

cars?" The vote was predictably negative. The Frankford and Southwark Company announced it would admit Negroes nevertheless, but it reverted to special "colored" cars after one month because of a decline in white riders.

To desegregate the streetcars of Philadelphia required outside intervention, an act of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1867 requiring railroads and street railways to carry all passengers without distinction of color. The principal legislative sponsor and champion of the act was Republican state Sen. Morrow B. Lowry, representing Erie and Crawford Counties far upstate. The significance for Philadelphia's capacity to deal with its own racial divisions was hardly encouraging.

The Centennial City

1865-1876

by Dorothy Gondos Beers

Art in all its forms is after all with most people but a means of recreation after the serious business of life is attended to. . . . Good music is good, and good pictures are good, and good statuary is good, and good books are good, but we can do without them all and yet get along very comfortably and very happily. . . . An artist who is also a good business man will always do good work, the best he is capable of doing, but, like every other business man, he will manufacture the kind of goods his customers want to buy.

— Philadelphia Evening Telegraph, 1876

. . . of the events of the second half of the nineteenth century none had more profound effects on American art and taste than the preparations made in Philadelphia to celebrate the completion of one hundred years of American independence.

— GEORGE B. TATUM, 1961¹

On Saturday afternoon, April 22, 1865, a crowd of some 30,000 gathered around the Baltimore Depot at Broad and Prime Streets. They had come to honor the body of Abraham Lincoln, the martyred president.² Like the rest of the nation the city of Philadelphia was stunned by the events of the Good Friday just past. Sidney George Fisher said: "I felt as tho I had lost a personal friend. . . . Bet said she was as much agitated as if she had lost a relation."³

As the funeral train pulled in late in the afternoon the city's bells tolled. Philadelphia was draped in black. Spectators jammed the sidewalks and perched on the roofs of buildings on South Broad Street and along the route to Independence Hall to see the catafalque as it passed in solemn procession. Many soldiers guarded the way. The body was escorted to the Declaration chamber, where those with tickets were admitted from 10 P.M. to midnight. On the next day, Sunday, the public was allowed to view the body. Though the doors would not open until six, a crowd began to gather as early as four-thirty in the morning. In lines stretching for many blocks, most of the mourners waited patiently for hours. Some 85,000 persons filed through Inde-

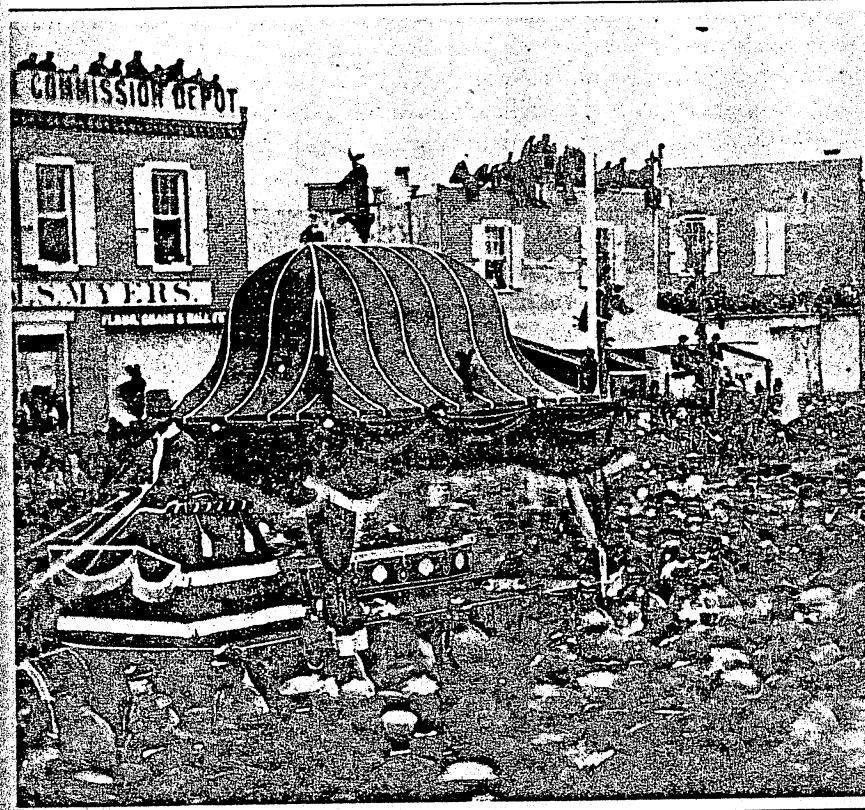
pendence Hall before evening. At one time soldiers had to be called to clear the surrounding streets except for the waiting queue. Early the next morning another parade carried the body to the Kensington Depot north of Harrison Street between Front Street and Frankford Road for a journey to New York and thence, ultimately, to Springfield, Illinois, for burial.⁴

Both the pent-up emotion of four years of civil strife and the regard for Lincoln that had gradually developed among most of the population caused trouble for those of unwary tongue or action who still sympathized with the fallen South. A mob threatening the offices of the *Democratic Age* was turned back by the police. On April 13, the day before Lincoln's assassination, Charles Ingersoll's brother Edward with unlucky timing had made a speech in New York still defending secession, and declaring the Union war debt unconstitutional. On April 27 a crowd met Edward Ingersoll at the Kensington Depot and hooted at him as he left the train. He was insulted by a Captain Withington and in self-protection drew a pistol, but was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon. His brother Charles, coming to the district police station to visit him, was pulled from his carriage by another mob and rescued by the police only after the crowd had had leisure to beat him savagely; it was obvious that the police sympathized with the attackers.

Pierce Butler provided another case in point. After Lincoln's death Butler failed to bow his shutters and hang them with black in accordance with the Philadelphia custom of observing a death in the family. By chance an abolitionist, Morris Davis, heard of the plans of some workingmen to attack Butler's home, and thanks to his own credentials Davis was able to persuade them against it.⁵

But soon, more cheerfully, the Philadelphia regiments were returning home. On June 10 the city held its grand review. Philadelphia's most successful soldier, Maj.-Gen. George Gordon Meade, hero of Gettysburg, and from that battle through Appomattox commander of the Army of the Potomac, led the veterans from Camp Cadwalader far out on Ridge Avenue, past reviewing stands of dignitaries and wounded soldiers near Penn Square, and on to the volunteer refreshment saloons in Southwark for a dinner. There the general disconcerted everybody by nearly fainting in the heat and humidity of an overcrowded building whose windows were closed against a heavy rain.

Over a year later, on July 4, 1866, as a climactic observance of the ending of the war, there came an extraordinary Independence Day celebration, the first of a succession of spectacular observances of the Fourth of July in the decade to come. This day the Pennsylvania regiments were to return their colors to the custody of the state. Citizens responded to a call to decorate and illuminate homes and business establishments. Throughout the day gun salutes were fired from Penn Square and from the wartime fortification in Fairmount Park on the hill above the east end of the present Girard Avenue Bridge; residents near Penn Square were warned to raise their windows about a foot to prevent the glass from breaking. Another grand parade with veteran units and commanders, this time headed by another local hero of Gettysburg,



Caftalque bearing the body of Abraham Lincoln on Broad Street, between Washington Avenue and Carpenter Street, at about five o'clock, April 22, 1865.

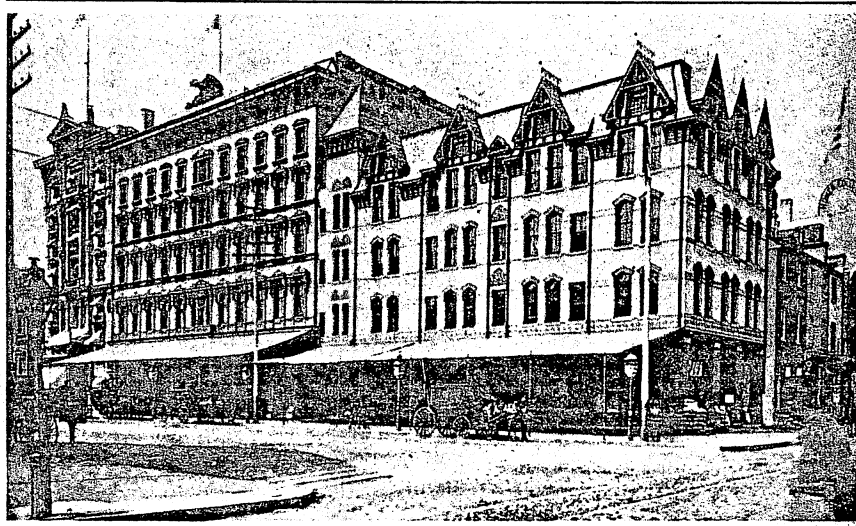
LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA

Maj.-Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, marched from Broad and Arch to Independence Square. There General Meade presented the colors to Governor Curtin.⁶ The city had reverted from the gloom of the president's assassination to a confident good humor—a mood it generally managed to sustain through ten years of preparation, to its greatest celebration of all, the centennial of independence.

I

There was a feeling abroad that war's end meant a new beginning, a fresh approach to all aspects of living. Growth—in population, populated areas, new buildings, industry, commerce, cultural activities, educational opportunities, and finally in capacity to undertake and carry through the project of the Centennial Exposition—was certainly to be a central theme of the new period for Philadelphia. By 1870 the city's population was 674,022; on April 1, 1876,

a police estimate prepared for the Centennial set the population total at 817,000.⁷ By the 1870s the densely populated portion of the city's area extended about seven miles up and down the Delaware and some three to four miles westward, having crossed the Schuylkill into West Philadelphia. This westward expansion was recognized and further stimulated by the completion of new bridges across the Schuylkill, at Chestnut Street in 1866, at Callowhill Street in 1874, at South Street in 1875 for pedestrians and in 1876 for vehicular traffic, and most spectacularly, at Girard Avenue on the Fourth of July, 1874, the bridge that was to carry visitors directly to the Centennial Exposition, erected at a cost of over a million dollars and reputed to be the widest bridge in the world.⁸



Broad and Chestnut Streets, southwest corner (c. 1876). One of the city's busiest corners, now the site of the Land Title Building, was occupied by the Adams Express Company and a grocer when this photograph was made. The narrow building at the left was the Academy of Natural Sciences until 1876 when the Academy moved its collections and library to Nineteenth and Race Streets. The La Pierre House with its prominent eagle was one of the city's luxury-class hotels.

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The territorial expansion of the city goes far to explain its ability to generate and maintain a mood of confidence. New York and Boston in contrast were geographically constricted cities, and they paid penalties that Philadelphia did not have to suffer. Apparently it was not until fairly late in the century that Philadelphia was first called "The City of Homes," but if the phrase was not yet in vogue, the city already enjoyed a reputation as outstanding among the great urban centers in the proportion of its housing that

consisted of single-family and owner-occupied homes. New York could absorb its growing population in the second half of the nineteenth century only by building vertically and pressing its inhabitants more and more into multi-story tenements that became notorious for filth, bad ventilation, and oppressive crowding. Boston also had to pack its newcomers tightly together, in deteriorating older houses in the South End. Philadelphia too had its slums, in long-decayed precincts of Southwark and Moyamensing and in alleys and courts hidden behind the principal streets of the old city. But in large part the ready availability and consequent cheapness of land for expansion permitted the continued outward march of the city's gridiron blocks and of the characteristic Philadelphia row houses, also cheap, but comfortable for one-family occupancy. By 1867 an average of 4500 such buildings a year were being added to Philadelphia's supply of housing.⁹

Along with cheap land, the rapid extension of the street railways was of course also indispensable to the Philadelphia pattern of dispersed housing. One hundred twenty-nine miles of track had been laid by 1864; by 1893 there were 212 miles, and over sixty-six million passengers were carried. The fare was seven cents, or four tickets for twenty-five cents; transfers were available for use at intersections of various lines. Early in the period more than a dozen companies, their cars distinguished by special colors, still operated the lines. But Peter A. B. Widener, a butcher who had founded his fortune with a contract to provide mutton for federal troops within ten miles of Philadelphia during the Civil War, was beginning to extend his interests by buying up streetcar lines. In 1875, in partnership with William Lukens Elkins, an oil magnate from western Pennsylvania, Widener commenced the systematic buying that was to create the Philadelphia Transportation Company monopoly of the lines by 1883.

Black people could now ride the cars. Gov. John W. Geary signed the Pennsylvania antidiscrimination bill on March 3, 1867. On March 25 Miss Carrie Lacount, a schoolteacher, was refused admission to a car at Ninth and Lombard. She immediately sought the aid of a magistrate, who arrested and fined the conductor. Philadelphia's black community soon held a victory meeting.¹⁰

To bring the growing ranks of row houses served by the expanding streetcar lines within the means of large numbers of Philadelphia's mechanics, factory workers, and clerks, the middle years of the nineteenth century had witnessed a burgeoning of building and loan associations. The first of these in the United States was founded in Philadelphia in 1831. They spread across the country, but they remained especially a Philadelphia institution. By 1876 over \$50 million in housing investment had flowed through them since 1849; at least 450 of them, perhaps 600, were active in the city. The would-be owner invested his savings in shares at a moderate interest rate. In New York land values were too high to permit individuals of modest means to acquire the price of a home in this way; but in Philadelphia thousands of workingmen could thus buy the sixteen by thirty-one-foot, two-story brick row houses that

sold, according to location, for from \$1000 to \$2500. An additional aid to cheap housing was the Philadelphia custom of ground rent, inherited from the proprietary period, whereby the purchaser of a house might not have to buy the lot it occupied, but instead might pay a nominal rent. And the simple extension of the gridiron street pattern, even outward across hills where it was no longer so appropriate as in the level center city, saved contractors and the city from planning costs that would have been entailed by refitting the streets to the terrain, and thus helped keep prices low.¹¹

For all that, owner occupancy of homes in Philadelphia never exceeded 25 percent. Yet Philadelphia was well ahead of other large American cities in this respect. In 1880 Philadelphia homes had 5.7 occupants per dwelling, as compared with 16.36 in New York, 8.25 in Boston, and 8.24 in the new and geographically expansive city of Chicago.¹²

Among the social tensions eased by the availability of land and houses were those of assimilating immigrants. Philadelphia never became a center of immigrant settlement comparable to New York; but in the census of 1870 the proportion of foreign-born in the city's population reached a peak it was not to match again, 27 percent of the total, 183,624 of 674,022. At this time the great tide of immigration from southern and eastern Europe had of course scarcely begun; Philadelphia's immigrants when her foreign-born population reached this summit were still predominantly Germans and Irish, a majority Irish. Even before the potato famine had pushed Irish immigration to its crest, the riots of 1844 had dramatized the potential for trouble when Irish Catholic newcomers settled in the old Protestant city of Philadelphia. But by the 1870s the Irish inhabitants had dispersed themselves throughout the city, and with geographic mobility came an upward social mobility. The kinds of suspicions and hostilities that Irish ghettos in New York and Boston generated both within and without the ghetto boundaries were much less intense in Philadelphia. Not constricted as the Boston Irish were into narrow geographical limits, the Philadelphia Irish also enjoyed more rapid escape into the ranks of skilled workingmen and into independent businesses as grocers, dry goods dealers, commission merchants, real estate brokers, and especially construction contractors. They were the builders of many of the homes of the city of homes.¹³

If until very recently Philadelphia has looked like a late-nineteenth-century city, the reason is clear, for many of the structures that the Philadelphian regards as the landmarks of his city were erected in the 1860s and 1870s. By 1874 there were 147,000 buildings in the city.¹⁴

As if to signal the coming of more settled times, after several changes of location during the war the Union League opened its permanent home at Broad and Sansom on May 11, 1865. A few weeks later Gen. U. S. Grant was given a warm reception there.¹⁵ The Masonic Temple at Broad and Filbert Streets, under construction from 1868 at a cost of more than a million dollars, was dedicated on September 26, 1873, with a parade of 11,000 Masons. The Philadelphia Freemasons had dedicated the first Masonic building in America on Lodge (Morris) Alley west of Second and north of Walnut in 1755; the new

temple was their sixth in the city, in addition to transitory meeting places. The architect, James H. Windrim, himself a Mason, was commissioned to build "in popular Norman style."¹⁶ The Philadelphia historian Thompson Westcott called the temple "the finest Masonic structure in the world" and boasted it was unlike anything else in Philadelphia, which in its fancifulness it surely was, with Corinthian, Renaissance, Gothic, Norman, Egyptian, Ionic, and Oriental Halls as well as a Doric Grand Foyer.¹⁷

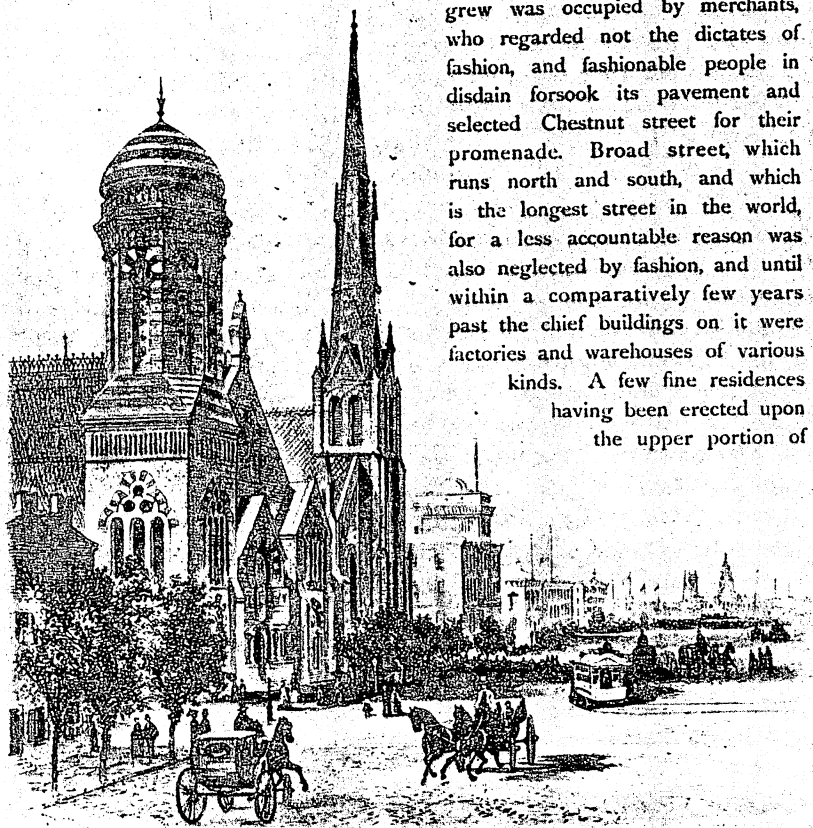
Far less flamboyant, but already stylistically old-fashioned, was Addison Hutton's modified Parthenon, the Ridgway Library at Broad and Christian Streets. It was controversial from its inception. The concept of South Broad Street as an avenue of fine mansions, as North Broad Street became above Girard Avenue, spurred Henry J. Williams, the brother-in-law and executor of the estate of Dr. James Rush, to insist that Rush on his deathbed specify that the Library Company of Philadelphia must build there. Acceptance of the location became the price of what was left after construction costs of Dr. Rush's million-dollar bequest. Rush might well have so specified, for he was highly eccentric. He was the son of Benjamin Rush and himself a physician, but throughout his life a student of various types of esoterica (author of a *Philosophy of the Human Voice*) rather than a practicing physician. His bequest to the Library Company was in memory of his wife, Phoebe Ann Ridgway Rush, a famous hostess despite her husband's reclusive tendencies and the heiress whose fortune he inherited. The Library Company of Philadelphia maintained that a building so far distant from its members would not serve its purposes, but in 1877 the company decided to take the building anyway and opened it a few years later. It became a depository for the older books infrequently used.¹⁸

The Library Company had already made tentative plans to move from its old and elegant but now outmoded building at Fifth and Library Streets, opposite Independence Square, to a more suitable westerly (but not far southerly) site. Its directors had raised a building fund with which it assembled, property by property, an additional site at the northwest corner of Locust and Juniper Streets. Frank Furness, emerging as the most talented and exciting Philadelphia architect of his time, designed for this site in his characteristic eclectic style a fireproof structure (for its day, but with wooden walls and wooden shelves). The building included in its facade a niche for the Benjamin Franklin statue that had adorned the old structure, while reproducing inside much of the fine interior of the old quarters. In 1879-1880 the most frequently circulating part of the collection moved here, and the South Philadelphia building established by the Rush bequest became the "Ridgway Branch."¹⁹ The Ridgway Branch proved an unfortunate place in unforeseen additional ways, impossible to heat adequately and with a forever leaking skylight atop its center block. Not until 1966 did the Library Company at last move its collections again to a new building on the south side of Locust Street between Juniper and Thirteenth. Since 1966 the Ridgway Library has been used for community activities.²⁰

Ten blocks from Market Street was too far south—but such was the course

BROAD STREET.

