The Fourth of July in Southwestern Pennsylvania, 1800-1850

by Scott Martin

John Lewis Krimmel, Fourth of July Celebration, 1819
THE Fourth of July is often depicted as a celebration of American republicanism emphasizing the values of unity, communal spirit and patriotism. Both contemporary observers and scholarly commentators agree that Independence Day picnics, parades, and orations "brought Americans together without reference to their differences." Yet a close look at the Fourth in southwestern Pennsylvania from 1800 to 1850 reveals a far different picture. More than just an occasion for communal affirmation, the Fourth was contested cultural space; celebrants used the day to articulate a wide range of different and sometimes conflicting social, cultural, and political ideas. This diversity belies communal unity as the defining feature of the Fourth and points to the operation of larger social forces which transformed Independence Day from a republican festival given to patriotic devotions to a public safety holiday marked by commercial amusement.

Data gleaned from southwestern Pennsylvania newspapers, diaries and other contemporary sources between 1800 and 1850 reveal the Fourth's complexity. The commemoration of American independence engendered a wide range of celebrations, and these festivities changed over time in response to demographic increase, ethnic diversification, mass politics, and economic growth. To understand this transformation, we will look first at the basic form of celebration from 1800 to 1850, and then explore the diversity of observances, viewpoints, and values contained within this generic framework. Though a range of celebrations existed throughout the period, broad changes over time also shaped the overall character of the Fourth in southwestern Pennsylvania. By detailing both the pattern of celebrations and changes to that pattern over time, we discover much about social and cultural change in the Pittsburgh region. In the transition from the patriotic festival envisioned by the Founding Fathers to the recreational holiday familiar to modern Americans, we can glimpse many of the developments which had by the early nineteenth century already begun to transform the Pittsburgh region from an agrarian to an industrial society.

Fourth of July celebrations all followed a basic pattern which varied only slightly no matter what group organized the affair. Most celebrations began with participants assembling at a prearranged point, often a courthouse, church or tavern. Opening exercises consisted of a prayer, oration, or address, depending on the nature of the celebration. The group then proceeded to the site of the dinner and festivities. Often the Fourth of July dinner would be served in a "shady grove" outside of town, or on the property of a prominent celebrant. The dinner also followed a pattern common to nearly all celebrations. A president, one or more vice-presidents, and a secretary were appointed (not elected) by the company, usually by unanimous acclamation. The Declaration of Independence was then read by one of the officers or by someone appointed for that task; one or more patriotic orations by prominent citizens or guests sometimes followed. The company then sat down to dinner, the most prominent guests usually seated at a head table. After dinner, the "cloth" was removed, and the company prepared for

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toasting. Two types of toasts were offered: regular toasts, which were prepared in advance by a committee assigned that task by the celebration's organizers, and volunteer toasts, which were the spontaneous sentiments of ordinary participants. Toasts of both types were accompanied by music, cheers, and musket or cannon fire. American unity, the bravery and patriotism of the Founding Fathers, and other patriotic issues or themes of particular interest to the company were the usual recipients of toasts.

Despite this uniformity of pattern, celebrations were organized around a number of themes, issues, and values; military celebrations, moral/religious festivals, economic celebrations, "out-group" gatherings, and social observances as well as political meetings characterized the day in southwestern Pennsylvania. The people and groups who organized these celebrations articulated differing, and sometimes antagonistic, visions of themselves and their community, making the Fourth a cultural arena in which values and ideas could be juxtaposed and contested. Complicating matters further, any celebration might be colored by various themes and orientations. A celebration by an Irish militia company, for example, might emphasize not only the Fourth's Revolutionary associations, but the contributions of Irish immigrants to the republic, as well as the economic or occupational positions of the celebrants (e.g., toasts to mechanics and laborers). In 1843, for instance, Pittsburgh's Hibernian Greens militia company paraded through the city in the morning, emphasizing military and Revolutionary associations. That afternoon, however, they joined with the stridently anti-British Repealers for a celebration in Gazzam's Grove which focused on their shared ethnicity.

Even given this complexity, certain celebratory themes predominated. Especially in the early part of the century, observance of the Fourth was usually framed by the military and patriotic values emerging from the Revolution. The military festival often began with cannon-fire at dawn, followed by a parade, military "evolutions" or maneuvers, and a dinner sponsored by one or more militia companies. After-dinner toasts celebrated national unity, the Revolution's military heritage, and the continuing vigilance of the militia's citizen-soldiers. On July 4, 1818, for example, the Pittsburgh City Guards and Washington Guards met on Grant's Hill in Pittsburgh to celebrate the day: "No party animosity was agitated; all sentiments appeared to harmonize when they reflected on the glorious event they were then met to commemorate." After firing a 20 gun salute and partaking of the "elegant entertainment" prepared for them, the companies offered toasts to the day, the flag, General Washington, and the military. Emphasizing the underlying patriotism of Americans, the companies offered a toast to "Party Spirit — Though we are divided into sections, we are ready to form the line when danger threatens." Similar sentiments prevailed in Greensburg, Westmoreland County, in 1823, where the Greensburg Blues's celebration emphasized "utmost harmony and good feeling."

The meeting seemed composed of brothers of the same family — all was hilarity, mirth and good humor. No wrinkled brow of care was seen, no squinting suspicion. It was a joyous brow at the remembrance of a great day which gave birth to an independent people.

One of the Greensburg celebration's regular toasts reveals the tone of the day: "The United States of America. 'E Pluribus Unum. 'Unanimity.'" Some militia celebrations did fall prey to the influence of partisan politics in the 1830s and 1840s, but others succeeded in preserving a non-partisan spirit throughout the antebellum era. The emphasis on unity and its consequent condemnation of "partyism" sometimes reached a frenetic pitch, attesting both to the importance of the bond all Americans supposedly felt on the Fourth, and the celebrants' anxiety over threats to this shared heritage.

Another common celebration was observance by economic or occupational groups. In the early years of the century, economic celebrations often displayed the wealth of a local patrician, extending hospitality to less fortunate neighbors as a way of articulating a superior position in the community. Other economic celebrations might be sponsored by an employer, a union, or an occupational association to commemorate the contribution of a particular group to the nation's prosperity, promote harmony between different economic groups (e.g., employer and employees), enhance the solidarity of an occupational association, or offer a vision of the ideal republican socio-economic order. A newspaper account of the Fourth of July at Humphreysville, Washington County, in 1810, "an exhibition which for novelty, utility and patriotism, probably stands unrivalled in the records of all preceding festivals" illustrates these aspects of the economic celebration. "The farmers, shepherds, mechanics and manufacturers in col. (sic) Humphrey's employ having beforehand solicited to be usefully occupied on this day," were treated to a ploughing match and the construction of a shepherd's lodge on Humphrey's farm. Beginning at the crack of dawn and working at breakneck speed, Col. Humphrey's laborers completed their tasks by early afternoon. In the spirit of the day, Humphrey entertained the company with a variety of fermented and distilled liquors. From thence they were invited to sit at the table, which was well furnished with Merino mutton, beef, poultry, puddings, & c. the products of his (Humphrey's) farms. The proprietor did the honors of the table; and the
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following sentiment alone was given after dinner: —
'Independence. Deeds — not words. — Let those who
wish to appear to love their country, prove it by actions
rather than by toasts and declarations.'

