M. Bowman to Thomas W. Webster, Feb. 11, 1864, and Webster to Stanton, Apr. 22, 1864, both in Barker Collection, HSP.

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spread use of African Americans as soldiers was simply too much for some. A surgeon of the 105th Pennsylvania declared in early February, "I am speaking the true sentiment of the Army of the Potomac when I say not one Officer in twenty can be found willing to accept command in these Regts." Although his men opposed the conservative peace faction in the Democratic Party, the surgeon's unit also refused to embrace any radical talk of colored troops: "Place a black Regt. side by side with the 105th and this Regt., though composed almost entirely of Republicans, would charge and drive them with more delight than they would the rebels." Pvt. Oliver Wilcox Norton of the Eighty-Third Pennsylvania wrote home about this same phenomenon, relating that Pvt. Joseph H. Hatch of the Twentieth Maine, a neighboring regiment, faced laughter and contempt for transferring to an early black regiment in January 1863. The officer class of Norton's Fifth Corps was notoriously conservative in its view of the war's conduct, and the Pennsylvanian wrote that "poor Joe Hatch had to hurry his departure to avoid the ridicule and jeers everywhere heaped on the 'nigger officer.'"[19]

The course of 1863 changed everything, however. By the end of the year, Private Norton had transferred to the USCT while observing proudly that "the sentiment of that part of the army [the Fifth Corps]" had changed dramatically "in regard to colored soldiers." Cruel jibes in camp gave way to grudging, almost solemn admiration, and men by the hundreds volunteered to lead African Americans into battle. Even when USCT officers returned on their free time to old regiments in the Army of the Potomac, previously prejudiced comrades were eager to listen. When Oliver Norton visited his old unit after receiving a commission, he met with a "hearty welcome" and congratulations from his approving friends. Another member of Norton's brigade, Pvt. Robert Tilney of the Twelfth New York, summarized his experiences returning to camp after attending the FMS: "[M]y reception by both officers and men was cordial."[20]

The political shift Norton and Tilney observed in the army was striking. It emerged as soldiers followed political developments on the home front and realized the utility of emancipation. As early as 1862, the Union ranks had been arguing for "hard war" against the slaveholding Confederacy. After the modest resurgence of Democrats in some leg-

[19] Paul Fatout, ed., *Letters of a Civil War Surgeon* (West Lafayette, IN, 1961), 53; Norton, *Army Letters*, 284–85.

[20] Norton, *Army Letters*, 284, 290, 294; Robert Tilney, *My Life in the Army: Three Years and a Half with the Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1862–1865* (Philadelphia, 1912), 65–66.

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islatures and governors' mansions throughout the North and the disaster at Fredericksburg in December 1862, a peace faction known as the "Copperheads" emerged in several key parts of the North. Copperhead influence waxed and waned as Union forces struggled in the field, but Union soldiers in every major field army believed these Democrats were dangerous to the survival of prowar sentiment at home. In early spring 1863, Union soldiers in every theater launched a public war of words against disloyal voices on the home front. Whole regiments and brigades published official resolutions accusing the Copperheads of cowardly, unholy offenses. Nowhere was this onslaught more pronounced than from regiments in the Army of the Potomac—no doubt troubling its traditionally conservative leadership, considering how the movement threatened to malign the entire Democratic Party. Then, in the fall of 1863, Democrats in Ohio and Pennsylvania committed the grave error of nominating unpopular choices from the antiwar wing as their gubernatorial candidates. Clement Vallandigham lost a bitter Ohio contest against moderate War Democrat John Brough. Likewise, George Woodward gained public scorn from countless Pennsylvania soldiers for his campaign against Andrew Curtin, a "conservative" Republican who had thrown away his old party label to embrace the new Union Party.[21] To soldiers observing politics in 1863, the takeaway was obvious—sticking with the Democratic Party and resisting the administration's policies meant flirting with treason. What changed over the course of 1863 was certainly not that racism disappeared from the army, but instead that a willingness arose to accept the utility of black soldiers in the struggle to preserve the Union, root out slavery, and humiliate the peace faction at home. Historians are thus correct to note that the presence of a

[21] Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago, 1960) downplays the threat the antiwar faction posed, a tack historians have generally consented to follow. In contrast, Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (New York, 2006) concludes that the threat was more real than imagined. On the subject of Andrew Curtin and his success adopting the Union Party label, see Sean Nalty, "'Come Weal, Come Woe, I Am with the Anti-Slavery Party': Federalism and the Formation of the Pennsylvania Union Party, 1860–1864," in *A Political Nation: New Directions in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Political History*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher and Rachel A. Shelden (Charlottesville, VA, 2012), 144–66; Jack Furniss, "Andrew Curtin and the Politics of Union" (master's thesis, University of Virginia, 2014); and Furniss, "Andrew Curtin and the Politics of Union," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 141 (2017): 145–76. For brilliant analyses of attitudes in the Army of the Potomac toward the Copperheads in 1863, see Timothy J. Orr, "Pennsylvania Soldiers Confront the North's Antiwar Movement," in *The View from the Ground: Experiences of Civil War Soldiers*, ed. Aaron Sheehan-Dean (Lexington, KY, 2007), 171–98; and John J. Hennessy, "Evangelizing for Union: The Army of the Potomac, Its Enemies at Home, and a New Solidarity," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 4 (2014): 533–58.

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Copperhead threat at home tended to radicalize the army's sentiment regarding emancipation.[22]

By the spring of 1864, the FMS's reputation started to flourish as interest in USCT commands gained new respectability from the ranks of the Union army. Among the troops the applicants left behind, the shift toward accepting the usefulness of the USCT project made converts of even the staunchest conservatives. Lt. George Breck of Battery L, First New York Light Artillery, had gained a reputation of flirting with "Copperheadism" because of his pro-Democratic diatribes to a hometown newspaper. By early May 1864, Breck observed that "a large number in the army have applied for admittance into the Philadelphia academy." Although he retained doubts about how well black soldiers would fight, the lieutenant nonetheless opined that battle-tested common soldiers of the Army of the Potomac would prove an asset at the head of USCT regiments. "Inasmuch as negro troops are employed and they must have white commanders, it is certainly a good plan appointing such officers from the rank and file of the army," he decided.[23]

The surviving record books for the FMS provide an indispensable glimpse into the average soldier who applied, and they also offer signif-

[22] Historians have debated how much revulsion toward Copperheadism translated into pro-emancipation sentiment. Joseph Allan Frank, in his insightful *With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers* (Athens, GA, 1998), states that his sample yielded a specific "seventy-one percent" of Union soldiers who "favored freeing the blacks and enlisting them in the war effort" (67), a close alignment with the army's 1864 voting average for Lincoln; he ties this attitude to political awareness gained through waging a war of words with Copperheads at home. Likewise, Manning's *What This Cruel War Was Over* agrees that most Union soldiers adopted an anti-slavery stance as the war progressed. Steven J. Ramold, in his brilliant work *Across the Divide: Union Soldiers View the Northern Home Front* (New York, 2013), notes that resistance to the perceived threat of Copperheads at home "further radicalized the political system with soldiers rallying to the defense of the President and the Republicans in large numbers" (116). Gary Gallagher's *The Union War* and Jonathan White's *Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln* collectively offer a thought-provoking counterattack against the notion that soldiers who identified as anti-Democratic actually adopted widespread emancipationist attitudes. Historians should see this specific debate as part of the wider discussion over whether the Republican Party simply rebranded itself for political expediency by 1864 or actually morphed into a completely new political movement with its adoption of the Union Party label. See Michael F. Holt, "Abraham Lincoln and the Politics of Union," in *Abraham Lincoln and the American Political Tradition*, ed. John L. Thomas (Amherst, MA, 1986), 111–41; and Adam I. P. Smith, *No Party Now: Politics in the Civil War North* (New York, 2006). For an example of the desire to pursue hard war as early as summer 1862, see J. Franklin Dyer, *The Journal of a Civil War Surgeon*, ed. Michael B. Chesson (Lincoln, NE, 2003), 32.

[23] George Breck to *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, May 1, 1864, transc. Bob Marcotte, First New York Light Artillery, Battery L file, New York State Unit History Project, New York State Military Museum (NYSMM), Saratoga Springs, https://dmna.ny.gov/historic/reghist/civil/artillery/1stArtLt/1stArtLtBatLBreckChap25Stand.htm.

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icant insights into the political culture of certain units that supported the FMS and its radicalization of education. Committee Chairman Webster advertised the FMS in newspapers across the North, specifically asking for "young men having a fair common school education" or those who demonstrated "true military genius." Not surprisingly, the overall picture that emerges of the average applicant shows that he was better educated than the vast majority of Union soldiers and much younger than most of the officers who already wore the shoulder straps he desired. Among all Union soldiers who fought in the war, only about 5 percent enlisted with more than a common school education. In contrast, more than 20 percent of the applicants to the FMS had advanced beyond common school; in addition, they were almost four times as likely to have attended high school as their counterparts elsewhere in the army, and over five times as likely to have attended college. At least 455 privates and 319 noncommissioned officers enrolled, while 49 junior officers (lieutenants and captains) and 5 field grade officers (majors and lieutenant colonels) attended. As for these junior and field officers, those wanting USCT commissions were substantially younger than their fellow commanders elsewhere. Approximately 42.9 percent of men with shoulder straps who applied to the Philadelphia school were below the age of twenty-four, as opposed to just 24.4 percent of officers in the army overall. Among all 1,029 applicants, including enlisted men, the percentage below age twenty-four seeking a commission was 62.8, well over twice that of the outside officer corps.[24]

The records of the FMS also offer an account of how many men from each particular unit in the Army of the Potomac applied to the school. Practically every brigade sent at least one or two soldiers to Philadelphia, but eleven regiments in particular contributed five men or more—the Eighth Illinois Cavalry; Forty-Fourth and Ninety-Fourth New York and Second New York Cavalry; Eighty-Third, Ninety-Ninth, 118th, 140th, 141st, 143rd, and 148th Pennsylvania; Twelfth US Infantry; and Sixth Vermont. Several of these regiments, prodded by Republican officers, spearheaded the army's public campaign against antiwar Democrats at home in 1863 and voted overwhelmingly for Republican and Union Party candidates in gubernatorial contests and the presidential election of 1864.

[24] "New Advertisements," *Harrisburg (PA) Evening Telegraph*, Jan. 6, 1864; "Officers of Colored Troops," *Cleveland Morning Leader*, Apr. 19, 1864; Benjamin Apthorp Gould, *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers* (Cambridge, MA, 1869), 570–71; Registration Volume, Barker Collection, HSP; Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 12–13. Gould's study remains one of the most useful reference works on the social composition of the Union Army.

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Thus, the soldiers who volunteered for the FMS from those units were far from the only politically astute soldiers in the ranks. Instead, the officers in command of these regiments fostered cultures of radicalism and encouraged exactly the sort of political engagement that brought awareness of the USCT endeavor. Furthermore, application to the FMS demonstrated belief in the viability of entrusting freed slaves with matters of life and death, a powerful example for fence sitters in the fractious Union Army.[25]

Members of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry had been ironclad in their antislavery views since the beginning of the war. The cavalrymen gained political inspiration from Republican congressman John F. Farnsworth, who first commanded the regiment and delighted in its sobriquet from

[25] My methodology for ascertaining unit politics prioritizes three sources: 1) soldiers' private correspondence home and to officials such as governors and state adjutants general; 2) voting behavior in wartime elections, especially the 1863 gubernatorial races and the 1864 presidential contest; and 3) the unit's willingness to publish political material, especially in wartime newspapers. The most problematic is 1864 voting behavior. Many regiments faced annihilation in the Overland Campaign and were brought to full strength by hundreds of draftees, late enlistees, and substitutes who frequently resisted a unit's prior political culture. With this in mind, I began with the many Army of the Potomac regiments in the Second, Fifth, and Ninth Corps that forwarded tabulations for the 1864 election, made available in US War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 42, part 3 (Washington, DC, 1893), 560–61, 574–78. Collectively, those totals indicate an army-wide average of 72.2 percent for Lincoln and the Union Party. However, after adding 30 more regimental voting totals absent from the War Department's official records but printed in newspapers across the North, I arrived at a lower army-wide average of 68.3 percent for Lincoln's party; in fact, the army's total Republican percentage may have been slightly lower than that because of so many late enlistees and draftees in New York regiments (units that sent votes directly home without being tabulated at the front). Nonetheless, it was then straightforward to determine which regiments prominent on FMS rolls also voted heavily for Lincoln and his policies. For instance, the Ninety-Fourth New York, which contributed five soldiers to the FMS, voted 74 (Lincoln) to 7 (McClellan) in 1864 (91.4 percent Lincoln); see "How the New York Soldiers Vote," *Potsdam (NY) Courier Freeman*, Nov. 2, 1864. The Eighty-Third Pennsylvania, which contributed nine soldiers to the FMS, voted 120 (Lincoln) to 32 (McClellan) (thus, 78.9 percent Lincoln) and dedicated its 1865 regimental history to those who died "in behalf of the great principles of human freedom"; see "The Election, Returns from the Pennsylvania Soldiers," *Philadelphia Press*, Nov. 11, 1864; and A. M. Judson, *History of the Eighty-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Erie, PA, 1865). The 140th Pennsylvania published anti-Democratic resolutions in the spring of 1863, contributed 10 soldiers to the FMS, and later voted 147 (Lincoln) to 55 (McClellan) (thus, 72.8 percent Lincoln); see US War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 42, part 3, 561. The 141st Pennsylvania contributed six soldiers to the FMS and voted 195 (Lincoln) to 5 (McClellan) (thus, 97.5 percent Lincoln); see US War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 42, part 3, 560. The Sixth Vermont contributed five soldiers to the FMS and voted 132 (Lincoln) to 43 (McClellan) (thus, 75.4 percent Lincoln); see "Vote of the Vermont Brigade," *Burlington (VT) Free Press*, Nov. 18, 1864. Voting records for the Twelfth US Infantry, which contributed five soldiers to the FMS, were not located. However, Sgt. Charles T. Bowen wrote that the unit harbored but a few critics of black troops, and as for himself, "I only hope Congress will give them all the priviledges [sic] of white troops. . . . This army is fast coming to a knowledge that its colored troops are an honor to it"; see Charles T. Bowen to mother, June 25, 1864, in *Dear Friends at Home: The Civil War Letters and Diaries of Sergeant Charles T. Bowen, Twelfth United States Infantry First Battalion, 1861–1864*, ed. Edward K. Cassedy (Baltimore, 2001), 508–9.

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President Lincoln, "Farnsworth's Big Abolitionist Regiment." Under Farnsworth, politics saturated the camp. For the first months of the conflict, the men spent their free time forming a debate society, using a portable library donated by citizens of Chicago. Months before Lincoln broached the topic with his own cabinet, the officers and men of the Eighth circulated a petition urging the president to issue an immediate emancipation proclamation. Once Lincoln issued his final edict on January 1, 1863, the Illinois men rejoiced and rode to nearby plantations to bring word to as many slaves as they could find. Later, while conducting a raid in eastern Virginia after the Chancellorsville Campaign in May 1863, the troopers liberated nearly one thousand slaves. "It was one of the greatest sights that I have ever [seen]," recalled Peter Triem of Company K. The regiment's official history proudly recalled how the cavalrymen, dubbed "Illinois Emancipators," took delight in making secessionists "pay dearly" during the raid for their offenses. The next month, as the regiment cantered into Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg Campaign, Lt. Marcellus Jones beamed with pride that he had crossed the Mason-Dixon Line after months of fighting on the "slavery-accursed and God-forsaken soils of old Virginia." In the 1864 election, the regiment gave fully 94 percent of its votes to Lincoln. Eight privates and one corporal put forth their names for Taggart's school, and five of them earned shoulder straps in the USCT. They transferred no doubt anxious for promotion, but they left a unit that applauded the emancipationist agenda.[26]

Like the Eighth Illinois, the Fifth Corps brigade originally commanded by Maj. Gen. Daniel Butterfield yielded numerous transfers, particularly from the Eighty-Third Pennsylvania and Forty-Fourth New York regiments. Nine privates from the Eighty-Third enrolled in the FMS, while others, including Private Oliver Norton, transferred directly into the USCT. The Forty-Fourth New York probably led the army in the total number of its officers and men who gained entry into the USCT. Col. James C. Rice rose to command the regiment not long after pledging himself publicly at

[26] David E. Mass, *Marching to the Drumbeat of Abolitionism: Wheaton College in the Civil War* (Wheaton, IL, 2010), 103–7, 15; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1885), 2:261; Peter Triem diary entry for May 17, 1863, in Civil War Document Collection, United States Army Heritage and Education Center (USAHEC), Carlisle, PA; Abner Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, during the Great Rebellion* (Aurora, IL, 1868), 241; Eric J. Wittenberg, *"The Devil's to Pay": John Buford at Gettysburg. A History and Walking Tour* (El Dorado Hills, CA, 2014), 33; "Sentiments of Illinois 'Disfranchised Soldiers,'" *Boston Evening Transcript*, Nov. 12, 1864. The author thanks J. David Petruzzi for his helpful insight into the Eighth Illinois.

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the war's outset to the destruction of slavery. Raised in September 1861 to avenge the death of Lincoln confidant Elmer Ellsworth, the Forty-Fourth sent three privates, two corporals, and two sergeants to Philadelphia for training. In addition, another twenty-four bypassed the school and transferred straight into USCT commands. These men came from all but two of the regiment's companies, and clusters of seven men came from both Companies D and E, showing that peer solidarity was central to taking the plunge. Some of these New Yorkers transferred as privates, but an impressive seventeen already bore the chevrons or shoulder boards of higher rank. They were the veterans of long service with the Fifth Corps, and nearly a quarter of them took with them the scars of battle wounds from Malvern Hill, Second Manassas, and Little Round Top at Gettysburg.[27]

Many in the Butterfield brigade had exhibited political acuity since the war's early days and spouted anti-Democratic views once the peace faction emerged to oppose the administration. General Butterfield himself counted radical politicians among his closest confidants. In mid-1862, he assured Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase that new officers should spurn the model of other brigade commanders who taught their men to adore George McClellan, the idol of conservative Democrats. Butterfield's philosophy for instituting a unit-wide political culture was simple: "They are to serve their country and not to uphold any particular general." Both the Eighty-Third and Forty-Fourth, dubbed "Butterfield's Twins," quickly started camp debate societies to argue the merits of leading editorialists, whose columns they read voraciously. In March 1863, the Forty-Fourth helped lead the army's political counterattack against antiwar Copperheads at home by publishing a resolution in Northern newspapers that cheered the "holy cause" against the Confederacy. Even after being promoted, Butterfield maintained such strict political control over his old brigade that his successor complained bitterly to archconservative Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York of having lost his command due to closely held "Democratic principles." Butterfield's two favored regiments were precisely the sort of outfits from which Casey and Taggart expected men to apply.[28]

[27] The regiment's history, written by Eugene Nash, lists thirty-one men who entered from the Forty-Fourth, but three of these could not be verified by the author. Nash himself received a lieutenant colonel's commission in the Twenty-Third USCT but could not muster because of wounds; see Eugene Arus Nash, *A History of the Forty-Fourth Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, in the Civil War, 1861–1865* (Chicago, 1911), 261, 312–13.

[28] Daniel Butterfield to Salmon P. Chase, July 12, 1862, in Salmon P. Chase Papers (Collection 121), Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Norton, *Army Letters*, 40; T. B. W. Stockton to John T.

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The 140th Pennsylvania, which sent ten men into Taggart's school, was another solidly Republican outfit. Colonel Richard P. Roberts had actively supported Lincoln's 1860 candidacy from his community in Beaver County, and as the nation dissolved in the next year, Roberts offered an impassioned speech to his hometown outlining the reasons "for opposing slavery and secession." On March 27, 1863, his regiment assembled to adopt anti-Copperhead resolutions. The resulting document noted: "[W]e heartily approve of all the measures adopted by the government for the suppression of rebellion and treason, North and South, and trust no measures within its power will be left unemployed for the speedy accomplishment of that end." Even so, Alexander "Sandie" Acheson of the 140th belittled his regiment for not voicing its radicalism all the more firmly. "Oh! how 'milk and water' like!" he complained. The 140th voted as staunchly as it published political rhetoric. After thirty-eight soldiers from the regiment fell into rebel hands at Gettysburg and marched to Richmond as prisoners, they followed the gubernatorial race between Curtin and Woodward closely enough from Southern newspapers to hold a mock election at Libby Prison. Curtin won the contest easily. During the 1864 contest, Democratic agents offered pro-McClellan ballots to the veteran soldiers of the 140th encamped at Petersburg. Rather than accept the tickets, the men immediately threw them in a campfire and shouted to party officials that "[if] they did not get out of ther[e] in less than 5 minutes we would ride them out on a rail." Company-level voting details sent home by one soldier showed that Companies C and H, which collectively had forwarded six of the regiment's ten men to the FMS, went decidedly for Lincoln.[29]

Not to be outdone as one of the most radicalized regiments in the army, the Sixth Vermont also unleashed its rhetorical musketry against the Democrats at home in early 1863. In the New Englanders' resolutions, the soldiers affirmed allegiance to the president and his party's policies, "includ-

Sprague, Sept. 2, 1863, and H. S. Lansing to John T. Sprague, Sept. 20, 1863, both in New York State Adjutant General's Office Correspondence and Petitions, New York State Archives.

[29] Gregory J. Bell, "In Defense of Colonel Richard P. Roberts, Commanding Officer of the Pennsylvania 140th Regiment" (master's thesis, Marshall University, 2004), 7–8; Alexander "Sandie" Acheson to Jane Acheson, Mar. 24, 1863, and Apr. 4, 1863, quoted in Sara Gould Walters, *Inscription at Gettysburg: In Memoriam to Captain David Acheson, Company C, 140th Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Gettysburg, PA, 1991), 69–70, 76–77; "From the 140th Regiment Pa. Volunteer's [*sic*]," *Washington (PA) Reporter and Tribune*, Apr. 29, 1863; Travis W. Busey and John W. Busey, *Union Casualties at Gettysburg: A Comprehensive Record*, 3 vols. (Jefferson, NC, 2011), 2:938–46; Wilson N. Paxton Diary, entries for Oct. 12–13, 1863, Civil War Document Collection, USAHEC; Joseph Smith Graham to Ellen Lee, Nov. 7, 1864, in Janet Bartlett Reeder McFadden, ed., *Aunt and the Soldier Boys from Cross Creek Village, Pennsylvania, 1856–1866* . . . (Santa Cruz, CA, 1970), 152–53.

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ing the celebrated proclamation of Jan. 1st, 1863." Writing opinion pieces to the *Rutland Herald* in early 1864, Lt. Albert A. Crane described the process by which his soldiers gained radical sensibilities. Thanks in large measure to the availability of such Republican newspapers as the *Washington Chronicle*, a luxury unknown to the regiment during George McClellan's tenure, the Vermonters exhibited "a great revolution in political sentiments." Like the Eighth Illinois, Eighty-Third Pennsylvania, and Forty-Fourth New York, the Vermont Brigade passed the time by forming "literary societies" to read and debate such questions as "Ought the property of the rebels to be confiscated?" and "Is there more to admire than condemn in the life and character of John Brown?" The Sixth forwarded five volunteers to the FMS before voting three-to-one for Lincoln over McClellan in November 1864.[30]

* * *

Soldiers who crowded into the FMS classroom came from regiments that had spearheaded the army's counterattack against the Copperheads

[30] "The Sixth Vermont on Copperheads," *Montpelier (VT) Green Mountain Freeman*, Mar. 31, 1863; Donald H. Wickman, ed., *Letters to Vermont: From Her Civil War Soldier Correspondents to the Home Press*, 2 vols. (Burlington, VT, 1998), 1:186–87, 192; see "Vote of the Vermont Brigade," *Burlington (VT) Free Press*, Nov. 18, 1864. In the Army of the Potomac, the Eleventh Corps was markedly underrepresented in the FMS. These figures in part reflect the corps' transfer to Tennessee in late September 1863, but ethnic culture also seems to have accounted for the low turnout of USCT hopefuls. Whole units in the Eleventh were noted for their German, Swiss, or Polish heritage. Martin W. Öfele has analyzed the experiences of German Americans who enrolled as officers in the USCT to show that many were not emancipationist ideologues but simply patricians who sought a more professional command structure and class distinction in their service than what they found in white regiments. The only regiment of the Eleventh Corps to forward a significant number to the FMS was the 157th New York, a unit not known for a strong European provenance. Thirteen officers and men successfully transferred into the USCT from the 157th, including three who passed through Taggart's FMS. As with similar regiments, the commanders were outspoken emancipationists. Lt. Colonel George Arrowsmith, who died at Gettysburg, had expressed frustration in a prewar address that the North would be made subservient to the slaveholding South. "Is that old monster slavery to rear its black and grizzly [*sic*] form over the fair North," he had wondered, "and vomit up pollution over the verdant hills and people of New York?" Adjutant Joseph T. Heney, also a Gettysburg casualty, was a close confidant of abolitionist leader Gerritt Smith, who offered the young officer's eulogy. Company G of the 157th hailed from Madison County, "fertile ground" for "anti-slavery agitation," and the company's postwar history draws a stark contrast between the cause of the Confederacy, "human slavery," and the cause for which the New Yorkers fought—"freedom." See Öfele, *German-Speaking Officers in the United States Colored Troops*, 14–21, 30–31, 83–112; Christian B. Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans: Nativism, Ethnicity, and Civil War Memory* (New York, 2007), 10–17, 26–27; Registration Volume, Barker Collection, HSP; John S. Applegate, *Reminiscences and Letters of George Arrowsmith of New Jersey, Late Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Fifty-Seventh Regiment* (Red Bank, NJ, 1893), 17; untitled newspaper clipping, Aug. 3, 1863, 157th New York regimental file, NYSMM; A. R. Barlow, *Company G: A Record of the Services of One Company of the 157th N.Y. Vols. in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (Syracuse, NY, 1899), 19, 225.

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and any critics of the administration's policies. This political activity, much of it performed in the public eye, contributed to the army's radicalization in 1863 and 1864 by linking Union loyalty to an acceptance of black participation in the war. By the time FMS graduates earned their shoulder straps and marched south to Petersburg, the Carolinas, or wherever the war took them, the USCT experiment had gained respectability in the eyes of many white soldiers.

The Philadelphia school established by Chairman Webster and Colonel Taggart taught white privates and noncommissioned officers from these regiments how to lead African Americans in the war's most revolutionary enterprise. The first task of the FMS was to train ambitious young men in the tactical art. The second and far more involved task was to test soldiers' loyalty to the radical prosecution of the war—to test, in fact, how willing soldiers were to put Republican words into action. Responding to General Casey's examination requirements, the FMS even sought to expand the military education curriculum into the humanities as a means of cultivating soldiers' moral suitability to represent the project. This politicization of military education for radical ends defied decades of civil-military tradition represented by West Point. As the vanguard of the war's most radical project, the tiny classroom on Chestnut Street matriculated 561 men, "humane, educated and skilled," who stood ready for General Casey's examination board and whatever lay before them on southern battlefields.[31]

United States Military Academy, West Point ZACHERY A. FRY

The views expressed above do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the US Army, the Department of Defense, or the US government.