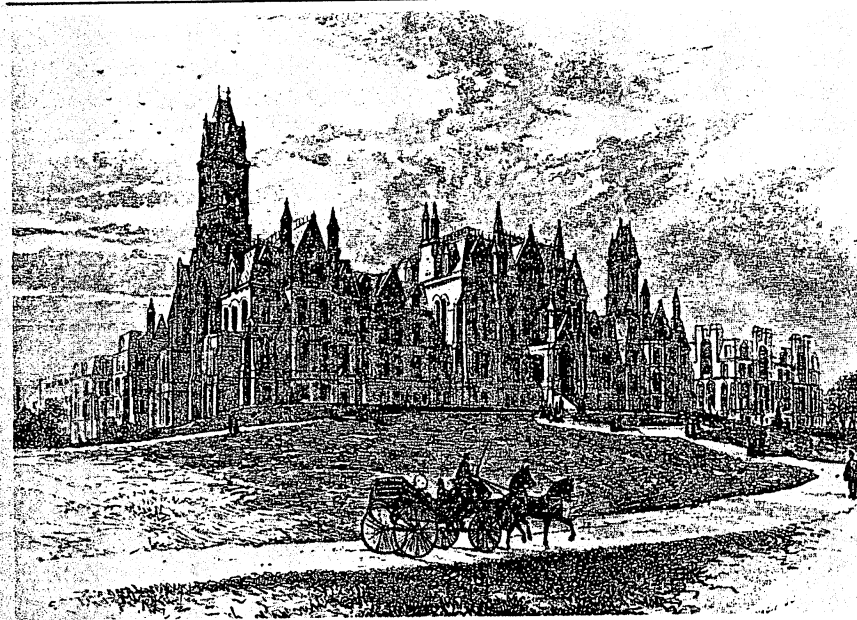
WHEN William Penn laid out his city he divided it, east and west and north and south, by broad avenues, which he intended should be its principal thoroughfares. High or Market street, as it is now called, which runs east and west, as the city grew was occupied by merchants, who regarded not the dictates of fashion, and fashionable people in disdain forsook its pavement and selected Chestnut street for their promenade. Broad street, which runs north and south, and which is the longest street in the world, for a less accountable reason was also neglected by fashion, and until within a comparatively few years past the chief buildings on it were factories and warehouses of various kinds. A few fine residences having been erected upon the upper portion of



Synagogue of Congregation Rodeph Shalom, designed by Frank Furness (1839-1912), built 1870, demolished 1925, as seen in Earl Shinn, A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott and J. W. Lauderbach, 1875).

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA

of the city's growth that a leap west across the Schuylkill all the way to the 3400 block of Walnut Street was a wise move for the University of Pennsylvania. The university purchased part of Andrew Hamilton's eighteenth-century country estate, the Woodlands, at \$8000 an acre and in 1871 laid the corner for the main building, College Hall. The architect was T. W.



University of Pennsylvania, College Hall, in A Century After (1875). In 1872 the university sold its property at Ninth and Chestnut to the federal government and moved to this site in West Philadelphia where, with Drexel University (founded 1893), it is now the focus of the University City neighborhood.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA

Richards, about to be promoted from instructor in drawing to professor of drawing and architecture; the architectural style was Collegiate Gothic and the building was ready for use in the academic year 1872-1873. The scale of the university was still such that the Department of Liberal Arts could occupy the west wing, the Department of Science the east wing, with library, chapel, and assembly rooms in the central pavilion.²¹

The city was still governed from Independence Square, with City Hall at Fifth and Chestnut Streets housing the central offices of the police and fire departments as well as the other principal municipal offices, while some other city offices and courts occupied Congress Hall at Sixth and Chestnut. Office and court space had become altogether inadequate for the government of a modern big city. On December 31, 1868, the city Councils appointed commissioners to plan new public buildings on Independence Square, with the existing buildings on the square except Independence Hall to be demolished. The proposed U-shaped new City Hall would have enveloped and dwarfed Independence Hall.²²

An outcry followed, not only because of the sentiment surrounding the other historic buildings of Independence Square, but also because there was considerable support for moving the city offices westward with the flow of

business and the tide of population. In response the state legislature on March 30, 1870, ordered a special election in October of that year at which Philadelphia's qualified voters could choose between Washington Square and Penn Square for the new city hall; either way, Independence Square would be preserved.²³ The result was a vote of 51,623 for Penn Square and 32,825 for Washington Square.

Construction of the new building was then placed in the hands of another commission. The cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1874. This mammoth pile, "The Temple of Philadelphia's Folly," as Alexander K. McClure called it, was not completed until almost the turn of the century, at a cost of \$25 million instead of the \$10 million originally estimated.²⁴ But however extravagant in cost and in the excesses of its late Victorian rendition of the French Renaissance style, John McArthur, Jr.'s City Hall capitalized on the decision favoring Penn Square. The structure used a potentiality always latent in Thomas Holme's plan for Philadelphia, to make the wide axes of Market and Broad Streets an étoile worthy of L'Enfant's Washington.

Independence Hall meanwhile needed attention and labor, within and without, if it were to be displayed suitably as a national shrine during the coming celebration of a century of national existence. Lt.-Col. Frank M. Etting, a member of one of Philadelphia's and Baltimore's most prominent colonial Jewish families, had volunteered for the Civil War and remained in the army afterward. In 1870 he returned to civilian life to dedicate himself to his conception of recovering the original furniture used in the Hall of the Declaration and restoring the chamber to an approximation of its condition in the revolutionary era. In 1871 the city Councils accepted the proposal to make Independence Square and its buildings a memorial forever to the establishment of the nation. With the Councils' authorization, the mayor appointed a committee to restore Independence Hall, including in its membership Colonel Etting and former Mayor Morton McMichael, civic leader and publisher of the *North American*.²⁵

The Declaration chamber had become an oversized Victorian parlor, filled with furniture rejected by former city Councils and with masses of pictures covering every available space. One window was barricaded by a block of marble intended as Philadelphia's contribution to the still unfinished Washington National Monument.²⁶ Horace Binney's memories of the room as it had been in the early part of the nineteenth century led the restoration committee to place pillars in the Independence Chamber, to rebuild the president's dais, and to remove the clutter of portraits. Layer after layer of disfiguring paint was peeled from both interior and exterior of the building. The hunt for original furniture was pursued in private homes and especially at the state Capitol. The West Room was made into a national museum, for preservation of objects associated with the principal events of United States history. Much of the financing was through private funds raised by the restoration committee.²⁷

Fairmount Park was a place of recreation for all. Until 1867 the chief

engineer of the waterworks and the commissioner of city property jointly had custody of the park. Following the rapid growth of the park just before the Civil War, and once the end of the war restored public attention to local affairs, a Fairmount Park Commission was established on March 26, 1867, for the administration and development of the park. Morton McMichael, then mayor of the city and ex-officio a member of the commission, became first president of the Fairmount Park Commission. Other members included Eli Kirk Price and General Meade, who was vice-president.

The ordinance creating the commission also extended Fairmount Park deep into West Philadelphia by adding to the park a tract from the west bank of the Schuylkill opposite the original waterworks west and north roughly to the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, Belmont Avenue, and Montgomery Avenue. Within this area were the West Philadelphia Water Works, opposite Lemon Hill, and the old country seats of Solitude, Sweetbriar, and Lansdowne. The ordinance declared that this land should be "laid out and maintained forever as an open public place or park, for the health and enjoyment of the people of the said city, and the preservation of the purity of the water supply." The latter clause, in addition to hearkening back to the genesis of the park, inspired the commissioners to recommend that ensuring the purity of the water supply made it desirable to extend the park boundaries still farther, roughly to the Falls of Schuylkill in the western section of the park and, with a road between Laurel Hill Cemetery and the Schuylkill, in the eastern section north to the Wissahickon, to include both banks of that stream. On April 4, 1868, the city Councils responded generously by directing the commissioners to appropriate ground all the way to City Avenue west of the Schuylkill, and on the east side, to the north bank of the Wissahickon and up the Wissahickon to Paul's Mill Road, about where Lincoln Drive now begins. While the commissioners were acquiring the new properties and planning roads and landscaping for them, an aged brother and sister, Jesse and Rebecca George, offered in return for annuities of \$4000 each during their lifetimes (a small price; they died in 1869 and 1873, respectively) their ancestral tract just beyond the new western boundaries of the park: George's Hill, eighty-three acres with a superb view of the city. Thus when the new "grand road" of the west park, Lansdowne Drive, was opened on June 21, 1869, it ran from Girard Avenue to George's Hill, where General Meade ceremonially raised the flag.²⁸

Fairmount Park now encompassed nearly 3000 acres. The walking or driving distance from the Callowhill Street entrance to the upper park was thirteen miles. In 1872 the park was used by some 750,000 pedestrians, nearly 400,000 vehicles, and 26,500 equestrians.²⁹

I I

The United States in 1865 was on the path toward preeminence as an industrial giant. Returning soldiers, capital released from wartime investment, the rapidly increasing use of the corporate form of business organization and

financing, manufacturing plants needing to be readjusted to peacetime activity, an influx of immigrants, new techniques in communication and transportation, fabulous new machinery, American inventiveness, and American enthusiasm—all contributed to industrialization. All these assets were clearly discernible in Philadelphia at the end of the Civil War. The city's wealth and prominence in manufacturing, commerce, banking, and transportation sustained its mood of optimism and made possible the ambitious undertaking and fulfillment of the Centennial Exposition.

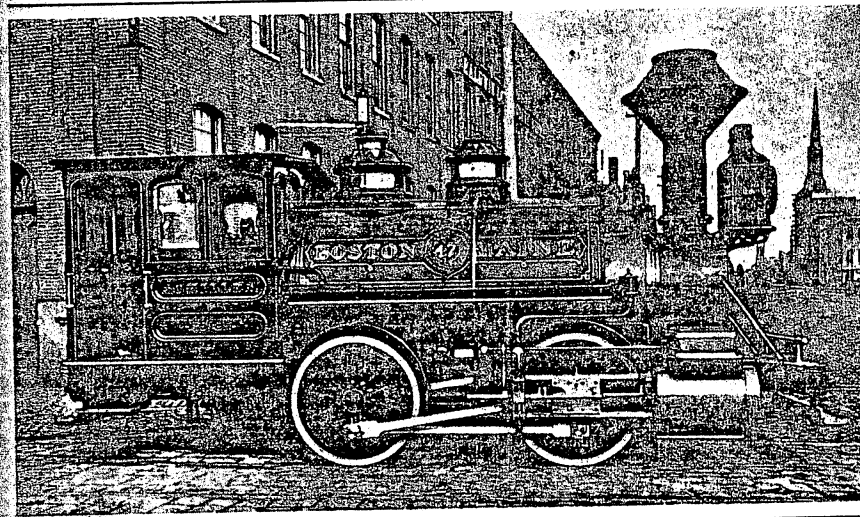
In the post-Civil War industrial age Philadelphia industry continued to benefit from the city's geographic situation, including the same amplitude of space that eased the pressures of population growth. Philadelphia remained close to productive farm, truck, and dairy areas, and it also still had near at hand the primary desiderata of the industrialism of the day, coal and iron. Since the railroads of the mid-century had begun bringing the mineral products of the earth to the city, the road to industrial wealth was even easier. Just before the beginning of the war another useful mineral product, petroleum, was discovered in western Pennsylvania. Although most of its diverse applications were still in the future, recognition soon came that petroleum could serve as a substitute for the ever-scarcer whale oil in lighting equipment. Railroads were the principal carriers of the black gold to its markets; the Pennsylvania Railroad had a large share of the early traffic, and Philadelphia, as a storage and refining center, benefited from the first surge of the petroleum boom.³⁰

Philadelphia's business and industrial development was actively promoted by a Board of Trade that, founded in 1833, grew during the postwar period to be the largest such businessmen's organization in the country and a principal source of the movement that established a National Board of Trade in 1869. Much of the board's impetus came from John Welsh, its president from 1866 and throughout the period, a partner in an established mercantile firm, S. & W. Welsh, and one of the energetic original Fairmount Park commissioners. Welsh was soon to be the principal financial officer of the Centennial as president of the Centennial Board of Finance, and also served from 1877 to 1879 as United States minister to London. The treasurer of the board was Frederick Fraley, president of the Schuylkill Navigation Company and first president of the National Board of Trade. In large part the Centennial Exposition was a promotional project of the Board of Trade, and the board was most responsible for mobilizing the financial means to support the exposition.³¹

Not the least of the Board of Trade's services to the city was to provide annual statistical surveys that indicated the directions of Philadelphia's industrial development. These reports portray Philadelphia's industrialism in the postwar boom, and at the height of the city's prominence among the industrial centers of the world, as healthily diversified. Yet the promise for the future was less, for the city maintained the organizational patterns of the first industrialization; Philadelphia industry continued for the most part to be organized in a multitude of relatively small enterprises. Few individual firms employed

large numbers of workers. The giant Baldwin Locomotive Works at Broad and Spring Garden Streets, with nearly 3000 employees before the Panic of 1873, was an exception to the usual Philadelphia scale of organization.³²

Despite the city's proximity to coal and iron, Philadelphia had few producers of primary iron and steel products. The Midvale Steel Company in North Philadelphia, founded in 1867 by a group of investors headed by the banker Edward W. Clark, and the Roberts family's Pencoyd Iron Works on the Schuylkill opposite Manayunk were alone as major firms in this category. Henry Disston & Sons in Tacony—Disston saws—might be considered another primary producer. Otherwise the city's iron industry consisted of the manufacturers of such products as machinery, foundry products, locomotives, ships, stoves, cutlery, and tools.



Locomotive for the Boston and Maine Railroad, Baldwin Locomotive Works, Broad and Spring Garden Streets, 1870. From its founding in 1832 to 1870, the Baldwin works produced over 2600 locomotives for use throughout the world. The Baldwin factory site was closed in 1928.

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Lacking in primary industries that would have employed large numbers of unskilled workers, Philadelphia industry was a world of skilled and semi-skilled laborers. The textile and garment industries were continuing to grow around the large pool of skilled workers already in the city. These industries still employed traditional household labor while also developing factories. Such a work force, employed mostly by relatively small firms, does much to account for Philadelphia's persisting social conservatism and for the relatively low rate of foreign immigration into the city.³³

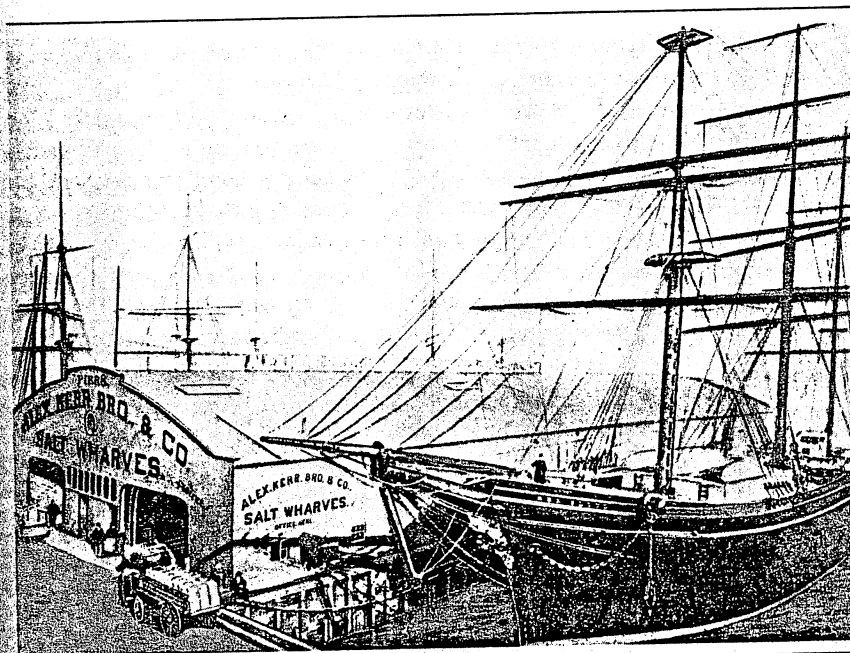
III

Philadelphia had been the first great industrial city in the United States and remained the leading urban manufacturing center in the immediate post-Civil War era. In commerce she lacked the means to rival the port of New York. Although the completion of the Pennsylvania Railroad link to the Middle West in 1854 had given Philadelphia the ability to compete with New York in the scale of her domestic commerce for the first time since the building of the Erie Canal, the leadership that New York had won in the interval and the natural advantages of New York as a seaport ensured that as a transportation center Philadelphia would remain in its shadow. As the expansion of the United States across the continent created new transportation hubs and thus urban centers all the way to the Pacific coast, Philadelphia's very proximity to her old rival New York, when set against the vast scale of American distances, still further threatened her status even as a regional urban center. For commerce, in short, Philadelphia's geographic location was no longer nearly so advantageous as for manufacturing.