Although Col. Humphrey’s patriotic vision seems
inextricably linked to the improvement of his real estate,
his celebration offered a model for preindustrial eco-

nomics and labor relations nonetheless. The nobility and
value of agriculture as a “useful” occupation; the loyal
and hard-working republican laborers who shunned
idleness even on a festival day; the beneficent proprietor,
mindful of his superior position but still solicitous of
the happiness and welfare of his workers — all these ele-

ments represented in graphic display the harmonious
preindustrial economic relations that many Americans
hoped would continue in the new republic. Not surpris-
ingly, this celebration shared many features of the
traditional preindustrial harvest feasts in which the lord
of the manor rewarded his servants for their hard work
with a rich feast.9

As early as the 1820s, the southwestern Pennsylvania
economy began to shift away from agriculture toward
industry, and the new economic values which emerged
as a result were represented and developed in Fourth of
July celebrations. One such celebration at the Phoenix
Cotton Factory in 1823 in Pittsburgh “exhibited the
singular spectacle” of some of the city’s “most distin-
guished and respectable gentlemen” celebrating with
the “superintendents and hands of that establishment,
both male and female.”

We say singular, because, however creditable, the
cordial feeling of sociability with which respectability and
rank there united with honest industry, and modest
worth, the prejudices of feudal times, aristocratic no-
tions, and commercial wealth, have hitherto held them-
selves above such associations. We are proud of them
because, while they cannot degrade, any citizen, how-
ever elevated, they introduce manufacturers to that rank
in social life which the development of mind in the
mechanical pursuits of modern days, determines shall
be the first.10

In contrast to the display of deference at the Hum-
phreysville celebration, which left the proprietor’s pre-
eminent social and economic position unquestioned,
the Phoenix dinner presented a very different picture of
labor relations. Though still affirming the importance of
socio-economic distinctions (“respectability and rank”
united with “honest industry” and “modest” worth),
the celebration’s toasts praised manufacturers (i.e., arti-
sans and laborers) and immigrants, and in contrast to
Humphrey’s dinner, even allowing the laborers them-
selves a forum for expressing their feelings through the
vehicle of volunteer toasts. Whatever the reality may
have been, the Phoenix celebration depicted relations
between employer and employed as cooperative and
democratic by using the Fourth to articulate social ideas
and values appropriate to changing economic circum-
stances.

By the 1830s, tensions generated by economic change,
class formation, and an ethnically diverse labor force
found expression in southwestern Pennsylvania’s Fourth
of July festivities. Celebrations sponsored by artisans
and mechanics emphasized the value of their occupations
to the republic’s freedom and dignity, thereby contesting
claims of preeminence by competing celebrants. Hu-
morously defending their 1826 observance of the Fourth
to an assembly of prestigious Pittsburgh Light Artillery,

A deputation from the society of Journeyman Shoemak-
ers, who were celebrating the day in the neighborhood
presented the following sentiment: ‘The Pittsburgh
Light Artillery: May they be charged with the soles of
toasts. And primed with the best American
upper, always ram home European invaders. Tune — St.
Patrick’s Day in the Morning.11

Many immigrant workers used the Fourth to assert
their devotion to their new country, affirm their rights
and abilities as republicans, and contest derogatory
depictions of their ethnic group. Immigrant participa-
tion set the tone for the trade union celebration held in
Pittsburgh in 1836. Accompanied by a German band,
the celebrants marched in procession from the court-
thouse to George Hatfield’s garden, one mile from the
city. The celebration, which followed the standard form,
revealed strong Irish as well as German participation in
the standard and volunteer toasts. A spokesman pointed
out, doubtless in order to combat stereotypes, “a fact
creditable to this company, which is, that, unlike cele-
brations in general of this day, the company drank but a
very small quantity of ardent spirits.”12 The trade union
celebration thus presented an image of temperate, virtu-
ous Irish and German workers eager to participate in the
American republic, and justifiably insistent of their right
to do so.

Religion as well as ethnicity contributed to conflict
over the proper manner of commemorating the Fourth.
Beginning in the 1820s, mor-
al and religious
groups, as well as citizens orga-
ized in particu-
lar trades or
commercial
groups, claimed
a place in the celebration of national independence.
These new groups emphasized the importance of reli-
gion, temperance, or morality to the establishment and
maintenance of the American republic. As early as 1819,
Pittsburgh’s Francis Herron sponsored a religious ob-
servance of the Fourth in his prestigious First Presbyte-
rian Church. Herron emphasized that gratitude to God

Colonel Humphrey “treated”
his farmhands to a ploughing
match and the construction of
a shepherd’s lodge on his property
to celebrate the holiday in 1810.
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for aiding the American cause in the Revolution was the only proper mode of celebrating the national festival. This theme of thanks to God on the Fourth also surfaced early in Washington County, where some citizens reacted with alarm to the worldliness and profligacy of Fourth celebrations. "A Friend to the Celebration of the 4th of July, 1776" lamented in 1821 that

our newspapers continue to be barren this year as former years, of any account of expressions of thanks and gratitude to Almighty God upon the late celebration of the 4th of July, as the author of our national mercies and privileges... all nations, christians, Jews and Mahometans, Turks and even heathens ever had, and still have thanksgivings and praise to Almighty God or their imaginary deities — in their national festivals, in remembrance of mercies received..."

A year later, a "Friend of Gospel Religion" again scolded the Washingtonians for their mode of celebration as "more inexusable" than it was previously, as they had "many good examples of the last year, and numerous admonitions" on the subject. The mode of celebration, the "Friend" objected, had "now become almost universally disgusting to the friends of gospel religion and republicanism." For these champions of religious virtue, the Fourth was a time for gratitude and reflection on God's role in the republic, not merely for feasting and rattling sabers.

By the 1840s, Sabbath school celebrations expanded and developed this theme, asserting that Christianity and religious education were the bulwarks of republicanism. The celebration at Pigeon Creek, Washington County, in 1843 was a case in point. After assembling in the Presbyterian church, the Sabbath school and "many citizens" joined in an opening prayer, then retired to a grove for refreshments. The company, "amounting to some hundreds," heard the Declaration of Independence read before returning to the church for more prayer, music, and a membership drive by the local temperance society. In exercises dominated by religious themes (the only overtly patriotic aspect of the day was the recitation of the Declaration), the Pigeon Creek Sabbath School insisted on the centrality of religious values to the maintenance of the republic.