[31] Registration Volume, Barker Collection, HSP.

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Nellie Rathbone Bright: Acclaimed Author, Educator Activist, Un-American Woman?

ABSTRACT: This paper documents the life of Nellie Rathbone Bright, an immigrant daughter, celebrated author, and activist educator, who challenged the boundaries of gender and sexuality and engaged in grassroots political work to alleviate racial inequities in her community and schools. Historians have documented how the national hysteria about communism incited politicians and citizens to disgrace progressive reformers and civil rights activists. Bright's identity as a Black, unmarried, grassroots activist and educator pushes us to consider how the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality made her an innocent victim of the McCarthy era anticommunist campaign.

ON JULY 5, 1952, WITH NATIONAL concerns about communism seeping into public schools, Nellie Rathbone Bright, one of Philadelphia's most outstanding and distinguished educators, announced her resignation as principal of the Reynolds School due to a "smear campaign . . . to sully her reputation."[1] When she made the announcement, rumors circulated that Bright was not a citizen and that she had not taken a required loyalty oath. After careful investigation, reporters confirmed that these rumors were nothing more than "idle fabrication," adding "there is apparently a deliberate intention to smear the reputation of one of the most active and responsible citizens of Philadelphia." Edward T.

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[1] "Communist Teachers," *New Republic*, Mar. 17, 1941, 359–60; "Communists and Teachers," *New Republic*, Feb. 24, 1941, 265; Craig Thompson, "Here's Where Our Young Commies Are Trained," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 12, 1949, 38–39, 148–50.

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Myers, the superintendent of the School District of Philadelphia's regional District 2, told an audience of Bright supporters that she was embarking on "a noble and praise worthy effort" in her retirement. In the middle of his speech, Bright asked Myers to stop speaking about her future plans. In a statement to the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the city's leading Black newspaper, Bright said, "I am leaving the school system and resigning as of June 30. It is for personal reasons and had nothing to do with the system." In reference to the rumors that she was not a citizen, Bright said, "I don't need citizenship papers and it is a silly thing for people to think, if they do. I was born in this country." Responding to claims that she did not take the loyalty oath, she told reporters: "I took the loyalty oath with my staff when it was administered by Magistrate Ralph F. Knox. All my life I have been a loyal American citizen. I am not a Communist. I consider the question insulting. I've given my life to helping people. It is a smear campaign. The implication is that I must be subversive. Even to mention it in a day like this is dangerous."[2]

Reporters described Bright as one of the leading educators in the city and commended her for her extensive civic work. She was one of the founders of Philadelphia's famed Fellowship House, an interracial, intercultural institution for individuals of all racial and religious backgrounds to socialize and learn from one another. She led the plans to eradicate slum housing in North Philadelphia and served on the city's Community Chest, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Mayor's Scholarship Committee. In an official school board comment, Dr. John L. Waldman, associate superintendent, said:

> Miss Bright retired of her own volition. It is a private affair with her. The whole school board was upset when she revealed that she was leaving the service . . . It is a universal rule that all professional workers in the school system be citizens of the United States. She would have had to be a citizen to be appointed. I had to make a statement in 1909 concerning my citizenship and Miss Bright came into the system since that time and things have been even stricter.[3]

Why did Nellie Rathbone Bright became the target of a smear campaign to question her citizenship and loyalty to the state? Bright, a woman widely celebrated for her accomplishments and commitments to improv-

[2] "Miss Bright Resigns; Raps 'Smear Campaign,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, July 5, 1952.
[3] Ibid.

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ing education for all children in the city, had nothing in her life record to warrant these claims. Historians have documented the ways in which national hysteria surrounding communism spurred political leaders and engaged citizens to target and smear individuals associated with communist causes.[4] Other historians have demonstrated that the men and women who orchestrated the Red Scare often accused New Deal liberal activists, who had worked in Roosevelt's administration and other welfare-oriented causes, of being associated with communism.[5] Several historians have examined how the fears of sexual deviance and the policing of homosexual activity coincided with the Red Scare in the military and schools.[6] Scholars have also noted the ways teachers' union leaders intersected with communist party leadership and anticommunist sentiment.[7] Even though this literature has contributed to our understanding of this period, current scholarship has often overlooked the ways that gender, race, and sexuality influenced the inquisition of teachers during the 1950s Red Scare.[8] Bright, an immigrant daughter, bourgeois migrant, celebrated author, and activist teacher, challenged the boundaries of gender and sexuality that defined the McCarthy era and engaged in political work that challenged the racial inequities within and beyond the schoolhouse. Bright's identity

[4] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ, 2011); Ann Mari May, *The Woman Question and Higher Education: Perspectives on Gender and Knowledge Production in America* (Cheltenham, UK, 2008); Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Boston, 1998); Phillip Deery, *Red Apple: Communism and McCarthyism in Cold War New York* (New York, 2016); Eric Bentley and Frank Rich, *Thirty Years of Treason: Excerpts from Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938–1968* (New York, 2001).

[5] Landon R. Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton, NJ, 2015).

[6] Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ, 2011); David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago, 2006); C. Taylor, "What's Wrong with Negative Liberty," in *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology*, ed. Ian Carter, Matthew Kramer, and Hillel Steiner (Malden, MA, 2007), 153–62; Stacy Braukman, "'Nothing Else Matters but Sex': Cold War Narratives of Deviance and the Search for Lesbian Teachers in Florida, 1959–1963," *Feminist Studies* 27 (2001): 553–75; Karen L. Graves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana, IL, 2009); Jackie M. Blount, *Fit to Teach: Same-Sex Desire, Gender, and School Work in the Twentieth Century* (Albany, NY, 2006).

[7] Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard: Communism, Civil Rights, and the New York City Teachers Union* (New York, 2013).

[8] Even though these works do not focus on teachers per se, there is a growing body of scholarship that focuses on the intersections of gender, race, and radical political engagement. See Dayo F. Gore, *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African American Women Activists in the Cold War* (New York, 2012); Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution?: Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York, 2009); Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore, 2002).

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as a Black, unmarried, politically active, assertive female schoolteacher and her decision to engage in grassroots, feminist civil rights activism made her a natural target in the conservative social and political climate of the 1950s. It is a life story that pushes scholars to examine the life of a Black, queer activist-teacher accused of communist activity even though there was little to support that claim.

Born in Savannah, Georgia, on March 28, 1898, Bright was the only child of Reverend Richard Bright and Nellie Jones Bright.[9] Her father, an immigrant from the Dutch West Indies, received financial support from Miss Caroline Rathbone, a wealthy white New Yorker who moved to Louisville and met Bright when he was a child. Richard Bright attended St. Augustine Collegiate Institute in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the General Theological Seminary in New York City.[10] After graduating from the seminary, he moved to Savannah, Georgia. Due to the underfunding of African American parishes in the Episcopal Church at the time, many Black priests struggled to earn a decent salary, and Bright was no exception. He worked at several parishes in Savannah, including St. Matthew's, the Church of Our Merciful Savior, and St. Stephen's, where he spent the majority of his time.[11] In the twenty-five years he worked in Georgia, Bright developed a national reputation as "one of the most talented of the colored priests in the Episcopal Church in the country."[12]

Nellie R. Bright offers conflicting evidence about her mother's birth—in her biographical notes, she states that her mother was born in Jamaica; other sources indicate that her mother was born in Louisville.[13] Bright's maternal grandfather, Quincy B. Jones, owned a distillery in Louisville, which both helped him provide a middle-class lifestyle for his family and made him a target of white racism. One morning, a group of poor whites stormed the store and smashed its goods. When Quincy B. Jones Jr., Bright's maternal

[9] "Public School Teachers Elected," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 5, 1887.

[10] "Negro Bishop Will Preach Funeral Sermon of White Woman who Befriended Him," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Dec. 23, 1901; "Negro Minister," *Nashville American*, Dec. 24, 1901; Richard Bright, 1900 US census, Savannah, Georgia, roll 186, page 21B, district 0068, Family History Library film 1240186, accessed via Ancestry.com.

[11] "History," St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, accessed Jan. 6, 2016, http://www.stmattsav.org/history; "The Rev. Richard Bright, Well-Known Colored Minister at the Church of Our Merciful Savior," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 24, 1895; "For the Colored Race: Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church to Confer," *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 24, 1895; "Meeting of Episcopal Workers," *Washington Post*, Sept. 24, 1895; "Short, Simple Services for Veteran Rector," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Apr. 3, 1941.

[12] "The Rev. Richard Bright, Well-Known Colored Minister at the Church of Our Merciful Savior," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 24, 1895.

[13] Nellie Bright, biography notes for Ann Shockley, box 1, Nellie Rathbone Bright Family Papers (Collection 2057), Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

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uncle, attempted to force them out, the white vandals shot and killed him.[14] Despite the loss of his son, Bright's grandfather remained positive, encouraging his children to use education to advance their careers. Barred from college in the United States on the basis of her race, Nellie Jones, Bright's mother, earned a college degree in Europe and eventually returned to teach in Louisville's Western Colored School.[15] On November 21, 1892, Richard Bright married Nellie Jones in a small Louisville ceremony.[16]

By the time Richard Bright and his young bride moved from Louisville to Savannah in 1892, the political and economic gains that Blacks had enjoyed following the Civil War had essentially vanished. In the 1880s and 1890s, white supremacists implemented poll taxes and literacy tests to bar Blacks from the ballot and forced Black children to attend grossly underfunded and underresourced schools.[17] With limited education and serious racial discrimination on the labor market, it became nearly impossible for Blacks to secure professional jobs. In 1890, less than 1 percent of gainfully employed African Americans over the age of ten belonged to the professional class. Eighty percent of Black professionals were teachers or ministers in segregated schools and churches.[18]

Like other bourgeois Blacks, Richard and Nellie Jones Bright used their professional positions to engage in racial uplift and promote racial equality, particularly in the realm of education.[19] Shortly after they married, the Brights opened a private school for Black children at Savannah's St. Stephen's Church, where Reverend Bright served as the rector.[20] The school, which included a kindergarten and primary grades, opened on October 1, 1894, with Nellie Jones Bright as one of two teachers.[21] Richard and Nellie Bright believed in the value of education to advance their race against the brutal realities of discrimination and racism.[22]

[14] Nellie Bright, biography notes, card 3, box 1, Bright Papers, HSP.

[15] "Public School Teachers Elected," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 5, 1887.

[16] "Bright-Jones, A Young Minister of Savannah Finds a Bride in this City," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Nov. 22, 1892.

[17] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988).

[18] Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915* (New York, 1968), 526.

[19] My own understanding of the Black bourgeoisie comes from E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (New York, 1965).

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Personal Mention," *Kindergarten News* 4 (1894): 334; "Schools and Teachers among the Colored People," in *The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1904), 51. Bright urged his parishioners to donate funds to support the school. "Small Aid for the Negro," *Washington Post*, Sept. 25, 1895.

[22] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 20.

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Richard and Nellie Bright's class status and global experiences shaped their daughter's childhood. They took her with them as they traveled the globe so that she could witness firsthand the diverse array of racial experiences for Blacks outside the United States. From the age of four, Nellie Rathbone Bright accompanied her parents on tours to visit family and to hear her father preach to Episcopal audiences in the Caribbean, South America, and Europe.[23] As a member of the talented tenth, Nellie Rathbone Bright had access to the best educational opportunities available to Blacks.[24] Living on a predominantly bourgeois white street in Savannah, she rarely interacted with working-class Blacks who attended different schools, churches, and clubs; accordingly, she knew little about the hardships associated with poverty.

Even though her parents enjoyed many advantages, racism still structured their lives in the Jim Crow South. Richard Bright, a Black minister in an overwhelmingly white and often overtly racist Episcopalian church, and Nellie Jones Bright, a teacher in a racially segregated school system, helped their only daughter understand how to navigate between a white world that shunned them and a Black world that often rejected them on the basis of their class position. Her parents also taught their daughter that their occupational positions—as a minister and teacher—gave them the power to lead the grassroots political work required to advance their community and their race. She watched and learned from her mother and father as they engaged in this work.[25]

Sometime before 1910, Nellie Rathbone Bright and her mother moved to Philadelphia and rented a room from Rebecca A. Walton, an African American teacher who had migrated to Philadelphia from Georgia.[26] What prompted this move is unknown. In Philadelphia, Bright attended the Edwin M. Stanton Elementary School, a public school located on the corner of Seventeenth and Christian Streets, only a few blocks from her home.[27] When Nellie enrolled in this school, she entered a school system

[23] Nellie R. Bright, biography notes for Ann Shockley, box 1, Bright Papers, HSP; Nellie R. Bright, passport, box 1, Bright Papers, HSP.

[24] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in *The Negro Problem*, ed. Booker T. Washington (New York, 1903), 31–76.

[25] On racial uplift projects underway in African American churches and schools in the South at the time, see Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*; Adam Fairclough, *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); and Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*.

[26] Nellie R. Bright, 1910 US census, Ward 30, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, roll T624_1399, page 9B, district 0695, Family History Library film 1375412, accessed Mar. 3, 2016, via Ancestry.com.

[27] School District of Philadelphia, *Ninety-Second Annual Report . . . for the Year Ending December 31, 1910* (Philadelphia, 1911), 263.

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that, despite its geographic position in the North, practiced the racial segregation that she had experienced as a child in Savannah. Philadelphia school officials, like their counterparts in other northern cities, maintained all-Black and all-white elementary schools, with teaching staff similarly segregated.[28] However, the class composition of the Stanton School did not mirror the schools that she attended in Savannah. The majority of children who lived nearby were not the sons and daughters of Black professionals but of craftspeople, laborers, and service workers who struggled to find work in Philadelphia's racially segregated labor market. Her brief but significant time in Philadelphia's impoverished and segregated Seventh Ward exposed the young Bright to the harsh realities of life in racially and often economically segregated Black Philadelphia.[29]

In the summer of 1913, shortly after Nellie had enrolled in the William Penn High School for Girls, her father accepted a position in the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania and restored his family's bourgeois lifestyle.[30] When he arrived in Philadelphia, both the city and the church were undergoing significant changes. Between 1900 and 1920, Philadelphia's Black population rose from 63,000 to 134,000 as tens of thousands of African Americans left the Jim Crow South in search of better opportunities for their families.[31] Facing limited housing and employment options in the city, many migrants found support and refuge in the ever-expanding network of Black churches that dotted Philadelphia's neighborhoods.[32]

[28] Vincent P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia: The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900–1950* (Philadelphia, 1979). For a discussion of this system in another city, see Anne Meis Knupfer, *The Chicago Black Renaissance and Women's Activism* (Chicago, 2005), 79–80. For decades, Black families and civil rights activists challenged the racial segregation in the school system, arguing that Black schools routinely lacked the resources that white schools enjoyed. See W. E. B. Du Bois, "Editorial," *Crisis* 1, no. 1 (1910): 10–11. Most scholarship focuses on segregated schools in the South, but an increasing number of works focus on Jim Crow policies in the North. See Jack Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004); John P. Spencer, *In the Crossfire: Marcus Foster and the Troubled History of American School Reform* (Philadelphia, 2012); and Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle Over Northern School Segregation, 1865–1954* (Cambridge, UK, 2005).

[29] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia, 1899); Michael B. Katz and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds., *W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and the City: "The Philadelphia Negro" and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia, 1998); Sadie Tanner Mossell, *The Standard of Living Among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1921).

[30] "Short, Simple Services for Veteran Rector," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Apr. 3, 1941.

[31] James Wolfinger, "African American Migration," *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, accessed Jan. 12, 2016, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/african-american-migration/.

[32] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York, 1974), 41–88; Hans A. Baer and Merrill Singer, *African-American Religion in the Twentieth Century: Varieties of Protest and Accommodation* (Knoxville, TN, 1992), 49–59; Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (Philadelphia, 1944), 98–107.

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The Diocese of Pennsylvania expanded its support for "colored work" and opened several new segregated mission churches that employed Black ministers, including Bright.[33] Once he secured employment, Richard Bright moved his family out of the crowded row house in the racially segregated Seventh Ward to a middle-class home in a racially integrated West Philadelphia neighborhood.[34]

On December 17, 1914, Bright's mother, Nellie Jones Bright, died at the age of forty-eight, leaving her father to provide his only daughter with a bourgeois upbringing on his own.[35] Following in her mother's footsteps, Bright graduated from the all-female and overwhelmingly white Philadelphia Normal School. Historians note that normal schools provided a critical access point for immigrant and Black youth, who were often barred from teaching programs in American colleges and universities. Bright's time at the Philadelphia Normal School, as part of a small but important group of Black students in her class, gave her an opportunity to develop relationships that she would rely on later in her career.[36] In the spring of 1920, Bright accepted a teaching position at Edwin Stanton Elementary School, her childhood elementary school. Later that year, she enrolled in evening courses at the University of Pennsylvania, teaching during the day and commuting from her father's West Philadelphia home. As a student, Bright joined networks of elite, Black Penn attendees. Among them was her longtime colleague and collaborator, Arthur Huff Fauset, who graduated from Penn in 1921. As a member of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Bright socialized with such women as Sadie T. Mossell, the first African American woman to earn a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania and a prominent leader in Philadelphia's civil rights movement.[37] In 1923, Bright earned a

[33] Thomas F. Rzeznik, "The Church in Prosperity, Depression, and War, 1910–1945," in *This Far by Faith: Tradition and Change in the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania*, ed. David R. Contosta (University Park, PA, 2012), 217–25. For a history of Black activism in the Episcopal Church in a later period, see William W. Cutler III, "A Church on Wheels, 1945–1963," in Contosta, *This Far by Faith*, 263–97. Bright worked in several parishes, including the Church of the Crucifixion, African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, and eventually St. Monica's Episcopal Church. See Robert Pierce, "Churches and their Pastors: St. Thomas P. E. Church," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Oct. 4, 1913; "Society," *New York Amsterdam News*, Sept. 5, 1936; "Short, Simple Services for Veteran Rector," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Apr. 3, 1941.

[34] Nellie R. Bright, 1920 US census, Ward 40, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, roll T625_26A, sheet 26A, district 1498, image 1130, accessed May 30, 2017, via Ancestry.com.

[35] Nellie J. Bright in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Death Certificates Index, 1803–1915, accessed May 30, 2017, via Ancestry.com.

[36] Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: An Instrument of Great Good* (New York, 2005).

[37] Delta Sigma Theta Sorority—Gamma Chapter, 1920, Women's Undergraduate Record, University of Pennsylvania, *U.S., School Yearbooks, 1880–2012*, accessed May 30, 2017, via Ancestry.com.

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bachelor's degree in English.[38] After graduation, Bright taught in the city's public schools. Like her mother, she also continued her education in Europe, studying literature at the Sorbonne and Oxford University.[39] A decade after moving to Philadelphia, Bright had earned the educational credentials and cultivated the social networks to sustain a middle-class lifestyle.[40]

Members of Nellie Rathbone Bright's generation came of age during the First World War; they understood the unique vulnerability of African Americans who fought to save democracy abroad but lived in a nation that sanctioned racism at home. In Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit, race riots broke out when Black residents tried to move their families into predominantly white communities.[41] Racial discrimination on the labor market still barred most Blacks from professional jobs. Blacks who served in the armed forces remained segregated from their white peers.[42] Searching for a mechanism to call attention to the shortcomings of their own nation, many Blacks engaged in a movement that rose to prominence in Harlem to showcase the artistic and literary talents of African Americans. The movement used the arts to expose and combat racism on a national level. The individuals that belonged to these groups believed that they might uplift their race through their own literary and artistic endeavors.[43]

Bright embraced the ideas put forth in this movement and established several clubs and societies to promote the artistic and literary achievements of Philadelphia's Black community. She founded the Fireside Club, an interracial organization dedicated to the advancement of the arts, particularly among the Black bourgeoisie of her generation. The club hosted literary and social events, most likely in her father's church at first, which brought together a diverse array of writers and activists, including Nora Waring, Arthur Huff Fauset, and Langston Hughes.[44] Bright's club, like

[38] Paul Jackson, "Philadelphians: You Should Know," *Baltimore Afro-American*, Oct. 5, 1940; University of Pennsylvania bulletin, catalogue for the session of 1921–22, 308, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

[39] Lorraine Elena Roses and Ruth Elizabeth Randolph, "Nellie Rathbone Bright," in *Harlem Renaissance and Beyond: Literary Biographies of 100 Black Women Writers, 1900–1945* (Cambridge, MA, 1997); Lean'tin L. Bracks, "Nellie Rathbone Bright," in *Black Women of the Harlem Renaissance Era*, ed. Bracks and Jessie Carney Smith (Lanham, MD, 2014), 28.

[40] Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth."

[41] Vincent P. Franklin, "The Philadelphia Race Riot of 1918," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (1975): 336–50.

[42] Matthew Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2006), 18–20.

[43] Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York, 2007); Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, NC, 2002).

[44] The exact location of their meetings is unknown, but an article in the *Afro-American* indicates that they used a church basement. See "Cumberland, Md.," *Baltimore Afro-American*, Feb. 7, 1925. For other accounts of the club's activities, see "The Whispering Hedge," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Apr. 10, 1926;

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those in other cities, brought together artists who might have otherwise been isolated from one another and generated new networks among the Black bourgeoisie, who represented the majority of members in these clubs and societies.[45] Additionally, these clubs and societies often provided a sanctuary for gay and lesbian members to thrive.[46]

A few years after the establishment of the Fireside Club, Bright and her colleague Arthur Huff Fauset organized a new literary club, the Black Opals, and an eponymous journal. On the back of the journal's first edition, the group articulated its mission: "Black Opals is the expression of an idea. It is the result of the desire of older New Negroes to encourage younger members of the group who demonstrate talent and ambition." In contrast to the Fireside Club, Bright and Fauset insisted that the Black Opals represented a "movement," not simply a literary group. Its founders believed that "literature should be a sanctuary for all black people" and thus "encouraged anyone interested in literary expression to contact and join them."[47] To make their point clear, the editors wrote:

> Black Opals does not purport to be an aggregation of masters and masterpieces. . . . These expressions, with the exception of contributions by recognized New Negro artists, are the embryonic outpourings of aspiring young Negroes living for the most part in Philadelphia. Their message is one of determination, hope, and we trust power.[48]

Writers from all over the country submitted and published their works in the journal. Many of them, including Marita Bonner and Gertrude P. McBrown, were urban schoolteachers.[49] In the June 1927 volume of the *Crisis*, W. E. B. Du Bois commended the journal's founders for creating a space for the "embryonic outpourings of aspiring young Negroes."[50] *Opportunity*, the literary engine of the National Urban League under the direction of Charles S. Johnson, promoted the Black Opals and its editors

"Thru Society Land: With Crom Wells Entertaining Walter White," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1927; "Scoutin' Round," *Baltimore Afro-American*, Oct. 7, 1933; and Ralph Lester, "Meet Your Principal: Brief Sketches of Philadelphia School Leaders You Should Know," *Baltimore Afro-American*, Dec. 4, 1943.

[45] McHenry, *Forgotten Readers*, 253–80.

[46] Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 2004), 41.

[47] McHenry, *Forgotten Readers*, 293–94.

[48] Ibid., 293.

[49] Front cover, *Black Opals* 1, no. 2 (1927), University of Pennsylvania Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts.

[50] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Crisis* 34, no. 6 (1927): 130, cited in Vincent Jubilee, "Philadelphia's Afro-American Literary Circle and the Harlem Renaissance" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 29.

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to a national audience of Black artists, writers, and activists involved in the New Negro movement.[51] The founding of the Black Opals transformed Bright's role in the New Negro movement from that of a hopeful bourgeois intellectual eager to promote interracial dialogues in her city to a radical activist engaged in the national movement for racial equity.[52] While this activism propelled her to national prominence as a writer, it later created a swirl of questions about her affiliation with the Communist Party, to which Fauset and others belonged.

Bright leveraged her editorial position to publish her own work in the journal and build a national reputation as a writer.[53] In the journal's second issue, Bright published two poems, "To One Who Might Have Been Friend" and "Query." In the first poem, Bright described a friendship between two individuals—one with fair skin and one with a brown cheek—and the tensions that this interracial friendship and same-sex desire posed. Bright began, "Do you remember how that glowing morn / We stood hands clasped beside an amber pool / Of lilies pale as your fair skin, and cool / On my brown cheek was the misty breath of dawn?" Her poem suggests that the two friends, at least initially, believe in their relationship despite their racial differences: "we were born / To dwell at beauty's shrine. There is no rule / That being brown and being fair, we play the fool." At the end of the poem, Bright foreshadowed a future in which the fair-skinned girl will realize that it is dangerous to acknowledge her own desires to be with the brown girl:

> 'Twas then I saw amid the thin-leaved grass
> The souls of dead men and men to be;
> Blue fires, old thrilling hopes that leaped and died
> When you in dread, a childhood friend espied—
> And seeing his slow smile, you shrank from me—
> Then,—my faith dead—I turned—and—let—you pass.[54]

[51] McHenry, *Forgotten Readers*, 292.

[52] Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*, 6. See also Jubilee, "Philadelphia's Afro-American Literary Circle and the Harlem Renaissance," 24–34.

[53] Bright's poem *Longings* appeared in the journal's debut edition. In June 1928, she published a review of Leslie Pinkney Hill's *Toussaint L' Ouverture*. During her tenure as the editor of *Black Opals*, Bright received national accolades for her work—publishing several pieces in *Opportunity*, the literary magazine affiliated with the National Urban League, and *Carolina Magazine*, the official magazine of the University of North Carolina. See Roses and Randolph, "Nellie Rathbone Bright," 24–25.

[54] Nellie R. Bright, "To One Who Might Have Been Friend," *Black Opals* 1, no. 2 (1927), University of Pennsylvania Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts.

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The *Black Opals* gave Bright a platform to explore and publish works that examined racial inequality in her bourgeois life and gave her a way to share her writing with a national audience. In 1927, Bright's essay "Black" won third prize in a national contest sponsored by *Opportunity*. The essay details Bright's experiences as a Black woman traveling on a steamship to Europe. It opens with a description of her failed attempts to purchase a ticket for the ship's tourist accommodations. Even though she had a newspaper advertisement detailing the availability of these accommodations for teachers and students who wished to travel to Europe over the summer, the ticket agents repeatedly looked at her "in great consternation" and "answered glibly or curtly, but always with the flat denial that there were any bookings left."[55] Rather than submit, Bright visited the manager's office to inquire about ticket availability. While she waited, "blood pounding at my temples, my heart beating at such a pace," as she described, the manager sent a young boy over to ask her what she wanted. After several minutes, the young boy returned to Bright and told her, "We don't sell tourist third [class] to Negroes."[56] Bright wrote:

> Then, that was it. It wasn't that it was a curse to be poor, but in my case it was a curse to be a Negro. My skin was brown. In my excitement in planning for the adventure, I had committed a new crime. I had forgotten that I was the brown girl.[57]

Bright eventually secured a ticket to travel in steerage with immigrants who had booked tickets for brief visits to their homelands. When she boarded the ship and rushed down to the hold, her father, who was saying goodbye and sending his daughter on the journey alone, refused to look at her: "he did not want me to see the hurt in his eyes."[58] Despite her parents' efforts to give Bright the bourgeois entitlements that they both enjoyed, she still remained subject to a system that oppressed Blacks, and she used her pen to expose the daily manifestations of this racism. Her decision to travel to Europe as an unaccompanied woman pushed the normative boundaries that governed even the lives of bourgeois, white women. For a time, *Black Opals* provided a platform for sharing these experiences, but it

[55] Nellie Rathbone Bright, "Black," in *"Tell It to Us Easy" and Other Stories: A Complete Short Fiction Anthology of African American Women Writers in "Opportunity" Magazine (1923–1948)*, ed. Judith Musser (Jefferson, NC, 2008), 84.