But the full implications of these circumstances had not yet revealed themselves; optimistic post-Civil War Philadelphia was still the second city of the United States, one of the largest cities of the world, and indeed still trying to retain greatness even in maritime commerce. In the summer of 1870 there was revived a project often discussed and occasionally attempted in the past—a direct, scheduled steamship connection from Philadelphia to Liverpool.³⁴ The American Steamship Company entered into a contract in 1871 with William Cramp & Sons to build four first-class iron propeller ships. At the beginning of 1874 these ships, the *Pennsylvania*, *Ohio*, *Indiana*, and *Illinois*, had been completed and were accepted. The American Steamship Company added four British-built steamers and was able to establish a semiweekly schedule to Liverpool. Furthermore in 1874 the Red Star Line opened regular service between Philadelphia and Antwerp, with four vessels at the outset and other ships added by 1877.³⁵

When the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad decided in 1869 to transport virtually all its own coal from Port Richmond to ports of sale, it began acquiring a fleet of seagoing iron tugs. Fourteen were built by the end of 1874. These vessels delivered 450,000–500,000 tons of coal annually to ports along the Atlantic coast, mostly to Boston and way points, though sometimes as far as Portland, Maine. Port Richmond sent out 5,784,657 tons of coal in 1877 and was claimed as the “greatest point of water shipment of coal in the world.”³⁶

By now navigation to Philadelphia was assisted by the completed Delaware breakwater and a harbor of refuge at the entrance to the bay. The bay and river channels were cleared of all but relatively harmless shoals. The tide, rising six feet, enabled fairly large vessels to cross the bar.³⁷ In the Centennial year clearance was granted to 1457 vessels of 922,290 tons.³⁸ Imports reached a value of \$20,298,763, while exports amounted to \$50,552,300. The coastwise trade alone had a value of about \$100 million yearly. Agricultural products still



Alexander Kerr, Bro., & Co., Salt Dealer, North Delaware Avenue (photograph c. 1875).

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Philadelphia's shipbuilding industry was a source of further sustenance for maritime commerce. The city's ancient wooden shipbuilding industry had enjoyed a final flurry of activity just before the Civil War, stimulated by the gold-rush trade to California and the diversion of European vessels from American commerce caused by the Crimean War; but wooden shipbuilding in Philadelphia never recovered from the combination of the devastating effects of the Civil War on the American merchant marine and the simultaneous rise of iron construction. Perhaps the final blow to the industry came when the Reading Railroad abandoned wooden vessels as coal carriers to build its fleet of iron steam colliers.⁴⁰ With wood construction nearly dead, from 1866 to 1870 no Philadelphia shipyards had much work; the government had ceased its war orders, iron was expensive, and Philadelphia shipyard wages were relatively high.

But improvement came for the iron shipbuilders after 1870, as iron fell in price, reaching its lowest level in United States history in 1878 at \$16.50 a ton, and as the American merchant marine recovered enough to create a demand—reinforced by South American orders—for new iron ships. Obviously Philadelphia enjoyed a superior location for iron shipbuilding. It had good rail connections with the whole of the interior of Pennsylvania and thus with what was still the center of American iron production; the Delaware had a suitable depth of water; the city possessed a sufficient pool of workmen skilled

in the use of iron.⁴¹ In 1866, 243 vessels were built and in 1872, 303. By 1874 the trend was toward larger ships; the tonnage of the 120 vessels built that year exceeded that of the much larger number built in 1872.⁴²

William Cramp & Sons and Charles Cramp successfully completed the transition from wooden to iron building and remained the leading Philadelphia shipyards. In 1872 William Cramp & Sons became a corporation, and by purchase shortly afterward it acquired the iron and engine-building works of I. P. Morris & Company. New capital was invested. With the reputation acquired in the Civil War and through building the vessels for the American Steamship Company, the firm soon had a steady stream of orders. The Russian government in 1876 engaged Cramp to do important repair work and then to build three cruisers. The firm's output included river steamboats as well as ocean-going vessels.⁴³

The old Navy Yard at the foot of Federal Street had proved too small during the Civil War, but with the removal of the pressures of war the government was slow to transfer its Philadelphia shipbuilding to the League Island site donated by the city. Congress did not pass the necessary legislation to complete the acceptance of Philadelphia's offer until 1867. Moving the Navy Yard began in 1868; the government sold the old site for a million dollars.⁴⁴

IV

Though a Philadelphia banking firm was directly associated with precipitating the Panic of 1873, the city's financial institutions in general weathered the depression with their reputation for sound, if increasingly conservative and cautious, practices intact. Long since secondary to New York in finance as well as in commerce, Philadelphia remained enough a center of banking and finance that the capital underlying its manufacturing and commercial enterprises was substantially home-based. There was reasonable pride in the fact that bankruptcy in the depression years showed the percentage of failures smaller than in any other large city of the United States.⁴⁵

By 1875 Philadelphia had some forty banks, twenty-eight of them national, with a capital of \$16,735,000.⁴⁶ Banks had doubled in number since 1859.⁴⁷ In addition there were four savings banks with aggregate deposits of about \$12 million, over forty insurance companies of various types, and thirty-five private lending companies, to say nothing of the hundreds of building and loan associations.⁴⁸

On September 18, 1873, the New York branch of the Philadelphia firm of Jay Cooke and Company failed. Its overextension of investment in Northern Pacific Railroad stock was symptomatic of a general American postwar overinvestment in new railroads, factories, and buildings, a credit inflation, and a currency inflation. Following upon a series of lesser banking failures earlier in the month, the closing of Jay Cooke burst the postwar inflationary bubble. Cooke's Philadelphia branch had to close its doors as well, and the Philadelphia investment banking house in which Jay Cooke had begun his career, E. W. Clarke & Co. also closed on September 18, though unlike Jay Cooke it

Banking Company, failed. The collapse of the Franklin Savings-Fund, declared bankrupt in federal district court on February 6, 1874, was a disaster of especially wide impact in the city because the fund had included many modest savings accounts.

But most of Philadelphia's banks survived and even extended their loans. The Farmers' and Mechanics' National Bank, the Philadelphia National Bank, the First National Bank, and the Bank of North America, among the largest of the city, continued to pay dividends. During the 1870s the Bank of North America "averaged nineteen per cent a year," while it maintained a proper surplus sum.⁴⁹ The Board of Trade report of 1874 somewhat prematurely congratulated its members on the "passing away of the financial pressure which had been so severely felt during the autumn months of 1873. Business is regaining its usual proportions and activity."⁵⁰ At least at the upper echelons of its business leadership Philadelphia did manage to retain its confidence during the depression of the 1870s; preparation for the Centennial probably cushioned the effects—especially psychologically. Still, many factories closed, many Philadelphians were out of work, hunger was apparent among the unemployed, and "a joyless winter followed" for thousands who did not have the reserve resources of the members of the Board of Trade.⁵¹ The city Councils did nothing in particular for the relief of the unemployed; the prevailing theory among Philadelphia's business and political leadership, also enunciated by the Board of Trade, was that to the extent that hard times persisted, the remedy was a reconsideration of recent reductions in tariff duties, particularly to stem imports of foreign iron and steel.⁵²

V

The composition of Philadelphia labor was not such as to foster militant class antagonisms. Rather, the city's mainly skilled and semiskilled workingmen remained dedicated to the preservation of the privileges of their trades and as many as possible of the remnants of independent artisanship. The skilled trades unions of Philadelphia took advantage of wartime and immediate postwar prosperity to rebuild and strengthen their local organizations and to stimulate a movement for national organization of the trades. The usual nineteenth-century pattern was for labor organizations to prosper when the whole economy prospered and to wane when the economy waned. Thus the 1860s were auspicious years for the Philadelphia trades unions; between 1860 and 1868 the wages of skilled workmen in the city rose by from 50 percent to more than 100 percent, and although the ten-hour day remained the general standard, some skilled workers won an eight-hour day.⁵³ The machinists, blacksmiths, and iron molders were especially successful in organizing in Philadelphia during the late years of the war. The Typographical Union and the Iron-Molders Union were among old unions that took marked strides toward national organization. The National Union of Cigar Makers and the Plasterers' National Union were among new national organizations with notable strength in Philadelphia.

Fincher's Trades'

Review, was published in Philadelphia for three years beginning June 6, 1863. At first a four-page weekly with less than 5000 circulation, by 1865 it printed over 11,000 copies and was an eight-page paper, national in appeal, ignoring advertising, and dependent on trades unions for support. Its editorial policy was that of the skilled workers with largely middle-class attitudes.⁵⁴

Among the Philadelphia contributors to *Fincher's* was William H. Sylvis, who as early as 1859 had signed the call that led to the assembling in the city of the first convention of the Iron-Moulders International Union, and who was first treasurer and from 1863 president of that union. In February 1866 a meeting between Sylvis and William Harding of Brooklyn, president of the Coachmakers' International Union, produced a call for a national convention of workingmen to meet in Baltimore the following August. The Baltimore Labor Congress formed the National Labor Union. This organization stressed the injustices suffered by producers at the hands of nonproductive accumulators of capital, and advocated a government-regulated greenback currency and limitation of interest to 3 percent as a means of reducing excess capital accumulation by the nonproductive and assuring fair rewards to the producers of wealth. This was a prescription for encouraging modest property-holding by labor; reform was to be achieved without infringing liberty of contract, private enterprise, or private property. In September 1868 at a New York convention Sylvis was elected president of the National Labor Union. He was an able organizer and administrator; he established a committee of lobbyists to guard labor interests in Washington, and he pushed for the organization of a reform political party. Once currency and interest were properly regulated in the producers' interests, he believed, there would be no more necessity for a union movement.⁵⁵

The National Labor Union met in Philadelphia in the summer of 1869. Shortly before the convention assembled, however, Sylvis died. Without his leadership nothing substantial was accomplished at the Philadelphia convention. The gathering was nevertheless noteworthy in that black delegates attended for the first time. Women fared less well; Susan B. Anthony, representing the Workingwomen's Protective Association, was rejected as a delegate because her organization was deemed not a labor organization and because she had tried to get jobs for women in printing offices at wages lower than those of striking men.⁵⁶

However complacently the Philadelphia Board of Trade viewed the Panic of 1873, the panic and the ensuing depression were a watershed for labor. The advantages gained by unionization during the prosperous 1860s suffered predictable setbacks. The National Labor Union was already dying. During 1870-1871 trades unions defected, preferring concentration on immediate economic and status issues and disliking the emphasis on political action. Despite Sylvis, the Philadelphia unions were among those concerned with immediate issues. In the depression, however, many of the national trades unions themselves collapsed or clung to the mere appearance of existence. At the same time job insecurity made secrecy seem to many labor leaders an essential of

union organization, the only safeguard against blacklists and the lockout. Under these conditions also socialism emerged to rival the greenback philosophy for the allegiance of American workingmen.⁵⁷

Secrecy and socialism were to be principal themes of the labor movement in the 1870s, but neither was particularly congenial to the Philadelphia labor movement as it had evolved historically. Nevertheless Uriah Smith Stephens, a member of the Garment Cutters' Union, in Philadelphia on December 26, 1869, organized the first assembly of a labor union constituted as a secret society, the Knights of Labor. After some conflict, Assembly One of the Knights was opened to men of all callings with the same privileges as the garment cutters, except that they could not "participate in trade matters." With the combination of secrecy and this compromise of traditional trades unionism, the society early attracted considerable public attention, much of it unfavorable; but the society stated that its intent was to bring about cordial public feeling toward labor and its place in the economic scheme, to encourage favorable legislation, and to set up mutual benefits and aids. By May 1878 six additional assemblies were organized, all in Philadelphia. An early forerunner of the district assembly appeared in the establishment of a committee on the "good of the order." By Christmas 1873 the organization had sufficiently expanded—its secrecy now proving an asset in the face of the depression—that a coordinating district assembly was necessary, with thirty-one assemblies attached.⁵⁸

Philadelphia also developed a surprising, though for the general life of the city highly peripheral, prominence in the history of socialism. By the beginning of the 1870s European radical emigrés were in the process of forming in New York and Chicago eight sections, with 293 members, of the Marxist First International, the International Workingmen's Association. When American intellectuals began to adopt an interest in Marxism, two native American sections of the International were formed in New York after 1870, Section 9 and Section 12. Section 12 was dominated by the Claflin sisters, Virginia Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, who were all too well known in ways that injured the respectability of the movement, as traveling medicine-show clairvoyants and as proprietors of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, which advocated female freedom including free love. The European, mostly German, emigré socialists, for the most part thoroughly conservative in matters of private morality, persuaded the General Council of the International in London to read Section 12 out of membership. But Section 12 refused to accept extinction, and meeting in Philadelphia on July 9, 1872, it announced its independence of the International and called for political action in America through the Equal Rights party, which had nominated Mrs. Woodhull for the presidency of the United States. A few days later the remnant of the American wing of the International, the Marxists, also met in Philadelphia, declaring complete harmony with the General Council.

Following this meeting in the city the International Workingmen's Association enjoyed a modest recruitment of membership in Philadelphia, mainly

among German workingmen. Meanwhile the headquarters of the International was itself transferred from London to New York, and in 1874 the First International met in convention in Philadelphia. At this depression-year assembly the International made a crucial decision, to reject the overtures of nonsocialist American labor organizations for cooperation, and to insist on purity of socialist doctrine and on political action only through a true workingmen's party, that is, a socialist party.

This rigidity pointed toward the next event in the loose historical association between Philadelphia and Marxism. The International Workingmen's Association was among the organizations meeting in Philadelphia during the Centennial year; but finding themselves making no progress in the United States and only tenuously linked to Europe, the delegates present—ten Americans and one German—chose to dissolve the First International. The American delegates hoped for better success by throwing in their lot with the Lassallean, rather than Marxist, Social Democratic Workingmen's party, organized in New York in 1874, which also met in Philadelphia in July 1876. A new Workingmen's Party of the United States came out of the merger of forces, but it also was to prove too rigidly Marxist for the American scene.

The Knights of Labor also met in Philadelphia in July of the Centennial year, "for the purpose of strengthening the order for a sound and permanent organisation, also the promoting of peace, harmony, and the welfare of its members." A constitution for a national body was drawn up, though the district assemblies were assured of almost complete autonomy in the national group. The delegates agreed that five cents per capita charged against the membership would be the only revenue collected. Not this national organizational meeting, however, but the accession of Terence V. Powderly to the presidency of the organization two years later was the key to transforming the Knights from a very slowly developing group into a national labor union of mass membership and major influence. Meanwhile, despite the comings and goings of labor leaders during Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition, unionization still floundered under the handicaps of the depression.⁵⁹

V I

In Henry Adams's anonymously published novel of 1880, *Democracy*, a foreigner tells the heroine, Madeleine Lee, that all cities of the world are corrupt.⁶⁰ Post-Civil War Philadelphia might have been one of his object lessons. The city has long come to be regarded as "a classic study in machine politics on the municipal level."⁶¹

Postwar Philadelphia was machine-dominated in part because the Republican party alone dominated its politics. The Republican predominance in turn sprang largely from a postwar tendency to overlook local issues and concentrate political debate on the national scene. The epithets "Copperhead" and "rebel" remained effective weapons against the Democrats, both in national politics and in local contests that had little or nothing to do with the issues of the Civil War.

By the post-Civil War years, furthermore, the departure of the old Philadelphia upper class from civic and specifically political leadership was almost complete. The fall of Nicholas Biddle and his bank in the crash of 1841 had wrought a revolution in the social status of the city's leadership long ago, and the Civil War had destroyed most of the last vestiges of the old leadership. Sidney George Fisher and others of his class found the new political leaders vulgar and ignorant, the candidates of the current nominating conventions "wholly unfit for any public trust."⁶² It is not necessary to absorb all of Fisher's prejudices to agree that the old Philadelphia political leadership, if often casual and lethargic, had demonstrated a sense of civic responsibility, a regard for tradition and the past that included a feeling of obligation to maintain a great city for the future, missing in the new politicians, ambitious for immediate advancement and for fulfillment of immediate interests, who had taken their places.

It was only a minimum of civic order and cohesion that the new machine politics provided. Taxes constantly increased, but the streets were "dirty, ill lighted and wretchedly paved."⁶³ Many Philadelphians constantly carried pistols; often the city seemed on the brink of returning to the riotous 1840s, with elections regularly the occasions for disorder, disturbances customarily piercing the quiet of the night—Charles Godfrey Leland said there were brawls nightly at Seventh and Chestnut—and a relatively quiet Fourth of July so unusual as to demand special comment in the press.⁶⁴

The particular ills besetting Philadelphia's politics were many. First, although the city and county boundaries were now the same, one of the prices of the political parties' acceptance of the Consolidation Act had been the retention of numerous county offices that overlapped the jurisdiction of city offices. Thus there were too many elected officials and too many elections for the voters to keep track of, with resultant confusion and indifference that benefited only those who devoted full time to studying and controlling politics.

In addition the Registration Act of 1869 gave the Republicans as the dominant party control of every election board and kept the courts from interfering. Only those approved by the Republican organization were registered to vote. The minority members of the election boards, chosen in fact by the majority, were frequently selected for their stupidity or corruptibility.⁶⁵

The Republicans were free on election days to flood the polls with repeaters and outsiders; many of them voted "on the thousands of fictitious names put upon the list of registered voters."⁶⁶ The *Inquirer* urged with little success: "To vote once today is a duty that every citizen owes to the Commonwealth. To prevent anybody voting more than once is equally a duty."⁶⁷

The question of the franchise for the black man was constantly a potential source of trouble. Though Reconstruction was enfranchising black men in the South, Philadelphians were in no hurry to introduce the same reform in their own elections. The state legislature had ratified the Fifteenth Amend-

ment to the United States Constitution in 1869 with considerable reluctance. In 1870 after the amendment had gone into effect, federal troops were sent into the city under the federal "Force Act" to protect the Negroes who chose to cast ballots, though few blacks as yet did so. At the next year's election there were no federal troops, and rioters trying to keep blacks from the polls killed three and wounded many more. One of the dead was Octavius V. Catto, principal of the Quaker-sponsored high school for blacks on Bainbridge Street above Ninth, the Institute for Colored Youth, a leader of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League in its fight to desegregate the streetcars, and at thirty-one the most magnetic and perhaps the most promising leader the Philadelphia black community had yet produced.⁶⁸

Additional elements in Republican control of the city were the row officials such as the sheriff and coroner, who were paid no salary and depended on the fees of their offices and the cooperation of elected officials with their activities. The Republicans were also helped by the requirement that independent candidates for office provide at their own expense printed ballots for each of about 700 election districts, and twice as many ballots if they wanted votes from both Republicans and Democrats; the intimidation of voters by the police; the illegal placing of officeholders on election boards; and the false counting of votes and falsifying of election returns.⁶⁹

For over a generation Philadelphia's volunteer fire companies had been a source of political power. But the fire companies, with their allied fighting gangs as the ultimate enforcers of their control over neighborhoods, were too unruly and unpredictable, too much inclined to adopt independent lines of action, to fit comfortably into Republican machine efforts to unify political control of the city; they tended instead to disrupt unity. Reformers had been trying to end the volunteer system at least since consolidation in 1854. The professional politicians were now ready for the change as well. By an ordinance of December 29, 1870, the city Councils eliminated the volunteer companies and created a paid fire department. Most of the volunteer companies became social clubs, but their parades and most of their political power disappeared.⁷⁰

The Gas Ring became the hub of a much more centralized system of political power. In 1841 the city had bought out the private stockholders of the company supplying illuminating gas. Twelve trustees operated the gas system for the city. The purchase agreement stipulated that the trustees should pay no part of the profits of the works into the city treasury until all the gas company's loans were paid—but no provision was written into the agreement against the acceptance of further loans with the same priority claim against revenues. In consequence the trustees negotiated a seemingly endless succession of loans as a means of awarding favors and creating relationships of mutual dependence with various business interests. During the diversion of public attention to national politics in wartime the trustees used their financial power to become increasingly dominant in municipal administration, while in 1865 the Republicans took complete control of the board. Though the

trustees were not paid, they saw to their own welfare when awarding about \$2 million annually in contracts and when hiring, firing, and promoting among their thousand employees. Meeting secretly, they kept their records under lock and key and published an almost worthless, because confused and falsified, annual report. Popular dissatisfaction with the Gas Trust brought the city Councils to propose an investigation in 1866, but a machine-dominated judge blocked the inquiry. Nor did the legislature at Harrisburg offer much hope of reform.⁷¹

The leader of the Gas Trust, and—largely through his power there—the first citywide political boss of Philadelphia, was "King" James McManes. Born in County Tyrone, Ireland, McManes had come to Philadelphia as a young man in 1830 and had gone to work in a Southwark cotton mill. There he had saved enough to open a mill of his own, which through fire met the fate of many nineteenth-century buildings. Slowly regaining financial stability, he became an investor in real estate. He was a gentle and affectionate family man, never profane; he was also a tough and skillful organizer. As an early leader of the Seventeenth Ward (Frankford Road to Sixth Street, Girard Avenue to Oxford Street) People's Republican Club he was becoming an important political figure by 1858. Named a trustee of the Gas Works in 1865, he manipulated influential friendships in Washington and Harrisburg as well as locally to make himself within two years the strongest member of the board. McManes and the Gas Trust soon controlled enough public jobs to increase the number of those dependent on the "King" for their jobs from 1000 to over 5000. The control McManes exerted over other businesses, such as banks, contractors, and street railways, through his use of Gas Works funds made the tentacles of his power far-reaching.