Temperance societies also sponsored celebrations in their own right, often comparing freedom from the thraldom of drunkenness to the political independence commemorated by the Fourth. This was the message of the 1847 Sons of Temperance celebration in Washington. The order's spokesman admitted that some might think the Sons' celebration not as exciting as other Fourth

observances, but he was quick to discount this objection: "Although no noisy mirth betrayed the overexcited feelings, it was evident that those who participated, were rejoicing in a better freedom — a freedom not alone from foreign shackles, but, from a more deadly and dangerous foe to man." For temperance organizations, like other moral/religious groups, the Fourth served as a powerful opportunity for relating a specific moral issue to the life of the republic.

"Out groups," or those excluded from most public celebrations, also found in the Fourth an opportunity to promote a sense of belonging, however limited, to the community's patriotic observances. Out group celebrations allowed women, young people, and ethnic minorities to foster group solidarity and to prove that they, too, could be good republicans. In 1801 in Greensburg, a group of women excluded from the men's celebration met separately to commemorate national independence, and were toasted by the Westmoreland Cavalry at the militia celebration. Though not characteristic of all Fourth celebrations, gender and age segregation was common throughout the antebellum era. In 1845, for instance, at Dr. Reed's schoolhouse in Canton Township, Washington County, the pupils and ladies of the vicinity "concluded that as they were excluded by dust, noise and public opinion from the more gorgeous celebration in the Borough, they would have a picnic among themselves, where they might discharge their superabundant patriotism, and love of fun without restraint."

Young men as well as women and children were sometimes excluded from the holiday observances of their more established elders. In 1818 "a small party of young men of this city (Pittsburgh), anxious to participate in the festivity of this day," assembled on the banks of the Monongahela River "for the purpose of commemorating 'the most memorable epocha (sic) in the history of America.'" Their celebration followed exactly the form of their elders' Fourth celebrations, attesting to the youngster's ability to properly participate in the republican festival. In a similar vein, college students often sponsored their own Fourth celebrations, proving their civic maturity and asserting the importance of learning and scholarly attainment to the republic.

Minority groups also attested to their republicanism by holding Fourth celebrations which contested derogatory stereotypes. Black Americans held separate celebrations which followed the same form as those of their white counterparts, demonstrating their eagerness to commemorate the patriotic occasion. These efforts at participating in patriotic observance were sometimes the target of derision by whites, as a satirical account of a black Fourth of July in Washington County demonstrates: a "priva parta of us fashonebal kolored gemman, dissembled at de cool spring on de forth Jule, in detension of shulen de felins onde alter hour contres fre liberte." Black women also participated in the Fourth, imitating the church fairs held by white women on or

College students often sponsored their own Fourth celebrations to prove their civic maturity and the importance of education to the republic.
around the Fourth. In 1848, the women of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh held a “grand entertainment” on the Fourth; Allegheny City’s “colored Wesleyan church” sponsored a ladies’ fair two days earlier. These celebrations, like those of other outgroups, allowed blacks to demonstrate their ability and willingness to be good Americans and provided an opportunity to feel part of a larger celebration, albeit in a limited way.

Catholics, another target of public hostility, also observed the Fourth separately. By the 1840s the Catholic population of Pittsburgh was large enough to support a sizeable celebration at St. Paul’s Orphan Asylum, the proceeds of which benefitted the residents of the asylum. Catholics observed the occasion with a dinner, oration and toasts, as did their Protestant counterparts, but also used the contested cultural space of the Fourth to articulate a vision of their place in a society suspicious of the church’s hierarchy and tradition. In 1845, for example, recent convert Orestes A. Brownson delivered an oration before the Catholic Institute at the Orphan Asylum. Brownson contended that Catholicism bolstered rather than threatened republican government. Virtue, he asserted, was necessary to a republic, and true virtue resided in obedience to God. As the Catholic Church was the only reliable authority on God’s will, the “only safeguard for our Republic will be found in the wide-spread dissemination of the doctrines of that Church.” In 1847 the Rev. John Lancaster, pastor of St. Paul’s, took up the subject of Catholicism and the republic, arguing that priests did not interfere in the politics of their congregations and condemning political proscription on religious grounds.

Like other outgroups, Catholics used the Fourth to claim a place in republican society and to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism. At issue in all the foregoing types of celebrations was a question of social legitimacy: who should have preeminence in celebrating the Fourth, and what values should the celebration reflect? Was it proper for one group to use the Fourth for its own purposes, or was there an “authentic” mode of celebration, deviation from which would constitute disrespect to the republic? For concerned Americans these were thorny questions for two reasons. First, in addition to being affirmations of the sponsor’s own values, all the celebrations described above were necessarily comments on, if not criticisms of, competing celebrations. Second, by the 1830s the multiplicity of these comments and criticisms attested to new divisions in the region’s communities and made the illusion of patriotic unity on the Fourth difficult to sustain. Southwestern Pennsylvanians were thus confronted with the fragmentation of their community by their commemoration of a supposedly unifying occasion.

Many people tried to avoid these issues by meeting on the Fourth for purely social purposes, treating the day as a holiday. In 1820, 14 Washington county hunters joined together for a hunting party on the Fourth; in 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, jubilant Pittsburghers gathered at the foot of Grant’s Hill for horse racing.

Another popular Fourth activity was the social party. Pittsburgh merchant Henry Sterling described a youthful celebration in 1819 notably devoid of patriotic feeling:

While some around the chirreries (sic) shared,
And others eating, others talking,
And others swinging, others walking,
And others on the Ladies gazing,
A number, down the sparkling wine
Were swilling, like so many swine
'Till every thing to them amazing,
In their rolling eyes appeared.

And as the Ladies mounted high (i.e. swinging)
Up in the air, young Jack, 'tis said
A wicked notion in his head
The rascal took that he would stare
At garters tied the knees below
And stockings white as wool or snow
Which clasp the limbs of Ladies fair
Between the ankle (sic) and the thigh.

Pittsburgher Samuel Young remembered a less prurient Fourth dinner around 1828 which gave little more than the appearance of patriotic decorum. In the midst of speeches, orations, and other exercises, the company devoted most of its attention to the banquet’s food. A group of well-to-do young Pittsburghers who met at the country estate of Samuel Frew in 1835 to eat, drink, and converse with the opposite sex exemplified the social celebration. This group preferred convivial socializing to the “political dinners, inflammatory speeches and red-hot toasts, delivered by the energetic and warm advocates of party strife and discontent” then current in Pittsburgh.

Yet even social gatherings used the Fourth to articulate ideas and values about American society and culture, sometimes implicitly contesting (or rejecting) the claims of others to equal participation in the day. Sponsored by a local clergyman and his wife, a “glorious little celebration, by the young gentlemen and ladies of Monongahela City,” Washington County, in 1843 emphasized the role of white women in maintaining the republic.

The ladies, God bless them! who does not feel that get-out-of-the-way-go-aheadliness, which distinguishes Anglo-Saxon energy when they are 'on hand,' and mingle in the rites and ceremonies of a Nation’s holy-day? ... Yes!
while America-nized Anglo-Saxon blood dilates our veins, and the smiles of the virtuous fair, who are destined to become the mothers of true republicans, continue to hover around the festive board, where the freemen's prayers ascend to the God of battles, and where the shouts of their lips go out "like a thunder roll upon the banners of the air" — we may deem our liberties secure and firm as the everlasting hills, and continue to show the world, as we have already done, that mankind is capable of self-government.