[56] Ibid., 84–85.

[57] Ibid., 85.

[58] Ibid., 86.

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never generated the circulation to make the publication financially viable. In 1928, the journal and its club ceased operations.

During the summers of 1928 and 1929, Nellie studied art at the Berkshire Summer School for Art in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Throughout her stay, she wrote her father letters that detailed her activities and travels. While most of the letters contain mundane information about her day—from the food that she ate for breakfast to the walks that she took in the woods, the letters document the process of racial socialization that she experienced as one of presumably few Black students in the program. In a letter to her father sent shortly after she arrived at the school, Nellie assured him that the Sunset Inn in Great Barrington was "a fine place" with "two houses and a dining room divided part for white, one for colored." In the same letter, she wrote that the students in her classes "are very nice. At first some didn't look at me at all but when the teacher stood and talked a long time asking about our teachers at the School [at] Broad and Pine," her peers finally noticed her.[59]

The racism that Nellie experienced extended beyond the classroom. A week after she arrived at the school, she described the "beautiful towns where there are magnificent hotels for millionaires" in the Berkshires and told her father, "the colored porters [at these hotels] were sitting on the edges of the porches giving us inquiring glances."[60] In an undated letter, Bright told her father that a cart named "Goody Shop" passed through the summer camp. Bright described how a "colored man and woman were selling goods. Their eyes opened in their heads and from then on they were speechless."[61] Bright's presence surprised this Black man and woman; seeing a Black girl in the art class challenged the racial hierarchy that governed the lives of both the white students in her bourgeois art program and the Black laborers who worked in the Berkshire woods. These experiences with race and difference shaped Nellie's own understanding of her position in the world. In her final letter to her father from the summer program, she warned him that the summer had changed her. Nellie wrote, "you won't know your own child—she's black as midnight when there's no moon."[62]

These letters also reveal the close, same-sex relationship that Nellie cultivated with Ella, her roommate and confidant, who traveled with her from Philadelphia to attend the Berkshire School of Arts. In her letters,

[59] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, July 8, 1928, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.
[60] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, July 14, 1928, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.
[61] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, undated, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.
[62] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, Aug. 10, 1928, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.

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Nellie provided her father with minute details about her daily activities and adventurous outings with Ella. For example, on July 8, 1928, a few days after she and Ella arrived at the school, Nellie explained that Ella's art classes began at 8 a.m., while hers began an hour later. This staggered start time made it possible for them to alternate sleeping schedules and recuperate from their long trip.[63] Midway through the 1928 program, Nellie informed her father that she and Ella had been trying to keep to themselves but had found that they were both spectacles of "Nordic curiosity." Nellie told her father that at every meal, these students would "come to sit at our table or want us to sit at theirs" and "come to our rooms at all hours and sit on our beds." One, Nellie wrote, "comes persistently to beg me to teach her how to draw and to go sketching with her. I haven't fallen yet. She's from Coolidge's town, Plymouth, and [is] as heavy as dough."[64] Although Ella did not accompany Nellie to the school in 1929, Nellie told her father to "call Ella for me please when you can—I have no extra stamps, so tell her I'll write when I get some."[65]

The relationship with Ella extended beyond the Berkshire School of Arts. In 1930, Ella wrote Nellie a letter about their summer housing options at the Jersey Shore. This is the last letter to or from Ella in the collection. These are the last letters that Nellie preserved. The scraps that Nellie left in her collection make it difficult, if not impossible, to parse out the nature or extent of their relationship. However, the inclusion of these letters in an archive that Nellie Rathbone Bright created herself suggests that she wanted people to know about the relationship she shared with Ella. Even though her relationship with Ella never surfaced during the 1952 smear campaign, Nellie's unmarried status, her literary interests, and her close relationship with women including Ella might have raised questions about her sexuality, which in turn might have motivated the accusations that she was affiliated with the Communist Party.

Neither her literary nor her artistic endeavors provided enough money to sustain her middle-class lifestyle. Instead, Bright focused on her teaching career, which she began in 1920 while attending classes at Penn. She first taught at Stanton Elementary School, later moving to Thomas Durham Elementary School and Alexander Wilson School, which was located a few blocks from her West Philadelphia home.[66]

[63] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, July 8, 1928, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.
[64] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, July 25, 1928, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.
[65] Nellie Bright to Richard Bright, undated, box 2, Bright Papers, HSP.
[66] Lester, "Meet Your Principal."

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At the same time, economic tumult destabilized all aspects of city life, including its schools. In the late 1920s, Philadelphia experienced several serious economic recessions that devastated its textile industries and left thousands without work.[67] The 1929 stock market crash compounded many of these problems. A national study conducted in 1930 indicated that Philadelphia ranked third in unemployment, behind only Detroit and Cleveland.[68] Like other elected officials who belonged to Philadelphia's corrupt Republican machine, the city's new mayor, J. Hampton Moore, refused to acknowledge his constituents' problems, claiming:

> I toured the lower sections of South Philadelphia. I went into the small streets, and saw little of poverty . . . I have counted automobiles and watched them pass a given point. Rich and poor, white and colored, alien and native-born, all riding by. . . . There is no starvation in Philadelphia.[69]

Desperate for city officials to recognize their plight, residents staged radical political protests and conducted militant labor strikes.[70] Even with these actions, Philadelphia's Republican machine refused to act. Instead, as one journalist said, in Philadelphia, "the poor are taking care of the poor."[71] With limited government support and massive unemployment, the city's unemployed relied on one another.

With tens of thousands unemployed, the School District of Philadelphia (SDP) experienced a drop in tax revenues that dramatically affected its ability to run its schools. To save operating costs, in 1932, district officials terminated 150 teaching positions and implemented a hiring freeze. They slashed the school district's extensive afterschool programs and successful

[67] Gladys L. Palmer, *Recent Trends in Employment and Unemployment in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1937); Walter Licht, *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840–1950* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 220–55.

[68] Karl deSchweinitz, "Philadelphia Takes Heart," *Survey*, May 15, 1931, 217–19. See also "Philadelphia's Survey Shows Peak of Unemployment Passed," *Business Week*, June 11, 1930, 10; Bonnie R. Fox, "Unemployment Relief in Philadelphia, 1930–1932: A Study of the Depression's Impact on Voluntarism," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93 (1969): 90; and J. Frederic Dewhurst and Robert R. Nathan, *Social and Economic Character of Unemployment in Philadelphia, April, 1930* (Philadelphia, 1932), 22–23.

[69] Mauritz A. Hallgren, "Mass Misery in Philadelphia," *Nation*, Mar. 9, 1932, 275–76.

[70] Sharon McConnell-Sidorick, *Silk Stockings and Socialism: Philadelphia's Radical Hosiery Workers from the Jazz Age to the New Deal* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2017); "Many Rioters Hurt in Radical Rallies," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Mar. 7, 1930; "Hosiery Strikers and Workers Fight," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 10, 1930; Joseph Schwartz, "Philadelphia Strike Inspires Other Trade Unions: Hosiery Workers Stand Out for Aggressive Labor Policies in Time of Depression," *New Leader*, Mar. 28, 1931, 1–2.

[71] Hallgren, "Mass Misery in Philadelphia," 275.

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summer schools. They even closed several recreational centers and playgrounds, leaving many children on their own after school.[72] In 1933, school district officials took even more drastic measures, firing experienced teachers, reducing staff salaries, and slashing school supplies, such as textbooks, to "an irreducible minimum."[73] The school district's actions did little to alleviate its budgetary woes. From 1931 to 1934, the Board of Education cut $4.6 million from the school district's annual budget, even though its per-pupil expenditures had been among the lowest in the country before the depression struck.[74]

While the district was struggling, Nellie Rathbone Bright was rising to prominence in the Pennsylvania Association of Teachers of Colored Children, an organization that brought African American teachers together, published a scientific journal, and worked to advance racial equality.[75] Drawing on her fourteen years of experience as a teacher in the SDP, Bright gave a speech at the association's annual conference in 1934. In it, she urged her colleagues to conduct their own studies and compile their own data on their work in the public schools and their students' outcomes in the labor market. Bright told listeners, "many of the dangers of the past are still dangers of the present. In the early days sentiment was divided; one group [comprising Blacks and progressive whites in society] regarding Negro education as a social necessity, the other [comprising fiscally conservative and racially biased whites] regarding the cost of such an education as not commensurate with the return." She continued:

> This is a vital question today when experts consider everything on a monetary basis. Are we willing to let others formulate statistics on the basis of our work showing that the return for the expenditure is inadequate, or are we doing such a fine job that the statistics are a challenge to the experts to spend more for Negro education? Are we as a group sufficiently aroused to this danger?[76]

[72] Edwin C. Broome, "Report of the Superintendent," in *One-Hundred Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, First School District of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1933), 32.

[73] Edwin C. Broome, "Report of the Superintendent," in *One-Hundred Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, First School District of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1934), 100.

[74] Ibid., 100–117; Edwin C. Broome, "Report of the Superintendent," in *One-Hundred Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, First School District of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1936), 9.

[75] Zoe Burkholder, "'Education for Citizenship in Bi-Racial Civilization': Black Teachers and the Social Construction of Race, 1929–1954," *Journal of Social History* 46 (2012): 347.

[76] "Cites Losses in Industrial Field: Urges Organization and Study of Field by Colored Teachers," *Baltimore Afro-American*, Jan. 20, 1934.

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In Philadelphia and other northern cities, Black teachers and administrators worked in schools that were grossly underfunded and underresourced compared to white schools. Such civil rights activists as Floyd Logan, who founded the Educational Equity League in 1932, and such Black teachers as Nellie Rathbone Bright believed that they could change the status quo by revealing these discrepancies to SDP officials.[77] Documenting and analyzing these inequities from a ground-level view at each school, Bright and others argued, was critical to their quest for racial equity.[78]

On February 14, 1935, school officials announced that they had selected Nellie Rathbone Bright to succeed the late Marie Roland as the principal of Germantown's all-Black Joseph E. Hill Elementary School.[79] Located on the corner of McCallum and West Rittenhouse Streets, it was situated in the middle of a multiracial and mixed income community comprising primarily African American and Italian residents. Allen Ballard, who attended the Hill School when Bright served as its principal, recalled that Black and white children routinely played together in the streets and that the families looked out for one another's children. Every day after school, Ballard went to his neighbor's house to eat *pasta e fagioli* with his Italian neighbors. Although the streets might have seemed integrated, the community's institutions were deeply segregated. In the 1930s and 1940s, Philadelphia school district officials still maintained such informal policies as gerrymandered school boundaries and racist registration policies that segregated Black and white youth. Black youth, including Allen Ballard, attended the all-Black Hill School, while his white neighbors attended white schools in the community. At times, Black students had to walk past newer and better-resourced white schools. Ballard recalled:

> The Italian kids went to the [all-white] Fulton School which was brand new, spanking school. . . . they just rolled out of bed and walked half a block and we had to walk three and half, four blocks past them to the Hill School . . . and that really irritated the hell out of us.[80]

[77] Matthew Delmont, *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia* (Berkeley, 2012), 70–96.

[78] "Cites Losses in Industrial Field."

[79] "Nellie Bright is Named to Principalship," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Feb. 14, 1935. See also Bernice Dutrieuile, "Expect Principal Appointment at Hill School Soon," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Feb. 16, 1935; and "Recommended for Principal," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 8, 1935, George D. McDowell *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* News Clippings Collection, Temple University Urban Archives (TUUA).

[80] Allen Ballard, interview with the author, Feb. 26, 2016. See also William T. Coleman Jr., interview with the author, Aug. 10, 2010.

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Despite the myriad shortcomings of this segregated system of schools, Black youth who attended the Hill School under Bright's leadership recalled that she cultivated a school environment that stressed academic learning and racial uplift. Bright decorated the school walls with images of Blacks who had fought for racial equality, including Harriet Tubman, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and Frederick Douglass.[81] She exposed her students to the music of Marian Anderson—who occasionally visited the school—and the poetry of Paul Lawrence Dunbar. She also brought together a group of extremely talented Black teachers who, like her, found their professional aspirations restricted by racial discrimination on the labor market. As Ballard suggested, they had "no other outcomes for their lives."[82] These men and women dedicated their lives to their teaching, their school, and their students. Robert Abele, a relative of Julian Abele, the famed architect, taught students about classical music and Black spirituals. The Philadelphia-born second grade teacher, Louise Baskerville, treated students as her own children—but, as Ballard recalled, she "was constantly augmenting and seeing where we were, lifting us up from that place." Ballard remembered other teachers—"bourgeois folks with bourgeois values"—who pushed their students to lean on one another to develop their academic skills and "uplift one another together."[83]

Even though the teachers tried to instill a strong sense of community among their students, the Hill School enrolled students from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, often with little in common except their race. William T. Coleman Jr., the son of professional parents who eventually graduated from Harvard Law School, attended the Hill School under Bright's leadership. Coleman recalled that his time at the school, which drew students from a large and economically diverse geographical area, gave him the opportunity to interact with the sons and daughters of low-income Blacks for the first time in his life. This experience, he argued, exposed him "to a different kind of discrimination, one based on poverty, class, and envy rather than [solely] race" and increased his own awareness about the level of poverty among African Americans in his community.[84]

Bright worried about the effects of poverty on the low-income children and families who attended her school as well as the challenges associ-

[81] Allen B. Ballard, *Breaching Jericho's Walls: A Twentieth-Century African American Life* (Albany, NY, 2011), 24.

[82] Ballard interview.

[83] Ibid. See also Ballard, *Breaching Jericho's Walls*, 23–25.

[84] Coleman interview. See also William T. Coleman, *Counsel for the Situation: Shaping the Law to Realize America's Promise* (Washington, DC, 2010).

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ated with racial inequity. She encouraged her families to participate in the Hill School Home and School Association, which she used as a forum to discuss racial discrimination in the city's housing and labor markets. To spread awareness beyond the school community, she gave several lectures on these issues to Germantown's social service and civic associations, including the all-Black Rittenhouse YMCA.[85] In the 1930s, several Hill School students contracted tuberculosis and died—events that most middle-class Hill School teachers refused to acknowledge. Unlike many of her colleagues, Bright used the opportunity to speak at these institutions to expose the hardships of poverty and advocate for racial equality.[86]

In 1937, first lady Eleanor Roosevelt urged a group of educators in New York City to learn about the housing conditions in their communities and to prepare underprivileged children for their roles as citizens. Roosevelt believed that slum conditions persisted in the country because "a great many people don't even know what housing conditions are and some don't know what they should be." She insisted that educators had an obligation to familiarize themselves with the quality of the homes in their communities and teach their students and families about the benefits of maintaining them.[87] Roosevelt's speech coincided with a movement to use federal funding to remove blight and expand public housing. In 1937, Congress passed the Wagner-Steagall Act, which gave the United States Housing Authority the power to allocate money for federal loans to local housing agencies. These loans were intended to subsidize the costs of replacing slums with safe and sanitary homes for low-income families. Black activists hoped that this legislation might provide the Pennsylvania Housing Authority with the funds it needed to build new public housing and alleviate the overcrowding in many Black communities. In Philadelphia, like other American cities, their hope was short-lived. The PHA used the funds it received to build public housing, but the vast majority of these homes were reserved for white residents.[88]

[85] Nellie Speaks, "Germantown School Head Talks At Community Meeting," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 4, 1936; "'Y' Interracial Group Aids Race Relations," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Feb. 13, 1941; "Rittenhouse Y.M.C.A.," *Philadelphia Tribune*, May 27, 1944; "Rittenhouse YMCA News," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 3, 1944.

[86] Allen B. Ballard, *One More Day's Journey: The Making of Black Philadelphia* (New York, 1984), 194.

[87] "Mrs. Roosevelt Challenges Educators To Study Housing Conditions in Slums," *New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1937.

[88] John F. Bauman, "Safe and Sanitary without the Costly Frills: The Evolution of Public Housing in Philadelphia, 1929–1941," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 114–28; Marcus Anthony Hunter, *Black Citymakers: How The Philadelphia Negro Changed Urban America*

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While many Philadelphians worried about the city's limited public housing stock and the expansion of "slum housing" in the city's inner core, members of the Germantown Community Council (GCC), a civic association founded in 1933 to improve the community, were concerned about the rise in juvenile delinquency and petty crime. On March 4, 1941, the GCC invited Mrs. T. S. Carson, the director of the twelfth district of Philadelphia's Crime Prevention Bureau, to speak to the members of the council about the conditions that caused the problems and the best solutions to them. In her opening remarks Carson outlined the bureau's work. Organized in 1931, the bureau received its caseload from a variety of places—courts, schools, parents, and social agencies. After bureau officers reviewed the cases, they referred them to local recreational agencies, hospitals, or clinics for remediation and counseling. Carson told listeners, "many young problem boys and girls have been helped in this way and turned away from more serious misdemeanors and crimes." While she acknowledged that petty crime was not "always confined to the very poor or underprivileged," Carson believed that one's home environment played "the most vital part in the education of youth" and urged the council members to institute character-building programs for young people who lacked a stable home environment as a way to prevent crime in their community.[89]

In the 1930s and 1940s, Bright belonged to the NAACP and the National Negro Congress (NNC), an association increasingly known for its communist members.[90] Her experiences as an educator and an activist pushed Bright to question Carson's assertions. While Bright agreed that the rise in juvenile delinquency created unrest in the community, she did not believe that such problems should be attributed to the home environment. Instead, she believed that the rise in juvenile delinquency stemmed

(Oxford, UK, 2013), 69–96; James Wolfinger, *Philadelphia Divided: Race and Politics in the City of Brotherly Love* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), 57–61. For a discussion about the national implications of racial discrimination in the private housing market, see Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), 33–55.

[89] For a discussion of Carson's lecture, see Germantown Community Council Minutes, Mar. 4, 1941, box 20, folder 3, Germantown Community Council (Philadelphia, PA) Records, URB 39, PC-42, TUUA. For a discussion of the effect of race on juvenile delinquency, see "The Germantown Community Council Reports to the Community," Ninth Annual Meeting, Nov. 18, 1943, box 21, folder 21, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[90] Arthur Huff Fauset to Nellie Bright, Oct. 1937, African America, Communists, and the National Negro Congress, Schomburg Center, New York Public Library, accessed Jan. 5, 2017, https://www.nypl.org/collections/articles-databases/national-negro-congress-1933-1947. See also http://qa.www.aws.nypl.org/collections/articles-databases/national-negro-congress-1933-1947 and http://archives.nypl.org/scm/20648.

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from structural factors that limited economic, social, and educational opportunities for Black residents. Rather than implement a character-building program for youth, as Carson suggested, Bright advocated for a more radical agenda, which not only provided additional activities but also ended the racism that barred Black youth from better jobs, homes, and schools—an agenda that mirrored the national movement that Fauset and his Red-leaning NNC colleagues promoted.[91]

To prove her point, Bright proposed an innovative program for her students. Drawing on the sociological methods pioneered by W. E. B. Du Bois and the social science surveys conducted in Philadelphia during the Great Depression, she had them conduct a door-to-door survey, asking residents about levels of juvenile delinquency, good health, adequate nutrition, and adequate housing in the community.[92] The survey results revealed that tensions in the neighborhood had risen due to "inadequate jobs, overcrowding, insanitary conditions, and lack of recreational activities" for youth in the area. The Hill School survey confirmed that juvenile delinquency was 15 percent higher in the school community than the surrounding area, but Bright and her students argued that these elevated delinquency levels were related to the community's poor housing stock and limited recreational activities for low-income youth rather than the racial and socioeconomic composition of the population. The survey revealed that 10 percent of the residents lived in homes with outdoor toilets, and many endured insufficient heat, gas, electricity, or water. The survey found that 3 percent of these homes should be condemned and 37 percent needed major repairs. Bright pointed out that the low-income Blacks who lived in the Hill community had no other choice because "there were no decent low cost houses for Negroes in Germantown."[93] While Fauset and his colleagues at the NNC focused mainly on providing better schools and jobs for Black citizens throughout the nation, Bright concentrated her efforts

[91] Erik S. Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow: The National Negro Congress and the Rise of Militant Civil Rights* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012), 165–212. According to FBI files, Fauset was much more interested in advancing the United Peoples Action Committee, a communist, interracial committee that he led, causing local interest in the NNC to wane. See Federal Bureau of Investigation, Philadelphia, PA, Mar. 11, 1946, File Number 100–869, accessed via Federal Surveillance of African Americans database.

[92] Bright's work built on a long tradition of these methods in Philadelphia; see Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*. See also Dewhurst and Nathan, "Social and Economic Character of Unemployment in Philadelphia"; and Mossell, *The Standard of Living Among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia*.

[93] Nellie R. Bright, William E. Coale, and Emily Crosby, "Demonstration Project in Neighborhood Improvement," *Report of the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Housing Committee*, July 1943, box 50,

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on improving the educational opportunities and housing options for the families in the Hill School community.[94]

Realizing that city officials had failed to provide government-subsidized public housing or to end discriminatory practices in the private housing market, Bright decided to lead her own movement to change the conditions in her community and appealed to like-minded individuals to join her. As Bright averred, she wanted to use her position as an educational leader in the city to engage in efforts toward "raising the standard of living of the people, reducing the crime rate, securing better housing, and securing equality of opportunity for American colored people."[95] Bright gave several lectures at the all-Black Rittenhouse YMCA and the all-Black Wissahickon Boys Club to discuss the factors that contributed to the increase in juvenile delinquency in the community. In these talks, she advocated for more recreational programs for Black youth. She also worked closely with William T. Coleman Sr., the director of the Boys Club, to expand afterschool and weekend activities for her students and other Germantown youth. Bright's lectures brought together Black families and community leaders to discuss their concerns and devise solutions.[96]

An event occurred in March 1942 that spurred Bright to connect with the citywide political movement to improve housing for low-income Black residents.[97] Rumors spread throughout Germantown that a realtor had ordered the eviction of eight low-income African American families who lived in the Johnson Court Homes, a group of row homes several blocks from the Hill School. Housing activists noted that these homes represented a "filthy miserable slum . . . in the heart of an up-to-date, well maintained residential district." The homes, proponents argued, had once been "a decent place for humble people" to live, but due to "neglect by absentee landlords" they had fallen into disrepair. When a realtor purchased the homes, he convinced city officials to condemn them and ordered the

folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[94] Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow*, 165–212.

[95] Nellie Bright quoted in Jackson, "Philadelphians: You Should Know."

[96] Catherine P. Taylor, "Germantown," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Jan. 23, 1941; "Shamrock Tea Raises Funds to Send Hill School Tots to Camp," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Mar. 20, 1941; "Public Schools Observe Health and Music Week," *Philadelphia Tribune*, May 22, 1941; Catherine P. Taylor, "Germantown," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Nov. 15, 1941; "First Aid Groups Get Certificates," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 13, 1942.

[97] For examples of the connections that educators forged between schools and communities, see William W. Cutler III, *Parents and Schools: The 150-Year Struggle for Control in American Education* (Chicago, 2000); Tracy L. Steffes, *School, Society, and State: A New Education to Govern Modern America, 1890–1940* (Chicago, 2012); and Michael C. Johanek and John L. Puckett, *Leonard Covello and the*

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families to move out immediately. When six families refused to leave, the new owner persuaded city officials to turn off the water. Even with these measures, the families remained in the homes for weeks because they had no other place to live. A committee of local citizens, including Leo E. Alexander, Charlotte Washington, John Martin, and Mae Martin, banded together to investigate the situation and protest the realtor's actions.[98] After weeks of protests, residents were evicted and relocated to homes that were just as dilapidated as the ones from which they had been evicted.[99]

Frustrated with these actions, Bright founded the Germantown-Chestnut Hill Housing Committee (GCHHC), an interracial coalition to investigate corrupt and racially discriminatory housing practices and improve housing conditions throughout the community. Using the Hill School as its meeting space, GCHHC brought together members from over seventy local and citywide organizations, including the Germantown Neighborhood Council, the Friends Inter-Racial Committee, the Hill School Parent Teachers' Association, and the Urban League. To encourage widespread participation across racial and class lines, the GCHHC maintained a nominal membership fee paid annually. Its members described the group as "an action committee" to educate "all possible groups for better housing" in the area. They pledged to visit realtors, homeowners, and tenants to discuss the committee's aims and encourage them to participate in its work. In addition, members hoped to work with government officials to increase support for public housing projects and reduce racial discrimination in the private housing market.[100] The GCHHC also hired a consultant housekeeper to meet one-on-one with tenants and teach them how to "make minor repairs, mend furniture, clean and keep up property, make homes attractive on limited budgets, [and] pay rents regularly."[101] The consultant acted as a liaison between the tenants and landlords to promote better relationships and educated both parties about their legal rights and responsibilities.[102]

Making of Benjamin Franklin High School: Education as If Citizenship Mattered (Philadelphia, 2007).

[98] "Protest Germantown Evictions," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Mar. 14, 1942.

[99] Nellie R. Bright, William E. Coale, and Emily Crosby, "Demonstration Project in Neighborhood Improvement," *Report of the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Housing Committee*, July 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[100] Ibid.