On December 1, 1866, McManes took office as prothonotary in the district court, a position he filled for three years with scrupulous attention to punctuality and correctness. Although a fight with Simon Cameron in 1883 caused his defeat for the gas trusteeship, he was reelected the following year. In 1887, however, political reformism brought the dissolution of the Gas Trust itself.

The "King" left a considerable fortune when he died, but he had lived simply and austere. He seldom spoke in public, and certainly was rarely given any kind of newspaper publicity in the period of the Centennial.⁷² Lord Bryce, the British commentator on American politics, wrote that McManes had "courage, resolution, foresight, the judicious preference of the substance of power to its display." Gov. Samuel Pennypacker described the "King" as "an absolute autocrat, who tolerated no difference of opinion in his ranks."⁷³

Other leaders of the Republican machine included William H. Kemble, president of the People's Bank of Philadelphia and former state treasurer; William B. Mann, longtime city district attorney; and William S. Stokley, often a Council member, and mayor from 1872 to 1881. During the war the mayor's term of office had been extended to three years. Mayor Henry, reelected in 1862, decided in 1865 not to run again. Morton McMichael of the

North American then headed the Republican ticket against Democrat Daniel M. Fox, and the atmosphere of military victory gave McMichael a lead of nearly 6000 votes.

McMichael was a successful newspaperman and well-intentioned civic leader, but he was not an effective political organizer or a magnetic personality. With the waning of the war's enthusiasms and McManes's Republican machine still in process of formation during the late 1860s, the Democrats were able to exploit McMichael's weaknesses and colorlessness to stage a brief comeback. They elected Peter Lyle sheriff in 1867. On October 13, 1868, with Sheriff Lyle reputedly swearing in "a large posse of bartenders, brothel keepers and proprietors of rat and dog pits to guard the posse" and importing voters from as far away as Baltimore and Washington, the Democrats elected Daniel Fox mayor over Hector Tyndale by a margin of 2239.⁷⁴

With McManes's machine growing in centralized power, however, the Republicans rallied as early as the elections for state and row offices in 1869 and 1870. "Sweet William" Stokley, who had made his way from the confectionary business to Select Council, planned to ride the Republican comeback into the mayor's office, and he succeeded in doing so largely by presenting himself as a law-and-order man who would further attack the city's regression into the riotousness and disorder that consolidation was supposed to have ended. In this role he became the principal sponsor of eliminating the tumultuous volunteer fire companies. "[A]mid the usual riotous scenes" of Election Day, Stokley won the mayoralty by a margin of some 9000 votes over James S. Biddle in 1871.

Stokley achieved another reorganization and strengthening of the police—again by relying not on the police professionalism of a later era but on tough policemen who could beat the city's thugs and gangs at their own game of violence if they had to. By the Centennial year the *Evening Bulletin* was rejoicing over a police system so effective that not a bank had been broken into nor a savings institution robbed since Stokley's election.⁷⁵

For all that, "Sweet William" was very much one of the new men of the postwar era, by no means possessing the substance or the image of the gentlemanly, old-family style of leadership of much of Philadelphia's earlier political history. Many respectable citizens thought that "a man of different type" from Stokley ought to preside over the Centennial observances. Alexander K. McClure, a rival Republican leader, sourly described Stokley as believing the "land belonged to the saints and his party were the saints." Reformers of both parties persuaded McClure himself to run for mayor in 1874 on an independent Citizens Centennial Constitution ticket.

Now practicing law in Philadelphia, McClure was a veteran newspaperman who had been prominent in Republican party affairs as long ago as the national convention of 1860, consistently as an ally of Governor Curtin against the Simon Cameron faction. But as an independent McClure would face a formidable obstacle in the entrenched Republican machine. His previous career, moreover, had been that of an ambitious behind-the-scenes manipula-

tor eager to advance his own influence by borrowing on Curtin's prestige. The publisher and wartime Union League pamphleteer Henry Charles Lea, a major figure among Philadelphia reformers, called McClure a "reckless political adventurer" and supported Stokley as the lesser evil. In the course of the campaign McClure's running mate Charles Gray, candidate for receiver of taxes, withdrew from the ticket and accused McClure of participating in the doings of a Harrisburg gambling den. Stokley won reelection by a resounding 10,985-vote majority. McClure later claimed that his defeat was accomplished by stuffed ballot boxes substituted for the valid ones. But he never again ran for office, going on instead to do battle with his rivals from the editorial desk of the *Philadelphia Times*.⁷⁶

Even McClure agreed that Stokley was a "man of unusually strong mental and physical force, generally clear in judgment, and scrupulously faithful to all his personal obligations in political life, and always exhibited a measure of courage that commanded the respect of friend and foe."⁷⁷ Never accused of personal venality, Stokley was nevertheless refused membership in the Union League, and he failed to win full support from many leading businessmen, a fact that was probably harmful to the gathering of funds for the Centennial Exposition. During the Centennial he behaved circumspectly with one possible exception, at the dedication of the Municipal Building on the Centennial Grounds on August 29, 1876. For several days after the event the newspapers debated whether the banquet hosted by the mayor had degenerated into a "disgusting orgie" and a "hideous debauch."⁷⁸ The *Bulletin* alleged that it might actually have been a group of reporters from a rival newspaper who were guilty of unseemly displays of drunkenness; the account in the *Times*, said the *Bulletin*, "was noticeably brief." The *Sunday Dispatch* reported that the mayor's own conduct was above reproach and that "Good order, sobriety, and geniality prevailed about him." It accused the mayor's foes of egging on some young men to a disgraceful exhibition. Very possibly, Stokley might have used the dedication ceremony and banquet to kick off his campaign for another reelection and thus encouraged spirits to flow freely. Whatever the truth, this minor tempest in possible fulfillment of the fears of the respectable did not prevent Stokley's reelection in 1877.

It is true that an intraparty fight over a third term for him developed, with the chief contender against Stokley being the rising business magnate Peter A. B. Widener, then city treasurer. McManes, however, backed Stokley. Widener soon decided his race was futile and withdrew in favor of Joseph L. Gaven, former president of the Select Council, who won the bipartisan reformers' support. Stokley's immunity to these challenges was widely credited at the time to his success in keeping law and order.⁷⁹

Despite the general postwar disarray of the Democrats in both the city and the state, one Philadelphia Democrat contrived not only to retain considerable local power but also to gain national prominence: Cong. Samuel J. Randall. Born in 1828 of a politically minded Philadelphia family, Randall had prospered in early life in mercantile business and went on to develop his own iron

and coal company. As an "American Whig," he served in the Common Council from 1852 to 1856. Shifting to the Democrats as did many Philadelphia Whigs in the late 1850s, in 1862 he won a seat in Congress. His was the old Pennsylvania First Congressional District, extending through the Delaware River wards and made up largely of mechanics, factory and dock workers, and small tradesmen. The Republicans might have gerrymandered the district out of existence had not Randall remained a stubborn high protectionist and thus a valuable Democratic ally of a major Republican national policy in the postwar era. He was usually the sole Democratic congressman from Philadelphia. Though his protectionism involved him in chronic feuding with other Democratic leaders, he was in the mainstream of his party in opposition to Republican tendencies toward generous federal spending and centralized federal power. He became chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and in 1876 his party elected him speaker of the House.⁸⁰

Reformers unhappy with the new men and new methods in politics had somewhat better success in pursuing reform through changes in the state government rather than through direct attack on the city machine. In 1871 reform-minded Republicans, seeking a vehicle for change other than the Democratic party with its taint of Copperheadism, founded the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association. By 1872 an inner circle of reformers, possessing old-fashioned credentials, with Henry Charles Lea perhaps the prime mover among them and including George W. Childs, Joshua B. Lippincott, John Welsh, Joseph Harrison, Anthony J. Drexel, and John J. Ridgway, established a Reform Club, meeting at 1520 Chestnut Street.⁸¹ The reformers helped nourish a drive for a new state constitution.

A resulting constitutional convention met to organize at Harrisburg on November 19, 1872, and beginning on January 7, 1873, convened in Philadelphia, in the Sixth Presbyterian Church on Spruce Street east of Sixth. It adjourned on November 3.⁸² Among changes of the sort for which the municipal reformers hoped, the draft constitution sought to assure more careful checking of ballots and to prevent bribery of voters. It guaranteed uniform registration procedures and election laws throughout the commonwealth, dooming the infamous Registration Act. It provided that city debts could not be contracted except as the city government authorized them through a specific expense appropriation; it mandated that every city set up a sinking fund to pay its funded debt; it provided that officials of the more populous counties must be paid in salaries, not fees, according to a scale that the legislature would set.⁸³

On December 16, 1873, the city somewhat surprisingly produced a majority of more than two to one for ratification of the reform constitution. McClure claimed later that the mayor had fraudulent returns prepared against ratification, but that the returns from the rest of Pennsylvania so strongly favored the new constitution that Philadelphia could not overcome them, and Stokley decided the authentic vote might as well stand. According to McClure, getting the honest returns reinstated was more difficult than readying a great many dishonest ballots and having them accepted.⁸⁴

A new elections law passed the legislature in time for the Stokley-McClure mayoralty race of 1874, but in Philadelphia the administration of the law was in the hands of officials appointed under the old Registration Act. In this first test, the new constitution made little difference.⁸⁵

The state legislature set out to provide the required sinking fund for Philadelphia. "The same bill, however, authorized a further increase in the debt of Philadelphia, which was already more than \$80,000,000."⁸⁶

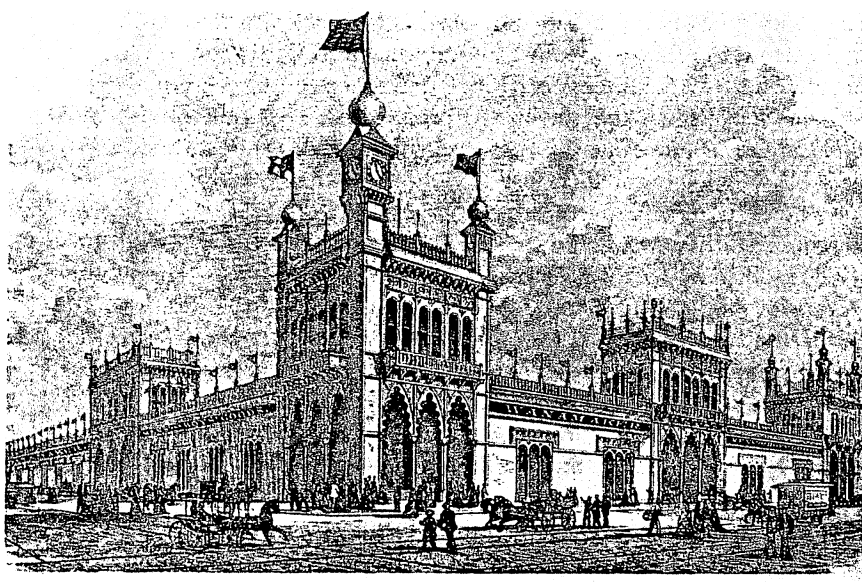
The legislature also considered the subject of salaries in place of fees. District Attorney Mann and the city solicitor, Charles H. T. Collis, drew up a bill establishing local salaries far exceeding those of the governor and of the justices of the state Supreme Court. In the last days of the session Gov. John F. Hartranft vetoed the measure on the ground that it was poorly drawn in giving a different salary scale for Philadelphia County than for Allegheny and Luzerne Counties. The fee system continued.

So at the outset the constitution of 1873 proved a "hollow triumph for reform. The new constitution did indeed provide for a government of law, but the law would necessarily continue to be made and administered by men."⁸⁷ The remedies sought by the constitution constrained and limited the actions of government; but if the power of the political machine in the industrial city was to be broken, more governmental freedom of action rather than less would be necessary, so that government might legally provide to the citizens services now offered extralegally by the machine.

VII

Residents of Philadelphia occasionally anguished over political scandals and spoilsmen, over dirty streets and high taxes, but on the whole their civic mood remained one of complacency, not to say of pride. Never did the local press voice any thought that another city should be the site of the Centennial Exposition. On the contrary Philadelphia was the appropriate site, said the *North American*, because it was "of all parts of the country least given to radicalism, and sure always to be found safe, prudent, moderate, and what is known in England as liberal conservative."⁸⁸

In so safe, prudent, and moderate a community, the fact that the city boasted 575 churches, or religious societies with "distinct places of worship," did not imply strong religious fervor or that the churches exerted great influence on city doings. The Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations claimed 359 of the churches; the Roman Catholics had 43, the Jews 9 synagogues, the Friends 14 meeting-houses.⁸⁹ There is no clue in these figures to church membership, financial support, or community influence. Sometimes attendance was impressive, but many religious groups lacked zeal enough to maintain services in Philadelphia's summer heat.⁹⁰ It was an indication of the changing urban population that perhaps the best known Philadelphia clergyman of the period was James Frederic Wood, who in 1875 became the first Roman Catholic archbishop of Philadelphia. Despite the contribution of immigration to his archdiocese, however, Wood was not notably syncretistic to the newcomers, particularly



Wanamaker's Grand Depot Store, Thirteenth and Market Streets, wood engraving by Vaningen-Snyder after A. Blanc (c. 1876). The John Wanamaker Department Store remodeled the Pennsylvania Railroad's freight depot in 1876 and occupied the building until 1902 when the present store was built.

FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA

the Irish. He himself was a convert of English Protestant ancestry, who had received his early education in England.⁹¹

The most spectacular religious event of the times was the Dwight L. Moody-Ira D. Sankey revival of mid-winter 1875-1876. The most famous evangelists of the day could be expected to draw crowds so large that for the occasion the Pennsylvania Railroad freight depot at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Market Streets was transformed into a 10,200-seat auditorium; the depot was made available by the city's fastest rising merchant prince, John Wanamaker, whose men's clothing store, established in 1861, had grown into a department store big enough that Wanamaker purchased the depot to make it the new site of his store. With tracks removed, the depot received a new wooden interior whose floors sloped so everyone could see the speakers' platform, itself seating nearly 1000. Biblical texts decorated the walls. As many as 300 ushers were to officiate, many of them drawn from the ranks of the clerks at Wanamaker's Sixth and Market store. A thousand gas burners lighted the main audience room.⁹²

Moody and Sankey came fresh from a triumphant two-year revival tour of Great Britain. The portly New Englander Moody, a onetime shoesalesman with little formal education and faulty grammar, began to be "always sincere and

unaffected, to the point of brusqueness." His equally portly companion sang with deep feeling in a strong baritone. The close coordination of speaker and singer was the novelty of the Moody-Sankey technique, a device highly effective in these peak years of their evangelism and a model frequently emulated by later revivalists.⁹³ William F. Fischer, a Philadelphia piano dealer best remembered today as the composer of the music for "I Love to Tell the Story," trained a local choir of 300 for the Philadelphia revival and later went with Moody to New York.⁹⁴

Moody and Sankey relied on force of personality and physical presence and fervor; their theology was coming to seem limited and dated even by the standards of emotional evangelism. Many leading ministers of Philadelphia supported their crusade, but enough doubts were simmering that the newspapers could sometimes voice skepticism, the *Sunday Dispatch* writing of Moodymaniacs as "weak minded men crazed by the harangues of the theological charlatan, Dwight Moody."⁹⁵

The opening day of the crusade was Sunday, November 21, 1875. The crowds arrived aboard special streetcars with banners reading "Moody and Sankey Meetings." The chief of police, Kennard H. Jones, and his assistant posted themselves at the entrance to the Wanamaker Depot. Eight hundred persons occupied the platform, including the chorus of hundreds and many clergymen. In spite of a driving rain and services that started at 8:00 A.M., 8000 were in the congregation.⁹⁶

The meetings went on for eight weeks, with a total attendance of about a million. President Grant ornamented at least one Sunday-night meeting. Leading citizens such as Jay Cooke, A. J. Drexel, and George W. Childs were persuaded to help shepherd converts forward. John Wanamaker had to miss the opening because he was abroad, but after he returned to the city he never missed a weekday service. The Sunday-morning meetings continued to be scheduled for an early hour, to avoid interfering with regular church services. Following the Sunday-evening services there were usually special meetings for young men, often held at the Arch Street Methodist Church and led by Wanamaker. From these meetings there developed a group of lay religious leaders called "Yoke Fellows." Private gifts of \$30,000 covered the expenses, and no money was collected at the meetings except to benefit the YMCA. Although the hymnbook *Gospel Songs* that Moody and Sankey sponsored sold well, the revivalists took no profit from the sales but had established a trust for charitable purposes. Equipment used at the meetings was auctioned off afterward, even Moody's towels bringing four or five dollars each.⁹⁷

Some ministers of the city met in January 1876 to discuss how to maintain religious enthusiasm after the departure of the revivalists. John Wanamaker, who was present, supported multid denominational union meetings once or twice weekly. The *Times* later concluded that Moody and Sankey had in fact brought a lasting increased vitality to the city churches. The same paper's earlier skepticism about a permanent impact was doubtless closer to the truth.⁹⁸

Certainly the Moody-Sankey emphasis on personal salvation had little effect on benevolent efforts to cope with the social ills of the industrial city. Many churches were already engaged in charitable activities among the city's poor; so, to a limited degree, were the machine politicians whose reward was support at the polling place. Social action based on any larger conception of a responsibility of the municipality or the whole community was barely beginning. Soup societies and fuel associations offered a measure of private charity for the poor and the unemployed. Many partly social associations were intended also to mobilize such mutual self-help as their members could muster, especially within ethnic groups, as with various Hibernian societies, the Swiss Benevolent Society, and the Société Française de Bienfaisance.⁹⁹ Otherwise, efforts to combat social problems tended like the Moody revivals to be directed toward the redemption of the fallen individual. The municipal House of Refuge was enlarged in 1872 for "employment of the idle, instruction of the ignorant and reformation of the depraved." The House of Correction opened at Holmesburg in January 1874 for vagrants, drunkards, and persons who had committed minor offenses.¹⁰⁰ These institutions and the Philadelphia Almshouse, or "Blockley," had to bear a surge of new admissions in the hard times following the Panic of 1873. Some newspapers did think that there ought to be general organization in the field of charities—in order to prevent swindling of the public.¹⁰¹