The celebration, which included the "usual tete a tete," a procession and "promenade" through town, and a cold water banquet, served as a social gathering for young people and, in an off-handed way, an affirmation of the nativist ideology already finding its way into politics. In claiming an important place for women in the "rites and ceremonies of a Nation's holy-day," this social gathering implicitly excluded anyone not born of "Americanized Anglo-Saxon blood" from the ranks of "true republicans." This celebration of Anglo-Saxon superiority and virtue delighted the 40 to 50 men and women in attendance; the "only regret uttered on the occasion was, that the Fourth of July comes but once a year."28

The foregoing examples illustrate how the Fourth served as contested cultural space, and reveal something of its complexity and diversity. To fully understand the dynamics of this complexity, however, we must also consider how Fourth of July observances changed over time. Between 1800 and 1850 demographic, social and economic change in southwestern Pennsylvania multiplied both modes of celebration and types of celebrant, thereby dividing communities on Independence Day. More jarring than these changes, however, was the transformation of the Fourth caused by the emergence of partisan politics during the 1820s. In communities already divided by a diversity of festivities, partisanship promoted the fragmentation, privatization, and commercialization of the Fourth, helping to transform it into the recreational holiday of today. More than anything else, political strife on the Fourth motivated southwestern Pennsylvanians to abandon traditional observances and to look for less troubling ways of celebrating American independence.

As other historians have noted, the Fourth was from the start a profoundly political occasion. Opposing parties or factions routinely sponsored competing celebrations, as numerous newspaper accounts attest. Yet this political fragmentation did not, at least in the early years of the century, necessarily detract from the communal or unifying aspect of the day. Opposing factions could agree to disagree, even celebrate separately, while still respecting the opinions and patriotism of their rivals. But as the vehement partisan struggles of the Jacksonian era emerged in the 1820s, Fourth observances changed from a celebration of republican community to a litany of Americans' political differences. Celebrants proposed angry, partisan toasts at Fourth dinners, excluded persons of opposing political sentiments, and denied vehemently the patriotism, morality and republicanism of their opponents. At a celebration in Burgettstown, Washington County, in 1823, citizens favorable to the election of Andrew Gregg for governor delayed toasting until the room was "cleared of some persons of opposite sentiments, who had intruded by mistake." The company toasted Gregg, and then the opposition candidate: "John Andrew Schulze — without talents, political knowledge, or experience in public affairs, he attempts to ride into office on the pack horse of party — down with him."29 A similar scene was enacted at Ligonier, Westmoreland County, in 1840. A Democratic celebration began their festivities "after all those who preferred to go to the hard cider (i.e., Whig) celebration had left their ranks." The 200-300 Democrats present erected a liberty pole after dinner and railed against Whiggery in the traditional festive toasts.30

Uniontown Democrats in 1840 avowed that "there cannot be a Republican heart that does not beat high at the very mention of the Fourth of July!" and urged attendance at the celebration of "a day which should be kept as the Sabbath of our Liberties." The Democrats used this "Sabbath" to condemn the "rough sea of Whiggery, the deep dead sea of Federalism, floating with 'log cabins and hard cider' to the port of Democracy."31

Nor were the Democrats alone in putting the Fourth to partisan uses. Whigs and a variety of factions regularly used the day to deride their opponents. Andrew Jackson was frequently the target of indignant toasts at these celebrations. A dinner organized by the Greensburg "Friends of the Constitution opposed to Usurpation by the Federal Executive" in 1834 hailed the usual objects of patriotism, but also urged that the presidency "never again be occupied by any other than a man duly qualified to exalt its dignity" and protect the constitution. Volunteer toasts were less reticent: Dr. W. R. Speer praised republican government, hoping it would survive despite "the schemes and machinations of our present Executive, and his sycophantic, aristocratic coadjutors."32

Recognizing the symbolic possibilities of the day, Whigs nominated an electoral ticket at their blatantly partisan Fourth celebration in Pittsburgh in 1835. This elicited a venomous blast from Neville B. Craig, the anti-Masonic editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette, who complained that "there never was an occasion on which such a disregard for public opinion and republican usage were displayed."33 Craig's indignation highlighted the multiplicity of patriotic meanings and values generated

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Gatherings of different groups caused community fragmentation when commemorating a supposedly unifying occasion.

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in the Fourth’s contested cultural space. Partisanship was appropriate only as it served patriotism and true republicanism, however defined; problems arose when the Fourth was a cultural arena in which competing and divergent visions of patriotism and republicanism were engendered. Thus Craig’s *Gazette* had only praise for the large anti-Masonic rally he attended on the Fourth, despite the vituperatively partisan rhetoric of Thaddeus Stevens, the featured speaker.⁴⁴

As the partisan strife of the “second party” system deepened, many Americans feared that politics would destroy the original patriotic meaning of the Fourth. Complaints about exploitation of the day for self-serving purposes became common by the late 1820s, reflecting southwestern Pennsylvanians’ discomfort with the vehement party conflicts which had rapidly become characteristic of their political lives. In 1828, for instance, dissatisfaction with the partisanship of Jacksonian celebrations surfaced in Westmoreland County. A letter to the *Greensburg Gazette* objected that the toasts at Jacob Eichar’s lionized Jackson at the expense of the Founding Fathers:

...while in but *one* volunteer toast the name of Washington is even mentioned, *fifteen* toasts are given to General Andrew Jackson... there are besides this one, 364 days in the year, Sundays excepted, to indulge in party rancor without this day (which ought to be a jubilee and on which all good citizens might unite in its celebration without regard to political party feelings or attachments,) being prostituted to such a purpose.⁴⁵

John Butler, editor of the *Pittsburgh Statesman*, expressed similar sentiments a year later: “The occasion is commemorative of a common event which produced effects and blessings common to all! It should be celebrated as our National Jubilee! It should be the festival of an Empire of a PEOPLE, and not of a Party!”⁴⁶

Further objections surfaced in 1835, when southwestern Pennsylvania politicians of various stripes courted the laboring class by holding “Working Men’s” gatherings on the Fourth. In Pittsburgh an anti-Van Buren faction sponsored a Working Men’s Party celebration headed by lawyers, politicians and professionals. One celebrant offered a toast to the “mechanics and working men of Pittsburgh — too wise, too virtuous and too independent to be made the dupes, and wear the collar, of political aspirants, especially of men who subvert the principles for which the Fourth of July has been revered, and convert them to base designs.”⁴⁷

Elements of the working class led by Richard Phillips organized a competing celebration, denouncing the Working Men’s Party dinner as an insult “emanating from a batch of political speculators, who are desirous of attaining their objects by imposing on an unsuspecting community.”⁴⁸ Concerned observers like Phillips feared justifiably that parties would exploit the powerful symbolism of the day for partisan purposes, deceiving gullible voters and corrupting the Fourth itself.