[101] William E. Coale, "Germantown & Chestnut Hill Housing Committee Aims and Accomplishments," undated, box 50, folder 11, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[102] Nellie R. Bright, William E. Coale, and Emily Crosby, "Demonstration Project in Neighborhood Improvement," *Report of the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Housing Committee*, July 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

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In 1942, the consultant housekeeper visited homes on Ely Street, in the heart of Germantown's Black community. Despite repeated protests from tenants, these homes lacked running water—a violation of the city's housing code, which had been implemented to protect low-income residents from this kind of negligence. GCHHC committee members reported their findings to the Philadelphia Housing Authority and the city's Board of Health. They publicized this "truly deplorable situation" in their newsletters and other venues to embarrass the absentee landlord and raise awareness about the dire housing conditions among Germantown residents.[103] The landlord eventually responded, telling GCHHC leadership and city officials that he had not been able to "get sufficient labor" to install running water in the homes.[104] David and Mary Ritchie, the directors of the American Friends Service Committee's youth weekend work camp, learned about the Ely Street situation and offered to help the GCHHC alleviate the problems. On January 9, 1943, a group of teenage volunteers reported to work camp headquarters at Germantown's Phillis Wheatley Recreation Center and received their instructions to renovate the homes on Ely Street. Throughout the day, the male volunteers dug canals for pipes behind the homes so that the residents could have cold running water, while the female volunteers worked with the tenants, sewing curtains and tidying the interiors. In the evenings, they returned to the Wheatley Recreation Center, where they discussed housing challenges and listened to lectures about social injustice. In return for the free labor, the landlord provided new windows, lumber, and paint to defray the costs for interior repairs.[105]

Bright and her colleagues at the GCHHC believed that the Ely project had "a significant educational value." Before the project, many tenants were bitter that their landlords had not maintained their homes. After the project finished, several residents expressed their gratitude to the volunteers and remarked that the project had given them a "fresh start that has

[103] William E. Coale, "Germantown & Chestnut Hill Housing Committee," *The Tie*, fall 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[104] Ibid.; Nellie R. Bright, William E. Coale, and Emily Crosby, "Demonstration Project in Neighborhood Improvement," *Report of the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Housing Committee*, July 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA; "Hill School Students' Survey Was Factor in Founding Housing Group," *Germantown Courier*, June 13, 1946, box 50, folder 11, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[105] "Friends Bring Summer Camp to City, Help Slum District to Repair Homes," *Philadelphia Record*, Jan. 10, 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

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made them healthier, happier, and more cleanly [*sic*]." The housing committee arranged for several follow-up visits with the Ely Street landlords and tenants to guarantee that the landlords kept their promises to care for their properties. In addition, the president of the Hill School Parents' Association and the consultant housekeeper organized a mothers' club on the block to teach women how to use an electric sewing machine, wire an electric lamp, and can vegetables and other goods. Between October 1942 and June 1943, the GCHHC repaired thirty-nine homes in the community and enlisted the support of 148 high school students from over ten schools in the area. While this did not end the discrimination that Blacks faced in the private housing market, it provided immediate support to residents and educated middle-class youth about the substandard housing in their city.[106]

Bright understood that racial discrimination barred most Blacks from decent housing. As the leader of this new committee, she advocated for programs and policies to improve the quality of housing for African Americans. She wanted to secure an official agreement with the Germantown Real Estate Board to require local landlords to cooperate with the housing committee. This never happened. The Germantown Real Estate Board, an independent entity controlled by powerful white businessmen, had little interest in providing decent homes for the increasing numbers of low-income and Black residents who had moved to the area.[107] However, the fact that she pressured Germantown's white business elites illustrates Bright's attempts to move her activism beyond the schoolhouse and to challenge those in power. These challenges would later prompt the charges that she was a member of the Communist Party.

Facing more and more obstacles in her quest to improve Black housing and worried that her approach undermined incremental housing improvements, Bright engaged in a more conservative approach to social change and supported the GCHHC's decision to hire a consultant housekeeper. The new position gave the committee the knowledge to make immediate improvements to Germantown homes, but it also reflected the politics of respectability that had defined Black bourgeois racial uplift for decades. As

[106] Nellie R. Bright, William E. Coale, and Emily Crosby, "Demonstration Project in Neighborhood Improvement," *Report of the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Housing Committee*, July 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[107] Ibid.; William E. Coale to Thomas C. Shipley, Sept. 8, 1944, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA; Thomas C. Shipley to William E. Coale, Sept. 9, 1944, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

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Evelyn Higginbotham suggests, the politics of respectability stressed the importance of reforming individual behavior—in this case the conditions of one's home—as a goal in itself and as a strategy to end structural racism. By forcing low-income Black residents to conform to the bourgeois standards of homeownership, the consultant housekeeper "reflected and reinforced the hegemonic values of white America."[108] Bright's support for the consultant housekeeper helped her negotiate her way between the racism that existed in the nation as a whole and her desire to improve the housing conditions for low-income Blacks in the Hill School community.[109] While the move to a more conservative push for racial equality and better housing might have served Bright and her allies at the time, it did not protect her from the accusations that she was a foreign-born resident and Communist Party member—accusations that were clearly tied to her earlier activism.

After the success of the Ely Street project, Bright lobbied city officials to recognize, replicate, and fund the committee's model—a full-time housekeeper consultant to oversee the work and a team of volunteers to repair homes—to enhance housing conditions for low-income residents throughout the city. The committee relied on voluntary contributions from residents and social service agencies to fund its work. Even with the donations that they received, the GCHHC never had the funds it needed to scale its model citywide.[110]

As the GCHHC struggled to fund its work, Bright remained an active participant and civic leader in the community. Citywide organizations rewarded her efforts by showering her with local awards, such as the "Red Feather Woman of the Week," given by the Community Crusade, and the annual award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission.[111] In 1945, after serving as the Hill School principal for a decade, Bright moved on,

[108] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 188.

[109] Ibid., 186–202.For other arguments about the politics of respectability in the North among teachers and middle class Blacks, see Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001); and Knupfer, *The Chicago Black Renaissance and Women's Activism*.

[110] Nellie R. Bright, William E. Coale, and Emily Crosby, "Demonstration Project in Neighborhood Improvement," *Report of the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Housing Committee*, July 1943, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA; William E. Coale to Thomas C. Shipley, Sept. 8, 1944, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA; Thomas C. Shipley to William E. Coale, Sept. 9, 1944, box 50, folder 10, Germantown Community Council Records, TUUA.

[111] Lester, "Meet Your Principal"; "Miss Bright Is Chosen 'Red Feather Woman,'" *Philadelphia Tribune*, Dec. 16, 1944; "Miss Bright, Flood Receive Fellowship Comm. Awards," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1950.

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succeeding Dr. James H. Duckery as the principal of the Harrison School on Tenth and Thompson Streets. Five years later, she became principal of the Reynolds School on Twenty-Fourth and Jefferson Streets. Bright believed that public schools represented a vital resource and that educators had to play an active role in improving the conditions in their school communities.[112] At Harrison, Bright organized three tenants' groups, planted twenty community gardens in vacant lots, and transformed an abandoned plot full of waste into a modern playground.[113]

Concerned about the many challenges that they faced funding and sustaining their crusade to improve housing, Bright and her colleagues testified before the United States Congress to appeal for more federal funds to build low-income housing for Philadelphia's Black residents. On November 13 and 14, 1947, the Joint Committee on Housing held public hearings. Bright testified about the housing conditions in the neighborhood served by North Philadelphia's Harrison School. Representing the Harrison School and the East Central Housing Committee, she presented twelve photographs and a model that her schoolchildren made "showing the neighborhood exactly as it is." First, Bright used statistics to illustrate the housing challenges in the predominantly Black community. She told the committee that 38 percent of the housing units in the area were substandard, compared with 17 percent citywide. In the area, 6.5 percent of the homes were overcrowded, whereas the city's average was 3.1 percent. Bright noted that "many houses of 8 to 12 rooms with 1 bathroom, originally built for 1 family, now house from 10 to 35 persons." In addition to the overcrowded conditions, most of these homes, Bright reported, had "no heat, no light, toilet facilities are out of repair, and there are frequent accidents due to large rat homes in floors and walls. Roofs leak, walls and floors sag, stagnant water from defective plumbing floods cellars for many months." After detailing these problems, she argued that the substandard housing conditions affected juvenile crime rates, public health disparities, and family problems. Juvenile arrests in the area were more than twice the city average, and poor housing conditions correlated with above-average rates of tuberculosis, venereal disease, and illegitimacy. She

[112] There is a rich literature on the ways that schools and educators worked in their communities throughout the twentieth century. For examples, see Cutler, *Parents and Schools*; Steffes, *School, Society, and State*; and Johanek and Puckett, *Leonard Covello and the Making of Benjamin Franklin High School*.

[113] "People Can Work Together," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Apr. 9, 1950, box 2, folder 1, Bright Papers, HSP; "School Enrollment Increases; Precedent Set in City System," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1945; "Miss Nellie Bright Gets Reynolds Post," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 16, 1951.

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did not end there. Bright argued that it was becoming increasingly difficult for Americans to rent or buy a home. The problems, she contended, were worse for Black residents; the average annual income of Blacks in America was $1,043, while the average income for whites was $3,062. The unemployment rate for the nonwhite labor force in Philadelphia was triple the unemployment rates for white workers (18 percent versus 6 percent). Bright wrapped up by stating that "discrimination against minorities prevents their getting the training and the jobs to procure higher income so that they can rent or buy decent housing." To close her testimony, she submitted "12 photographs showing substandard housing conditions in the area considered here," as well as "a model made by children of this area showing their houses as they are today." Singling out one of the structures in the model, Bright concluded, "Since this model was made this house [pointing] collapsed, and I therefore urge that we have decent low-cost housing by the United States Government."[114] Bright made it clear: racism paralyzed Blacks in the labor market and forced them to live in substandard housing.

Bright not only encouraged her students to understand the structural inequities that created the housing conditions in their community but also urged Harrison School families to testify before the committee. At the same hearing, local resident Annie Lee Harrison, a widow with six children, testified that she had lived in the community "for over 4 years, and during the time of living in this neighborhood I haven't had a proper home to live in." She had never lived in a home where she "had the privilege" of a bath or heat; even her children "have to take baths . . . in pans or tubs of our own." In addition to the plumbing problems, she had to contend with wet walls, and her children constantly asked her when they would have a playroom and a home with a bathtub. She said, "I am a mother that sends my children to Sunday school, and I wish to someday that I will have a nice home to live in which my children could be taught different things like other children. Since we are piled up on each other . . . they cannot be shown the use of those things."[115] The moderator abruptly interrupted her and thanked her for her testimony. Even though Bright believed deeply in local action to create change, she also used her position as one of the only Black female principals in the School District of Philadelphia to advocate

[114] "Statement of Nellie R. Bright, Representing the East Central Housing Committee, Philadelphia, PA," *Study and Investigation of Housing, Joint Committee on Housing, Eightieth Congress, First Session, Part 3, November 13–14, 1947* (Washington, DC, 1948), 3416–17.

[115] "Statement of Annie Lee Harrison, Eastern Housing Center, Philadelphia, PA," in ibid., 3515.

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change on a national level. Her actions pushed her activism beyond the walls of the schoolhouse and ultimately made her vulnerable to the accusations that would end her career.

On July 5, 1952, the *Philadelphia Tribune* announced Bright's decision to resign as the principal of the Reynolds School and to retire from the SDP after almost three decades of service. While the article cited Bright's decision as a personal one, the newspaper also hinted at allegations that Bright had resigned due to rumors that she was not an American citizen and, perhaps even worse, that she was a member of the Communist Party. Like hundreds of other teachers who had entered the profession during the Great Depression and engaged in political activities to promote social democracy, Bright denied these accusations.[116] After thirty-six years of service in the school district, she retired.

After retirement, Bright remained active, working with the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission and giving several lectures on African American history at the Fellowship House Farm near Pottstown, Pennsylvania. She continued this work because "scarcely any white Philadelphian and too few Negroes know about the bravery of Americans like Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, or the achievements of Negro families whose descendants are still living in this area."[117] Bright continued to travel extensively and frequently returned to the West Indies, her father's birthplace, to run her feet in the sand that she had longed for in her first published poem.

In the winter of 1960, Nellie R. Bright received a letter from Marjorie Penney, the founder of the Fellowship House, an organization committed to interracial and interreligious education and socialization. Penney commended Bright on the opening of her Africa Speaks course that aimed to expose fellowship members to African history. Through Penney, Bright attracted the attention of Horace Fleisher, a wealthy Philadelphia architect. After thinking about the "awful ignorance of most Americans, white and colored, regarding African history," Fleisher asked Penney if Bright had given any consideration to publishing her work, offering to help if she was interested. When Bright learned this, she wrote a letter to Arthur Huff Fauset, her Penn classmate, fellow educator, and long-term collaborator,

[116] "Miss Bright Resigns." For a discussion of the movement to accuse teachers of subversive activity, see Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left*.

[117] "Miss Bright to Lecture," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 1, 1957, McDowell Collection, TUUA. See also "Brotherhood Caravan Tours Schools in Philadelphia," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* Feb. 20, 1950, McDowell Collection, TUUA.

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to see if she could "wrangle it [the publication] for your series" on Black history.[118] After several years of delay, in 1969 she and Fauset published *America: Red, White, Black, and Yellow*, a junior high school textbook that highlighted the achievements of Blacks, Native Americans, and Hispanic leaders. The text also documented how these individuals challenged racial inequities in the United States and abroad. For example, the chapter on the civil rights movement documented the aims of the 1960s sit-ins, the challenges of desegregating schools, and the role that Muslim leaders played. The chapter on the history of Columbus's voyage and the settlement of the thirteen colonies described the transition from indentured servitude to chattel slavery and the resistance that the newly transported Blacks engaged in to challenge this shift. The end of the book contained a list of Black leaders, with short biographies documenting their educational backgrounds, life experiences, and major accomplishments. Finally, Bright and Fauset's text included a call for students to act. In the postlude, Bright and Fauset wrote, "This simply tells America's unfinished story. It's a story you, your relatives and friends can complete in the only way that will make our nation honest and strong. That way is to give to all men an equal chance."[119] Bright and Fauset hoped that public schools across the nation might adopt their book and use it to expand students' knowledge, end racial stereotypes, and promote social justice for all.[120] Fauset used his networks in Philadelphia and New York City to encourage educators to adopt and use the book in their classrooms.[121] A few years later, Bright received a certificate from the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery for her work on civil rights. On February 7, 1977, Nellie Rathbone Bright passed away at the age of eighty-one, leaving behind a long legacy of activism through her leadership in the schools and communities where she lived and worked.[122]

[118] Nellie R. Bright to Arthur Huff Fauset, Dec. 9, 1960, Arthur Huff Fauset Papers, box 1, folder 22, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

[119] Arthur Huff Fauset and Nellie Rathbone Bright, *America: Red, White, Black and Yellow* (Philadelphia, 1969), 302–32, 62–68, postlude.

[120] Carole H. Carpenter, "Arthur Huff Fauset, Campaigner for Social Justice: A Symphony of Diversity," in *African American Pioneers in Anthropology*, ed. Ira E. Harrison and Faye V. Harrison (Urbana, IL, 1998), 236–37; Orrin Evans, "Story of America," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* May 25, 1969, McDowell Collection, TUUA.

[121] Nellie R. Bright to Arthur Huff Fauset, May 7, 1969, box 1, folder 22, Fauset Papers, University of Pennsylvania.

[122] "Nellie R. Bright Ex-Phila. Principal," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* Feb. 10, 1977, McDowell Collection, TUUA.

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Nellie Rathbone Bright's life illuminates the risks for teachers who engaged in political and social activism beyond the schoolhouse doors. Bright first learned the importance of this engagement from her parents. When she moved to Philadelphia, she witnessed poverty that she had never encountered in her middle-class, predominantly white Savannah neighborhood. At the Normal School and the University of Pennsylvania, Bright cultivated relationships that she would rely on later in life as one of the only Black, female principals in the city. As an editor and writer, she used her pen to document and challenge the racism that she and others experienced in their daily lives. She used her education to acquaint a national audience with her ideas and travel abroad on her own. As an educator, she viewed her work as a form of racial uplift and social action. Under her leadership, students found a sanctuary to learn about Black history and literature and to understand the ways that racial inequity barred their families' economic and social mobility. Students at the Hill and Harrison Schools not only learned about racial inequality but also, with Bright's support, documented it through their surveys and models. Bright understood the power of this work to push students to act in their own lives.

Bright remained committed to a radical vision of social change and racial justice. When her students contracted tuberculosis, Bright refused to remain silent. Unlike many of the bourgeois teachers on her staff, she spoke with her students and gave lectures to the Black community detailing the connections between poor housing and poor health. When the community raised concerns about juvenile delinquency, she enlisted her students' help to conduct a survey to prove that these problems stemmed from larger forces—racist policies and practices that barred Blacks from better jobs, homes, and schools. Finally, she used this knowledge to act. Her work with the GCHHC pushed Germantown residents to realize that their Black neighbors did not have the same housing options as whites due to racial discrimination on the housing market and absentee landlords who were not always committed to maintaining their properties. For decades, Bright engaged in a radical critique of the structural forces that limited Black advancement and educated her students so that they might one day carry on her legacy. Her identity as a Black, female, unmarried activist, coupled with her political dissent and social action, made her a natural target for the Second Red Scare, ultimately ending her career. The unfounded accusations that Bright faced in 1952 stemmed from the radical activism that

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these teachers engaged in—activism that many at the time believed (and many still do) represented an affront to democracy rather than the ingredients to guarantee its future.

Teachers College, Columbia University ERIKA M. KITZMILLER

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The Reluctant President: Gaylord P. Harnwell and American University Leadership after World War II

Abstract: This article examines the University of Pennsylvania's presidential search of 1952–53, which led to the election of the physicist Gaylord P. Harnwell, in light of other universities' presidential searches and literature on such searches during that era. It reveals the existence of a competitive market for university leaders characterized by three common themes: how universities prioritized keeping their own rising stars; the growing power of the faculty in university governance, which translated to pressure to hire an academic as university president; and how professors who directed military-oriented research during World War II parlayed that experience into postwar administrative careers.

Gaylord P. Harnwell (1903–82), president of the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) from 1953 to 1970, was probably the most influential executive head in that institution's history. According to John Puckett and Mark Lloyd, authors of a new history of Penn after World War II, "Harnwell charted Penn's rise to the status of a truly national university" by raising its academic stature, strengthening its financial resources, and transforming the campus from one "landlocked by an increasingly congested urban environment to a tree-lined, pedestrian enclave with closed streets and quadrangles, buffered if not fully protected from the encroaching city."[1]

In light of his prominence and accolades, it is surprising to learn that a Harnwell presidency was far from foreordained when the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania (the official corporate name of the governing board; hereafter "the Trustees") began their search to replace Harold

[1] John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, *Becoming Penn: The Pragmatic American University, 1950–2000* (Philadelphia, 2015), 25.

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Stassen in November of 1952. The Trustees seemed determined to find a seasoned university chief to take the reins in College Hall, while Harnwell, then chairman of the Department of Physics, professed not to want the presidency.

Beyond telling us that Penn's most influential president was apparently nowhere near the Trustees' first choice, the story of this search—and of other institutions' earlier attempts to pry Harnwell from Penn—reveals the existence of a highly competitive market for university leaders in the post–World War II period. Local and idiosyncratic factors drove the selection of Harnwell and many other university presidents of this era. Nevertheless, Harnwell's path to Penn's presidency suggests three common themes that characterized this market for university leaders: how universities prioritized keeping their own rising stars in a tight market for faculty and administrative talent; the growing power of the faculty in university governance, which in many cases translated to pressure on a governing board to hire an academic as university president; and how professors who led organized, government-funded, military-oriented research during World War II parlayed that experience into postwar administrative careers in universities.

Harnwell's career and other presidential searches that occurred around the same time as Penn's (1952–53) show that elite private research universities in this period offered money and leadership positions to dissuade their rising stars from leaving for other institutions. In the wake of Harnwell's widely hailed direction of government-sponsored research on underwater sound physics during World War II, several other institutions pursued him for deanships or presidencies. He nevertheless stayed as chair of the Department of Physics at Penn, which gave him an enormous salary. Both Columbia University and the University of Chicago in the early 1950s offered their presidencies to internal candidates who were receiving interest for similar positions elsewhere.

The presidential search that netted Harnwell also provides a concrete example of the nascent growth of faculty power in university governance. The search was the first major test of Pennsylvania's new faculty governance body, the University Senate, created just months before the search began. On one hand, the Trustees consulted substantially with the Senate early in the search and eventually chose a president who not only met the criteria the Senate had laid out but was part of the Senate constituency. On the other hand, the Trustees chose a president who was not on the Senate's

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"preferred" list and ignored the Senate during the final phase of the search, leaving faculty members bitter.

Harnwell's acceptance of the Penn presidency after being pursued by several other institutions illustrates the career-boosting role of experience in directing a wartime university-operated federal government laboratory. Before hiring Harnwell, Penn pursued Caltech president Lee A. DuBridge, who held one of the most prominent among these directorships during the war and became the gold standard university presidential candidate afterward. Undoubtedly, some of the allure of these candidates came from the belief that they had connections with the new federal government apparatus for funding peacetime science that had grown out of the wartime labs. Universities hoped that such candidates could bring federal funding to the institutions they were called to lead. Historians have written much about how the federal government's wartime Office of Scientific Research and Development developed practices that transformed university research and universities as institutions in the postwar era, especially by acclimating elite research universities to working with the federal government. Universities had largely been opposed to such partnerships before the war due to fears about loss of control. This literature has explained how postwar federal research funding largely flowed to universities through individual professors "on the basis of personal contacts" but has generally not recognized the related trend of wartime lab directors going on to university presidencies.[2] By recovering that trend, this essay broadens our understanding of how the war research experience impacted postwar universities.

* * *

Harnwell joined the University of Pennsylvania faculty in 1938, but he was no stranger to the Philadelphia area. The son of a Chicago attorney, born and raised in Evanston, Illinois, Harnwell attended Haverford College. After graduation in 1924, he quickly achieved a staggering record of study under some of the world's leading physicists: first, a one-year fellowship under Ernest Rutherford at the illustrious Cavendish Laboratory in the University of Cambridge; next, a PhD completed within a mere two

[2] For a typical view of OSRD influence on postwar universities, see Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley, 1997), especially 14, 63–66; quote is on 65. David Kaiser has recognized the outsized importance of physicists in postwar university life, including their assumption of many deanships, but does not mention their presidencies. See "The Postwar Suburbanization of American Physics," *American Quarterly* 56 (2004): 851–88, especially 853.

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years under Karl Compton at Princeton; and, finally, a two-year National Research Council postdoctoral fellowship, the first year spent working with Robert Millikan at Caltech and the second back at Princeton, where he subsequently became an assistant professor in 1929 and associate professor in 1935.[3] Harnwell met his wife, Mollie, during travels associated with his time at Cambridge. They married shortly after he completed his doctorate and drove to California in her convertible, with Mollie, as Harnwell recalled, "getting an enormous sunburn on the back of her neck."[4]

After nearly a decade on the Princeton faculty, Harnwell began to look for another position. He wanted a promotion, and, as he explained it, "they just didn't have any places in the hierarchies of physics at Princeton at that time."[5] In December of 1937, he was under consideration to become head of the Department of Physics at Indiana University. It is unclear which side began that interest or what became of it.[6] Around the same time, Luther P. Eisenhart, a renowned mathematician and dean of the Graduate School at Princeton, "proposed to the authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, that [Harnwell] be made Chairman of the Department of Physics."[7] Penn recruited Harnwell rather aggressively, albeit with limited financial enticements. A cadre of Penn administrators met with Harnwell near Princeton and later brought him for a campus visit.[8] Harnwell recalled that "President Thomas Gates, in front of a cannel-coal fire in his College Hall office[,] asked me to rejuvenate a lagging department with the admonition that there were no funds for this, and I would have to raise the necessary financial requirements myself."[9] A Penn faculty committee "persuaded" Harnwell to take the post, member Detlev Bronk recalled with pride years later.[10] Bronk, a pioneering biophysicist from the School of Medicine, would go on to the presidencies of Johns Hopkins University (1949–53) and Rockefeller University (1953–68).[11]

[3] Gaylord P. Harnwell to E. F. Johnson, Mar. 3, 1945, box 1, folder 5, Gaylord P. Harnwell Papers, UPT 50 H 289 (hereafter GPH Papers), University of Pennsylvania Archives (hereafter UPA).

[4] Gaylord P. Harnwell, interview with Walter M. Phillips, Oct. 22, 1977, box 1, folder 9, GPH Papers, UPA.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Gaylord P. Harnwell to H. B. Wells, Dec. 7, 1937, and Harnwell to Wells, Dec. 15, 1937, box 1, folder 9, GPH Papers, UPA.

[7] L. P. Eisenhart to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Nov. 7, 1944, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[8] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Roy F. Nichols, Sept. 22, 1966, box 3, folder 18, GPH Papers, UPA.

[9] Gaylord P. Harnwell, Remarks at Class of 1922 55th Reunion Dinner, May 20, 1977, box 1, folder 3, GPH Papers, UPA. Gates was president of the University of Pennsylvania from 1930 to 1944.

[10] Detlev Bronk to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Sept. 1, 1970, box 3, folder 18, GPH Papers, UPA.

[11] Frank Brink Jr., *Detlev Wulf Bronk, 1897–1975* (Washington, DC, 1978).

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Harnwell gained national recognition during World War II for organizing scientific work that supported the war effort. President Roosevelt created the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) to mobilize the nation's scientists to that end. Its director was Vannevar Bush, the president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and a former MIT professor, assisted by Harvard president James B. Conant and MIT president Karl Compton, Harnwell's doctoral advisor.[12] The OSRD awarded contracts to universities to conduct research for the military. Under these auspices, Harnwell from 1942 to 1946 took a leave from Penn to direct a lab funded by an OSRD contract: the University of California Division of War Research operation, located at the US Navy Radio and Sound Laboratory on Point Loma in San Diego. He oversaw a staff of 550 and an annual budget of $3.5 million "concerned with the technical problems presented to the Navy in the field of submarine warfare."[13] The Navy considered the work of this lab an important contribution to its campaign against Japan in the Pacific. To recognize this service, President Truman awarded Harnwell the Presidential Medal for Merit, which existed only during the World War II era and was the highest honor for civilians. The citation read in part: "Dr. Harnwell . . . was directly responsible for the severing by submarines of the last sea route from Japan to the mainland of Asia by his intelligent and constant supervision of the work of preparing for the United States Navy certain special weapons and devices."[14] Harnwell had earned his first major national professional position just before the war when he became editor of *Review of Scientific Instruments*, a leading physics journal, a role he continued until assuming the Penn presidency.[15] The war work propelled his star much higher, particularly in government-related activity. After the war, he served on numerous bodies, including as chair of both the National Research Council Committee on Undersea Warfare and the Department of Defense Research and Development Board Committee on Ordnance.[16] Through this activity, Harnwell made crucial connections

[12] Julius A. Stratton, "Karl Taylor Compton," in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 61 (Washington, DC, 1992), 39–57.

[13] Harnwell to Johnson, Mar. 3, 1945, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA; "University of California Division of War Research Reports 1942–1946—Processing Record, Scripps Institution of Oceanography Archives," accessed May 14, 2016, http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/findingaids/UCDWR86-47.pdf.

[14] Citation to Accompany the Award of the Medal for Merit to Dr. Gaylord P. Harnwell, Mar. 29, 1947, box 7, folder 30, GPH Papers, UPA.

[15] Masthead, *Review of Scientific Instruments*, accessed Jan. 21, 2016, http://aip.scitation.org/rsi/info/editors.

[16] W. E. Stephens and C. W. Ufford to Alexander Hamilton Frey, Dec. 11, 1952, box 1, folder 3, GPH Papers, UPA.