The public of the 1860s and 1870s recognized that there might be a connection between lack of education and idleness, and reformers argued that idleness in turn might well lead to criminality. Exposure to education kept the young from running the streets. One should attend school, acquire the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and then go on to further academic or technical training or use experience to fill remaining gaps in schooling.¹⁰² But concern over education was not strong enough to prevent a closing of the city's night schools when funds were short during hard times, or to build enough classrooms—students had to be turned away from the city's schools for lack of space in September 1876. In 1876 the city also considered easing its financial problems with a 10 percent salary cut for teachers. This threat was averted in part by a mass protest meeting of teachers. The *Press* supported the teachers by declaring that reduced salaries would bring botched work and would be a blow to teaching as a profession. But a letter to the editor of the *Ledger* asked why teachers should be privileged, when everyone else had suffered salary reductions; besides, working only ten months, five days a week, six or seven hours a day was already a privilege!¹⁰³

The specific educational issues of greatest concern throughout the period were compulsory schooling and public aid to church, mainly Roman Catholic, schools. Compulsory schooling was an idea gaining in favor but not yet adopted by the Pennsylvania legislature. Too many voters still thought, like the *Sunday Tribune*, that it would take away the liberty of the individual and bring excessive governmental centralization and too heavy taxes.¹⁰⁴ As for aid to church schools, the prevailing view remained that of the *Bulletin*, that "The only safe method, the only Republican method, is to let children of all sects

meet upon common ground in the schools." All sects, but not all races: the question of equal educational opportunity for blacks did not greatly disturb Philadelphians of the time, and the segregated black public schools remained generally inferior to schools for whites.¹⁰⁵

For all that, concern for education ran deep enough to bring about a new code for teacher qualification, new laws regulating the Board of Education and the schools, and the completion of twenty-one new school buildings at a cost of \$272,866.65. The Board of Education consisted of controllers, one for each section or district in the city, appointed by the Courts of Common Pleas. In each section or district there were annually elected school directors. By the beginning of 1875 there were 182 public school buildings with 108,631 pupils attending, including night-school students. There were 77 male and 1801 female teachers. The typical teacher of the period tended to be "white, female, native stock under twenty-five years of age who came from comfortable circumstances and continued to live with her parents while employed. She taught for twelve years at an annual salary of less than \$450 and terminated her employment due to the lure of matrimony." Salaries in Philadelphia were low in comparison with other large cities.¹⁰⁶

In higher education, Philadelphia's principal claim to distinction remained its cluster of medical schools. Apart from the medical schools, there was some truth to the opinion of several newspapers that the Philadelphia area had too many colleges with inadequate professors on poor salaries.¹⁰⁷

The city's physicians and scientists as well as its medical schools still upheld its position as a medical center. Joseph Leidy of the Medical Department of the university was a paleontologist of note, president of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and a director of the Zoological Gardens, in whose establishment he was a leader. D. Hayes Agnew, professor of the principles and practice of surgery at the university and principal subject of Thomas Eakins's painting of the Agnew Clinic, was a prominent publishing scholar in surgery and anatomy and a world-famous practicing surgeon. He ranged from the Orthopaedic Hospital to the Wills Ophthalmic Hospital. William Pepper, following his father of the same name as professor of medicine at the university, and grandson of George Pepper, the brewer and merchant who founded the family fortune, used both his medical and his social connections to pave the way to acquire land and funds for the building and endowment of the University Hospital in 1871–1874. He became director of the Medical Services Bureau of the Centennial Exposition. The most famous Philadelphia physician of the day remains famous in our time, thanks to Eakins's painting of the Gross Clinic; Samuel D. Gross of the Jefferson Medical College was a great teacher as well as a great surgeon, and a champion of more rigorous medical education. S. Weir Mitchell was just beginning to make his mark. He was appointed to the Orthopaedic Hospital (on Ninth Street south of Market, later at Seventeenth and Summer) in 1870. He was already contributing numerous articles to a variety of medical journals and establishing himself as an expert in the treatment of nervous diseases.¹⁰⁸

Dr. Leidy's Academy of Natural Sciences moved in 1876 from Broad and

Sansom Streets to its present building on Race Street at Logan Square. Space was provided there for a reading room, a lecture room, a laboratory, workshops, and "apartments" for the use of artists copying natural objects. The academy had accumulated by now a library of 30,000 volumes and a huge collection of botanical, mineralogical, and paleontological specimens, as well as specimens of shells, reptiles, fish, animals, and birds—of the latter, the largest collection in the world.¹⁰⁹

The exhibits of the Academy of Natural Sciences took science to the public; so too, still more popularly, did the Zoological Society and its new Zoological Gardens. Subscriptions of stockholders made possible the landscaping and building of the zoo, which opened in 1874. It is difficult to imagine a more engaging location for the purpose than the thirty-three acres south of Fairmount Park on the west bank of the Schuylkill. The entrance pavilions at Thirty-fourth Street and Girard Avenue were designed by architects Frank Furness and George W. Hewitt. Furness also designed the elephant house. Hewitt designed the antelope house, which minus its porches is still standing.¹¹⁰ Admission cost twenty-five cents, with half price for children. During the Centennial year admissions totaled \$155,464, a figure not equaled for seven years.¹¹¹

Lovers of animals had their match in plant lovers, who had founded the Horticultural Society as long ago as 1827—it was the oldest society of its kind in the United States—and had given an annual flower show from the beginning. In May 1876 this society opened Horticultural Hall on Broad Street north of Spruce, a huge building with a fanciful Florentine facade and a magnificent interior stairway. It not only housed exhibitions of plants, flowers, fruits, vegetables, and horticultural tools, but also offered space for lectures, concerts, and balls. Rebuilt in 1895 after a fire, it was razed in 1917, but the Shubert Theater built on its site incorporated the lower part of its stairway.¹¹²

VIII

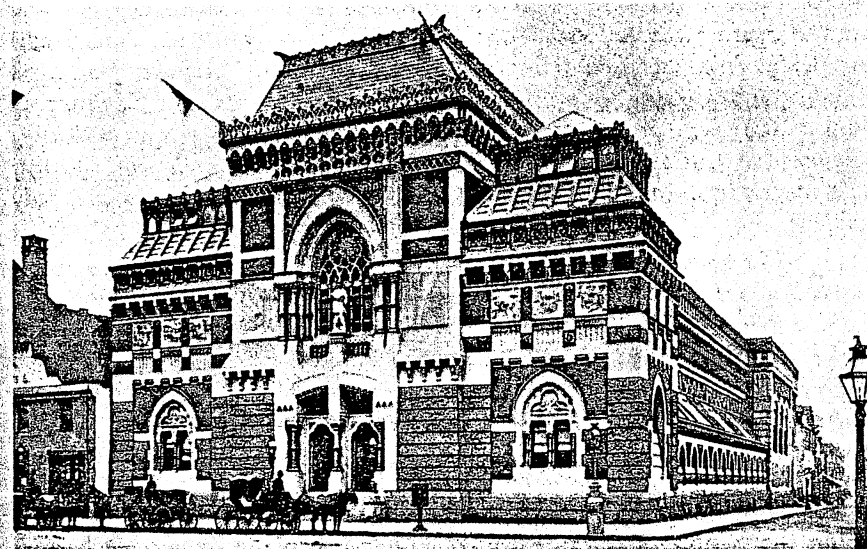
In the eyes of most upper-class Philadelphians, medicine and science were acceptable and commendable forms of activity. Probably for most Americans, but certainly for Philadelphians, the arts, pursued as potentially remunerative careers, were utterly different. One local journalist wrote: "The truth of the matter is that the accomplished portion of our native population manifest a very slight regard for American art, and consequently not much encouragement is extended in that direction."¹¹³ Another declared:

Art in all its forms is after all with most people but a means of recreation after the serious business of life is attended to. . . . Good music is good, and good pictures are good, and good statuary is good, and good books are good, but we can do without them all and yet get along very comfortably and very happily. . . . An artist who is also a good business man will always do good work, the best he is capable of doing, but, like every other business man, he will manufacture the kind of goods his customers want to buy. . . .¹¹⁴

Still, at the time of the Centennial the city wanted to excel in everything—so that Philadelphia journalists also claimed more for local art than could be substantiated. The *Press* wrote: "Philadelphia, the cradle of art in America, assumes with each passing year a more important position as an art centre."¹¹⁵ The city had a creditable art school and gallery, in addition to several small art associations and a number of fairly good private collections. It also boasted one or two artists whose reputations were destined to be international but who were not yet fully appreciated. But it was not an art center in the sense in which it was a medical center.

The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts had been relatively quiescent for a number of years. In 1876, however, it moved from its old home on Chestnut Street near Eleventh to the new building at Broad and Cherry designed for it by Frank Furness. When Furness attained in the twentieth century a much more distinguished as well as less merely local reputation than he enjoyed in his lifetime, his Pennsylvania Academy was to be hailed as "a building of great boldness and much personal character."¹¹⁶ Immediately, however, its detractors began to say the sort of thing that those not liking Furness's work have said ever since, that the building looked like a railroad station or a market house. The *Evening Telegraph* thought its eclecticism so extreme that "many features are incongruous to the point of absurdity."¹¹⁷

The lower story of the Pennsylvania Academy was set up for educational



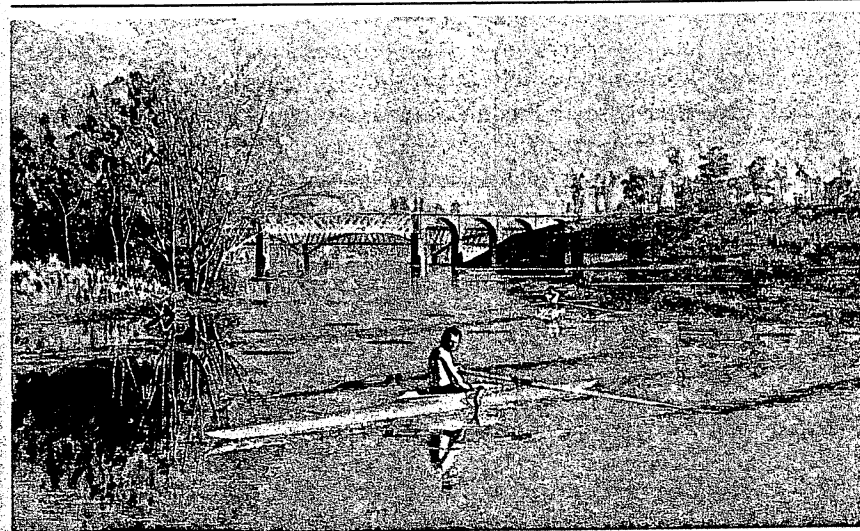
The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, southwest corner of Broad and Cherry Streets, designed by Frank Furness (1839–1912) and George W. Hewitt (1841–1916), built 1872–1876 (photograph c. 1877 by Frederick Gutekunst, 1832–1917).

purposes, with rooms for life models and for other classes. The Academy offered instruction at no cost to the student, providing he showed a drawing indicating suitable talent. There were lectures on "artistic anatomy," on perspective, and on architectural styles. The display galleries were on the second floor and contained an appropriate collection of American works, as well as some examples of European art.¹¹⁸

There were a Philadelphia Sketch Club, at 524 Walnut Street, with a gallery; a School of Design for Women, at Merrick and Filbert, near Fifteenth, intended to instruct women in drawing, sculpture, and painting, with practical applications in mind; and a Fairmount Park Art Association, of 1300 members, for the purpose of providing the park with art objects.¹¹⁹ A Social Art Club of twenty-five members, founded to promote "industrial, decorative, and antiquarian art," and looking toward the eventual establishment of a museum comparable to the Metropolitan in New York, met monthly at the homes of members to hear papers read.¹²⁰ There were several impressive private art collections, including that of Fairman Rogers at 202 West Rittenhouse Square.¹²¹ Rogers, who occupied the chair of civil engineering at the University of Pennsylvania, became still better known in the art world through Thomas Eakins's painting of his four-in-hand; Rogers was a collector of coaches as well as of paintings and the author of a major book on coaching.

Rogers was also one of the first Philadelphians to perceive the merits of Thomas Eakins. For most of his life Eakins's home was at 1729 Mount Vernon Street. Born in 1844, he graduated from Central High School in 1861 and studied anatomy at Jefferson Medical College and art at the Pennsylvania Academy. From 1866 to 1870 he was abroad, studying in Paris with Jean Léon Gérôme and painting for a time in Spain. His first works after his return to Philadelphia were portraits of family and friends, such as *Margaret in Skating Costume* (1871), and genre scenes, such as *Max Schmitt in a Single Scull* (1871).¹²² His interest in sports and in the body engaged in athletic contests was already evident.

In 1875 Eakins completed *The Gross Clinic*, intending it for the Memorial Art Galleries of the Centennial Exposition, probably assured in his own mind that the painting would establish his reputation. This work, "the most important by an American artist in the nineteenth century," depicts Dr. Gross explaining an operation—the removal of a diseased thighbone—while assistants do the work.¹²³ Genteel Philadelphians did not like the painting because it shows blood and suggests usually unmentioned parts of the anatomy: "Dr. Gross may have carved his way to eminence, but Philadelphia could not be troubled by exhibitions of his personal force carried on in a charity clinic."¹²⁴ While the painting was on display at Hesseltine's Galleries at 1125 Chestnut Street, the *Evening Telegraph* wrote that Eakins had exhibited very little and that his works had not attracted much attention, though his technical merits were great. "No American artist can compare with him as a draughtsman."¹²⁵ *The Gross Clinic* proved unacceptable for the Centennial art exhibits in Memorial Hall; instead it found a place with the medical section of the Centennial



Max Schmitt in a Single Scull, painted by Thomas Eakins (1844–1916), 1871. Schmitt was a member of the Pennsylvania Barge Club. In 1866 and 1867 he won the races for single scull held by the "Schuylkill Navy" or barge clubs. The bridges crossing the Schuylkill just south of the sculls are the Pennsylvania Railroad Bridge (now Amtrak) and the Girard Avenue Bridge.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, ALFRED N. PUNNETT FUND, GIFT OF GEORGE D. PRATT

Exposition, "among the exhibits of trusses, artificial limbs, and ear cleaners."¹²⁶ It brought Eakins only \$300.¹²⁷ Eakins did place in the Centennial art exhibition *The Chess Players* (1876), his portrait of Benjamin Howard Rand (1874), and the watercolors *Baseball* (1875) and *Whistling for Plover* (1874).¹²⁸

The disappointing rejection and the slight recognition accorded him, however, did not cause Eakins to move off to some other city or to return to Europe. He stayed on in his native place and in 1876 began teaching at the Academy of the Fine Arts, where he thoroughly redesigned the curriculum.

As for Philadelphia music, Elizabeth Duane Gillespie remarked in her *Book of Remembrances* that there were some so-called "musical entertainments," but of "real music there was none."¹²⁹ Such musical entertainments as there were reflected a strong Germanic influence. The city had a Germania Orchestra, a Männerchor, an Abt Male Chorus, a Beethoven Society, and a Philadelphia Philharmonic Society with William Wolsieffer as leader. There were also the Orpheus Club and the Theodore Thomas Symphony, whose director was a kind of musical missionary trying to develop a taste for symphonic music both in the city and, by means of his tours, throughout America.¹³⁰ The 1874–1875 musical season featured the Kellogg English Opera at the Academy of Music; English Opera Bouffe at the Chestnut Street Theatre, where one leading lady was described as "somewhat substantial for light

opera"; and German Opera Bouffe at the Arch Street.¹³¹ During the winter too the black Jubilee Singers gave several concerts mainly of slave songs at the Academy. After the first Jubilee concert, which was not especially well attended, a reporter wrote: "It is the duty—as it will in this way be certainly a pleasure—for us to give them the aid they most certainly deserve." Two weeks later the Academy was crowded for another Jubilee concert, and the audience, overflowing to the stage, was so enthusiastic that it called for many encores.¹³²

Naturally the approach of the Centennial prompted discussion of music as one of the arts to be exhibited. Plans for opening day of the Exposition included the use of a large chorus and orchestra, and the Main Building was designed to house a series of concerts. Commissioning opening-day hymns from John Greenleaf Whittier ("Centennial Hymn") and Sidney Lanier ("Meditation of Columbia") nicely symbolized the reunited nation, but the award of \$5000 to Richard Wagner for a "Grand Centennial March" predictably caused some carping from those who would have insisted on using native talent.¹³³ A Centennial Music Association was organized during 1875 under Prof. Jean Louis and by early January 1876 had over 600 singers, with Simon Gratz as president.¹³⁴ The Women's Centennial Committee meanwhile organized a Centennial Musical Festival, a series of concerts both choral and orchestral held at the Edwin Forrest mansion at Broad and Master Streets. Theodore Thomas initially conducted this series, but by July 31, 1876, he had withdrawn over complaints that his musical tastes were too heavy and serious.¹³⁵ Nevertheless a Women's Centennial Chorus survived after the close of the Exposition, reorganized as the Thomas Choral Society with Thomas as director.¹³⁶

The theater in post-Civil War Philadelphia had the benefit of a resident company at the Arch Street, presided over by Mrs. John Drew, whom the *Evening Telegraph* characterized in 1876 as the most versatile of American actresses. Usually the offerings at the Arch Street were standard English comedies.¹³⁷ During January 1875 the Walnut Street Theatre presented both Augustin Daly's company in his *Divorce* and Edwin Booth in various Shakespearean plays. Several other theaters were operating, while minstrels and burlesque performed at the Eleventh Street Opera House. Colonel Wood's Museum, at Ninth and Arch, had *As You Like It* in February 1875, while *Measure for Measure* probably had its American première at the Walnut in the same month. It was reviewed as not fit for presentation, but played to the fullest house of the season, with every foot of standing room taken.¹³⁸

The Chestnut Street Theatre, used for both musical events and drama, had *Jane Eyre* with Charlotte Thompson in early March 1875; hailed as one of the three best of young American actresses, the leading lady also presented *Camille*, *East Lynne*, and *Ingomar*. At the same time *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was featured at the Eleventh Street Opera House. *The Gilded Age* played in April at the Walnut, while at the American Theater, Buffalo Bill Cody appeared in *Scouts of the Plains*; or, *Red Men as They Are*, with Kit Carson, Jr., in the

cast. By May, Dion Boucicault was appearing in his most recent Irish drama, *The Sbaugbraun*, and also in *The Octoroon*.¹³⁹

By opening day of the Centennial Exposition in May the city boasted another major theater, the Alhambra Palace of the Kiralfy Brothers on the east side of Broad above Spruce. It seated over 1500 persons and did an "immense business," for according to the *Press*, its gardens and concerts alone were worth the price of admission, but in addition it presented a gorgeous spectacle and fine ballet, based on Jules Verne's *The Tour of the World in Eighty Days*.¹⁴⁰

Philadelphia's own Edwin Forrest had become partially paralyzed in 1865 and thereafter could no longer march onto the stage with lordly air. He took to spending much of his time in his mansion, brooding in solitude over the way the world treated him. His last public appearance was in some readings in New York. On December 12, 1872, he died alone at his Broad Street house. In his will he left most of his estate to found a home for aged players; the Forrest country place near Holmesburg, Spring Brook, opened in the autumn of 1876 as the Forrest Home for Actors.¹⁴¹

Actors especially suffered the Philadelphia skepticism about cultural activities as a proper occupation; but publishers, journalists, and even writers seemed to fit naturally into a city claiming Benjamin Franklin as one of its great men. To be sure, the publishing families of the 1860s and 1870s—the Leas, Careys, Petersons, and Lippincotts—were generally involved as well in activities other than publishing. There was, for example, Henry Charles Carey. Long since retired from business to devote his time to research, writing, and lecturing, Carey had become the leader of a group that can be thought of as an American school of political economy. He published *Unity of Law* in 1872. In that same year he was a delegate to the Pennsylvania constitutional convention. Charles Godfrey Leland described him as a "handsome, black-eyed, white-haired man, with a very piercing glance." Alert and sensitive in face, kindly in manner, he held every Sunday afternoon at home an informal reception called "Sunday Vespers," a Philadelphia institution. Distinguished visitors and the eminent men of the city mingled there discussing topics of the day. Carey's fine collection of paintings, along with the best Rhine wines, encouraged guests to linger.¹⁴²

By the 1870s Charles Jacobs Peterson's *Peterson's Magazine* enjoyed a circulation of 150,000. Theophilus Beasley Peterson and the other brothers of Charles Jacobs Peterson ran a publishing house which began to market popular books at cheap prices. Cousin Henry Peterson did some publishing and editing and became owner of the *Saturday Evening Post*. He also wrote poems and novels. His *Pemberton* appeared in 1873, a story of the American Revolution, dramatized at the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1876 as *Helen: or One Hundred Years Ago*. George W. Childs, publisher of the *Ledger*, was married to a daughter of one of the Peterson brothers, Robert E.¹⁴³

From 1865 to 1880 Henry Charles Lea was sole head of the family publishing firm founded by his grandfather Mathew Carey. As a publisher he began

to specialize in medical books and periodicals, an emphasis continued in the twentieth century when the firm became Lea and Febiger. As a citizen Lea was active in nearly every political reform movement of the day.