The potential for exploitation of the powerful symbolic associations of the Fourth was illustrated graphically in 1831 by the National Republicans, precursors of the Allegheny County Whigs. The “Friends of Colonel James Johnston” agreed in June to hold a Fourth of July celebration “in a manner best calculated to do honor to our Revolutionary worthies,” with “special reference to the valor and services of our ancestors.” The meeting deemed the observance a “practice promotive of patriotic feelings and sentiments” which should be dedicated to “grateful expressions of our thankfulness toward living Revolutionary patriots” and consecrated to the memory of the dead.⁴⁹

Though all surviving Revolutionary veterans were invited as guests of honor, the elderly Col. Johnston was to be the centerpiece of the celebration. Not coincidentally, Johnston was also the National Republicans’ candidate for the Senate. The party obviously hoped to capitalize on the enormous respect and prestige accorded Revolutionary veterans by running Johnston as a candidate. They attempted to enhance this appeal by framing his candidacy with the powerful ritual of the Fourth of July, thereby adding a further luster of symbolic patriotism to an already sentimentally attractive candidate.

This attempt to cloak partisanship in the sheep’s clothing of patriotism emerges clearly in the celebration itself. Col. Johnston’s “Friends” portrayed him as the patriotic choice for the Senate, a candidate who, by virtue of his Revolutionary experience, could rise above party strife and unite his fellow Americans under the banner of true republicanism:

All present seemed linked together by the great bands of one national fraternity. No different party interests here came in collision; no political animosities received an utterance or, for a moment, intervened to mar the harmony or interrupt the warm glow of feelings which should preponderate over all other considerations on such an occasion.

Sitting among the other surviving Revolutionary veterans at the head table, the venerable Johnston was the image of American patriotism. The company’s toasts rapidly revealed, however, that the patriotism of James Johnston bore a striking resemblance to the Whiggery of Henry Clay:

The American Revolution and the American System —
By the former we achieved our political liberty, by the latter we sustain our national independence.

By a Quondam Jackson Man who was prevented from attending by sickness: Gen. A. Jackson — The Hero ‘who filled the measure of his country’s glory’ at New Orleans; but alas! has emptied the measure since his residence at Washington.

By Wm. Hamilton: Our Next President — May he be made of no worse materials than American Clay—and may he deliver us from the sway of petticoat Government!

Reveling in the legitimacy afforded them by Col. Johnston, his National Republican “Friends” sent a delegation to offer a sarcastic toast to the Jacksonians celebrating on Stewart’s Island: “The Tariff of 1828 — May it not be nullified till we get a better.”

Some concluded that partisan politics itself was the culprit in this debasement of the Fourth. Looking fondly back on the communal festivals of his youth, one editor observed:

Old General Jackson stopped all this fun, unconscious-ly, of course; in 1827, the first party celebration took place; there were no ladies, and what was worse for us and our companions, there were no boys there; and then the toasts, when all met together, no man on that day thought of obstructing his politics on his neighbor, and every sentiment breathed patriotism — now, all of one political faith, each exhibits his orthodoxy, by his extra party fury. The whole thing was spoiled — the happy Fourths were ended.

Though an obvious romanticization of bygone days, this comment captures an important aspect of changes in the Fourth. Partisan politics altered the meaning and conduct of the day; rather than unifying Americans, it fragmented them.

Issues as well as parties threatened to divide Americans on the national Sabbath; when abolitionism emerged as a political issue its disruptive implications for the Fourth became clear. Abolitionists saw celebration of independence in a nation which tolerated slavery as outright hypocrisy, and used the Fourth to denigrate the morality and patriotism of their countrymen: “Can those who profess to be true friends of liberty and the sincere haters of slavery, join in the popular celebrations of our National Independence, as it is called? ... The shouts of liberty and the cannon’s roar are mockery in the ear of God.”

Many abolitionist societies chose the Fourth as their annual meeting day because of its association with freedom and liberty. The Pittsburgh Antislavery Society, for example, stipulated in its constitution that “The Society shall hold its Annual Meeting on the Anniversary of Our National Independence, at which time the Annual Report shall be read, appropriate addresses delivered, and the officers elected” for the coming year. To quiet anyone skeptical of the necessity and urgency of linking the Fourth to the abolitionist cause, antislavery advocates could point to shameful attempted kidnappings of runaway slaves and free blacks alike during the nation’s commemoration of Independence Day.

The corrosive effect of partisanship on an ostensibly national, unifying festival was not lost on many south-western Pennsylvanians. By the mid-1830s, they began to change their manner of celebration in the hopes of averting the divisiveness and rancor generated by partisan gatherings. Concern for the preservation of American unity and the integrity of the Fourth as a patriotic festival fostered two developments: a rejection of public celebration in favor of private observance, which will be discussed below; and a shift in the orientation of public celebrations away from political concerns and toward moral and religious values. One might object to the stridently partisan procession of the Sons of Democracy through Uniontown in 1840; it was harder to object on patriotic grounds to the Sons of Temperance procession which paraded through Washington in 1847. Temperance and other moral-religious causes took the Fourth by storm: commenting on the large temperance processions in Pittsburgh and Allegheny in 1842, the Spirit of Liberty observed that the “friends of temperance seem to have quite a monopoly on the celebration of the Fourth.”

Most people applauded this recession of partisanship. In 1843 Pittsburgh’s Morning Chronicle hailed the apparent absence of political dinners:

Heretofore, long before the day arrived, all the leaders of the different political parties of our city were busily engaged in making preparations to celebrate the Anniversary of American Independence in their own selfish and anti-American manner. But this year we have heard of no such preparations.... a majority of our citizens have seen the absurdity of sacrificing all their better feelings on the altar of some political party, just because a few unprincipled men command them to do so...
for example, the Pittsburgh Blues volunteer company signed the temperance pledge *en masse* and joined the Washington Total Abstinence Society and the Jackson Independent Blues, another temperance company, for a boat trip to a temperance celebration six miles from the city. In the same year the military and citizens of Monongahela City met at Carrollton, Washington County, for a cold water Fourth: "This is the achievement of the great moral revolution that has absolved these states from all allegiance to 'King Alcohol' — a greater tyrant than was ever King George." Sabbath school as well as temperance celebrations eclipsed the military. Westmoreland County's Phoenix Guards, which previously had sponsored or participated in military celebrations, became by 1847 an auxiliary to the Methodist Episcopal Sabbath School celebration. The Guards escorted the school to their place of celebration, provided music for the procession, and later joined in adopting resolutions which affirmed the necessity of religion to republican government:

> Resolved, That patriotic feelings incite to worthy and noble action, and that a professed regard for the religion of the Bible, is anti-hypocritical and real, in those only, who...labor to keep them (i.e. republican institutions) free from weakening innovations and unholy and anti-Republican connections.