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with the leaders and agencies of the new federal research economy that was transforming the landscape of higher education.[17]

Before the war ended, other universities attempted to recruit Harnwell for major leadership positions. Eisenhart also made another effort to push him up the academic ladder, giving his name to Rice Institute as a possible president.[18] Lehigh University, an engineering-oriented institution located in the steel town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, approached Harnwell in early 1945 about its presidency. In May, Harnwell visited the Lehigh campus and also met with Lehigh trustees in Philadelphia. Afterward, Harnwell wrote Lehigh officials with an assessment of the institution and how he would fit there. He worried that Lehigh was too dependent on tuition due to a small endowment and that faculty salaries were too low. With respect to raising the endowment, he claimed to "have no experience and probably little aptitude"; he believed that "the responsibility for enlisting the necessary support would have to be predominantly that of the Trustees." Despite these concerns, "the spirit and loyalty of the Lehigh family" that he witnessed made him "sure the future holds great promise of increasing stature." Consequently, he stood ready if elected to "devote [his] best energies" toward "the further development of a distinguished University."[19] It is unclear why the pairing of Harnwell and Lehigh did not move forward, but the context in Harnwell's papers suggests that perhaps Lehigh never made an offer. Lehigh eventually elected a similar candidate, Martin Whitaker, in April 1946.[20] A former chairman of physics at NYU, Whitaker worked during the war under Enrico Fermi at the University of Chicago's Metallurgical Laboratory, directed by Arthur Compton (Karl's brother, who subsequently became chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis). The Metallurgical Laboratory was a key component of the US government's Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb. Whitaker then helped extend this work to a new site in Tennessee as founding director of Clinton Laboratories, the forerunner of Oak Ridge National Laboratory.[21]

[17] Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York, 1993).

[18] Eisenhart to Harnwell, Nov. 7, 1944, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[19] Gaylord P. Harnwell to P. M. Palmer, May 16, 1945, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[20] "Dr. Whitaker Announced as New President," *Brown and White*, Apr. 24, 1946.

[21] "Martin Whitaker," Lehigh University P. C. Rossin School of Engineering and Applied Sciences Distinguished Alumni, accessed Dec. 9, 2015, http://www.lehigh.edu/engineering/about/alumni/whitaker.html.

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At the same time as Harnwell was considering the Lehigh presidency, the State University of Iowa pursued him to be dean of its Graduate College. Harnwell made a campus visit to Iowa in the summer of 1945 but declined the position because of his "very limited" experience outside of physics, his belief that his "temperament [was] probably more suited to personal participation and direction than to general cognizance and guidance," and a sense of obligation to Penn because of the capital investment it had made in the Department of Physics under his guidance.[22]

The offer that Harnwell appeared to take most seriously came two years later, from the University of Minnesota, to be dean of its Institute of Technology. The institute, created in 1935, was a kind of omnibus university structure that contained the College of Engineering, the College of Chemistry, and the School of Mines and Metallurgy, as well as the Mines Experiment Station, the St. Anthony Falls Hydraulic Laboratory, and the Engineering Experiment Station. Enrollment was 5,335 as of January 1947. The Department of Physics was not part of the institute, but the university was open to have the new dean transition it there.[23] Minnesota channeled its interest in Harnwell through faculty members John "Jack" Tate, a physicist and former dean of the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts, and Henry Hartig, longtime chair of electrical engineering, both of whom knew Harnwell through government work.[24] Like Harnwell, Tate edited a major physics journal, in Tate's case *Physical Review*, and had received the Presidential Medal for Merit to recognize his contributions to undersea warfare.[25] Tate and Hartig served on President James L. Morrill's committee to recommend a dean for the Institute of Technology, and in May 1947, Hartig invited Harnwell and his wife to make a campus visit.[26]

Harnwell said he had "been giving very serious consideration" to the invitation to visit Minnesota but explained that his interest depended on how things went at Penn. He made a similar, yet amplified, argument to the one he had given Iowa two years earlier about a sense of indebtedness to Penn. He reported that "President [George] McClelland has been

[22] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Virgil Hancher, Aug. 26, 1945, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[23] Henry E. Hartig to Gaylord P. Harnwell, May 21, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA; "About the College of Science and Engineering," University of Minnesota, accessed Jan. 15, 2016, https://cse.umn.edu/r/about-the-college-of-science-and-engineering/.

[24] James Gray, *The University of Minnesota 1851–1951* (Minneapolis, MN, 1951); Giving Opportunities, Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering, University of Minnesota, accessed Jan. 15, 2016, http://ece.umn.edu/giving-opportunities/.

[25] List of 1947 recipients of Presidential Medal for Merit, box 7, folder 30, GPH Papers, UPA.

[26] Henry E. Hartig to Gaylord P. Harnwell, May 8, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

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very considerate and the University has been very generous to me personally increasing my salary at intervals to ten thousand dollars for the next academic year."[27] Harnwell's new salary equaled that of two of the biggest stars in American science, Ernest Lawrence and G. N. Lewis of the University of California, Berkeley, as of 1945–46.[28] Furthermore, Harnwell was "busily engaged in trying to recruit" new faculty for his department, "which ha[d] been seriously crippled by losses to other universities," even of scholars he had hired since becoming chair in 1938. In addition, he had "been instrumental in securing funds from various sources to support the research programs" of several of his hires who remained. In other words, Penn physics revolved around an individual professor in a manner more common in German universities than in American academia. That situation also shaped the other face of Harnwell's initial response to Minnesota. He found himself "yet unconvinced that the University of Pennsylvania can command the necessary funds to provide the necessary facilities and salaries to maintain a first rate physics department." If Penn could not do so, Harnwell preferred to "put [his] efforts where they can be more effective"—meaning at another university.[29]

Harnwell visited Minnesota in June, and Hartig, Tate, and Morrill subsequently launched a campaign of persuasion by letter with a tone that could be described as fawning. Tate told Harnwell, "You were the unanimous choice of our committee and now we are all holding our respective breaths hoping that you will accept." The expectations for Harnwell were high, to say the least. Tate saw "no reason why, under your leadership, we cannot have as distinguished an Institute of Technology in a great state university as at M.I.T. and Cal. Tech."[30] Hartig echoed this notion, telling Harnwell, "I'm sure you must be convinced of the worthwhileness of this job as an important contribution to education in America" because it would give the Midwest "a first class Technical Institute." To achieve that, Hartig told Harnwell, "Minnesota needs just you."[31] Morrill wrote from his cabin on Otsego Lake near Gaylord, Michigan, to follow up on a phone call they had "from the cracker-barrel station up here, amid the

[27] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Henry E. Hartig, May 15, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA. McClelland was president of Penn from 1944 to 1948 and a member of the Trustees at the time of Harnwell's election.

[28] University of California Budget for 1945–46, Final Draft, June 21, 1945, Earl Warren Papers, F3640:4094, California State Archives.

[29] Harnwell to Hartig, May 15, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[30] John T. Tate to Gaylord P. Harnwell, July 16, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[31] Henry E. Hartig to Gaylord P. Harnwell, July 23, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

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clanking of coins" and to remind Harnwell of the salary offer of $12,500. He noted that Otsego Lake "is also the summer-place of the Compton brothers—Karl, Arthur, and Wilson—and two of them are due fairly soon." Karl and Arthur Compton were physics royalty, and all three had been university heads. That association likely colored Morrill's enthusiasm for Harnwell. Morrill emphasized "how earnestly we hope you may come to Minnesota" and the "distinction and productivity" that Harnwell would bring "to our University enterprise."[32] Both Tate and Morrill offered to travel east to discuss anything about the position with Harnwell.[33] Hartig also tried to clarify the expectations for the deanship and mollify fears he sensed in Harnwell. Hartig insisted that Morrill "does not want a paper shuffler (which I take it you fear is the essence of the job)." What Morrill did want was "an aggressive program of industrial-sponsored or motivated research to be developed" in order to realize the full promise of the land-grant ideal, since those colleges were intended "to encourage teaching and research in the Agricultural and Mechanic Arts, but thus far have largely failed to develop the second mission with any approach to the effectiveness of the first."[34]

Minnesota's hot pursuit startled Harnwell, especially because he took a different message away from his visit than did his hosts. What Harnwell saw on his visit was "that the present set up was generally speaking one of technology rather than science and that an engineer rather than a scientist was the person for the Deanship." Conversation with Morrill had led him to believe that the president's main goal was "to expand and improve the technical engineering departments," thus better fulfilling the land-grant emphasis on mechanic arts and "furnish[ing] the people and industries of Minnesota with the consulting and other service advantages that would accrue." Building a Midwestern Caltech or MIT, although "a goal worthy of every effort and sacrifice indeed," was "quite different" from the understanding of Minnesota's aim that he gleaned from his visit. Such an endeavor would "require a very clear formulation of greatly enhanced objectives, a firm agreement upon them, and a recognition of their extensive implications within the University as a whole by not only the administration but all of the policy forming bodies responsible to the state for the conduct of the University." It would not be so easy simply to reprise

[32] James L. Morrill to Gaylord P. Harnwell, July 23, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.
[33] Ibid.; John T. Tate to Gaylord P. Harnwell, July 22, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.
[34] Henry E. Hartig to Gaylord P. Harnwell, July 8, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

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Caltech or MIT in a university where such an institute would have to coexist with other academic units and navigate the vicissitudes of state politics. This astute analysis suggests why several institutions wanted Harnwell's leadership.[35]

In a long letter to Tate, whom he viewed as a mentor, Harnwell provided a self-assessment and analyzed his possible fields of endeavor. He was overly self-deprecating, claiming that he had "not achieved any considerable formal scientific recognition." He essentially repeated what he had told Lehigh about his personality, insisting that he had "no gift for personifying the work of my associates in such a way as to act as a colorful personal focus for attracting honors and recognition to them." He seemed obsessed with being "effective," a term that peppered his prose. He also wrote about his big-picture view of science. Harnwell believed that "the function of science in society must of necessity become increasingly important" and that this function had two "comp[a]rabl[y] significan[t]" aspects, technology and education. Technology provided "the artifacts and processes that distinguish our material civilization and offer the facilities for greater human per capita effectiveness." By contrast, science-as-education cultivated "the spark or rationality humans seem to possess through the inculcation of logical and dispassionate thought processes until it becomes a reliable guiding beacon instead of being dissipated in the pyrotechnics of passion and prejudice that at present passes for social and political deliberation." In these formulations, the verbose Harnwell was thoroughly modern, a product of the early twentieth century's intellectual life and assumptions.[36]

Geographic, familial, and financial considerations also influenced Harnwell's thinking. He and his family had just purchased and renovated a house in Haverford, the Philadelphia suburb where he had attended college, with an investment of almost $30,000. The location was perfect for his children's educational pursuits. Moving from Philadelphia to Minneapolis would make it more difficult for him to continue his government work. Furthermore, despite the higher salary at Minnesota, "the income tax and individual property laws" there would mean "a considerable decrease in our income."[37] Harnwell did admit, though, in a rare voicing of Christian faith in a professional context, "I know about the difficulty of

[35] Gaylord P. Harnwell to John T. Tate, July 24, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid. Pennsylvania had no state income tax at the time, but it is still not clear how a $12,500 salary at Minnesota translated into a lower income than a $10,000 salary at Penn.

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getting money bags through the eye of a needle so [income] is not determining in the choice of a career."[38] He continued to practice his childhood Episcopalianism during his career at Penn, including involvement at St. Martin-in-the-Fields near the president's house in Chestnut Hill while he lived there, and in retirement he applied to the Quaker Meeting in Haverford, which he had also attended as a college student.[39]

In Harnwell's final analysis, his sense of obligation to the Department of Physics at Penn won out, especially because Penn was about to kick off a two-million-dollar campaign for a new physics building, resulting in the construction of David Rittenhouse Laboratory. He believed that "an announcement of my impending departure would go far toward foredooming [the campaign] to failure." He also added another consideration that perhaps foreshadowed his later reluctance to be considered for the Penn presidency: he had "a very sincere interest in science as a teaching and practicing physicist, and a withdrawal to purely administrative matters would leave an intellectual gap [that would be] hard to fill."[40] Harnwell declined Minnesota's offer, and its Institute of Technology ended up with an interim dean for two years.[41] There are no records of subsequent pursuits by other universities in Harnwell's papers, probably because he became so invested in the physics building project that he no longer entertained such inquiries, although it is also possible that he became less "hot" of a candidate as the wartime milieu faded into the past. These three episodes, though, show how Harnwell's successful direction of a wartime lab provided him with contacts and administrative experience that made him known and attractive to institutions looking for leaders. Harnwell's response to the pursuits reveals him as loyal, cautious, humble, not susceptible to flattery, and possessed of keen insight into how an academic institution could flourish.

Despite this attention from other universities, albeit ones of lower status than Penn, and despite his loyalty to Penn, Harnwell seemed to be an afterthought when his own institution began looking for a president in 1952. Indeed, it would take five months and multiple failed pursuits of other candidates before the Trustees finally turned to the decorated physi-

[38] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Henry E. Hartig, July 28, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[39] Rev. Philemon F. Sturges to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Jan. 19, 1954, box 1, folder 20, and Harnwell to Theodore Whittelsey, Apr. 11, 1975, box 1, folder 3, GPH Papers, UPA.

[40] Gaylord P. Harnwell to James L. Morrill, Aug. 4, 1947, box 1, folder 5, GPH Papers, UPA.

[41] Ibid.; "About the College of Science and Engineering," University of Minnesota, accessed Jan. 15, 2016, https://cse.umn.edu/r/about-the-college-of-science-and-engineering/.

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cist in their midst. This process contrasted sharply with the zealous pursuit Harnwell had experienced from Iowa and Minnesota. Ultimately, however, his loyalty would be rewarded.

* * *

Penn's search for a new president began in early November 1952, after Dwight Eisenhower's triumph in the US presidential election ensured that current university president Harold Stassen would resign to join the Eisenhower administration. Robert McCracken, chairman of the Trustees, appointed a search committee with himself as chair. Nearly seventy years old, McCracken was "the most influential lawyer" in Philadelphia.[42] His homogeneous committee was a who's who of Philadelphia men of power. Former US senator George Wharton Pepper, a longtime trustee and former law faculty member, was one of the university's most noted alumni.[43] Pepper, then in his mid-eighties, was still publishing and giving speeches, and he took an active role early in the search before health problems sidelined him.[44] The group also included Edward Hopkinson Jr., a lawyer, investment banker, and founding chairman of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission; Lammot DuPont Copeland, a future president of DuPont; Horace Stern, chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; Orville H. Bullitt, a banker, civic leader, and brother of the diplomat William C. Bullitt; Philadelphia Electric Company president Henry B. Bryans; and Sun Oil president Robert G. Dunlop.[45]

McCracken enlisted two prominent and well-connected Penn alumni as consultants: Harold Dodds, who had been president of Princeton University since 1933, and Joseph Willits, a former faculty member and dean of Penn's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, who since 1939 had directed the Rockefeller Foundation's Division of Social Science.[46] Willits's papers provide a treasure trove of documentation from which to

[42] Edwin Wolf, *Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City* (Harrisburg, PA, 1975), 299, quoted in John Lukacs, *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900–1950* (New York, 1980), 315.

[43] "George Wharton Pepper (1867–1961)," Penn Biographies, University of Pennsylvania, accessed Dec. 11, 2015, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1800s/pepper_geo_wharton.html.

[44] Collection Guide, George Wharton Pepper Papers, UPT 50 P423 (hereafter Pepper Papers), UPA, accessed Jan. 19, 2016, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/faids/upt/upt50/pepper_gw.html.

[45] Robert T. McCracken to George Wharton Pepper, Dec. 4, 1952, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA; Kirk R. Petshek, *The Challenge of Urban Reform: Policies and Programs in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1973), 20–21; Biographical sketch of Edward Hopkinson Jr., Nov. 18, 1957, box 1189, folder "Hopkinson, Edward, Jr. #2," Office of Alumni Records Biographical Records, UPF 1.9 AR, UPA.

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create an account of the search. These documents show that Willits had an enormous and perhaps even decisive influence. At least part of the motivation for McCracken's turn to these consultants was probably the high level of discontent among multiple Penn constituencies about Stassen's entire presidency, from his selection through his departure. Stassen was a former governor of Minnesota and a 1948 Republican presidential candidate who, after failing to gain the nomination during the convention in Philadelphia, essentially stuck around and became president of Penn. At least some faculty members viewed Stassen's tenure as a "humiliation" forced upon them by the Trustees.[47] One suspects that the Stassen debacle prompted McCracken to make sure he got his second chance at hiring a president right. Most likely, McCracken was determined to get a candidate with proper academic vetting and believed that Willits, with his sterling academic reputation and many connections, was the man to deliver it. Before McCracken even convened the official committee in early December, Willits was working his connections. He telegraphed University of California president Robert G. Sproul about a member of Penn's "long list," Harry Newburn, president of the University of Oregon.[48] Shortly thereafter, he wrote McCracken with summaries of his phone conversations with several people about President Jesse Buchanan of the University of Idaho and Chancellor Franklin Murphy of the University of Kansas, who held a Penn MD and was just thirty-six years old.[49]

A frequent concern in presidential searches was and is ensuring that stakeholders in the university feel that their voices are heard. For McCracken, two critical stakeholder groups were the faculty and the alumni. Faculty input was particularly vital in the wake of the Stassen debacle. In the early 1950s, governing boards consulted with faculty in about half of academic presidential searches in the United States. Faculty participation in such searches was on an upward trend in this era, rising from roughly one-third in 1939 to roughly two-thirds around 1960.[50] Such involvement had been unusual enough during the 1930s that it prompted an article in

[46] Robert McCracken to Joseph H. Willits, Dec. 1 and 22, 1952, box 7, folder 70, Joseph H. Willits Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center (hereafter JHW Papers, RAC).

[47] George Wharton Pepper to Theophilus E. M. Boll, [Dec. 1952], box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA. Quote is from Boll, mentioned by Pepper in reply. One possible commentary on Stassen's presidency is that he remains the only Penn president of whom there is no portrait hanging in the first floor hallway of College Hall outside the Office of the President.

[48] Joseph H. Willits to Robert G. Sproul, Nov. 16, 1952, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[49] Joseph H. Willits to Robert McCracken, Nov. 28, 1952, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[50] F. W. Bolman, *How College Presidents are Chosen* (Washington, DC, 1965), 13.

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the *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* by Cornell University professor Julian Bretz lauding his institution's 1935–36 presidential search for including four faculty members (three of them deans) along with five trustees on the search committee. This committee worked methodically, deliberating for six months to bring a list of two hundred names down to a group of twelve.[51] More frequent faculty participation in presidential searches by the 1950s reflected the increasing professorial role in governance of American universities after World War II, which resulted in part from "growth in the demand for faculty" and a rise in their professional status.[52] Penn exemplified this movement. Just a few months before the search, the Trustees and administration authorized the university's first comprehensive faculty governance body, the University Senate, under the leadership of law professor Alexander Hamilton Frey, its founding chair.[53] At its November 25 meeting, this body appointed an Advisory Committee of the University Senate on the Selection of a President, also chaired by Frey. He reported that "he found Mr. McCracken sympathetic to the idea that an educator should be chosen if possible."[54] Subsequently, the Senate committee advised the Trustees that it wanted a president "who has spent a significant part of his professional life in university education," one "selected on the basis of ability rather than reputation," and one "to whom the presidency would be a next step up and who has no immediate aspirations other than the improvement of the University in every possible way."[55] These criteria were tailored to specific points of faculty dissatisfaction with Stassen—that he was not an educator, that the Trustees chose him for what his reputation would bring the university, and that he viewed the Penn presidency as a stepping-stone to his next political office.

This faculty preference for an educator as president intersected with a national dialogue among academics that bemoaned what they saw as a rising trend of nonacademic presidents. One major event that fueled this wave of commentary was Columbia's 1947 election of General Eisenhower

[51] Julian P. Bretz, "Selecting a President of Cornell," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 25 (1939): 150–57.

[52] Larry G. Gerber, *The Rise and Decline of Faculty Governance: Professionalization and the Modern American University* (Baltimore, 2014), 79.

[53] Paul W. Bruton, "Alexander H. Frey: Stimulating Teacher, Esteemed Colleague and Delightful Companion," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 117 (1968): 1129–30.

[54] University Senate, Minutes of the Advisory Committee Meeting, Nov. 25, 1952, box 8, folder 23, University Senate Records, UPB 25, UPA.

[55] Alexander H. Frey to Robert T. McCracken, Dec. 26, 1952, box 13, folder: McCracken #1, History of the University Project Records, 1925–1977, UPP 1 (hereafter Nichols Project Records), UPA.

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as its next president. Such consternation appeared as early as 1944, when Jay Carroll Knode, dean of the University of New Mexico College of Arts and Sciences, published a study suggesting a shift among state university presidents to backgrounds in "practical administrative and business experience and training" between 1916 and 1941.[56] Perhaps the strongest statement along these lines came in late 1947 from Monroe Deutsch, a classicist who had just retired as provost of the University of California, Berkeley. He argued, "the election of General Eisenhower will give a mighty impulse" to the "decided trend toward the choice of nonacademic presidents," which would "endanger . . . the future of American higher education."[57] Nonacademic presidents, he believed, would not sympathize with university ideals but would sell them "on the auction block of success, and all the sinister pressures of the outside world, today barred out by academic freedom and university ideals, will easily rend the dikes," making the university a place of "efficiency" and "conformity."[58]

Two years later, the editorial board of *The American Scholar* sounded similar worries in an editorial titled "In Memoriam—the College President." This editorial was the inaugural number of a "new venture" for the journal; such pieces would "be signed *R. W. Emerson, secundus*, in deference to the originator of the phrase, 'the American scholar.'" Editorials would be reviewed by the full board, which included such luminaries as Jacques Barzun, Van Wyck Brooks, Alain Locke, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. The editors lamented that the president's "first task is to raise money," despite promises to the contrary by trustees, and that as a consequence the president "must be young, energetic, a good speaker and a bland reception-linesman." The result of the fundraising emphasis was that "the whole executive intelligence of the modern seat of learning goes into advertising, selling and hoarding," and that "the college president becomes a largely factitious person." As the president became more involved with selling and less involved with learning, trustees wondered why it was necessary to select a president from among scholars and turned to "lawyers, bankers, statesmen, merchants and soldiers." Like Deutsch, the editors were concerned that this new trend in the presidency traveled under the banner of "efficiency and

[56] Quoted in Walter Crosby Eells and Ernest V. Hollis, *The College Presidency 1900–1960: An Annotated Bibliography* (Washington, DC, 1961), 36.

[57] Monroe E. Deutsch, "Choosing College Presidents," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 33 (1947): 522, 523.

[58] Ibid., 523–24.

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the practical way." They concluded that it left higher education "guilelessly drifting, at the mercy of every external current, and with only an occasional hand at the helm."[59]

The American Scholar chimed in on this topic again shortly before Harnwell's election with a piece by William Carlson, whose career shows that the serial university president was not unknown at that time. Previously the president of the University of Delaware, Carlson wrote as president of the University and State Agricultural College of Vermont, but he would soon leave for the helm of the State University of New York, and he finished his presidential career at the University of Toledo. Like Deutsch and the editors of *The American Scholar*, Carlson deplored the recent trend of nonacademic presidents, including "a five-star general at Columbia, a White House hopeful at Penn, an Army secretary at North Carolina, governors at Virginia and Bucknell." He lamented that "by short-circuiting educational leadership in favor of the magic managerial touch, colleges are coming close to forgetting their real business, the training of young minds."[60] Instead of blaming trustees, however, he chided faculty members for their "ineptitude" in pursuing presidencies, "which throws the burden on their boards of trustees to go out and find someone, even though off the campus, who seems to know what the score is."[61]

Perhaps it was in light of such concerns that McCracken's committee consulted with the faculty, through both the official University Senate committee and back channels, during the early stage of the search. At its fourth meeting, on December 30, the search committee met with the University Senate committee, which presented five internal and twenty-three external names and spoke of its desire eventually to reduce that number to a combined short list of six to ten. Harnwell was not included. In fact, the Senate committee expressed that some faculty preferred a candidate from the humanities or social sciences.[62] At least one search committee member, Pepper, concurred. He wrote to Conyers Read, a former president of the American Historical Association who had just retired from the Penn faculty, that he agreed with Read's suggestion of someone from the humanities or social sciences but that such a person should be able to

[59] Editorial, "In Memoriam—the College President," *American Scholar* 18 (1949): 265–70.

[60] William S. Carlson, "The Roughest Profession: The College Presidency," *American Scholar* 21 (1951–52): 69.

[61] Ibid., 70.

[62] Meeting of the Trustee Committee on New President, Dec. 30, 1952, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA.

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translate "visions and ideals" for the common man.[63]

In addition to the concerns of the faculty (particularly about the academic caliber of the president), another key factor in elite private university searches of this era was that institutions were loath to lose up-and-comers whom they viewed as top administrative talent. Penn's earlier retention of Harnwell when others pursued him for deanships was one instance of this trend. Another occurred in 1951, as the University of Chicago sought a replacement for the larger-than-life Robert Maynard Hutchins after his twenty-two-year tenure at the helm. Hutchins bequeathed an overextended university featuring both a budget deficit and an undergraduate enrollment in long-term decline (more serious than the short-term decline from GI Bill–fueled peaks that other institutions experienced at the time). Chicago searched for four months, "vetting . . . hundreds of names." The short list included Bronk, two liberal arts college presidents—Charles Cole of Amherst and Gilbert White of Haverford—and two U of C administrators, Lowell Cogeshall (dean of the division of biological sciences) and Lawrence Kimpton (vice president for development). Cogeshall and Kimpton were the two finalists. The trustees chose Kimpton in part because "he had turned down one or more offers of other presidencies while awaiting Chicago's decision." Kimpton held a PhD in philosophy from Cornell, where he had written a dissertation on Kant. After serving as a dean at Deep Springs College and the University of Kansas City, his key break came when the University of Chicago appointed him as chief administrative officer of the wartime Metallurgical Laboratory. From there, he became dean of students at Chicago, then at Stanford, before returning to Chicago for the newly created position of vice president for development.[64]

A similar situation prevailed in a search that was closer to Penn's—chronologically, geographically, and in terms of the overall dynamic—when Columbia sought a successor to the much-derided Eisenhower. The results of the 1952 presidential election meant that both Penn and Columbia needed to replace a politician who had only arrived in 1948 and then spent much of his time away from campus.[65] The Columbia trustees selected Grayson Kirk, who had been Eisenhower's provost and then

[63] George Wharton Pepper to Conyers Read, Jan. 21, 1953, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA.

[64] John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago: A History* (Chicago, 2015), 322–27 (quotes on 324).

[65] Robert A. McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754–2004* (New York, 2003).