Joshua Ballinger Lippincott had established his own firm at mid-century, at first emphasizing Bibles and religious works. Until the early twentieth century he and his family also printed and published *Lippincott's Magazine*, a literary periodical.¹⁴⁴

Rarely has the city boasted such a galaxy of journalists as in this period: George W. Childs at the *Ledger*, Alexander K. McClure at the *Times*, John W. Forney at the *Press*, Morton McMichael at the *North American*, Gibson Peacock at the *Bulletin*. Over a dozen newspapers offered their tales of public and private doings. The *Ledger* had the largest circulation of the city papers, with the *Times* offering strong competition.¹⁴⁵ The papers displayed considerable conscious pride in the Centennial City, but also offered considerable criticism of its faults and omissions.

The kidnapping of Charles Brewster Ross, aged four years and seven months, on July 1, 1874, gave the papers ample material for sensational reporting; but if they had a field day with the case, it was by later standards a dignified one. Little Charley Ross was held for ransom. Several persons were obviously involved, and one, William H. Westervelt, was given a lengthy trial but, to the disappointment of the press, convicted of but one charge, that of conspiracy. Little Charley was never recovered, and even today one feels the sensation of horror that always accompanies the kidnapping of a child.¹⁴⁶

Most Philadelphia literary figures were also concerned with other, more practical, and perhaps more routine occupations than writing. The dramatist George H. Boker served his country as minister to Turkey and Russia, being absent from the city from 1871 to 1878.¹⁴⁷ While carrying on his publishing and political activities Henry Charles Lea was already engaged in the research for *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (1888). He had three books behind him, *Superstition and Force* (1866), *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (1867), and *Studies in Church History* (1869). Numerous pamphlets urging reform came from his pen, such as *Facts for the People*, describing what was wrong with Philadelphia's municipal services, why the city debt should not be increased, and why a new loan should not be floated.¹⁴⁸

Horace Howard Furness, son of the Unitarian minister William Henry Furness and brother of the architect Frank, never achieved fame in the law, in which he was trained, but in his own lifetime gained renown as a scholar. His variorum editions of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*, the first of a massive series still being produced, were highly acclaimed, especially of course by the Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia. His wife, the former Helen Kate Rogers, herself wrote *The Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems*.¹⁴⁹

When Philadelphians wished to join with others of like mind for the encouragement of literature, art, or reform, or if they wished purely social activity, they usually formed a club. The Penn Club was an outgrowth of the *Penn Monthly*, a literary magazine designed especially for Philadelphia tastes

and writers. It gave—and still does—an annual award to a person of international or local distinction. The Shakspeare Society had been founded in 1851 under the inspiration of Fanny Kemble's readings and was especially active in the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁵⁰

The Saturday Club or Saturday Parties originated in 1867, founded, according to Alexander K. McClure, because the influx of newly rich, uncultured persons prompted a nucleus of intelligent business and professional men to band together to revive cultivated entertainment and conversation on the Saturday evenings traditional for such activity. Everyone attended the meetings in regulation evening dress, but there was no "conventional suppression," and "generous intercourse" prevailed among the guests. There was no clubhouse, but from November to April the group met weekly at the house of one of the members. The *Press* declared that the Saturday Club provided a useful means of welcoming distinguished visitors during the Centennial.¹⁵¹

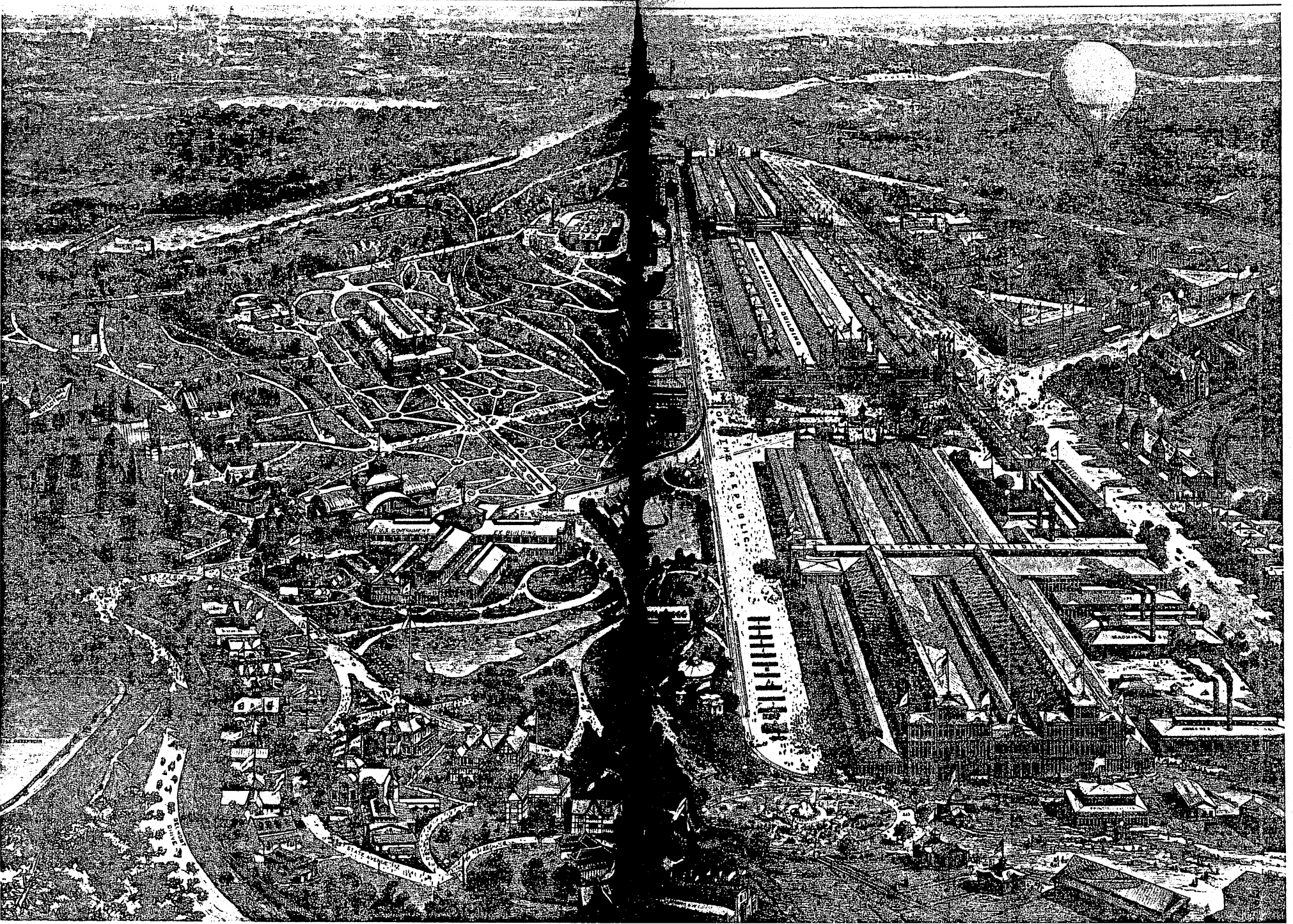
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With the expansion of the row-house blocks of the industrial city, the great outdoors, or whatever remnants were still accessible, beckoned more invitingly than ever. In addition to the expanding Fairmount Park, there was the Philadelphia Rifle Association's Schuetzen Park, on Indian Queen Lane north of Ridge Avenue, a popular scene of outings, not only for the German-American club that owned it. The park had shooting galleries and targets, and also facilities for concerts and dancing.¹⁵² There were several racetracks around the city, including Belmont Driving Park and Point Breeze Park.¹⁵³

Skating and sleighing naturally had their devotees. Sleighing parties went out through Fairmount Park or to the Wissahickon for waffles. Skating was possible on the lake at the zoo and at a rink at Broad and Montgomery; both featured music. Occasionally the ice on the Schuylkill was satisfactory for skating. Roller skating too was beginning to be thought of as a good sport.¹⁵⁴ Croquet, "more than a game . . . was a social function."¹⁵⁵ A croquet club sponsored matches, and the casual player often took his exercise in Fairmount Park, sending a boy ahead to set up the arches.¹⁵⁶

With two rivers at their doors and boat clubs abounding, Philadelphians were fond of water sports. In the Centennial year, from the end of August until mid-September an aquatic carnival in the Schuylkill claimed attention.

OVERLEAF: The Centennial—Balloon View of the Grounds, engraved for Harper's Weekly from sketches by Theodore R. Davis (1840-1894), September 30, 1876. Some of the avenues and drives created for the exposition have been preserved in Fairmount Park, but the only survivor among the large exhibition buildings is Memorial Hall, the domed art gallery above center in Davis's compiled view. The vast Machinery Building (at the lower right, west of the main entrance) covered fourteen acres along Elm (Parkside) Avenue in what is still known as the Concourse area of the park.



Swimming had its followers, both in the rivers and at the Natatorium, on Broad Street between Walnut and Locust, which reported that it trained 600 to 700 swimmers every season.¹⁵⁷

Various baseball clubs flourished, amateur and professional. The Civil War had spread awareness of the sport and interest in it; the soldiers played it in camps and even in prisons. The first candidly professional team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, toured the country so successfully in 1869—they drew 15,000 spectators for a game in Philadelphia—that the first professional league was organized for the 1871 season, the National Association of Professional Baseball Players. At the organizational meeting in New York, James N. Kerns, a representative of the Philadelphia entry, an already well-established club founded in 1860 and called the Athletics, was elected league president. Furthermore the Philadelphia Athletics went on to compile a season's record of twenty-two wins and seven losses that captured the first league championship. Unhappily for the city, this triumph failed to prove an omen of consistent success for subsequent Philadelphia professional teams. The Athletics' seventh-place finish in an eight-team league during the National League's first season—the Centennial year—was a more accurate harbinger of things to come in the next century.¹⁵⁸

X

Alexander McClure, nose in the air, called the period after the war "The Reign of Shoddy." Wealth had come suddenly to many who possessed little culture but plunged into "extravagant display." According to McClure, Mr. Caldwell, then a jeweler near the Girard House, said that the demand for diamonds was so great that it was hard to fill the orders from purchasers often unknown to him.¹⁵⁹ Women loaded themselves with diamonds, but their "general demeanor indicated entire ignorance of the proper use of such decorations."¹⁶⁰ McClure thought that many women of the older families gave up the wearing of jewels because of the tastelessness of the display by the newly wealthy.¹⁶¹

In 1866 Sidney George Fisher attended a party because he wanted to see "the young people & the fashions that have grown up since I was in the gay world." Though the party took place in handsome rooms, he found the company lacked "distinguished beauties" or those who had "style, elegance, accomplishment, & manner. . . ." He concluded: "I thought the tone of the party, its general effect, was deficient in refinement, in dignity, in short it was rather vulgar. And why not? *Business people* are now in society, here as in New York."¹⁶²

There remained, of course, the inner circle of Philadelphia's upper class. To that august group there were some additions in the 1860s and 1870s, or at least there were some who managed to get one foot into the charmed circle. This select core was cohesive and self-sufficient and felt secure, perhaps because it knew where it had been if not precisely where it was going. An invitation to the dancing Assemblies remained an indicator of having arrived.

In the year 1874–1875 there were four Assemblies at the Academy of Music; usually there were two.¹⁶³ But others besides the select few danced, if not always at the Academy. Eight balls and at least five dancing schools advertised in one newspaper for one day alone in 1875.¹⁶⁴

One of the most impressive social functions of the time, including many who had arrived in and who aspired to enter the upper class, was the reception given by George W. Childs to the emperor and empress of Brazil on their visit to the city for the opening of the Centennial. Over 600 guests came to the Childs mansion.¹⁶⁵ Another glittering reception was given on December 4, 1871, for the visiting Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, son of Czar Alexander II. McClure called it the "greatest social event in the history of Philadelphia," though the *Inquirer* was satisfied with the term "most successful." McClure's description of the event emphasized that the grand duke had been sent on a cruise around the world to help him forget a love affair with the wrong woman. Governor Curtin, now minister to Russia, helped arrange the visit to Philadelphia. Here Alexis was kept busy with a breakfast at Belmont Mansion and visits to Girard College, the Baldwin Locomotive Works, Independence Hall, and the Navy Yard. The climax to the day was a grand ball at the Academy of Music, for which patron subscribers paid as much as \$100, but admission to which was only \$15. General Meade was chairman of the sponsoring committee. Society ladies mingled with overdressed bejeweled women crowding the Academy. The grand duke danced with Miss Margaret Meade and Miss Fanny Drexel, but McClure remembered from the many belles of the evening Mrs. Col. Thomas A. Scott and Miss Emily von Schaumburg for the "sweet simplicity of perfect elegance."¹⁶⁶

X I

On New Year's Eve, December 31, 1875, a visitor to Philadelphia described what went on in the streets at midnight as the "most extraordinary noise ever heard." John Lewis, an Englishman working in New York and visiting a son in Philadelphia, stated in a letter to his brother in England that "every bell, whistle, or other instrument that would make a noise" was sounded to welcome the Centennial year. Despite misty weather and dirty, muddy streets, the Independence Hall area was a solid mass of celebrators. Lights made the hall glow. Shortly before midnight Mayor Stokley appeared and sent to the top of the flagpole a replica of the flag unfurled by George Washington on January 1, 1776, over the camps of the Continental Army at Cambridge. The crowd responded with shouts and firecrackers. There were illuminations on many of the streets, where masked marching groups in fancy costumes, with noisemakers and musical instruments—the Mummers or New Year's shooters—celebrated even more jubilantly than usual. The reflection of the illuminations could be plainly seen in the countryside eighteen miles away. Thus was ushered in the Centennial year.¹⁶⁷

Though the idea of fairs was old, the modern concept of an exposition, with exhibitors from many countries displaying new inventions and industrial

developments, was relatively new. The credit for linking the celebration of 100 years of American nationhood with such an exposition is usually given to Prof. John L. Campbell of Wabash College, Indiana. As early as December 1866 he wrote to Mayor McMichael suggesting that a centennial exposition be held in Philadelphia.

The idea of an American world's fair was a bold one. The recent successful international expositions, beginning with the London Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851, had required the financial backing of their governments on an increasingly lavish scale. Such governmental support was unlikely to be forthcoming in the United States. The previous American world's fair, the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in New York in 1853-1854, had been a commercial venture and a failure. Could American industry, invention, and art now provide an appropriate centerpiece for an American fair? Would other nations bother to exhibit? If they did, would they put American products to shame at the most embarrassing moment possible?

Doubters repeated all these misgivings, but Professor Campbell's idea nevertheless gathered momentum. Besides the doubts, the notion of a Philadelphia fair also had to face competition from Boston, New York, and Washington once the idea caught on. It says much about the vitality of industrial Philadelphia just after the Civil War that these claims of rival cities were overborne with relative ease. The big question, whether Philadelphia could mount the first successful world's fair in the United States, then remained to be answered.¹⁶⁸

The Franklin Institute was an early supporter of the Centennial Exposition movement and asked the city Councils for the use of Fairmount Park. In January 1870 the Select Council resolved to hold an exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, and both Councils created committees to study the project and to seek the support of Congress. The Pennsylvania legislature also sponsored the plan and sent a committee of ten to accompany the Philadelphia delegation to Washington. Cong. William D. Kelley spoke for the city and the state to Congress. Cong. Daniel J. Morrell of Johnstown, chairman of the House Committee on Manufactures, introduced a bill to create a United States Centennial Commission to conduct an exposition in Philadelphia, but providing expressly that the United States government should not be liable for any expenses. The bill passed on March 3, 1871.¹⁶⁹

The United States Centennial Commission was organized on March 5, 1872, with Cong. Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, a newspaper editor and former governor of his state, as president. With finances still a major problem, Congress on June 1, 1872, set up a Centennial Board of Finance, authorized to sell not more than \$10 million worth of stock in ten-dollar shares. Most of the members of this board were chosen from among the mercantile and industrial leaders of Philadelphia, so there could readily be a quorum for meetings in the city. John Welsh became president of the board; in addition to his fifteen years as president of the Board of Trade and sixteen years as a Fairmount Park commissioner, he had been chairman of the executive com-

mittee for the Great Central Sanitary Fair of 1864, no world's fair but the closest approximation Philadelphia had experienced, and a success that had raised a million dollars.

Welsh had considerable talents as a fundraiser and was attuned to voluntarism rather than government support as a means of getting things done. He needed all his talents and energy; even with them, money came in slowly. The stockholders of the Centennial Board of Finance eventually mustered sizable amounts, \$1,784,320 by Washington's birthday, 1873. The City of Philadelphia contributed at least \$1.5 million, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania \$1 million. Not until February 11, 1876, did Congress appropriate \$1.5 million. The Centennial Board assumed that this amount was an outright subsidy, but after the fair was over the federal government sued for its return as a loan. The United States Supreme Court eventually reversed a lower court's finding for the city and forced repayment from the Centennial Board stockholders, so that in the end the federal government paid for nothing except a few of its own displays.