Even this move away from the divisiveness of partisan celebrations had a fragmenting effect, however. Though defusing the rancor of the partisan Fourth, moral and religious celebrations unwittingly promoted communal fragmentation dividing celebrants along ethnic, religious or cultural lines. By the 1840s the Pittsburgh region's population had both grown and diversified, producing a variety of approaches to religion and morality. Though not always antagonistic, different ethnic groups and denominations were not necessarily similar enough to make common celebration possible or desirable. Sabbath schools of the same denomination might celebrate the Fourth together, but Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Catholics usually celebrated separately, as did members of black churches. Temperance advocates agreed on the evils of drinking, but divided on questions of voluntarism versus compulsory temperance and total abstinence versus renunciation of hard liquor. Opponents of slavery on religious grounds ran afoot of their fire-eating political counterparts on the issue of abolitionism versus colonization; evidence also suggests that this division was a partial product of the Old Light/New Light schism in the Presbyterian Church in the late 1830s. The emergence of moral/religious celebrations on the Fourth in the 1830s and 1840s alleviated some of the discomfort produced by partisan conflict, but could not prevent completely the communal fragmentation generated by the clash of values, ideals, and interpretations of patriotism in southwestern Pennsylvania's rapidly changing society.

Ironically, discouraging political or religious divisions on the Fourth only accelerated the communal fragmentation it was intended to combat by undermining support for public celebrations. Though more people than ever observed the Fourth as 1850 approached, an increasing number chose to forgo public celebration and its attendant divisiveness in favor of a more private holiday. The diaries of Charles B. Scully and Robert McKnight, both young Pittsburgh attorneys in the 1840s, illustrate this retreat from public celebration. Scully and McKnight spent their Fourth holidays in the 1840s not at political or religious celebrations, but at social gatherings and private amusements. Scully played ten-pins with friends in Allegheny City and paid evening social calls on the Fourth in 1843; the two extant years of McKnight’s diary reveal that he viewed fireworks displays, visited local amusements and attended dancing parties in 1842 and again in 1846. Though aware of the public celebrations (McKnight remarked indignantly that he was awakened at an early hour in 1846 by a noisy militia parade), neither took part in them, or, apparently, felt obligated by custom or patriotism to do so. Neither did the harried editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. After enumerating the various activities and amusements available in 1842, he revealed his plan to spend the day in “retirement,” sitting “among reams of unopened exchanges, sipping some of the delicious Peach Syrup, which Mr. I. Harris furnishes temperance folks, quietly puffing one of Cooke’s excellent cigars.”

For those spending the Fourth privately, the day had become a time for amusement, recreation and the enjoyment of one's social and familial circle. Even organizations which previously participated in public patriotic observances had by the 1840s inclined toward a recreational Fourth. In 1838 Pittsburgh's Vigilant Fire company rejected an invitation from the Neptune company to join in a city-wide firemen's dinner on the Fourth, commenting that “many of the members of this company are attached to military and other associations that have already made arrangements for the celebration of the coming Fourth.” This proliferation of social celebrations by military and other groups accelerated the trend toward privatization by providing smaller, more selective venues for celebration. This trend toward privatization led a Washington County editor to lament in 1843:

> No preparations for feasting are going on. The fatted calf is permitted to chew its cud unmolested in the stall,
and the poultry is secure in the barn yard. Shady groves are not now visited, as of old, by 'select assemblies;' nor cannons fired to wake the hillsides with their echoes, as they hail the dawn of a nation's jubilee.... Times are sadly changed! The Fourth of July will soon cease to be remembered in any public or peculiar demonstration. True, it will be celebrated at particular places, and by particular persons. But we desire to see all parties, sects, ages, sexes and conditions, unite in an offering of gratitude, with pure hearts, for this purpose, to the Giver of every good and perfect gift.\textsuperscript{56}

Part of the reason common observances of the Fourth declined is captured by the third trend, commercialization. As the population of southwestern Pennsylvania increased, a sizeable market for recreation, amusement and holiday goods developed. This led to the commercialization of the Fourth and its further transition from patriotic festival to recreational holiday.\textsuperscript{57}

If some Pennsylvanians ceased attending public celebrations because they were disenchanted with their tone and conduct, others simply found the growing number of commercial amusements a more attractive way of spending the Fourth. With the advent of steam, regular packet lines transported southwestern Pennsylvanians up and down the region's rivers to pleasure gardens which catered to the holiday trade. In the Pittsburgh area, Greenwood, Rosedale and Manchester Gardens drew many holiday amusement seekers with special events and attractions. In 1849 Rosedale Gardens in Manchester offered its patrons “an exhibition of fireworks, prepared expressly to commemorate the anniversary of American Independence,” while Greenwood Gardens promised its expected “five thousand visitors” a 3 1/2 acre garden consisting of “nearly three miles of walks, with numerous summer houses, shady bowers, & c. all ornamented with flowers both native and exotic.”\textsuperscript{58} For those wishing to range farther afield, steamboat pleasure excursions to rural towns provided opportunities for bucolic enjoyment.\textsuperscript{59}

Traveling amusements like circuses, equestrian troupes, vocalists, performers and curiosities scheduled their arrival in Pittsburgh, the region's largest population center, to coincide with the Fourth, often adding performances to accommodate the large number of spectators. So many enthusiastic spectators packed the Pittsburgh Amphitheatre to watch a balloon ascension in 1835 that the seats collapsed under their weight, causing several injuries.\textsuperscript{60} In 1839 a traveling menagerie took advantage of the holiday crowd by exhibiting Master Nellis, an boy without hands “whose feats with his toes are astonishing,” adjacent to the giraffe, in a separate exhibit which allowed the collection of a second admission charge.\textsuperscript{61} Commercial recreations proliferated in the 1840s: in 1843 a “Fakir” gave two exhibitions in Concert Hall, and by 1846 a circus, a menagerie, a theatrical performance, and a vocalist at the Eagle Ice Cream Saloon competed for Pittsburghers’ Fourth of July patronage.\textsuperscript{62} Commercial amusements even catered to their patrons’ desire for patriotic remembrance on the Fourth. In 1849, for example, Spaulding and Roger’s North American Circus added a dramatic troupe to the company for its engagement in Pittsburgh “for the purpose of getting up every night the grand Heroic and Patriotic Spectacles of GENERAL WASHINGTON, ‘OLD PUT,’ AND ‘MAD ANTHONY WAYNE.’” The show was performed three times during the day on the Fourth, ensuring citizens maximum availability of the “patriotic Spectacle.”\textsuperscript{63} Even religious groups contributed to the commercialization of the Fourth. For its Fourth of July fair in 1843, Pittsburgh’s First Evangelical Lutheran Church exhibited the war tent in which General Washington supposedly slept at Valley Forge. Commenting on the occasion in his diary, Charles B. Scully noted that a “procession passed through our city this evening with the Military escorting Gen'l. Washington’s War Tent borrowed from Mr. GWP Custis, his relative of Arlington, Va. This is certainly humbugerous,” Scully complained; “it is brought here on a speculation to be used on the 4th of July to raise money for a Church.”\textsuperscript{64}