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acting president while Eisenhower was away conducting political activity. Kirk was a leading international relations scholar, a major player in the Council on Foreign Relations, and, through work with the Department of State, involved in creating the United Nations.[66] Columbia political scientist Frederick Mills sent the long list from Columbia's search in response to Willits's request for this information. The list contained forty-two names, including notable heads of other major universities (Raymond Allen of UCLA, Bronk, Lee A. DuBridge of Caltech, Gordon Gray of UNC, Henry Heald of NYU, J. E. Wallace Sterling of Stanford, George Stoddard of Illinois, Herman Wells of Indiana), foundation executives (Clarence Faust, Paul Hoffman), liberal arts college presidents (Cole, Arthur Flemming of Ohio Wesleyan, Otto Kraushaar of Goucher, Gilbert White, Lynn White of Mills), and public figures David Lilienthal, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and Frank Stanton. Columbia's list also included George Beadle and Charles Odegaard, who became major university presidents a few years later. Mills commented, "some of these are good prospects; some of them, in our judgment, were quite unsuited to the Columbia job."[67]

Despite the long list, Columbia settled on Kirk just a month after the US presidential election, in contrast to Penn's six-month odyssey. Part of the reason was that Kirk was the obvious candidate and, indeed, already acting president. At Penn, by contrast, acting president William DuBarry, normally the executive vice president and "one of [McCracken's] most intimate friends," was not a serious candidate for the permanent position and, in fact, assisted the Trustees with the search.[68] According to Robert McCaughey's history of Columbia, "What passed for a presidential search . . . consisted of a couple of phone calls, one to Harvard president James B. Conant, who advised the Columbia trustees to stay with Kirk. An informal faculty committee that included I. I. Rabi agreed." (Rabi was another eminent physicist who starred in wartime research.) Perhaps the overriding factor in Columbia's quick hiring of Kirk was fear that he would go to another institution, especially since Rutgers had offered him its presidency the year before.[69] Indeed, right around the time Columbia's trustees elected Kirk, Willits told McCracken that Penn should try to get him if Columbia made a different choice. Willits also said Columbia was considering Lee

[66] Ibid., 341–48.

[67] Frederick C. Mills to Joseph H. Willits, Dec. 19, 1952, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[68] McCracken quoted in Jeannette P. Nichols and staff, "McCracken-DuBarry Friendship," Apr. 29, 1953, box 13, folder: McCracken #1, Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[69] McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 344.

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DuBridge, but it was doubtful that DuBridge would accept.[70] Still, this consideration suggests the high regard in which many people connected with elite universities held DuBridge.

As the Columbia search concluded, the Penn search committee fixed its attention on DuBridge and another rising star president from California, Wallace Sterling of Stanford. Both men appeared on what seemed to be a Trustees' short list of six and on the "preferred" list of ten that the Senate committee had submitted. This overlap might be what prompted the search committee to move forward on these two men, which suggests that the Trustees took the faculty input seriously. Nine of the ten candidates "preferred" by the faculty held a dean-, provost-, or president-level position.[71]

The physicist DuBridge had a similar background to Harnwell but a higher profile, in part because he presided over the largest and most influential wartime laboratory—MIT's Radiation Laboratory, popularly known as the "Rad Lab."[72] McCracken and his colleagues also surely took note that DuBridge, at the time they pursued him, held key US government positions. He served as chairman of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Office of Defense Mobilization and also, like Bronk, was a charter member of the National Science Board.[73] DuBridge had been a nearly unanimous choice in 1946 at Caltech, which consulted several luminaries, including Vannevar Bush and Karl Compton, and found DuBridge at the top of each man's list.[74] Soon after taking office, DuBridge raised faculty salaries and rebuilt the physics department.[75] Caltech historian Judith Goodstein has written that "DuBridge had few peers . . . in his ability to explain science to the public, presidents, and members of Congress and to defend the principle of academic freedom during the McCarthy period."[76]

Sterling, a historian and Stanford PhD, had previously been a pro-

[70] Joseph H. Willits to Robert McCracken, Dec. 15, 1952, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[71] Meeting of the Trustee Committee on New President, Dec. 22, 1952, and Advisory Committee of the University Senate on the Selection of a President, list of names, Jan. 31, 1953, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA.

[72] Stuart W. Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science: The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex at MIT and Stanford* (New York, 1993), 21; Arnold O. Beckman, "Introduction of Dr. DuBridge . . . ," in Lee A. DuBridge, *Frontiers of Knowledge: Seventy-Five Years at the California Institute of Technology* (New York, 1967), 6.

[73] Gregg Herken, *Cardinal Choices: Presidential Science Advising from the Atomic Bomb to SDI*, rev. and exp. ed. (Stanford, CA, 2000), 86; Judith R. Goodstein, *Millikan's School: A History of the California Institute of Technology* (New York, 1991), 276.

[74] Goodstein, *Millikan's School*, 265–66.

[75] Ibid., 271–75.

[76] Ibid., 276.

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fessor and chairman of the faculty at Caltech, and then director of the Huntington Library. Stanford's faculty advisory committee for the presidential search praised his character, personality, and speaking ability, but questioned his scholarship and administrative experience. According to Rebecca Lowen's history of Cold War Stanford, the Stanford trustees appointed Sterling in 1949 because he was noncontroversial, a good fundraiser, and not a New Dealer (a key factor for search committee member Herbert Hoover).[77] When Penn came calling, Sterling was deeply involved in evaluating potential new uses for Stanford's vast land holdings, a process that later, in the assessment of historian Margaret O'Mara, made Stanford a pioneering "great engine of science-based economic development."[78]

Penn officials were unsuccessful in persuading the Californians. After a two-hour meeting with DuBridge in New York City, McCracken wrote Willits that the Caltech president "took with him some University of Pennsylvania literature, and told us that we would hear from him shortly from California, to which he returned at once. I doubt very much if we get him. The size of the job rather frightened him."[79] Two days later, DuBridge called to decline the offer, and the day after that, McCracken contacted Sterling to schedule a similar meeting in New York on February 15, when Sterling would be there for an Association of University Presidents gathering.[80] This meeting had the same result, as McCracken and DuBarry "were unable to persuade him to consider our invitation."[81]

After the failed pursuit of the Californians, the Penn search moved into another iteration, lasting from late February to mid-April, which culminated in the pursuit of F. Cyril James, principal and vice chancellor of McGill University in Montreal since 1939. McGill was one of only two Canadian universities to hold membership in the Association of American Universities, the small, prestigious group of the top research universities in North America, of which the University of Pennsylvania

[77] Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University*, 119; C. Stewart Gillmor, *Fred Terman at Stanford: Building a Discipline, a University, and Silicon Valley* (Stanford, CA, 2004), 292–99.

[78] Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), 112.

[79] Jeannette P. Nichols and staff, "1952 Pattern of Presidential Selection," n.d., box 13, folder: McCracken #1, Nichols Project Records, UPA; Robert McCracken to Joseph H. Willits, Feb. 2, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[80] Robert McCracken to J. E. Wallace Sterling, Feb. 4, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC; Nichols and staff, "1952 Pattern of Presidential Selection," Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[81] Robert McCracken to Joseph H. Willits, Feb. 15, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

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had been a charter member since 1900.[82] On February 24, the search committee met and "passed a Resolution that, all things being equal, the Committee should choose a man who is now or had been a member of the University family."[83] It is unclear what prompted this move. In addition, the committee sent the names of James and four others to Willits for judgments.[84] One was John Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, who was also in the mix for the Harvard presidency at this time, at least in his own mind.[85] Another was Clarence Faust, a former English professor and dean at Chicago and Stanford. At the time, he was president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, a spinoff of the Ford Foundation.[86] Willits implied that Penn should focus on Faust and James.[87]

The Trustees set upon James for multiple reasons, including that he was an alumnus and former faculty member. The Englishman had arrived in Philadelphia in 1923 as an international student in the Wharton School. He intended to earn a bachelor's degree in economics and then return to England to become a banker. Instead, he collected MA and PhD degrees and immediately joined the Wharton faculty as an assistant professor of finance, rising to associate professor in 1934 and full professor in 1935.[88] It is unclear whether Willits taught James at Wharton, but the two were colleagues once James joined the faculty, and Willits was dean from 1933 to 1939, so he had considerable knowledge on which to base his recommendation. Willits and James were still in contact at the time of Penn's search. Willits's diary reports a conversation with James on January 30 covering a variety of matters related to McGill and the Rockefeller Foundation, but not the Penn search.[89] Another reason for pursuing James is that the Trustees had thought of him at least briefly in the short "search" of 1948 that netted Stassen.[90] McCracken wrote

[82] Stanley Brice Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower: F. Cyril James of McGill* (Montreal, 1991), 59; Roger L. Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, NJ, 2015), 348–49.

[83] Meeting of the Trustees Committee on New President, Feb. 24, 1953, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA.

[84] Joseph H. Willits to Robert McCracken, Mar. 6, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[85] Morton Keller and Phyllis Keller, *Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University* (New York, 2001), 173.

[86] "Dean Faust to Leave Stanford," *The Stanford Daily*, Feb. 6, 1951.

[87] Robert McCracken to Joseph H. Willits, Mar. 9, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[88] Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 15–27.

[89] Joseph H. Willits, diary, Jan. 2 to June 30, 1953, p. 31, PDF copy, JHW Papers, RAC.

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to outgoing president George McClelland at that time: "I am glad that Cyril James has not yet come into publicity and I know that you are, as we may want to consider him some time."[91] Finally, like DuBridge and Sterling, James was on the faculty "preferred" list, so this move again showed that the Trustees took faculty input seriously.[92]

Trustee Alfred H. Williams came to the forefront at this point in the search. Williams had been a faculty colleague of James at Wharton, then briefly his dean after replacing Willits. Williams later left the deanship to become president of the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank, the position he held at the time of the search. Many Penn stakeholders, including members of the search committee, wanted Williams to be Penn's next president, but he declined to be considered because of age, health, and stipulations related to his Federal Reserve pension.[93] In 1956, he would succeed McCracken as chairman of the Trustees. On March 18, Williams called James and, according to James's diary, conveyed "a unanimous invitation from the trustees to succeed Stassen as President of the University of Pennsylvania."[94] McCracken put it a little less definitively in a letter to Willits that same day: "Al Williams and I are going up to Montreal . . . to interview Cyril James on Saturday, the twenty-eighth. Al Williams made the arrangements by telephone, and Dr. James, while in no sense committing himself, seemed to want to see us."[95] The Trustees apparently really did offer the job, at least verbally, before seeing James in person, as Willits later confirmed.[96] While that procedure seems remarkable, if not questionable, for such a position, it is also consistent with the haphazard character of the overall search.

James was conflicted. He wrote in his diary, "my mind keeps changing sides."[97] Penn, he said, "has a great tradition, but has suffered of late from lack of good administration so that it does not now hold its proper place in the US. But it could—and there is the deepest of all compliments in being asked to

[90] I have not researched the selection of Stassen in 1948, but Willits told Jeannette Nichols that, according to "gossip," McCracken and two other trustees chose Stassen without much of a search. Joseph H. Willits, interview with Jeannette P. Nichols, Feb. 11, 1971, box 4, folder: Willits, Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[91] Robert T. McCracken to George W. McClelland, July 13, 1948, quoted in Jeannette P. Nichols and staff, "Cyril James Considered," n.d., box 13, folder: McCracken #1, Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[92] Advisory Committee of the University Senate on the Selection of a President, list of names, Jan. 31, 1953, Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[93] George Wharton Pepper to Henry Woolman, Dec. 9, 1952, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA.

[94] F. Cyril James, diary, quoted in Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 191–92.

[95] Robert McCracken to Joseph H. Willits, Mar. 18, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[96] Joseph H. Willits, "Interviews," Apr. 10 and 11, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[97] James, diary, quoted in Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 192.

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go back to a place that learned in seventeen years all of my weaknesses as well as any good points."[98] But he was greatly enjoying the participation in British Commonwealth affairs that the McGill post afforded him, including seats for him and his wife at the upcoming coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. There was also a $50,000 pension waiting for him if he retired at McGill.[99]

The Trustees' interactions with James in Montreal and Philadelphia confirmed their convictions about him. After the visit to Montreal, McCracken reported that they "had a first class day . . . and I think there is some real hope of his accepting . . . Al and I were tremendously impressed with James. He has grown greatly in my judgment, and in Al's. I am sure that he is just the man we want if we can get him." James had an apparently previously scheduled trip to Philadelphia to speak before the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences on Friday, April 10, and it turned into an unofficial—maybe even stealth—campus visit as part of the search. McCracken organized a dinner and implored Willits to come down from New York: "I know it would be of tremendous help to us if you could be here that evening. I think a good deal depends on his approach to the organization set-up at the University, and I know that you could talk about this more intelligently than anybody else."[100] In addition to James, McCracken, Williams, and Willits, those present included George Wharton Pepper, Horace Stern, Henry Bryans, and Robert Dunlop from the search committee. Willits recorded, "James made a very favorable impression. He raised searching questions regarding the administrative organization of the University, the relative spheres of trustees and faculty, and the flexibility he would have in his top administrative organization." The next day, Willits had lunch with James and recorded that he thought James's decision would depend on the situation at McGill.[101]

Willits was right, but there was an additional twist. Someone leaked the Trustees' offer to the press. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* and other outlets, "taking it for granted that [James] would accept, printed the news with long articles about him" on Monday, April 13, along with a denial from McCracken. Montreal newspapers passed the news to their readers.[102] James hastily asked for a meeting with the McGill Board of Governors.

[98] Ibid., 193.

[99] Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 191–93.

[100] Robert McCracken to Joseph H. Willits, Mar. 30, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[101] Willits, "Interviews," Apr. 10 and 11, 1953, JHW Papers, RAC.

[102] Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 196; "Former Instructor in Reading May Become Penn President," *Reading (PA) Eagle*, Apr. 13, 1953.

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He told his board that he wanted to stay at McGill but asked for a vote of confidence, since there were rumors that some wanted a change. They gave him a ringing endorsement, noting that he had doubled the endowment.[103] Thus ended Penn's pursuit of F. Cyril James—though he returned to Penn in 1957 to give the commencement speech and receive an honorary degree.[104]

McCracken's committee went back to the drawing board yet again, and it was this iteration that produced the Harnwell presidency. Harnwell's name had been in play to some extent since the beginning. At the first search committee meeting on December 8, Harnwell was one of nineteen names that McCracken advanced for consideration. Harnwell appeared on the list within a cluster of six current or former Penn administrators, so McCracken was probably putting forward anyone feasible within that category, although Harnwell (as a department chair) held the lowest position of the six.[105] Three days later, two physicists hired during Harnwell's term as chair, W. E. Stephens and C. W. Ufford, submitted his name as a possible candidate through the University Senate process.[106] (Stephens coauthored *Atomic Physics* with Harnwell in 1955, and Harnwell named Stephens dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in 1968.[107]) But as the search went on, Harnwell only made the faculty's long list, never the short list of either the faculty or the Trustees until Willits put him on top. At some unknown point, Harnwell indicated he was not interested; McCracken had conveyed as much to Willits. But Willits, as he proposed Harnwell as the top candidate on April 27, told McCracken: "I wonder if a man can maintain that position. You can't quite say to him, 'Take it or leave town.' On the other hand, if he is a suitable man, I think you are entitled to bring the heaviest possible pressure to bear."[108] One oddity about Willits proposing Harnwell as the top candidate is that the two had never met, although Willits said he had heard only good things.[109] They overlapped

[103] Frost, *The Man in the Ivory Tower*, 196–99.

[104] University of Pennsylvania, *Two Hundred and First Commencement for the Conferring of Degrees*, June 12, 1957, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/upg/upg7/1957prog.pdf.

[105] Meeting of the Trustee Committee on New President, Dec. 8, 1952, box 30, folder 1, Pepper Papers, UPA.

[106] W. E. Stephens and C. W. Ufford to Alexander Hamilton Frey, Dec. 11, 1952, box 1, folder 3, GPH Papers, UPA; Harnwell to Hartig, May 15, 1947, GPH Papers, UPA.

[107] Jeannette P. Nichols, interview with Dr. William E. Stephens, Dean of the College, Jan. 18, 1971, box 4, folder: Stephens, Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[108] Joseph H. Willits to Robert McCracken, Apr. 27, 1953 (first letter), box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

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for just one year on the Penn faculty. Harnwell's professed lack of interest is also a mystery. It is worth noting a protocol that existed at the time. According to William Carlson, there was "a tradition in academic circles that when a college presidency is at stake, the job should seek the man, and not vice versa."[110] The presumption was "that a college's trustees will hunt out a suitable man through discreet inquiry, a staid suggestion here and there, and finally an invitation to be considered."[111]

This stage of the search provides greater insight into some of the personal characteristics that Willits and the Trustees were prioritizing, now that they had broadened their search beyond experienced heads of institutions. Only two of the eight candidates in Willits's April 27 memo fit that description. Willits began the memo by emphasizing "the importance of Pennsylvania's finding a younger man with a stretch of years ahead of him." He concluded along the same lines: "I am sure there is first-class talent available at a younger age. I will do everything I can to help discover it and check on it if I can aid the committee to achieve the most desirable end."[112] Yet Harnwell was the same age as DuBridge and older than Sterling and James.[113] Later in the day Willits sent another letter to McCracken covering still more candidates, including two other Penn faculty members: Dean Jefferson Fordham of the School of Law, who received positive reviews, and Francis C. Wood, chairman of the Department of Medicine, whom Willits's contacts described as personally pleasant but possibly limited in the breadth of his horizons. The issue of intellectual breadth also arose with Frederick Hovde, president of Purdue University, whom Willits described as a good administrator but intellectually limited. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the judgments of candidates is how few mentioned fundraising ability. The comments most frequently addressed disposition and reasonableness, while others discussed speaking ability, scholarly quality and depth of ideas, and the candidates' wives.[114]

The topic of a prospective president's wife was conspicuous in the era's literature on the academic presidency, so much so that Penn's search might actually have underemphasized this element relative to the time

[109] Joseph H. Willits to Robert McCracken, May 14, 1953, box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

[110] Carlson, "The Roughest Profession," 70.

[111] Ibid., 71.

[112] Willits to McCracken, Apr. 27, 1953 (first letter), JHW Papers, RAC.

[113] Advisory Committee of the University Senate on the Selection of a President, list of names, Jan. 31, 1953, Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[114] Joseph H. Willits to Robert McCracken, Apr. 27, 1953 (second letter), box 7, folder 70, JHW Papers, RAC.

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period, especially given that the Trustees essentially offered the job to DuBridge and Sterling without meeting their spouses. Carlson reported that in reviewing nearly one hundred dossiers of presidential candidates at an institution he called "Seaboard State," "repeated references to a wife's looks, intelligence, personality and manners bobbled up in perhaps two-thirds of the candidates' files." Yet "the candidates' emphasis on their wives' talents was not misdirected, for there was an undeniable fascination on the part of some of the trustees with this little tidbit."[115] This focus had not abated ten years later, when professional literature on presidential searches began to appear. Harold Dodds, who after retiring from Princeton directed a study on the academic presidency, opined, "obviously the stability and strength of the marriage is a potent factor" in a president's success.[116] F. W. Bolman, after researching 116 searches, found that "the candidate must have a 'good' wife, and many selection committees go to great lengths to assure themselves on this point."[117] Further, "No matter how well qualified a candidate is, in other respects, if he has an 'unacceptable' wife he is seriously handicapped."[118] The rationale was that the president's wife was essential for the university's public relations through her activities in the social scene.[119]

After Willits suggested Harnwell as the top candidate on April 27, the search moved quickly to pursue him. The committee apparently met April 30 and decided on Harnwell. The next day, McCracken invited him to a May 4 meeting at McCracken's law office about "quite an important matter," along with Provost Edwin Williams and trustee and committee member Henry Bryans.[120] In a university presidential search, a candidate often has a "champion," one member of the governing board who particularly promotes his candidacy. For instance, Robert Homans of the Harvard Corporation led a successful drive to elect the dark-horse candidate Conant as president in 1933.[121] Bryans apparently played a similar (though perhaps more muted) role for Harnwell. After his retirement, Harnwell wrote that Bryans was "largely instrumental in persuading his fellow Trustees to appoint me to the presidency of the University in 1953;

[115] Carlson, "The Roughest Profession," 78.
[116] Harold W. Dodds, *The Academic President: Educator or Caretaker* (New York, 1962), 266.
[117] Bolman, *How College Presidents Are Chosen*, 28.
[118] Ibid., 29.
[119] Ibid., 28.
[120] Nichols and staff, "1952 Patterns of Presidential Selection," Nichols Project Records, UPA.
[121] James B. Conant, *My Several Lives: Memoirs of a Social Inventor* (New York, 1969), 81–89.

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and again he was of enormous help in advising on strategy, tactics, and in particular, financial matters during my incumbency."[122] It is less clear why Williams was present. Perhaps the Trustees wanted to make sure he would have a good working relationship with Harnwell, given that the direction of authority between the two would reverse if Harnwell became president. Perhaps Harnwell had indicated to McCracken or Bryans that he needed to ensure that Williams would play the "inside man" role while he focused on external affairs; in a post-retirement interview, he depicted himself as having adopted this approach at the outset of his presidency.[123] On May 11, McCracken wrote Willits, "you will be glad to know that we agreed unanimously on Gaylord Harnwell, and that he has said that he will accept if elected. I feel sure that he will be elected. We are going to nominate him on May twenty-fifth and elect him, I think, on June tenth, which is Commencement Day." It is not clear how much pressure the Trustees brought on Harnwell or what caused him to change his mind.

What is clear is that Harnwell took charge right away. Even written records give the sense that his presence must have been commanding. He attacked a dizzying array of problems during his first year. He took on a $1 million deficit in Penn's $27 million budget.[124] He began the administrative reorganization of the university, which included forcing the powerful Orville Bullitt from a board overseeing the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, which Bullitt had "ruled with an iron hand."[125] He engineered the de-escalation of Penn football from big-time status and gained Penn's acceptance into the Ivy League when its members formally established it as a football conference in 1954. He did so amid concerns that the other members would bar Penn because of their suspicion that it would not follow the academics-first protocol that was to characterize the new conference.[126] He "formulate[d]" a "general philosophy" for social science research at the university.[127] He pushed Penn into major overseas projects, a type of work that would especially characterize his presidency.[128]

[122] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Henry T. Bryans, Feb. 15, 1972, box 3, folder 18, GPH Papers, UPA.

[123] Harnwell, interview with Phillips, Oct. 22, 1977, GPH Papers, UPA.

[124] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Deficit Budget Administrators, Jan. 7, 1954, box 25, folder: Budget Information 1953–4, Wharton School Office of the Dean Records, UPB 5.4, UPA.

[125] Paul F. Miller Jr., *Better than Any Dream: A Personal Memoir* (n.p., 2006), 156.

[126] Dan Rottenberg, "Jeremiah Ford: Recalling Penn's Unsung Savior," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan./Feb. 1999, http://www.upenn.edu/gazette/0199/Ford.html.

[127] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Joseph H. Willits, Oct. 19, 1953, box 18, folder 135, JHW Papers, RAC.

[128] Ethan Schrum, *Administering American Modernity: The Instrumental University in the Postwar United States* (Ithaca, NY, forthcoming), chap. 4.

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He greatly accelerated the physical transformation of the campus that had begun under Stassen.[129] Finally, he launched the Educational Survey (1954–59), the largest self-study ever undertaken by an American university—and hired none other than Joseph Willits, upon his retirement from the Rockefeller Foundation, to direct it. It is easy to see why William W. Scranton, who as governor from 1963–67 worked with Harnwell, said that people at Penn treated Harnwell "like a god."[130]

Despite the Trustees' choice of a faculty member as president and their adherence to the University Senate's "preferred" list for the first three candidates, the Senate ultimately ended up dispirited with the conclusion of the search. At the end of February, fresh off the Trustees' pursuit of DuBridge and Sterling from the faculty "preferred" list, Frey reported to the Senate that "the work of the committee represented in his opinion considerable progress for the Senate as an institution."[131] By mid-May, he struck a different tone. He wrote to McCracken that "near the end of the process of selecting the next President, we find ourselves excluded from the proceedings in a way which we were not led to expect." Frey emphasized that "since we do not know who has been selected it is obvious that we are not objecting to a person, but rather to what seems to us to be a breakdown of a soundly conceived procedure for which we entertained great hopes." This exclusion, he said, would make it difficult to achieve their goals of securing faculty support for the new president and improving faculty relations with the Trustees. McCracken replied, somewhat oddly, that once the search committee had decided on Harnwell it stopped consulting with the faculty because "he was as well or better known to the members of the Trustees' Committee than to some of you."[132]

Regardless of its bitterness over the conclusion of the search, the faculty's assertiveness in creating the University Senate and its insistence that the Trustees select an educator as president had important long-term effects. The Trustees' election of Harnwell marked the first time that a widely recognized scholar had become president of the University of Pennsylvania, a position that had only existed since 1930.[133] This move established a template that the Trustees have continued to follow to this day, as each of

[129] Puckett and Lloyd, *Becoming Penn*, part 1 (chaps. 1–4).

[130] William Warren Scranton, interview with the author, July 15, 2008.

[131] University Senate, minutes, Feb. 25, 1953, box 1, folder 25, University Senate Records, UPA.

[132] Nichols and staff, "1952 Patterns of Presidential Selection," Nichols Project Records, UPA.

[133] Since its founding, the university's chief executive had been called the provost, and the Trustees were often more involved in day-to-day operations than was typical at other universities.

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Harnwell's four successors—the city planner Martin Meyerson, the historian Sheldon Hackney, the psychologist Judith Rodin, and the political theorist Amy Gutmann—has fit that description. McCracken's good decisions—to move past the Stassen debacle, to hire an educator, to listen to the faculty—combined with Harnwell's good work, propelled the University of Pennsylvania to a higher standing among American universities and thus made a lasting impact on education in the Commonwealth.

With respect to the postwar American university in general, the extensive documentary record of Harnwell's journey to the Penn presidency reveals an active market for top administrative talent. Even in such a market, though, the top talent was often reluctant to change locations for what appeared to be a step up, as exhibited both by Harnwell declining deanships and by established research university presidents resisting Penn's entreaties to its top job before it settled on Harnwell.

Beyond the insights it provides into the market for administrators, the selection of Harnwell raises something of a paradox about the postwar American university. On one hand, Penn's elevation of one wartime lab director to its presidency after first desiring another (DuBridge) suggests that the experience of wartime "big science" (especially physics) in the federal government labs operated by universities influenced ideas about who could best lead a major research university in the early years of the postwar federal research economy. The wartime experience helped make Lee DuBridge apparently the hottest property among presidential candidates and went far toward making Harnwell desirable to universities. This milieu influenced the University of Minnesota to think that Harnwell could be its Lee DuBridge or Karl Compton. For reasons that are not clear, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was a hub of universities hiring wartime lab directors as presidents. In addition to Lehigh securing Martin Whitaker and Penn choosing Harnwell, Pennsylvania State University in 1956 elected to its presidency Eric Walker, an electrical engineer who had served as associate director of the navy's Underwater Sound Laboratory at Harvard during the war, doing remarkably similar work to Harnwell, and then brought a peacetime version, the Ordnance Research Laboratory, to Penn State with Office of Naval Research funding.[134] This trend was also visible in other areas of the country, as evidenced by the ascent of Arthur Compton and Lawrence Kimpton to head universities.

[134] Elliott C. Kulakowski and Lynne U. Chronister, *Research Administration and Management* (Sudbury, MA, 2006), 18.