In 1873 the Centennial Commission chose Alfred T. Goshorn, an Ohio lawyer and manufacturer of white lead, as director-general of the Centennial Exposition. He was given broad executive powers and proved another able, energetic selection. Meanwhile the Fairmount Park Commission set aside 450 acres of West Fairmount Park for the Exposition. On July 4, 1873, Secretary of the Navy George W. Robeson officially dedicated the grounds, of which 236 acres were actually fenced off for the fair.¹⁷⁰

The women of Philadelphia had contributed much time and effort to the Central Sanitary Fair of 1864, and John Welsh was eager to enlist them again. On February 16, 1873, the local arm of the Centennial Board of Finance, the Citizens' Centennial Finance Committee, met with thirteen Philadelphia women for help in organizing a grass-roots campaign of support for the Centennial within the city. Among the women present was (Mrs.) Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, a descendant of Benjamin Franklin, who undertook to create a women's committee representing all the city's wards, to knock on doors and solicit funds. Eventually women from across the country were added to create the Women's Centennial Executive Committee, with Mrs. Gillespie as president. In the first few months of its existence the Women's Committee raised over \$40,000 and obtained 82,000 signatures in two days for memorials to the city Councils and the Pennsylvania Assembly to make appropriations for suitable buildings in which foreign countries might exhibit, to help assure the international aspect of the Exposition. When it became apparent that the men planning the Exposition would not do much to display women's work, the women went on to collect another \$30,000 for their own exhibit building, the first women's building at any world's fair.¹⁷¹

The men may have come perilously close to botching the international aspect. It was not until June 5, 1874, that Congress was prevailed upon to pass a resolution inviting foreign governments to participate. Then, luckily, John W. Forney of the *Press* consented to head a Philadelphia commission to visit

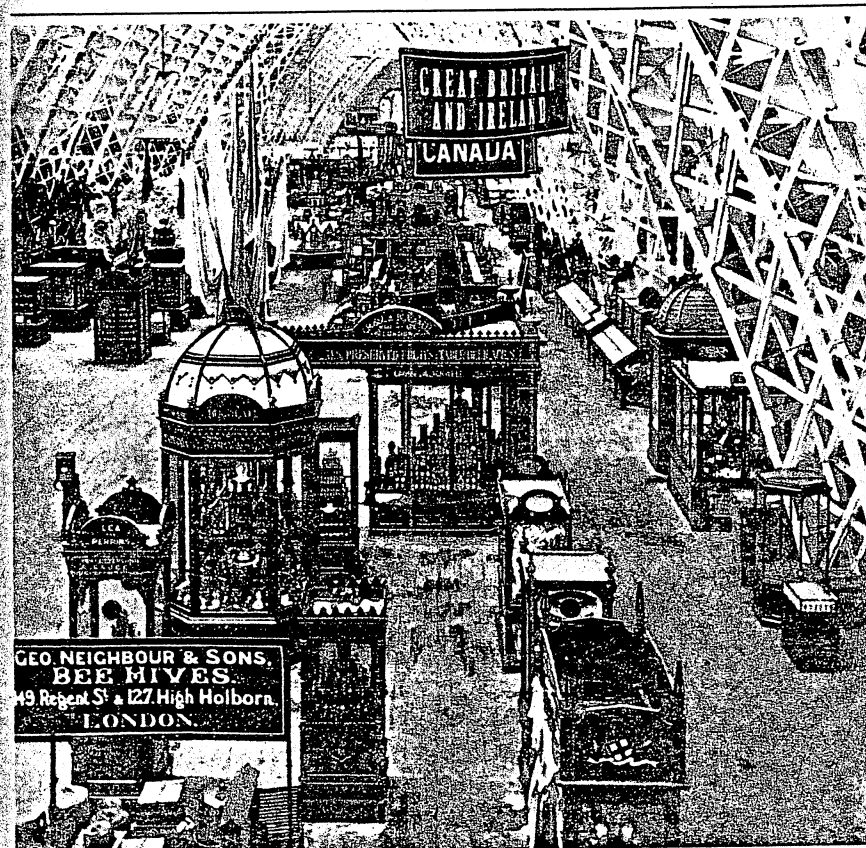
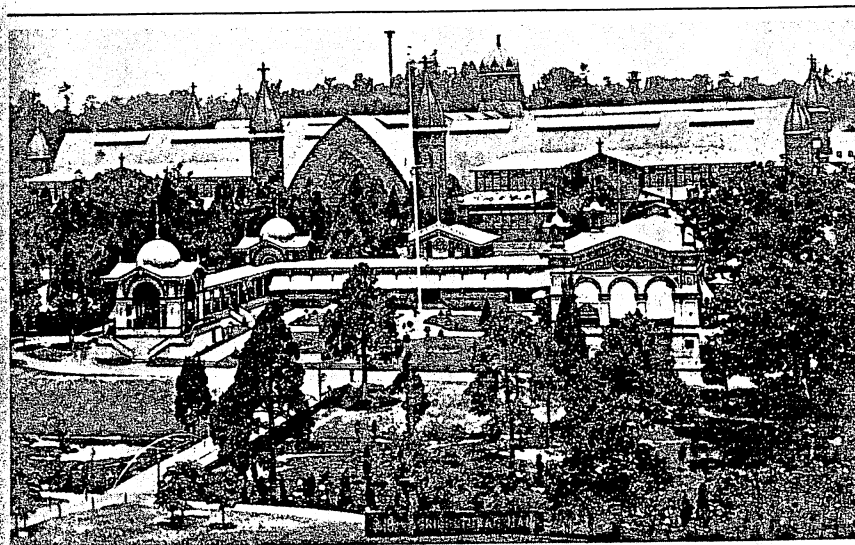
Great Britain and Europe to drum up interest, and to pay for the trip out of his own pocket. Once more voluntarism at least partially offset governmental indifference by producing an able individual to take charge. Forney was gracious, sophisticated, and thoroughly knowledgeable about both the United States and much of Europe. He sailed amid skeptical expectations that the Europeans would boycott the Exposition, and against the obstacle that American tariffs might make European industrial exhibits seem a dubious investment—too few European goods could climb the tariff walls—but not a single European country declined Forney's invitation.¹⁷²

The Centennial Commission sponsored a competition for building designs. Winners of a first round of judging had to be ready with full details including cost and construction time by a runoff deadline of September 20, 1873. The awards for the four best designs for the principal buildings then went to Philadelphia architectural firms, but none of them proved to have made enough allowance for the pressures of hasty construction on the one hand and financial stringency on the other. As the whole enterprise seemed about to founder on incompleting buildings, design as well as construction had to be taken from architects' hands and given to engineers. Henry Pettit and Joseph M. Wilson became the principal designers and constructors of the Main Building, a temporary structure begun in 1874. The largest building in the world, it covered about twenty-one and a half acres and extended one-third of a mile along the Elm Avenue concourse. It consisted of an iron framework resting on 672 stone piers, with generous use of glass between the frames to give a light and airy effect despite grandiose size. Its central avenue was 120 feet wide and 1832 feet long, the "longest avenue of that width ever introduced into an Exhibition Building." Directly to the west was Machinery Hall, a structure of similar design reaching 1402 feet along Elm Avenue and covering about fourteen acres.¹⁷³

Intended to be permanent were Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall. The guiding genius of both was German-born Hermann J. Schwarzmann, engineer for the Fairmount Park Commission, who had never before designed a building and had no professional training in doing so. His Memorial Hall indeed still stands, its great iron-and-glass dome commanding attention throughout much of Fairmount Park and from the river drives on both banks of the Schuylkill. For years it contained the Pennsylvania Museum of the School of Industrial Art, the forerunner of the later collections of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Now it serves mainly as a police station.¹⁷⁴

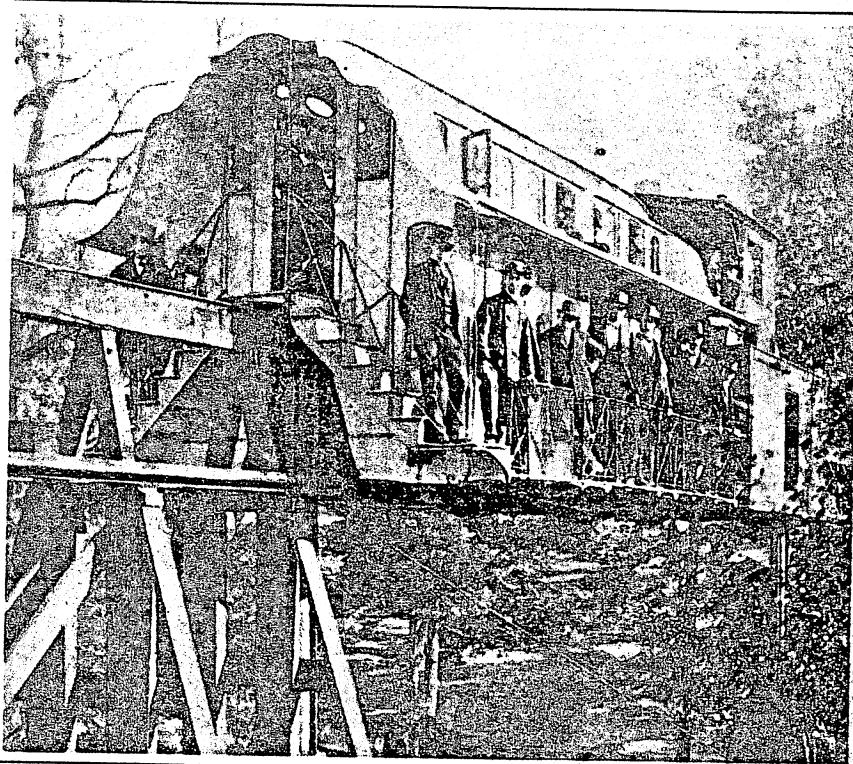
ON THE FACING PAGE: Exterior and Interior of Agricultural Hall, north of Belmont Avenue and the Reservoir, Centennial Exhibition, 1876. Agricultural Hall, designed by Philadelphia architect James H. Windrim (1840–1919), was a huge structure of Gothic design. The elaborate iron and wood framework enclosed exhibitions of agricultural products in spacious, well-lighted naves.

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Schwarzmann's other principal structure, Horticultural Hall, was yet more astonishing if not more impressive. It was a building mainly of glass, his tribute to the Crystal Palace of London's first modern world's fair and to the similar Crystal Palace of New York in 1853: a "Saracenic" tracery of glass and of iron "gaily polychrome in reds, greens, and yellows." It continued to exhibit exotic plants until it was battered so badly by Hurricane Hazel in 1954 that it had to be razed.¹⁷⁵

There were eventually more than 200 buildings within the Exposition grounds, surrounded by a fence about three miles long.¹⁷⁶ President Grant and members of Congress came to Philadelphia in December 1875 to observe the progress of construction. By then the Main Building and Machinery Hall were nearly finished, and despite much mud the visitors appeared to be impressed. Congress may have been stimulated to vote its appropriation, however grudgingly, and out-of-town journalists began to pay more attention to the coming event.¹⁷⁷



An elevated railroad and (on the facing page) the band and torch of the Statue of Liberty were among the technological and artistic novelties to be seen at the Centennial Exhibition (photographs 1876).

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The original plan had been to open in April 1876, to commemorate the anniversary of Lexington and Concord, but construction delays caused the date to be pushed back to May 10. On the first of May there was so much confusion on the grounds that it seemed impossible that the buildings could be ready in time. But ready they were. The chief of the Bureau of Installation put the matter in flowery language: "The great century plant which had been for so long a time tediously but steadily unfolding its intricate net-work of months, weeks, and days, had at last matured with a full bloom well worthy of the occasion."¹⁷⁸

The bell at Independence Hall sounded to signal the opening, followed by all the bells of Philadelphia, while small boys, bringing out Christmas Eve tin horns, astonished visitors. Appropriate decorations were everywhere.¹⁷⁹ The day was fair and warm after an early rain, and from descriptions it seems

as if everyone in the city must have been excitedly astir.

The *New York Herald* reported the opening day crowd as the "largest ever assembled on the North American continent." Official count set the number as 186,272, though about 110,000 entered on free passes rather than paying the fifty-cent admission charge. For modern exhibitions to equal this figure it would be necessary to have 800,000 people present.¹⁸⁰ The crowd that day concentrated between and around the Main Building and Memorial Hall, in front of each of which a platform had been erected. Many notables were on the platforms early. Eventually there arrived Emperor Dom Pedro of Brazil with Empress Theresa; somewhat later came President and Mrs. Grant. A rather tedious opening ceremony followed; it was difficult to hear, though certainly the chorus of 1000 voices must have been audible.

Finally President Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro grasped the valves that started the immense Corliss Engine in Machinery Hall, perhaps the greatest wonder of the Exposition. By means of cogs and underground shafts, this creation of a self-taught engineer, George H. Corliss, supplied the power to drive some 800 other machines at the fair. Its two cylinders, each forty-four inches in diameter with a ten-foot stroke, propelled a flywheel thirty feet in diameter and weighing fifty-six tons through thirty-six revolutions a minute, governing 1400 horsepower of energy. With the Corliss Engine beginning to hiss with steam and to turn its wheel, the fair was open. People cheered and threw their hats into the air, while guns roared from George's Hill, church bells pealed, and whistles were sounded.¹⁸¹ The most amusing, perhaps the most apt, observation was that of Fukui Makota, the Japanese commissioner to the Exposition: "The first day crowds come like sheep, run here, run there, run everywhere. One man start, one thousand follow. Nobody can see anything, nobody can do anything. All rush, push, tear, shout, make plenty noise, say damn great many times, get very tired, and go home."¹⁸²

But within two days the crowds fell off so drastically that few except the sponsors and the vendors had to say damn. On May 12, only 12,720 visited the fair. Opening day notwithstanding, the average daily attendance for May was only 36,000. In June it rose only to 39,000. A heat wave began in mid-June and sizzled unbroken through July, further discouraging visitors and threatening to deal the hopes of the promoters a fatal blow. "We swelter under a glassy sky from which the sun . . . beats down fierce and sullen. We walk streets . . . which are baked and which reflect back the heat as if it were thrown up to us from a fiery furnace."¹⁸³ For the four-week period ending July 22 the average weekly temperature was 81 $\frac{3}{4}$ °F; for ten days the temperature reached about 100°F.¹⁸⁴

Then the hot spell eased. The heat returned at the end of August, but attendance picked up from a 35,000 daily average in July to 42,000 in August. September turned cool, and the number of daily visitors to the fair soared to 94,000. September 28 was Pennsylvania Day, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776; about a quarter of a million people were at the fair that day, hearing speeches, attending a recep-

tion, and watching fireworks. Pennsylvania Day was to prove the peak attendance day, but in October the daily average rose again to 102,000, and in November despite the chill and rains of autumn it reached 115,000. Philadelphia Day, November 9, brought out 176,000, but much of the astonishing rise in attendance represented visitors from more and more distant reaches of the Union. Planned amid skepticism and greeted at first with persisting popular doubts, the great American world's fair at last caught on as word of its wonders spread across the country through increasingly enthusiastic news reports and by simple word of mouth. In 1876 only the rich were accustomed to taking long vacation trips; but by autumn of the year the railroads' Centennial excursion fares, the justification that the Exposition was educational and not merely fun, and above all the lure of unprecedented excitement made the Philadelphia Centennial the country's first mass tourist mecca. The total of those admitted by the close of the Exposition on November 10 was 10,164,489, of whom 8,047,601 paid admission fees.¹⁸⁵

Attendance at the fair having at last exceeded almost all expectations, could the city cope with the miracle of West Fairmount Park? Was it prepared to feed, house, transport, amuse, and protect the thousands of visitors?

Although the city Councils were at first reluctant, they had finally approved the erection of temporary hotels of wood near the Exposition grounds. These "huge caravanseries," like the Globe and the Transcontinental, were planned on a grand scale to house several thousand guests. The Centennial Lodging-House Agency compiled lists of available rooms, in hotels, boarding-houses, and private homes. Tickets for these rooms were then sold in cities promoting the Exposition or by special agents on the trains coming to Philadelphia. The tickets so distributed were eventually redeemed at the Lodging-House Agency by the hotel or boardinghouse keepers, or by private residents renting rooms. At times visitors complained about the expense of rooms, but the general verdict seems to have been that prices, perhaps not much more than \$1.50 a night, were reasonable.¹⁸⁶

Evidently the new hotels did very well in feeding their guests; there were few complaints about the general quality, quantity, and availability of food. Inside the Exposition grounds it was a different story. Prices were high enough that at least one reporter recommended that visitors go outside to eat and pay a new admission to come back to the grounds. Of course, one could take one's own lunch and get coffee or tea at the Public Comfort Building; there was plenty of ice water, while soda water and German lager beer stands enjoyed a brisk business, with beer at five cents a glass.¹⁸⁷ At any rate there is no indication that anyone went away hungry from Philadelphia, except perhaps President Grant, who it was reported could get no lunch on the grounds on opening day.¹⁸⁸

A celebration at Fairmount Park on July 4, 1875, had demonstrated the deficiency of city transportation lines in providing access to the Exposition grounds. At that time over 130,000 persons had managed to get there by public transportation, but many more reportedly had to walk. All concerned be-

stirred themselves to improve matters, however, and by the time the Centennial opened it could claim among its distinctions to be the first world's fair providing satisfactory transportation for masses of visitors. All the European fairs had been deficient in this respect. The local streetcar lines increased their service, but the railroads outdid themselves. One of the showpieces of the Exposition was the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot across Elm Avenue from the main entrance; there were a circular turnabout and three platforms. The railroad ran special trains from Market Street and excursion trains from New York, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad also ran special trains to the Exposition from the heart of the city. All railroads lowered their rates to Philadelphia, though perhaps not as much as the Centennial promoters had hoped.¹⁸⁹

To reach the Exposition grounds the visitor could also take a small steamboat from the east bank of the Schuylkill in Fairmount Park; the ride cost ten cents. And of course one could hire a carriage and ride to the Exposition in style; the cost was about three dollars. A narrow-gauge railway, the West-End, made the circuit of the Exposition grounds in thirty-five minutes, including stops. Nearly four million passengers rode in the open cars built for the West-End Passenger Railway Company, paying five cents for each ride. Rolling chairs were also available on the grounds, at sixty cents an hour.¹⁹⁰

Crime at the Exposition was a less serious problem than many feared it would be. The total number of arrests made by the Centennial Guard was 675. A Scotland Yard inspector in charge of security at the British exhibits marveled that he saw scarcely a case of drunkenness; but in fact most of the arrests were either for that misdemeanor or for jumping the fence. The city's own Centennial Division force also reported that drunkenness and other minor offenses accounted for most of the arrests made during the Exposition. Stolen property to the value of \$9412.60 was recovered and returned to the owners. In the admission money taken in at the Centennial, only \$1001 was counterfeited.¹⁹¹

Philadelphia's health officers on the other hand felt conscious of straining their resources to the limit. Fortunately no epidemic erupted, but the heat wave added to the burden of visitors from all over the world. During the four hottest weeks ending July 22 there were, not surprisingly, 206 more deaths recorded than in the same period of 1875. The water supply on the Exposition grounds and various items of food eaten there naturally were cited as suspect whenever seemingly unusual illness appeared. Dr. William Pepper, director of the Medical Bureau of the Centennial, nevertheless stated that there were "no special conditions in the city, either at the Exhibition Grounds or elsewhere, whether in the form of imperfect drainage, impure drinking-water, or any other special local feature, which were calculated to induce sickness." He concluded that Philadelphia was the healthiest city in the world, save for London. With so many visitors yet few apparent health problems, he may not have been far wrong.¹⁹²

Pepper's bureau established an efficient small hospital on the Centennial grounds, in Lansdowne Ravine on Lansdowne Avenue. Brisk efficiency was

what made the Centennial the remarkable success that it came to be—efficiency in health care, in completing the buildings on schedule, in transportation to and from the fair, in the arrangements for overnight accommodations, and above all of course, in the constantly hissing machinery that kept the fair moving, provided its greatest source of wonder, and stilled the final doubts about America's and Philadelphia's capacity to host a great world's fair.