Specialized merchandise also became available in the 1840s when southwestern Pennsylvanians viewed the Fourth increasingly as a recreational holiday. Children attending the Methodist Episcopal Sabbath School celebrations in Pittsburgh and Allegheny in 1839 were presented with books chosen for the occasion, and the custom of giving gift books to children on the Fourth apparently became common in the next decade. “A holiday Salute and Fourth of July X'Pounder, containing the Declaration of Independence and Twenty large and beautiful engravings” was available at Patterson’s for 6 1/2 cents in 1844,\textsuperscript{65} and in 1846 Pittsburgh merchant C. E. Miner advertised “articles, which, on each return of our National Birthday, the juvenile class, also the youth, expect to procure and receive for their amusement,” consisting of games, books, cards, paints and the like.\textsuperscript{66} Anyone who wished to remember friends was advised to go to Miner’s and “obtain a Fourth of July paper to send them.”\textsuperscript{67} The Chronicle of 1847 reminded its readers that McKenna’s Auction Rooms had a large lot of books for sale, and that “some are suitable for 4th of July presents, among which are the Boudoir Annual for 1817, fine plate, Kriss Kringle, rare show plates.”\textsuperscript{68}

Fireworks also became a Fourth of July staple in the 1840s. The use of firecrackers appealed to all social groups and ages. A Pittsburgh paper noted in 1848 that stores “will be crowded with purchasers of fireworks,
the little urchins who desire to ‘raise thunder’ at night,” while the young attorney Charles B. Scully exasperated a hack driver in 1843 by frightening his horses with crackers on a trip to Allegheny City. Merchants promoted this taste for pyrotechnics, offering a variety of explosive goods. C. Yeager stocked crackers, pinwheels, torpedoes, triangle wheels and a “large assort ment of other Fire Works, too numerous to mention.” B. Bown sold “Fire Works and Sundries for the Fourth” which included pinwheels, serpents, rockets and Roman candles. Firecrackers became so prevalent and bothersome that proprietors of steamboats and pleasure gardens were forced to warn their patrons that their use would not be tolerated on the Fourth. The problem was so serious as to require additional police protection by the late 1840s to crack down on abuse of firecrackers by Pittsburgh boys.

Caterers also responded to holiday demand. Pittsburgh’s Lease and Brown stocked extra confections, ice cream, and citrus fruit for Fourth of July picnics. B. Bown carried coconuts, loaf sugar, rock candy, liquorice and dates expressly for the holiday trade. Shaffer and Flannegan, Pittsburgh butchers, offered “A Fine Boulock for the Fourth” purchased from the Harmony Society at Economy, as well as veal and mutton in 1843. Charles Kent and Andrew Graham advertised “PRIME BEEF! FOR FOURTH OF JULY DINNERS” in 1847, promising to slaughter two prime Pennsylvania steers being “determined that [their] customers should have the best for their independence dinners.”

Commercialization depended on the creation of a market for leisure goods and services through the increasing cessation of work on the Fourth. Some employers allowed their workers time off for celebration as early as the 1820s, but much business was routinely conducted on the Fourth. In 1826, for instance, George Anschutz shut down his Pittsburgh rolling mill and Christopher Cowan paid off his men and eased down the fires in his furnace, but shipping activity on the river wharves was brisk. By the mid-1830s stores and businesses began to work shortened hours or close completely on the Fourth, allowing workers to spend the day as they wished. Increased free time on the Fourth not only promoted the development of commercial amusements, but also fostered the idea of the Fourth as an appropriate occasion for recreation and amusement. A letter to the editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette in 1839 recommended that business cease as a “matter of economy and justice” on the Fourth to give “clerks, young men, and all hands, a little time to turn out and participate in the happiness and enjoyment of the day.”

Isaac Harris noted in the same year that many “cheerful groups” would assemble for sheer enjoyment, with “no other intention than to spend the day in joyful — exchanging and interchanging feelings and sentiments, improving acquaintance and binding still closer the strong ties of friendship.”

Sports and sporting events in particular became popular on the Fourth by the 1840s. Sports were always popular holiday events; in 1818, for instance, young men “eager for victory in the race, the throw, the leap, and the fall” congregated on a hill outside Pittsburgh, and we have already noted horse racing on the Fourth in 1826.

Participation in sports and physical recreation increased further as the Fourth changed from an occasion for patriotic reflection to a time for fun and amusement. Harris’ Intelligencer remarked in 1839, for example, that many people spent the day in the country hunting and fishing. In 1842 Pittsburgh’s Regatta Club organized a Fourth of July Regatta at Berry Hall in which, among other races, six one-man skiffs competed for a silver watch. By 1844 even the high-brow Marshall Literary Institute surrendered to the sporting impulse: their celebration in East Liberty’s Shakespeare Gardens included a morning of “pleasant ramblings” and “sports of the field” before the customary dinner and literary exercises. The popularity of sports as a Fourth of July pastime grew throughout the 1840s; a shooting match for an expensive rifle was held behind the Western Penitentiary in Allegheny City in 1845, and local sportsmen deemed Independence Day, 1850 an appropriate occasion for the first meeting of the Pittsburgh and Allegheny City cricket clubs.

What emerged from these changes was a Fourth of July barely recognizable to those who pined for the simpler, more patriotic observances of their youth. The Fourth was transformed, or in the view of some, transmogrified from a republican festival and national Sabbath to a raucous celebration of idleness, excess and commercialism. By 1847 the Fourth was so out of hand in Pittsburgh that the mayor added police to contain the “bustle and excitement” attending “Fourth of July times.” The press hailed this as a prudent move because there were “many men, as well as boys who grow entirely too patriotic on such occasions.” The Pittsburgh Weekly Telegraph of July 10, 1847 captured the tone of the new “bustle and excitement” on the Fourth in a report of the day’s festivities, which reflected how much the Fourth had changed from the “national Sabbath” of the early years of the century:

The streets were crowded by a general turnout of our citizens and by a great number of people in from the country. The Circus, theatre, Eagle Saloon and ice cream establishments did a great deal of business. And
By mid-century, Fourth celebrants had become “too patriotic”—one drunk fellow in 1847 mistook a marble factory “for a graveyard and begged that someone would bury him there...”

exploitation by reorienting public festivities toward moral and religious concerns. As increasing ethnocultural diversity diminished the basis for unified, communal observances of any kind, more people opted for a recreational holiday rather than a patriotic festival. These changes, combined with the commercialization of the day’s celebration by the 1840s, produced the Independence Day familiar to twentieth-century Americans. In this transition we can see not only the creation of an American holiday, but also the cultural aspects of southwestern Pennsylvania’s gradual transformation from traditional agricultural to industrial society.

2 The areas examined in this study are Allegheny, Fayette, Washington, and Westmoreland counties.
4 Spirit of the Age, July 4, 1843.