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On the other hand, many of the most elite private institutions chose humanistic scholars as presidents during this era. Indeed, among institutions of this type that hired one president between 1949 and 1956—Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Penn, Princeton, Stanford, Yale—all but Penn chose a humanist (although philosopher Kimpton at Chicago had helped administer a wartime physics lab). In addition to Sterling at Stanford and Kirk (technically a social scientist, but with a humanistic bent) at Columbia, notable cases included the historian A. Whitney Griswold at Yale in 1950 and the classicist Robert Goheen at Princeton in 1956. Both situations involved a university elevating one of its brightest young faculty stars; Griswold was forty-four and Goheen just thirty-seven. The most prominent election of a humanities scholar to a presidency in this era occurred at Harvard, which shocked many observers by choosing Nathan Pusey, the president of Lawrence College in Wisconsin, to replace Conant in 1953. Pusey earned high marks at Lawrence for faculty recruitment and for standing against Senator Joseph McCarthy, a native of Appleton (where Lawrence is located), but the Lawrence board chair "reported that Pusey had done little fund-raising for the college, and noted his cool personality and lack of popularity with students despite his manifest skill as a teacher."[135] Nevertheless, the governing board, the Harvard Corporation, loved his character and ideals. Perhaps most important, according to Morton and Phyllis Keller's history of Harvard, is that Pusey—a humanist, religious, not interested in public life, and more of a teacher and administrator than a scholar—was so different from Conant.[136] This quality of Harvard's search mirrored the one at Penn, where Harnwell contrasted starkly with his predecessor.

In addition to the trend of selecting a humanistic scholar as president, all seven of these institutions hired either an alumnus or a current member of the faculty or administration. None of these searches elected a candidate who was president of another university (although Penn tried). While hiring an insider as president has been common during many eras in the history of American higher education, it is striking that the uppermost echelon of universities practiced it so thoroughly in a period often reputed to be one of rapid change, perhaps even *the* great period of change in that history. Once in office, Harnwell himself often

[135] Keller and Keller, *Making Harvard Modern*, 173–74, quote on 173.
[136] Ibid., 174–78.

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enunciated the magnitude of this change.[137] Why did so many of the top universities hire humanistic insiders as presidents during this period of rapid change headlined by the physical sciences? If archival resources of similar quality to those available for Harnwell exist for the other six searches, future research should probe this issue, which could have interesting ramifications for our understanding of elite research universities in the postwar years.

Azusa Pacific University ETHAN SCHRUM

[137] The best known statement of a dramatic change in the postwar research university is Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge, MA, 1963).

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HIDDEN GEMS

The Michael Zinman Collection of Printing for the Blind

The Library Company of Philadelphia has collected printing for the blind since at least 1838. That year, it acquired the first text printed in raised letters in the United States, the *Gospel According to Saint Mark* (1833) (fig. 1). It was printed by Jacob Snider Jr. for the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind (PIIB), which Julius Friedlander (1803–39) established in

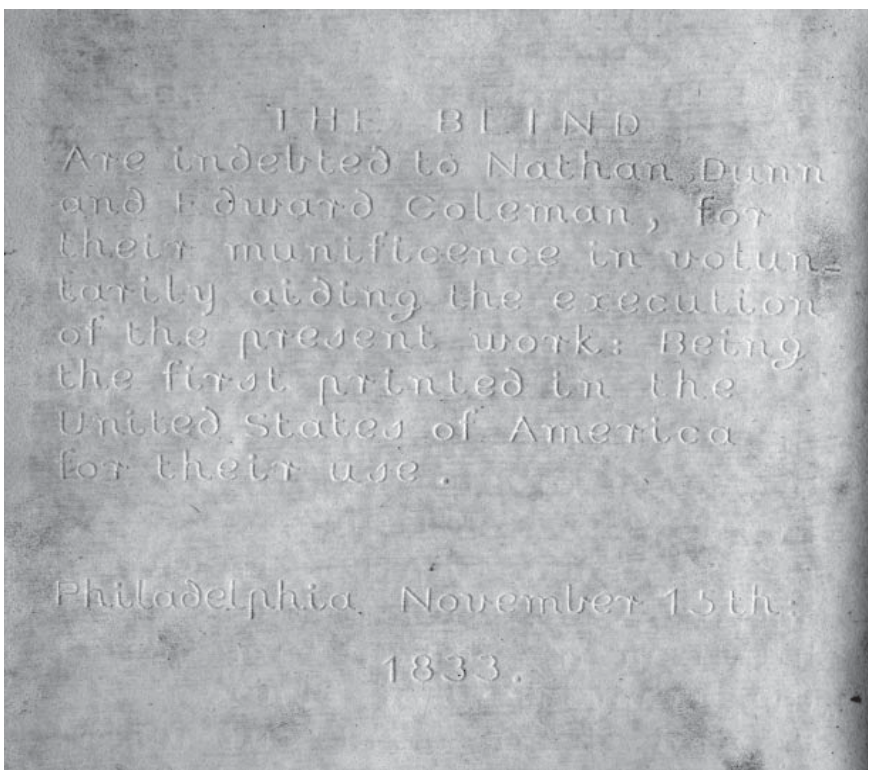

Fig. 1: *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Philadelphia, 1833), 2. Image courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
Vol. CXLI, No. 3 (October 2017)

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1833. The text appeared in tactile rounded script, one of many reading systems developed in the nineteenth century to educate the visually impaired.[1] In the following decades, more such publications entered the library's holdings. In recent years, this growth took place through the generosity of Library Company trustee emeritus Michael Zinman.

The Michael Zinman Collection of Printing for the Blind contains nearly one hundred of the few hundred titles of raised-print texts published in the country before 1890.[2] PIIB used line-type texts in its curriculum during most of the nineteenth century.[3] Line types (i.e., alphabetical systems) mimicked the Roman alphabet. Developed in Paris in 1784, they were the first successfully printed raised type.[4] Developers assumed they would be taught by sighted teachers, ensuring the education of the visually impaired conformed to the "manners of the seeing."[5] Although texts were initially printed at PIIB and its peer institutions, production and distribution proved cost prohibitive. Books printed for the blind lacked a universally accepted reading system or a central publishing house. By mid-century, these texts became educational commodities.[6]

Nineteenth-century books printed for the blind typically exhorted piety in overcoming adversity, with Biblical and popular moral works, such as *The Dairyman's Daughter* (1883), predominating. Primers, geography and music lesson books, and history, science, and literary volumes also feature in the dozens of tactile works in the library's holdings. Many are reprints of popular, ink-

[1] For a concise yet constructive overview of the various methods used in raised printing for the blind during the nineteenth century, see Elizabeth M. Harris, "Inventing Printing for the Blind," *Printing History* 8 (1986): 15–25.

[2] The Michael Zinman Collection of Printing for the Blind inspired the Library Company's exhibition *Common Touch: The Art of the Senses in the History of the Blind*. This multisensory exhibition exploring the nature of perception was on display from April 4, 2016, until October 21, 2016. Generously funded by the Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, the exhibition was curated by artist-in-residence Teresa Jaynes. *Common Touch* combined her own work with items from the collection.

[3] The Jacob Snider embossed print was followed circa 1837 by Philadelphia line, a type designed in consultation with Friedlander. The system was based on capital Roman letters. It, in turn, was superseded circa 1867 by combined letter. Developed by blind printer Napoleon B. Kneass, this line type combined Roman capital letters with a version of the angular-shaped letters of Boston line. Boston line was originally developed in 1835 by Samuel G. Howe, principal of the New England Asylum for the Blind (later Perkins Institution for the Blind).

[4] Valentin Hauy (1745–1822), French linguist, educator, and founder of the first school for the blind, developed the type a year before he established the Royal (later National) Institution for the Young Blind in 1785.

[5] Julius Friedlander, *An Address to Public at the First Exhibition of the Pupils of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, at the Musical Fund Hall, Thursday Evening, November 21, 1833* (Philadelphia, 1833), 8.

[6] According to Kneass, PIIB printed about twenty different titles. N. B. Kneass, "Printing for the Blind," in *The Encylopaedia of Printing*, ed. Luther Ringwalt (Philadelphia, 1871), 64.

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printed texts. A number of the volumes, like Denison Olmsted's *Rudiments of Natural Philosophy* (1845), contain embossed illustrations, maps, or diagrams (fig. 2). The Zinman Collection serves as a compelling resource to examine the Victorian pictorial turn. In this era, society privileged sight in the attainment of knowledge. In the nineteenth century, the blind learned to read immersed in this visually literate culture. The works in the Zinman Collection document both the history of the sociopolitically charged education students received and the popular and visual culture of the visually impaired.

The collection also includes a number of genre firsts, printed in association with PIIB, that provide an alternate perspective on nineteenth-century pedagogical priorities. The school issued the first ever raised-print periodical, *The Students' Magazine* (1838–45), which contained "original compositions by the pupils . . . illustrative of their . . . thinking." PIIB also published the first tactile *Dictionary of the English Language* (1860), trumpeted as "an invaluable aid in teaching . . . the true meaning of words in daily use."[7] A decade later, the combined-letter version of *The Merchant of Venice* (1870) entered the school's library. Printed by the type's designer, Napoleon B. Kneass (1844–98), an instructor and former pupil at the school, the literary classic was touted as the first Shakespeare play published in its entirety in raised print.[8]

By the turn of the twentieth century, alphabetical systems began to fade from the education of the blind, both in Pennsylvania and nationally. The American Printing House for the Blind, in Louisville, Kentucky, became the official, federally funded source of education texts for the visually impaired in 1879. This principal publishing house facilitated the pervasiveness of dot systems by spearheading technological advances in raised printing. Braille and New York Point, most easily read by the fingertip, prevailed. The Zinman Collection contains a number of specimen sheets, some compiled as scrapbooks, demonstrating these codes. The works document the protracted evolution in reading systems for the blind, which for many decades privileged sight over touch. These raised texts provide an unrealized site for exploring a kinesthetic history of Victorian education.

Only a few hundred titles were published in raised systems for the blind before 1890. The Zinman Collection contains a significant number of these texts, which are rich sources for the study of the education of the blind, the history of reading, and the sensory turn in the field of visual

[7] *Fifth Annual Report of the Managers of Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind* (Philadelphia, 1838), 11; *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Managers of Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind* (Philadelphia, 1856), 18.

[8] Kneass, "Printing for the Blind," 66.

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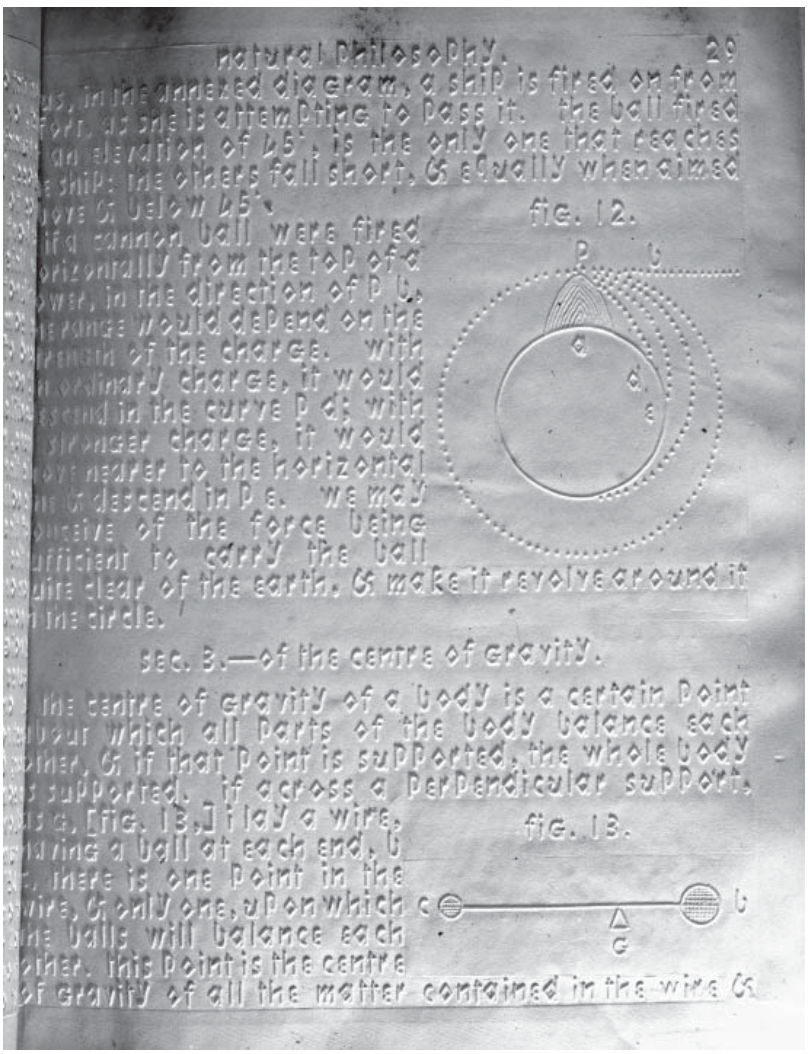
natural philosophy. 29

as, in the annexed diagram, a ship is fired on from
shore, as she is attempting to pass it. the ball fired
at an elevation of 45°, is the only one that reaches
the ship; the others fall short, & equally when aimed
above & below 45°.

fig. 12.

if a cannon ball were fired
horizontally from the top of a
tower, in the direction of P b,
the range would depend on the
strength of the charge. with
an ordinary charge, it would
descend in the curve P d; with
a stronger charge, it would
move nearer to the horizontal
line & descend in P e. we may
conceive of the force being
sufficient to carry the ball
quite clear of the earth, & make it revolve around it
in the circle.

sec. 3.—of the centre of gravity.

the centre of gravity of a body is a certain point
about which all parts of the body balance each
other, & if that point is supported, the whole body
is supported. if across a perpendicular support,
as G, [fig. 13,] i lay a wire,
having a ball at each end, b
c, there is one point in the
wire, & only one, upon which c
the balls will balance each
other. this point is the centre

fig. 13.

of gravity of all the matter contained in the wire &c.

Fig. 2: Denison Olmsted, *The Rudiments of Natural Philosophy* (Boston, 1845), 29. Image courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

culture. For contemporary scholars as for past readers, the works represent commodities. The collection fosters needed challenges to our presumptions about the relationship between sight, reading, and knowledge in the history of education in Pennsylvania.

Library Company of Philadelphia ERIKA PIOLA

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John Seely Hart's "Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia, 1849"

The Special Collections Research Center at Temple University Libraries recently acquired a manuscript volume of thirteen lectures delivered by John Seely Hart (1810–77) in 1849. Transcribed and illustrated by his student Samuel Sparks Fisher (1832–74), these lectures trace Hart's perspectives on the history of the public schools of Philadelphia from 1809 to 1842 and reflect his belief that education was a right for all citizens.[1]

John Hart graduated from Princeton University in 1830. He served as an instructor at the university and the proprietor of the Edgehill School in Princeton, New Jersey, before becoming principal of Philadelphia's Central High School in 1842.[2] His lectures cover the history of public education in the city from 1809, when the Pennsylvania legislature provided for the free education of poor children, to his arrival at Central. They include a chronological survey of school construction, a discussion of the establishment of "colored schools," information about model schools and the benefits of the Lancasterian system, and a review of the state of schools in outlying areas of the city.

Fisher graduated from Central High School in 1851, studied law, and then practiced as a patent attorney. He rose to the rank of colonel in the 138th regiment of the Ohio National Guard during the Civil War, served as commissioner of patents under President Ulysses S. Grant, and was briefly president of the Young Men's Christian Association of Cincinnati. He appears, while a student at Central, to have recorded and illustrated a series of lectures he heard from his principal, but there is no indication whether Hart was lecturing to a classroom of students or to a wider audience.[3]

On March 9, 1849, Hart opened his lecture series by explaining how antebellum Philadelphians were rethinking the meaning of public education:

[1] John S. Hart, Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia: manuscript, 1849, SCRC 138, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, PA.

[2] Rossiter Johnson, ed., *The Biographical Dictionary of America* . . . , vol. 5 (Boston, 1906).

[3] *In Memoriam: Samuel S. Fisher* (Cincinnati, 1874).

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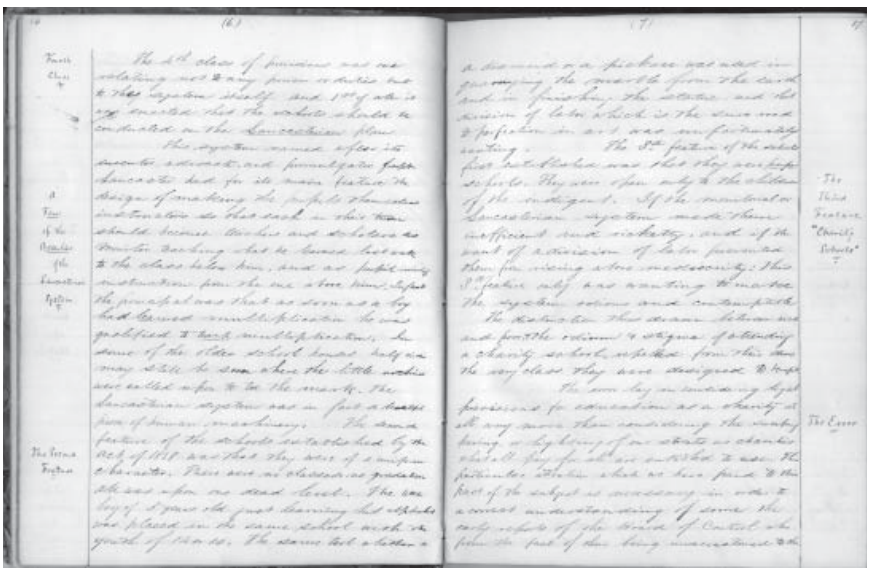

Fig. 1: John S. Hart, Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia: manuscript, 1849, pp. 16–17, SCRC 138, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, PA.

> There are still some who regard public schools not as highways opened for the benefit of all, but as alms houses supported by the exercise of public charity. These however are rapidly becoming the exceptions and the opinion which seems to be most universal considers public schools not as a charity but as a right. . . . The true idea of public schools is that they are Common Schools supported at the expense of all and consequently for the good of all.[4]

In his second lecture, delivered March 16, 1849, Hart described the public education act passed by the state legislature in 1818, which provided for the formation of the first school district of Pennsylvania and mandated that its schools be conducted on the Lancasterian plan (fig. 1). English Quaker Joseph Lancaster founded the Society for Promoting the Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor in 1808, which promoted a system where more advanced students taught other students, thereby educating a larger number of students with the same, smaller number of professional teachers in place. Hart described "a few of the beauties of the Lancasterian system," which included "making the pupils

[4] Hart, Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia, 2–3.

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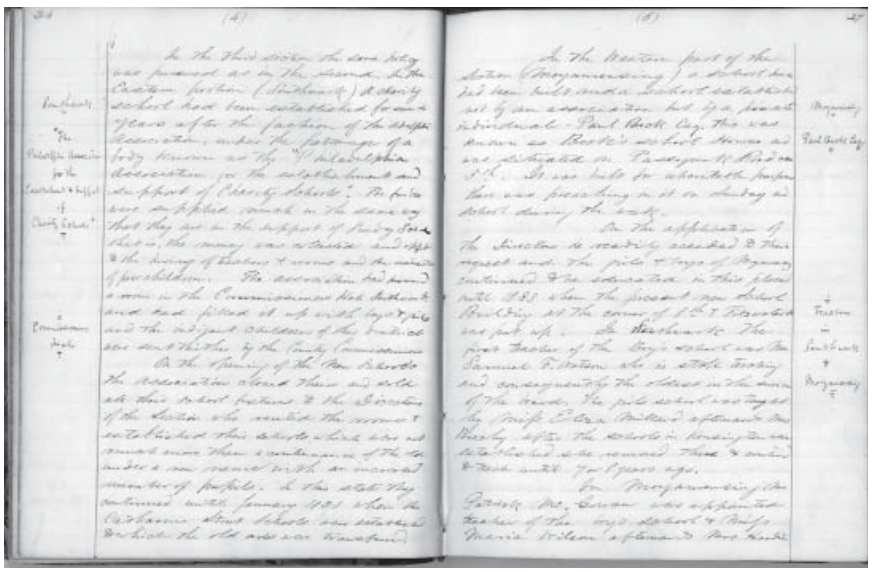

Fig. 2: Hart, Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia, 26–27.

themselves instructors so that each in their turn should become teachers and scholars," and noted that the Philadelphia schools adopted the system to provide the best possible education for "poor children" (fig. 2). He continued with a nuanced consideration of the some of the errors made by the legislature and the deficiencies of the Lancasterian system that became apparent over the course of thirty years, noting Philadelphia's work to amend initial mistakes. The city abandoned the Lancasterian system in the 1830s when it opened its public schools to all children.[5]

In 1820, Philadelphia school directors applied to the Board of Controllers for $1,200 to start a "colored school." The application, denied at first, was approved two years later. Hart's fourth lecture, delivered March 30, 1849, discussed the resulting Lombard Street schools (one for black boys and one for black girls), including a report on attendance and the changing cast of teachers in the early years.

In addition to Fisher's manuscript text, the book includes his pen-and-ink and watercolor illustrations. They depict many school buildings, including the Anthony Benezet School, Central High School, Fulton Grammar School, Hamilton Grammar School, Harrison Grammar School, Jefferson Grammar School, Madison School, Marlborough Street

[5] Hart, Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia, 16–22 *passim*.

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School, Mount Vernon School, Normal School, Thomas Mifflin School, and Wayne School. Illustrated initial letters open each lecture.

Hart dated the founding of Central High School to 1837. His manuscript details a variety of threats the school faced in its early years. In 1842, these included a motion to discontinue the school (eventually voted down by the controllers) and the resignation of Professor Alexander Bache as principal of Central and superintendent of schools. The school grew in stability under Hart's leadership. In a coda to the manuscript, he reflected on the school's future:

> The attacks against the High School have been from time renewed but with a proportional decrease of vigor, the last vote on the subject having stood 14 for & 2 against. The institution may therefore be regarded as a "fixed fact."[6]

Hart is also known for the annual reports he wrote as principal of Central High School, which include valuable statistical information and his ideas on organization and supervision. It would be worth investigating how much those reports and these essays mirror each other in content. Hart left Central in 1858 to edit various publications, including those of the American Sunday School Union. He served as principal of the New Jersey State Normal School from 1863 to 1872 and was professor of English and rhetoric at Princeton University until his death in 1877.

It does not appear that historians of the public schools in Philadelphia, most notably David F. Labaree, had access to this volume of essays, which was likely in private hands until purchased by Temple Libraries.[7] Revisiting the schools' early history in light of Hart's lectures has already uncovered some variations in dates and timeline as compared to more recent studies. Further comparisons may alter or refine our understanding of the history of education in the region. Historians of education may also arrive at a better understanding of Hart's work and impact.

Special Collections Research Center,
Temple University Libraries MARGERY N. SLY

[6] Hart, Lectures on the Public Schools of Philadelphia, 164.

[7] See David F. Labaree, *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838–1939* (New Haven, CT, 1988).

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The Raymond Walters Diaries: The Swarthmore College Days (1925–32)

When Raymond Walters died in October 1970 at the age of eighty-five, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* summarized his professional accomplishments in this manner: "scholar—author—administrator." Most of his scholarship, including several books and countless articles, was devoted to the study of the utility and value of higher education. He was a regular contributor to such magazines as *Scribner's* and *School and Society.* He became something of an expert in statistical analysis, charting the fluctuations in student body populations at colleges and universities. A 1946 Associated Press story referred to Walters as the nation's "statistician laureate of higher education." His proudest accomplishment came from his service as president of the University of Cincinnati (1932–55). To this day, his is the longest tenure of any president in that university's history.[1]

Walters was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1885. In 1907 he earned a BA in classics and an MA in English at Lehigh University, located in his hometown. After serving in the US Army during World War I, Walters returned to his alma mater to teach English classes, where, by all accounts, he was much beloved by his students. In 1921 Walters's career received a boost when he was recruited by Frank Aydelotte, a dynamic pioneer in higher education. Aydelotte, the president of Swarthmore College, a small, Quaker liberal arts school just west of Philadelphia, hired Walters to work and teach. During his twelve years at Swarthmore, Walters taught English courses, worked as its registrar and Dean of Men, and served as President Aydelotte's personal assistant.

Shortly after Walters's death, his sons donated a set of their father's diaries to the University of Cincinnati Archives. Walters began these diaries in 1925, when he was a thirty-nine-year-old English professor at Swarthmore College. His final entry was in 1960, five years after his retirement from his duties at Cincinnati, when he suffered a debilitating stroke.

[1] "Dr. Walters, Former UC Head, Dies," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (clipping), Oct. 26, 1970, Cincinnati Historical Society Library (CHS), Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati, OH. By the postwar years, Walters, who had been compiling annual statistical reports since 1919, had developed a national reputation for his work. The Associated Press reference can be found in "Universities Will Turn Wartime Research To Peace Pursuits, UC President Writes," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (clipping), Aug. 20, 1946 (CHS).

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The diaries from the early years of Walters's career are useful primary sources on many fronts. They reveal valuable insights into both Walters's formative years at Swarthmore and important trends in higher education from the mid-1920s to the early 1930s.

Walters's diaries offer an insider's look into the machinations of Swarthmore College and, by extension, the history of higher education. Walters developed and taught innovative literature courses for Aydelotte's honors program. Beginning in 1922, Aydelotte, a former Rhodes Scholar, had introduced and pioneered several new educational techniques, which were designed to replace the traditional lecture format of teaching. Oral examinations also took the place of written assessments.

In addition to his classroom responsibilities, Walters was a man on the move. He and President Aydelotte traveled around the country, usually separately, to identify and interview candidates for the Rhodes Scholarship program. Walters also traveled extensively under the auspices of such professional organizations as the American Council on Education and the Association of University Registrars. These trips are well documented in his diaries. Many of his trips to college campuses required him to assess academic programs and curricula for the purpose of accreditation. During these trips, he also took the initiative to collect statistical information from the host schools. Beginning in the mid-1920s, numerous diary entries discuss Walters's effort to compile this data for publication for the journal *School and Society.*

Walters assisted Aydelotte in other important ways. As Swarthmore's student population swelled, he worked with Aydelotte to expand the physical footprint of the college. When Mary Clothier, the widow of Isaac Hallowell Clothier, a successful Quaker dry goods merchant in Philadelphia, offered a generous $100,000 donation (almost $1.4 million in 2017 dollars) to Swarthmore in 1926 for the construction of a much-needed auditorium, Walters worked with Philadelphia newspapers to develop interest in the new construction.