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we are sorry to say, from the considerable number of persons whom we saw on the streets in a very independent condition, that some other establishments must have done a considerable business. We saw one fellow so drunk that he mistook Wilkins’ marble manufactory for a graveyard and begged that somebody would bury him there, and raise a monument over him. A constable complied with a part of his wish by taking him to the Tombs.

A product of fragmentation, privatization, and commercialization, the transformation of the Fourth reflect ed many of the changes which swept through southwestern Pennsylvania between 1800 and 1850. By the 1820s, the partisanship of mass politics shattered the day’s image as a celebration of national unity. In response, southwestern Pennsylvanians tried in the 1830s to preserve the Fourth from political exploitation by reorienting public festivities toward moral and religious concerns. As increasing ethnocultural diversity diminished the basis for unified, communal observances of any kind, more people opted for a recreational holiday rather than a patriotic festival. These changes, combined with the commercialization of the day’s celebration by the 1840s, produced the Independence Day familiar to twentieth-century Americans. In this transition we can see not only the creation of an American holiday, but also the cultural aspects of southwestern Pennsylvania’s gradual transformation from traditional agricultural to industrial society.

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4 Spirit of the Age, July 4, 1843.
5 Westmoreland Republican, July 11, 1823.
6 See, for example, Westmoreland Intelligencer, July 19, 1839.
7 Washington Reporter, July 30, 1810. Note that Humphrey pre-empted spontaneous toasts.
8 For more on this type of celebration, and preindustrial festivals in general, see Robert Malcolmson, Popular Recreat ions in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973); Stevenson W. Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1840-1840 (Harrisburg, Pa., 1950); Henrietta Galley and J. O. Arnold, M.D., History of the Galley Family with Local and Old-Time Sketches in the Tough Region (Philadelphia, 1908); Rev. Joseph Dodridge, Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1703 to 1783, inclusive, together with a review of the Society and Mann ers of the first settlers of the Western Country (Pittsburgh, 1912 [reprint of original 1824 edition]).
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35 Greensburgh Gazette, July 25, 1828.
36 Pittsburgh Statesman, July 1, 1829.
38 Pittsburgh Mercury, July 2, 1835.
39 Pittsburgh Statesman, June 29, 1831.
40 Pittsburgh Statesman, July 6, 1831. For their part, the Jacksonians responded blandly: "The Tariff of 1828 — the rallying point of the friends of Domestic Industry."
41 Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch, July 4, 1848.
42 Letter from Milo A. Townsend, New Brighton, Pa., in Pittsburgh's Spirit of Liberty, July 15, 1842. By the late 1830s, anti-slavery societies, as well as colonization societies, routinely met on the Fourth, adapting the celebration of political independence to a plea for racial independence.
43 "Constitution of the Pittsburgh Anti-Slavery Society, 1833," McClelland Family Papers, Series II, Box 2, Folder 1, in collection of Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; Thomas B. Searight, The Old Pike: A History of the National Road (Uniontown, Pa., 1894), 223-224; Pittsburgh Gazette, July 8, 1848.
44 See Washington Reporter, July 17, 1820 for a plea from Jefferson College's Modern Forum for a more "grateful remembrance" of the day; Washington Reporter July 1, 1843 for an editorial on the loss of community in Fourth celebrations.
45 Genius of Liberty, July 13, 1840; Washington Examiner, July 10, 1847.
46 Spirit of Liberty, July 9, 1842.
47 "The Fourth," Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 1, 1843.
48 "This pattern in southwestern Pennsylvania contradicts Diane Carter Applebaum's contention that Sunday school, temperance, and abolitionist celebrations "remained auxiliary events, not the central celebration of Independence Day." See Applebaum, Glorious Fourth, 72.
49 Spirit of the Age, July 4, 1843; Pittsburgh Daily Aurora, July 8, 1843.
50 Washington Reporter, July 8, 1843.
51 Pennsylvania Argus, July 10, 1847.
52 See for example, Greensburg's Pennsylvania Argus, July 10, 1846 and the Pittsburgh Telegraph, July 10, 1847.
53 Diary of Dennis B. Scully, July 4, 1843; Diary of Robert McKnight, July 4, 1842 and July 4, 1846; both in collection of Darlington Library, University of Pittsburgh.
54 Morning Chronicle, July 4, 1842.
55 Vigilant Fire Company Minute Book, June 18, 1838, in Vigilant Fire Company Papers, 1838-1888, Pennsylvania Department, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; Washington Reporter, June 19, 1842; Pittsburgh Morning Dispatch, July 1, 1848; Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 1, 1850.
57 William Cohn notes this transition in his study of the Fourth, but contends that it occurred at a much later date. Roy Rosenzweig also noted that the "rough" elements of the working class inclined toward recreation rather than reflection on the Fourth by the late nineteenth century. See Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (Cambridge, 1983), 67-76.
58 Pittsburgh Gazette, July 3, 1849.
59 Pittsburgh Gazette, July 1, 1848.
60 Pittsburgh Gazette, June 29, 1835; July 8, 1835.
61 Harris' Intelligencer, July 6, 1839.
62 See advertisements and notices in the Spirit of the Age, July 4, 1843; Pittsburgh Gazette, June 19-July 5, 1846 and Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 1-July 10, 1846.
63 Pittsburgh Gazette, June 27, 1849.
64 Spirit of the Age, July 4, 1843; Scully Journal, June 30, 1843.
65 Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 2, 1844.
66 Pittsburgh Gazette, July 4, 1846.
67 Weekly Telegraph, July 10, 1847.
68 Pittsburgh Monthly Chronicle, July 3, 1847.
69 Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch, July 4, 1848; Scully Journal, July 4, 1843.
70 Pittsburgh Gazette, July 2, 1849; Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch, July 3, 1848.
71 Pittsburgh Weekly Telegraph, July 10, 1847.
72 Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 2, 1844.
73 Pittsburgh Gazette, July 2, 1849; Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch, July 3, 1848.
74 Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 3, 1847.
75 Harrison, "Minstrel of the Alleghenies," 3. The Washington Examiner editor suggested that businesses be closed on the Fourth to enable artisans and mechanics to celebrate the day. See Washington Examiner, July 4, 1835, or the letter from an "Old Merchant" recommending that stores be closed on the Fourth in the Morning Chronicle, July 4, 1844.
76 Pittsburgh Daily Gazette, July 2, 1839.
77 Harris' Intelligencer, June 29, 1839.
79 Harris' Intelligencer, July 6, 1839.
80 Morning Chronicle, June 30, 1842.
81 Iron City and Pittsburgh Weekly Chronicle, July 13, 1844.
82 Iron City and Pittsburgh Weekly Chronicle, July 2, 1845; Pittsburgh Post, July 8, 1850. The cricket match, which was played on the Allegheny Commons, was apparently a great attraction, drawing a large number of spectators.
83 Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle, July 3, 1847.
84 "The Celebration," Pittsburgh Evening Telegraph, July 10, 1847.