The diaries are also very instructive when it comes to the culture of higher education in the mid-1920s and early 1930s. During this era, university officials operated under the doctrine of *in loco parentis.* When mothers and fathers sent their children away to college, it was expected that school administrators would step in and act as substitute parents to their students. All aspects of student life were regulated, policed, and monitored. For example, dormitories, fraternities, and sororities required adult

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supervision. It was not uncommon for Walters and his wife to chaperone dances. In 1925, when he was serving as Dean of Men, Walters endeavored to interview every single male student. He wrote: "I am a father confessor. It is a wonderful relationship." However, the diaries also document Walters's frustrations with this system. Despite the fact that he was a teetotaler himself, Walters, on several occasions, lamented the college's decision to enforce its zero-tolerance policy of no alcohol on campus.[2]

Walters lived and operated in a world that afforded men greater opportunities than women. While the 1920s proved to be a pivotal decade for women in higher education and society in general, the doors of admission at schools sometimes opened slowly for female students. Walters was often charged with the process of interviewing prospective students. Several diary entries suggest that female applicants were held to tougher standards for admission than were male applicants. Women also went through a much more rigorous interview and vetting process than men did. Walters took for granted the advantages his own gender conferred on him. He held a membership with Philadelphia's Franklin Inn, a private club that, until 1930, provided a setting for academically minded men (only) to deliver and attend lectures, negotiate book contracts, and conduct other forms of business over dinner.

As the protégé of President Aydelotte, Walters was regarded as a rising star in academia. Several colleges and universities sought him out to become their president. Walters hinted in his diary that some schools hoped he could replicate Aydelotte's honors program. Out of loyalty to his mentor, Walters routinely spurned such offers. That changed in 1932, when members of the Board of Directors at the University of Cincinnati began courting Walters. Aydelotte, the nurturing mentor, encouraged Walters to accept the offer.

Walters's diaries also chart the career arcs of several of his colleagues. Swarthmore College proved to be a breeding ground for talent during the 1920s, in part because Aydelotte generously worked to recognize the talents of his faculty and to advance their careers. In 1930 Walters's friend and next-door neighbor, Carson Ryan, left Swarthmore to become the director of education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alan Valentine, a fellow English professor, became the president of the University of Rochester in

[2] Raymond Walters Diary, Dec. 9, 1925, and Apr. 18, 1932, Raymond Walters Diaries, 1925–1960, University of Cincinnati Archives, Cincinnati, OH.

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1935. Aydelotte himself moved on to a new position in 1939, as director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton University, where he worked for a time with Albert Einstein.

Any scholar interested in the evolution of higher education will find the diaries of Raymond Walters useful and illuminating. Walters's career spanned a period of change in the place higher education occupied in American society. The diaries chronicle the important and innovative curricular changes that were occurring at smaller liberal arts colleges such as Swarthmore. Walters's entries also confirm the dramatic demographic changes underway at Swarthmore and other institutions. The eight volumes that Raymond Walters recorded while teaching and working at Swarthmore College are available to researchers at the University of Cincinnati Archives.

University of Cincinnati, Clermont College ROBERT EARNEST MILLER

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New Light on the History of Correspondence Schools

What we now call distance education began long before computers linked students and teachers. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, hundreds of private companies, public universities, and enterprising individuals sold instruction by mail. Nearly any subject could be pursued, but vocational training was the best seller. The company that dominated the field, enrolling nearly 100,000 new students annually in the early twentieth century, was in Scranton, Pennsylvania, where its massive headquarters was known as the Big Red Schoolhouse. By comparison, the largest proprietary school in Philadelphia, Peirce College, never enrolled more than 2,000 students until World War I.[1]

The International Correspondence Schools (ICS) found its historian in 1996, when James Watkinson published an article in this journal.[2] He described the practical slant of the organization's textbooks, analyzed its enticing ads, profiled students from two cities, and concluded that ICS was a reputable vendor of the technical know-how that could help such ambitious adults as Arthur Godfrey, Eddie Rickenbacker, Walter Chrysler, Dwight Eisenhower's father, and the inventor of Scotch Tape get ahead.

Watkinson's valuable article said little about ICS after the 1920s; his paper traced the rise of a behemoth rather than its later life. In addition, he relied on published sources because the ICS archives were so meager—no correspondence to and from ICS staff, no annual reports to shareholders, no legal records, and no letters from students.[3] The few primary sources Watkinson missed—ICS advertisements in the National Museum of American History, the autobiography of an ICS advertising manager, the notes of an Italian immigrant who took carpentry and masonry—reinforce what he found elsewhere.[4]

[1] Jerome P. Bjelopera, *City of Clerks: Office and Sales Workers in Philadelphia, 1870–1920* (Urbana, IL, 2005), chap. 3.

[2] James D. Watkinson, "'Education for Success': The International Correspondence Schools of Scranton, Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 120 (1996): 343–69.

[3] ICS donated its small archive to the University of Scranton. Textbooks and newspaper clippings make up the bulk of the collection.

[4] N. W. Ayer Advertising Agency Records, National Museum of American History, Washington, DC; G. Lynn Sumner, *How I Learned the Secrets of Success in Advertising* (New York, 1952); Vincent Russoniello Papers (Collection MSS047), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

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Two boxes in the William Warren Scranton Papers at the Special Collections Library of Pennsylvania State University shed light on ICS from the early 1950s to the mid-1970s.[5] William Scranton's father was on the Board of Directors when thirty-two-year-old Scranton Jr. joined the company in 1949 as its vice president for legal affairs. Although the younger Scranton left in 1954, he rejoined the Board of Directors after his service in Congress, a term as governor of Pennsylvania, and an unsuccessful run for the Republican presidential nomination in 1964. Scranton's papers illuminate the financial ups and downs of ICS and reveal the risks of rapid expansion. From the annual reports, correspondence with ICS officers, press releases, and handwritten notes, historians can trace the lures and the perils of becoming a conglomerate.

In the 1940s and 1950s, ICS rebounded slowly but steadily from the sharp loss of students during the Depression. The GI Bill briefly pushed enrollments to 115,018 in 1947, but that was the only time when ICS equaled the peaks of 1900 to 1925. The company recruited around 70,000 new students each year in the 1950s; a profitable book publishing division grew more rapidly. By the early 1960s, the annual revenue of approximately twenty million was triple the comparable figure from the early 1940s, with the stock price doing much better: from a low of one dollar in 1942, it rose to ten dollars by the early 1950s and continued to climb throughout the decade. The annual profits grew faster than the annual sales in the 1950s, and in a strong market the shares did well.

The Scranton files reveal that ICS went on an acquisition binge in the 1960s, when for-profit education and publishing firms entered what investors today call a bubble. The market for schooling in many different forms seemed limitless, and stock prices skyrocketed. The company had seven suitors in 1961, but it wanted to buy rather than sell. By the end of the decade, InText (as it renamed itself) owned three vocational schools, a book distributor, an audiovisual company, a training program for overseas corporations, and five niche publishers. Annual sales began to surge in 1963, and the $22,349,000 in that year soared to $52,255,000 ten years later. But profits peaked in 1967, declined for the next three years, and became losses in the early 1970s. Some of the acquisitions were unprofitable, but all of them increased the company's debt. The officers nevertheless continued to envision new ventures—international "packaged

[5] William Warren Scranton papers, HCLA 1774, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University. The thorough finding aid is available at http://www.libraries.psu.edu/findingaids/1774.htm.

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schools" where InText would provide the entire curriculum and construct the buildings; "family education programs" to coach parents on what toys, books, typewriters, and other gadgets to buy their children; and an MBA program with Hofstra University.

William Scranton owned 6 percent of the common stock (more than any officer, director, bank, or mutual fund), and the rapid expansion began to alarm him. He wanted to cut debts and pare international operations. On one annual report in which the president boasted, "we implemented a plan to create a growth and diversified company within the broad educational—or knowledge—field," Scranton wrote, "Baloney."[6] In his opinion, the company lacked a clear plan and instead borrowed too much money to enter fields in which it lacked expertise. He received letters from anxious employees, asking, "Won't you please do something before it is too late?"[7] ICS barely survived the helter-skelter expansion. Its stock fell from thirty-two dollars a share in 1969 to a low of one dollar in 1974, recovering somewhat by 1979 when it accepted a fourteen-dollars-per-share takeover bid. InText stockholders experienced a rollercoaster ride quite unlike the economic security its home study advertisements promised.

For historians of higher education, the 207 boxes in the Scranton Papers include other rich materials on the late 1960s and early 1970s that reflect the former governor's wide-ranging connections. Scranton worked with the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (six boxes), the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (four boxes), and Yale University (eight boxes). Those files might be hidden gems for other historians. The ICS and InText materials are less voluminous than other sections of the Scranton Papers, but they may be more unusual—no other archival collection clarifies the mid-century growth and retrenchment of this remarkable school.

University of Delaware ROBERT L. HAMPEL

[6] InText 1968 Annual Report, box 85, folder 11, Scranton Papers, Pennsylvania State University.

[7] "Concerned Employees" to Governor Scranton, Dec. 6, 1970, box 85, folder 5, Scranton Papers, Pennsylvania State University.

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High School Yearbooks: Using and Preserving The Record

High school yearbooks are a treasure trove for education historians. They offer glimpses into the educational past found nowhere else. Along with the changes in people and programs that occurred from year to year, they document the ways in which high schools shaped student identities and the meanings students took from their high school experiences.

Some historians have used high school yearbooks, student newspapers, and student magazines to explore a wide variety of topics in the history of education—most commonly student culture, school life, curricula, and the extracurricular activities.[1] Such official documents as administrative reports and school board minutes may be indispensable if the objective is to understand how educational policies and school programs changed over time. If the objective is to understand how students experienced high school and what it meant for their prospects after graduation, however, then student publications, especially yearbooks, should be among the sources consulted.[2]

[1] See, for example, Paula S. Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York, 1989), 237–39; Philip J. Pauly, "The Development of High School Biology: New York City, 1900–1925," *Isis* 82 (1991): 662–88; Thomas W. Gutowski, "Student Initiative and the Origins of the High School Extracurriculum: Chicago, 1880–1915," *History of Education Quarterly* 28 (1988); 49–72; Sara Dwyer-McNulty, "Hems to Hairdos: Cultural Discourse and Philadelphia Catholic High Schools in the 1920s, A Case Study," *Journal of American Studies* 37 (2003): 179–200; Patrick J. Ryan, "A Case Study in the Cultural Origins of a Superpower: Liberal Individualism, American Nationalism, and the Rise of High School Life, A Study of Cleveland's Central and East Technical High Schools, 1890–1918," *History of Education Quarterly* 45 (2005): 66–95; Erica R. Hamilton, "Looking from the Outside In: Preparation for Democratic Citizenship in a 1925 Michigan High-School Yearbook," *Michigan Historical Review* 38 (2012): 91–105; and John L. Rury and Shirley Hill, "An End of Innocence: African-American High School Protest in the 1960s and 1970s," *History of Education* 42 (2013): 486–508. Rury and Hill used yearbooks to confirm the emergence of black studies classes in high schools.

[2] Reed Ueda, *Avenues to Adulthood: The Origins of the High School and Social Mobility in an American Suburb* (New York, 1987), esp. chap. 6; John Modell and J. Trent Alexander, "High School in Transition: Community, School, and Peer Group in Abilene, Kansas, 1939," *History of Education Quarterly* 37 (1997): 1–24; William Graebner, *Coming of Age in Buffalo: Youth and Authority in the Postwar Era* (Philadelphia, 1989), 107–18; Erika M. Kitzmiller, "The Roots of Educational Inequality: Germantown High School, 1970–2011" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2012). Kitzmiller used yearbooks in combination with other sources of demographic and personal data to assess the impact of race and gender on the lives of Germantown High School graduates in the first half of the twentieth century. See appendices, 409–44.

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In the city of Philadelphia and the surrounding suburbs, many high schools maintain a collection of their own yearbooks, but methods vary from school to school. One might store such a collection in the library, another in a dean's office. Some have a designated closet, and some, unfortunately, keep their yearbooks in an otherwise junk-filled room. Sometimes historical societies accession high school yearbooks. The Jewish Historical Society of Michigan, for example, collects and preserves yearbooks from across the state.[3] The Newberry Library in Chicago has a large collection, primarily from Illinois, that can be found through its online catalogue. Both the Newberry and the nearby Harold Washington Library Center have many yearbooks from several Chicago high schools, most from the half-century between 1920 and 1970.[4] The Chicago Board of Education maintains an archive that accepts donated yearbooks. While the archive survived the district's recent move, it no longer has a professional archivist. The School District of Philadelphia should consider adding high school yearbooks to the documents covered by its existing records management policy. Whether or not it houses them is a separate issue.

Since the Civil War, young adults attending educational institutions have documented their school experiences. By doing so, they engage in the construction of memory. At first, students compiled scrapbooks and autograph books.[5] Later, they devoted the final issue of the school's literary magazine to the graduating class, making space among the student essays, poems, and plays for remembering the seniors. This issue often included a class history written by a graduating student as well as essays and predictions, both serious and humorous, about what might lie ahead for the graduates. With the increased availability of letterpresses and halftone printing after 1900, literary magazines evolved into yearbooks and became the primary place for memorializing many aspects of high school life, especially the achievements of those about to graduate.[6]

Soon after they first appeared, yearbooks and magazines were shared among schools so that they could be compared. In 1914, students in Woodbury, New Jersey, reviewed yearbooks from fourteen other high

[3] Jewish Historical Society of Michigan, accessed Aug. 23, 2017, http://www.michjewishhistory.org.

[4] The Chicago high schools include Austin, Englewood, Christian Fenger, and Lake View. Details on materials at the Harold Washington Library Center are available at http://www.chipublib.org/archival_subject/education/.

[5] Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, PA, has some excellent examples, and the Philadelphia High School for Girls maintains a collection in its archives.

[6] Hamilton, "Looking from the Outside In," 92n4.

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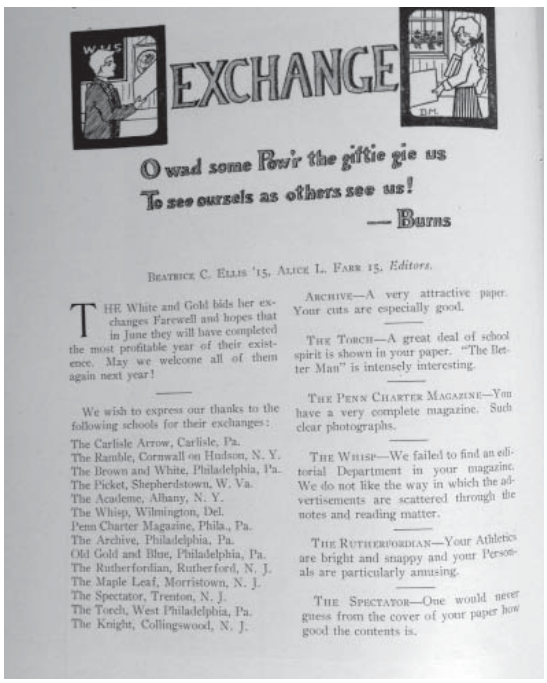

EXCHANGE

O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
— Burns

Beatrice C. Ellis '15, Alice L. Farr 15, *Editors.*

THE White and Gold bids her exchanges Farewell and hopes that in June they will have completed the most profitable year of their existence. May we welcome all of them again next year!

We wish to express our thanks to the following schools for their exchanges:

The Carlisle Arrow, Carlisle, Pa.
The Ramble, Cornwall on Hudson, N. Y.
The Brown and White, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Picket, Shepherdstown, W. Va.
The Academe, Albany, N. Y.
The Whisp, Wilmington, Del.
Penn Charter Magazine, Phila., Pa.
The Archive, Philadelphia, Pa.
Old Gold and Blue, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Rutherfordian, Rutherford, N. J.
The Maple Leaf, Morristown, N. J.
The Spectator, Trenton, N. J.
The Torch, West Philadelphia, Pa.
The Knight, Collingswood, N. J.

Archive—A very attractive paper. Your cuts are especially good.

The Torch—A great deal of school spirit is shown in your paper. "The Better Man" is intensely interesting.

The Penn Charter Magazine—You have a very complete magazine. Such clear photographs.

The Whisp—We failed to find an editorial Department in your magazine. We do not like the way in which the advertisements are scattered through the notes and reading matter.

The Rutherfordian—Your Athletics are bright and snappy and your Personals are particularly amusing.

The Spectator—One would never guess from the cover of your paper how good the contents is.

Fig. 1: Yearbook exchange review, Woodbury High School *White and Gold*, 1914, Woodbury Junior and Senior High School library, Woodbury, NJ.

schools and commented on six (fig. 1). These exchanges demonstrate a national interest among teenagers in their peers and a nascent youth culture. The editors of these student publications believed, as Reed Ueda has pointed out, that "they were not only expressing their identity, but also discovering the common bonds joining turn-of-the-century high school students in every part of the country."[7]

Of special value are student commentaries. In Camden, New Jersey, students in 1908 asked, "Shall We Study Latin and Greek—What, then, is the value of Latin and Greek to the boys and girls of the Camden High School?"[8] Decades later, changes in athletic programming prompted female students at Frankford High School in Philadelphia to correct a common misperception: "Some people have the false impression that girls do not take much part in the sports world; however according to the show-

[7] Ueda, *Avenues to Adulthood*, 125.

[8] Camden Manual Training and High School, "The High School Record," Nov. 1908, Camden County Historical Society.

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ing in Frankford High, there are as many girls as there are boys interested in participating in sports."[9]

Part independent student product and part administration-authorized institutional representation, yearbooks (and year-end issues of school newspapers and literary magazines) offer evidence of the tension between the sanctioned and the subversive. In addition to lauding classmates, recognizing accomplishments, cataloging distinctions from previous classes, and marking institutional changes, yearbooks often contained the contrarian opinions of students. In 1929, a student at the Philadelphia High School for Girls claimed her goal was to be an Olympic hurdler, knowing full well that her declaration challenged bourgeois standards that abjured public athletic performances by girls and women.[10] In 1938, Olney High School girls excused their lack of a field hockey championship by explaining that they practiced on "asphalt" but competed on grass when playing at other schools; by taking this step, they insured that their complaint would be preserved for years.[11] In 1972, Frankford High School girls remembered they started "the season by cutting grass and raking their own field" and cheekily attributed any success they achieved to "coaching and gardening."[12] These were meaning-making experiences unlikely to be recorded anywhere else, except perhaps in diaries or letters. As public pronouncements, they carried a different meaning.

In combination with the student commentary, yearbook pictures capture mundane but important changes in the material culture of schooling and the way it was experienced. Pictures of new buildings were often prominently placed on the front cover or the back page of a yearbook. Inside the book's pages, the students might describe how they experienced the space. For example, the principal of Germantown High, Harry Keller, told his students in 1917 that theirs was one of "the most beautiful buildings of the state," but its aesthetics did not mollify the girls, who experienced second-class treatment there. "Again this term, we played second fiddle to the boys," they wrote in 1926, adding, "The fact that the boys should be allotted seats on the main floor of Study Hall, while we girls had to sit on the horrid balcony, was a bitter pill to swallow, but we swallowed it and had

[9] Frankford High School yearbook, June 1938, 60. From 2008 until the school closed, Frankford H.S. yearbooks were kept in the office of the assistant principal, part of the main office.

[10] *Iris*, Apr. 10, 1929, archives room, Girls' High School of Philadelphia.

[11] Olney High School yearbook, Jan. 1938. Olney H.S. yearbooks were stored in a closet attached to the assistant principal's office on the second floor of the Olney West building.

[12] Frankford High School yearbook, 1972.

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to look pleasant while doing it. However, these things only added the spice to life and make the nice things seem nicer."[13] It would be difficult to find similar accounts of the gendered space of high schools in other documents.

Yearbook photographs capture other aspects of school culture. They reveal what students and faculty wore to class every day and the costumes they donned on special occasions. The uniforms for cheerleaders, majorettes, band members, and athletes appeared yearly and can be analyzed over time for their symbolic and cultural references. Students' recorded opinions add to our understanding. In 1917 the girls at Germantown High "had the time of [their] lives doing gym stunts" in their specialized costumes. "In those days we loved to wear our gym bloomers, and a Freshie could be spotted a mile off by the fact that she wore a light skirt to disclose the fact that she had them on," one student reminisced.[14] In 1921 Frankford girls crowed about the new "scarlet uniforms [that] were purchased for us," which "aroused the envy of every team we met."[15]

After editors began to identify by name the students whose pictures they published, yearbooks documented the racial and ethnic composition of their schools' student bodies in a new way. Adding student profiles that identified the elementary schools the students attended made manifest the socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic contours of their school district. In the Philadelphia metropolitan region, yearbook pictures illustrate the transition urban high schools made from majority white to majority black as well as the ways in which suburban high schools such as Phoenixville, Yeadon, and Media served historically black communities outside the city. While yearbooks document such well-known stories as white flight, they also shed light on the story of suburban school consolidation and the closure of black suburban high schools such as Yeadon, Darby, and Media.[16]

Reorganization in Philadelphia and other Pennsylvania cities, most notably the closing of long-established high schools, raises questions about the preservation of their histories. Yearbook collections may disappear if the school buildings in which they are kept are abandoned, demolished, or

[13] Principal Harry Keller's note to the first class of girl graduates, "The Record of the Class of June 1917," Germantown High School yearbook, 4; "The Class Record," Germantown High School yearbook, Feb. 1926. From 2008 until the school closed, Germantown H.S. yearbooks were kept on shelves in the office of the librarian. Their current location is unknown.

[14] Germantown High School Yearbook, June 1917.

[15] Frankford High School Yearbook, Feb. 1923.

[16] For an analysis of suburban school consolidation in the Philadelphia area, see William W. Cutler III and Catherine D'Ignazio, "Public Education: Suburbs," *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/public-education-suburbs/.

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repurposed. That may be the case for Germantown High School, which was shuttered in 2013 after operating for nearly a century. The same might be said for merged or closed high schools in the suburbs.[17] Alumni associations are often the basis for preservation efforts. But schools that close no longer produce alumni, so eventually this wellspring of support for preservation will vanish. In its place, school district policies should comprehensively address the preservation of student publications so that academic researchers and others may continue to explore the complex ways adolescents have experienced secondary education in America. Unfortunately, the precarious state of their finances may discourage, if not prevent, many school districts—especially those in big cities—from undertaking such preservation efforts.

Rutgers University–Camden CATHERINE D'IGNAZIO

[17] A local account of the closing of a historically black school is included in the documentary film *"A Highway Runs Through It . . .": A Community History of Darby Township*, written and directed by Valerie Harris (Philadelphia, 2011), DVD.

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Pa'lante in Pennsylvania: Puerto Rican Educational and Cultural Organizing through Aspira Inc. of Pennsylvania

Aspira—meaning "aspire" in Spanish—was the first professionally staffed, private, nonprofit organization dedicated to the Puerto Rican community. As a youth development organization, it provided leadership training, academic support, and cultural heritage programming to its mainly Puerto Rican students, known as Aspirantes.[1] The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) holds sixty-nine boxes of materials related to the Pennsylvania branch of the organization, a treasure trove of materials for those interested in Latinx history, urban history, the history of education, or philanthropy from the 1960s to the present. Given the rise of the Latinx student population across the state and country, this material is particularly helpful in shedding new light on the longstanding contributions of East Coast Latinxs and their experiences with public schools.

Aspira was the brainchild of New York–based social worker and community organizer Antonia Pantoja. As an offshoot of the 1950s-era Puerto Rican Forum, Aspira kicked off its activities in 1961 from an office in Manhattan. Recognizing the importance of education in an increasingly credentials-oriented, information-based economy, Pantoja's goal was to prepare a leadership class of Puerto Ricans for admission to and success in college, which would then continue the fight for equal rights and recognition as American citizens. The organization used the school-based club model and helped students and their families navigate the high school graduation and college application processes, learn about various professional career paths, and plan cultural events so that students would retain pride in their Puerto Rican heritage.[2]

[1] On this history of Aspira Inc., see Lauren Lefty, "Seize the Schools, Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre: Cold War Education Politics in New York City and San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1948–1975" (PhD diss., New York University, forthcoming 2019); and Antonia Pantoja, *Memoir of a Visionary: Antonia Pantoja* (Houston, 2002). Aspira embodied the spirit of "*Pa'lante*" ("Forward"), a common slogan among Puerto Rican community activists.

[2] For more on the organizing activities of Puerto Ricans in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere on the mainland, see Virginia E. Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley, CA, 1994); Carmen Whalen, ed., *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 2005); and Lorrin Thomas, *Puerto Rican Citizen: History and Political Identity in Twentieth-Century New York City* (Chicago, 2010).

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Following World War II, a large number of Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland in search of better jobs and educational opportunities in what is known as the Great Puerto Rican Migration. As US citizens since 1917, Puerto Ricans were able to move freely to the mainland and concentrated mainly in such East Coast urban centers as New York, Newark, and Philadelphia. Nonetheless, owing to their classification as a racial and ethnic minority and the precarious colonial status of the island, Puerto Ricans experienced high levels of discrimination and poverty and low levels of educational attainment. Organizations such as Aspira, led by a dedicated coterie of Puerto Rican professionals, worked hard to correct these trends while resisting outright cultural assimilation. Though Aspira remained a mainstream reform organization and not quite part of the radical *nuevo despertar* that such groups as the Young Lords came to represent by the late sixties and early seventies, Pantoja and Aspira nonetheless paved the way for the radical activities of the Lords, many of them former Aspirantes.

In 1968, a Ford Foundation grant allowed Aspira to expand its geographical reach to other cities with large Puerto Rican populations, including Chicago, Newark, San Juan, and Philadelphia. Aspira Inc. of Pennsylvania was thus created in 1969 to serve the large and growing Puerto Rican community in Philadelphia, Bethlehem, and elsewhere across the state.

The materials in the Aspira Inc. (Pennsylvania) Records at HSP mainly derive from the period between 1972 and 1986 and include a wide array of sources: correspondence, annual and monthly reports, project grants and reviews, job descriptions, personnel and student files, meeting minutes, news clippings, research reports, some print materials, and a large amount of financial data. Three major projects are chronicled, including Proyecto Amanece (Project Dawn), a community center located in Bethlehem; a talent search project that identified and supported promising college-bound Puerto Ricans across the state; and the Puerto Rican Youth Project, which chronicled the academic achievement and drop-out rates of Latinxs in Philadelphia schools during the 1970s.

The collection will be helpful not only for scholars interested in an organizational history of Aspira but also for those working on many other topics beyond the institutional realm. Anyone looking to uncover the experience of Latinx students in Philadelphia schools in the 1970s and ’80s will find both helpful narrative reports and data on students with Spanish surnames. Urban historians interested in the role of nonprofit organizations

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following the demise of the Great Society's Community Action Programs will also find rich source material. Those interested in philanthropy and the role of private and public money in shaping interest group politics will have much to explore, particularly regarding dependency versus autonomy debates in relation to corporate and government partnerships. Aspira also stands as a helpful case study for those considering the various sites of ethnic identity formation.

Aspira Inc. of Pennsylvania served and continues to serve a meaningful role in the history of the state, now providing such programs as Head Start and after-school enrichment. Its papers are a true "hidden gem" and deserve attention by researchers, educators, and activists alike.

New York University LAUREN LEFTY

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Left: *George Washington After the Battle of Princeton*, by Charles Willson Peale (MVLA). Right: *King George III*, by Allan Ramsay, Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

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