The Corliss Engine symbolized the Centennial Exposition on opening day and has loomed larger as the symbol of the fair with the passage of time. The first spectacularly successful American world's fair was a fair dominated by machinery. There was art too—two and a half miles of art exhibits on the walls according to John Sartain, chief of the Bureau of Art¹⁹³—and there was the music of opening day and throughout, and there were foods and entertainment, but it was mainly the machinery that drew the crowds. This emphasis on mechanisms and invention was no doubt crucial to the success of an American world's fair furthermore because it meant that the focus of the fair was on the very areas of endeavor in which the United States was at least the equal of Europe and any other part of the globe.

Vying with the Corliss Engine for notoriety among the exhibits was a mechanism much smaller, yet also even more ingenious—Alexander Graham Bell's new telephone. "My God, it talks!" Emperor Dom Pedro is supposed to have said. Thomas Alva Edison exhibited the Quadruplex Telegraph, which transmitted several messages simultaneously. George Westinghouse exhibited the air brake, George Pullman the Pullman Palace Car. Three electric arc lights pushed back the darkness of night with a brilliant white glow. American machine tools, the vital machines needed to make other machines, impressed British observers as surpassing Britain's own—a possible portent of changing leadership in the industrial revolution. American machinery in general impressed the German commissioner, Prof. Franz Reuleaux, as surpassing the machinery of the burgeoning German industrial revolution in the key quality of efficiency; so much so that Reuleaux's subsequent book, *Letters from Philadelphia, (Briefe aus Philadelphia Braunschweig (Brunswick): F. Vierling und Sohn, 1877)* was a plea for Germans to emulate Americans in making efficiency and quality and not mass production alone the hallmarks of industry. Years later, in July 1941, while his armies were invading Russia, Adolf Hitler was to lecture his entourage on the Philadelphia fair as an event that had turned German production from the bad and the cheap to the qualitatively superior.¹⁹⁴

For the first time the Philadelphia world's fair brought large numbers of foreign visitors to the United States for a single purpose, and they returned to their homes to make American efficiency and American machinery bywords for excellence. But the influence naturally did not run merely outward from the United States. Fifty nations exhibited at the Centennial, and their displays as well as the stream of foreign visitors in turn influenced America. Especially in industrial design, Americans took new ideas away from the fair, all the more because, in the manner of London's Victoria and Albert Museum but new to this country, industrial and artistic exhibits tended to stand side by side. A present-day art historian writes that "of the events of the second

half of the nineteenth century none had more profound effects on American art and taste than the preparations made in Philadelphia to celebrate the completion of one hundred years of American independence."¹⁹⁵

Yet it was not European but Oriental and particularly Japanese art that made the most lasting impression. An anonymous account in the *Atlantic Monthly* found the Japanese-exhibit making everything else look "common-place, almost vulgar. . . . The Japanese seem to possess the secret which the modern pre-Raphaelites have striven for without success, the union of detail and effect. . . . The commonest object of pottery or cotton-stuff for daily use has a merit of design or color which it does not owe to oddity alone. . . ."¹⁹⁶

The Japanese had at first seemed figures of fun, when they puzzled Philadelphians by sending the materials for two prefabricated buildings—a species of efficiency the Americans themselves had scarcely begun to explore—and Japanese workmen to assemble them. It was at least equally puzzling that the workmen had no idea of how to use American building equipment—because they had never before seen a wheelbarrow, they carried it instead of pushing it—yet managed to put their buildings together. Of the finished Japanese structures, opinion soon changed from scoffing at them as oversized corncribs to accepting the praise of Richard Morris Hunt, as one of America's leading architects, of the "graceful lines of roofs and porches, the perfect tile work, and the rich ornamental carving, altogether offering a capital and most improving study to the careless and slipshod joiners of the Western world."¹⁹⁷ Opinion of the displays inside, especially the silks and porcelains, even more quickly reached a favorable verdict. The Centennial was perhaps the most important single source of the lasting American fascination with Oriental art.

For six months Philadelphia was host to a cosmopolitan stream of visitors from all over the American continent and from abroad. Among the inhabitants of the city, these visitors stimulated native curiosity and kindness, and from all of them something could be learned. Philadelphians could again observe southerners as other than enemies, and become acquainted with fellow citizens of the United States from as far away as 3000 miles.

Over and above the economic benefits Philadelphia had acquired a sense of accomplishment, a conviction that its citizens could achieve results, that the city was no longer just a stop on the way to New York. "Strong local sympathy" from citizens, from Mayor Stokley, and from other municipal officials, wrote the director-general, was among the reasons for the success of the Exposition. For some glorious months Philadelphia might look upon itself as the "principal city in the United States."¹⁹⁸ Before the event the *Press* had hoped that "The Centennial is to ring the death knell of that non-enterprising, fearing-to-dare spirit which has so long ruled us."¹⁹⁹ The Centennial was altogether a lesson of self-respect for the city; it showed its present greatness and its potentialities.²⁰⁰ It must have caused many Philadelphians pride to read the *Chicago Tribune* report of May 1, 1876, that staid old Philadelphia was gone, and that the city was "as cosmopolitan as Paris and as lively as Chicago."²⁰¹

The Iron Age 1876-1905

by Nathaniel Burt and Wallace E. Davies

Anyone can be a shopkeeper, but a merchant is as much different as . . . a Rocky Mountain eagle from a mouse.

— JOHN WANAMAKER

Above all, the Quaker City lacks that discriminating enthusiasm for her own children . . . which enables more zealous towns to rend the skies with shrill paeans of applause. . . . If mistaking of geese for swans produces sad confusion . . . the mistaking of swans for geese may also be a serious error. The birds either languish or fly away to keener air.

— AGNES REPPLIER¹

The period from the Civil War into the new century saw the transformation of Philadelphia into an industrial giant. Pennsylvania in general established itself as the Midlands or the Ruhr of America, the center of heavy industry, of iron and steel, coal and oil, America's foundry. Philadelphia became its Liverpool-Birmingham or perhaps Essen-Düsseldorf, chief port for the foundry, nerve center of transportation, producer of finished goods of an enormous variety but particularly of steam engines and steamships. The impact of this explosion of industry and technology almost obliterated Penn's green country town, the red-brick cultural capital, in a smog of steam and smoke, of endless gridirons of workers' housing, of railroads and factories, freight yards and warehouses. It was Philadelphia's Iron Age.

With the opening of the great Centennial Exposition of 1876 the city reemerged nationally. No longer the center of politics, religion, intellect, arts and letters, even of finance and commerce, Philadelphia presented itself as

OVERLEAF: *Aerial view of Philadelphia, photographed from a balloon by W. N. Jennings (1893). Lemon Hill Tower, the Fairmount reservoir, and the unfinished tower of City Hall are key reference points in this view of the city between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers looking to the southeast.*

- phia Unitarianism, 1796-1861 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 233-34.
56. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:749.
57. Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (9 vols. inc. index; New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953, 1955), 4:240; Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, p. 111; Joseph George, Jr., "Philadelphians Greet Their President-Elect, 1861," *PH* 29 (Oct. 1962): 381-90; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:750.
58. Geffen, *Philadelphia Unitarianism*, p. 234.
59. Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 116-19; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:753.
60. Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865* (5 vols.; Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer, 1866-1871); Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War* (Philadelphia: The City, 1913), pp. 16-25, 40.
61. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:758-60; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 27-31.
62. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 33-39.
63. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 1:307-43, 539-906; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 5, 41-195.
64. Enrollment statistics are in Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, passim.
65. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:779, 791, 797; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 196-99.
66. Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps* (Washington, D.C.: Quartermaster Historian's Office, Office of the Quartermaster General, 1962), pp. 348, 350; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:780, 782; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 26-27; Russell F. Weigley, *Quartermaster General of the Union Army: A Biography of M. C. Meigs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 251-53; *Inquirer*, July 15, 1862 (on Bridesburg).
7. *Statements Relating to a Navy Yard in the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1862); *Cramp's Shipyard, 1830-1910* (Philadelphia: William Cramp & Son, 1910); Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:799; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 200-5; United States Navy Department, *Reports of the Secretary of the Navy and the Commission by Him Appointed on the New Iron Navy Yard at League Island* (Philadelphia: Collins, 1863).
8. James Moore, *History of the Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon* (Philadelphia: J. B. Rodgers, 1866); Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:768, 770, 774; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 207-15.
9. Quoted in Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 212-13.
10. Fahnestock Diary, Nov. 29, 1863; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 224-36; Nathaniel West, *A Sketch of the General Hospital of the U.S. Army at West Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Ringwalt & Brown, 1862). *Fisher Diary*, pp. 400 (quotation, Aug. 20, 1861), 402 (Aug. 29, 1861), 405 (Sept. 23, 1861); Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:777, 781.
72. Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 128-29.
73. For Fisher's relations with the peace Democrats in his circle, see especially his diary, Aug. 1, 1862, *Fisher Diary*, p. 431. An account of the Philadelphia peace Democrats, taking a relatively sympathetic view of them, is Nicholas B. Wainwright, "The Loyal Opposition in Civil War Philadelphia," *PMHB* 88, (July 1964): 294-315. For the historiography of the "Copperheads," see Richard O. Curry, "The Union as It Was: A Critique of Recent Interpretations of the Copperheads," *Civil War History* 13 (March 1967): 25-39.
74. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, p. 551; *Fisher Diary*, p. 395 (quotation, July 3, 1861); Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1903), 1:216.
75. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d sess., 32, pt. 2: 1169, 1644-45, 2503-5.
76. Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 137-40; *Inquirer*, Aug. 25, 28, 29, 1862.
77. *Fisher Diary*, pp. 431 (quotation, Aug. 1, 1862), 433-37 (Aug. 26-Sept. 1, 1862); Irwin F. Greenberg, "Charles Ingersoll: The Aristocrat as Copperhead," *PMHB* 93 (April 1969): 198-201. The Charles Ingersoll case gained additional notoriety because some newspapers confused Ingersoll with his famous father, Charles Jared Ingersoll; an instance of such confusion is to be found in Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* . . . (11 vols.; New York: Putnam, 1861-1863; Van Nostrand, 1864-1868), 5:69.
78. *Inquirer*, July 9, 1862, in an approving account of a mass meeting at Concert Hall.
79. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: C. W. Jacobs, 1907).
80. Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 151-52; George F. Lathrop, *History of the Union League of Philadelphia, from Its Origins and Foundation to the Year 1882* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1884), pp. 16, 21. The Democrats, it should be noted, won control of the state legislature in 1862.
81. [Anonymous], *Rifle Shots at Past and Passing Events* . . . by an Inhabitant of the Comet of 1861 (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1862), p. 110 (first quotation); *Constitution and By-Laws of the Central Democratic Club, Organized January, 1863* (Philadelphia, 1863); Ray H. Abrams, "The Copperhead Newspapers and the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 20 (April 1935): 131-52; Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 153-59; Wainwright, "The Loyal Opposition in Civil War Philadelphia," pp. 298-301; Schankman, "William B. Reed and the Civil War," p. 465 (second quotation).
82. Wainwright, "The Loyal Opposition in Civil War Philadelphia," p. 301.
83. Guy J. Gibson, "Lincoln's League: The Union League Movement During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1957), pp. 49-51; Lathrop, *History of the Union League of Philadelphia*, pp. 26-34, 130-31; Union League of Philadelphia, *Chronicle of the Union League of Philadelphia, 1862-1902* (Philadelphia: Union League, 1902), pp. 34-50. On the rise of Philadelphia's new "business, industrial, and banking

- elite" during the Civil War, see E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), chap. 6. For a revealing insight into Charles Ingersoll's attitude toward the new business leaders, see his anonymously published *A Brief View of Constitutional Powers, Showing That the Union Consisted of Independent States United* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 27-31. A good example of Henry Charles Lea's wartime pamphleteering is his *The Record of the Democratic Party, 1860-1865* (1865).
84. Fahnestock Diary, June 4, 1863; Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 159-60, 171; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 239-41.
85. Fahnestock Diary, June 15, 1863. William L. Calderhead, "Philadelphia in Crisis," *PH* 28 (April 1961): 142-55, concerns the city during Lee's invasion. Material on this topic can also be found in Michael Jacobs, *Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1863* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1864), and Winnifred K. MacKay, "Philadelphia During the Civil War, 1861-1865," *PMHB* 70 (Jan. 1940): 31-33.
86. Fahnestock Diary, June 16, 25, 26, 1863.
87. *Fisher Diary*, p. 455 (June 29, 1863). Similarly, A. K. McClure reported from Philadelphia that "Our people are paralysed for want of confidence & leadership . . ." (*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [4 ser.; 70 vols. in 128 vols.; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901], 1st ser., 27, pt. 3: 436 [hereafter cited as O.R., with all citations referring to 1st ser.]).
88. O.R., 27, pt. 3: 79-80.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 408, 436; A. J. Pleasonton, *The Home Guard of the City of Philadelphia: Third Annual Report* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1864); Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 40, 215-20, 242-51.
90. O.R., 27, pt. 2: 211-19; *ibid.*, pt. 3: 68-69, 243, 448.
91. *Ibid.*, pt. 3: 365-66, 408; Correspondence, 1863, file in Box 2, Alexander Henry Papers; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:808; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 245-47.
92. O.R., 27, pt. 2: 211-19, 277-78; *ibid.*, pt. 3: 68-69, 76-77, 79-80, 97, 111-13, 130-45, 162-67, 169, 187, 239-40, 264, 329-30, 342-44, 347-48, 363-65, 391-92, 408, 436, 480-81, 527; Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York: Scribner's, 1967), pp. 134-41, 143-45; Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, pp. 247, 249; Russell F. Weigley, "Emergency Troops in the Gettysburg Campaign," *PH* 25 (Jan. 1958): 45-50.
93. Fahnestock Diary, June 29-July 7, 1863; *Fisher Diary*, pp. 454-56 (June 26-July 8, 1863).
94. Fahnestock Diary, June 30, 1863; Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, pp. 160-65, 169-70; Foner, "The Battle to End Discrimination . . . on Philadelphia Streetcars (Part I)," p. 270.
95. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:800, 809.
96. On the gubernatorial election of 1863 and wartime Pennsylvania politics generally, see Erwin S. Bradley, *The Triumph of Militant Republicanism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), and Stanton L. Davis, "Pennsylvania Politics, 1860-1863" (Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1935). Neither contains as much material on Philadelphia as might be wished. On the judicial test of the draft law, see James C. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (rev. ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 247-48.
97. Charles J. Stille, *Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, Held at Philadelphia, June, 1864* (Philadelphia: United States Sanitary Commission, 1864); William Y. Thompson, "Sanitary Fairs of the Civil War," *Civil War History* 4 (March 1958): 51-68.
98. *Philadelphia Age*, June 6, 8, July 12, 13, Aug. 2, 31, 1864. In 1863 Lewis Cassidy had urged that the Democrats accept Governor Curtin's proposal of a Democratic-Union party fusion ticket in support of a War Democrat for governor (Davis, "Pennsylvania Politics, 1860-1863," p. 287).
99. Dusenberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, p. 175; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:818.
100. Fahnestock Diary, Jan. 22, 1864.
101. Isaac Jones Wistar, *Autobiography of Isaac Jones Wistar, 1827-1905: Half a Century in War and Peace* (Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1937), pp. 4-5.
102. For an impression of Fairmount Park during the war, see *Fisher Diary*, (Nov. 21, 1861), pp. 408-9.
103. For private Philadelphia fortunes in wartime, see *The Rich Men of Philadelphia* [cover title only]; *Income Tax of the Residents of Philadelphia and Bucks County for the Year Ending April 30, 1865* (Philadelphia, 1865). Material on Philadelphia industry and the city's economy during the Civil War can be found in *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade* (Philadelphia: Board of Trade, 1861); J. H. Perkins, *Thirty-second Annual Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade* (Philadelphia: Board of Trade, 1865).
104. The following account is based on the detailed history by Philip S. Foner, "The Battle to End Discrimination . . . on Philadelphia Streetcars (Part I)," pp. 261-90, and "(Part II)," pp. 355-79.

THE CENTENNIAL CITY, 1865-1876

1. *Evening Telegraph*, Aug. 14, 1876; George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town: 250 Years of Philadelphia Architecture Illustrated in Prints and Drawings* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), p. 102.
2. Nicholas B. Wainwright, ed., *A Philadelphia*

Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871 (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 494 (hereafter cited as *Fisher Diary*); Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1918),

- p. 100; Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and Its People* (4 vols.; Philadelphia: S. J. Clarke, 1912), 2:385.
3. *Fisher Diary*, p. 492.
 4. Pennypacker, *Autobiography*, pp. 100-1; *Fisher Diary*, p. 494; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:385.
 5. *Fisher Diary*, pp. 493-97. The *Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 28, 1875, explained that it was the Philadelphia custom that shutters be bowed and hung with black out of respect for someone dead in the immediate family or among other relatives; the observance might last as long as two years.
 6. *Public Ledger*, July 2, 3, 6, 1865; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:387.
 7. *Forty-third Annual Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade* (Philadelphia: J. B. Chandler, 1876), Appendix B, p. 83. (Annual Reports of the Board of Trade were issued beginning in 1833; they are cited hereafter as *Board of Trade Report* and the year.) For a discussion, with illustrations, of the extension of the city westward, and of the houses built there, see Roger Miller and Joseph Stry, "The Emerging Suburb: West Philadelphia, 1850-1880," *Pennsylvania History* (hereafter cited as *PH*) 47 (April 1980): 99-145.
 8. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:405; Dorothy Ditter Gondos, "The Cultural Climate of the Centennial City: Philadelphia, 1875-1876" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1947), p. 6.
 9. John F. Sutherland, "Housing the Poor in the City of Homes: Philadelphia at the Turn of the Century," in Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller, eds., *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), pp. 175-202; Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), pp. 40-60; Stewart A. Stehlin, ed. and trans., "Philadelphia on the Eve of the Nation's Centennial: A Visitor's Description in 1873-74," *PH* 44 (Jan. 1977): 25-36 (from Friedrich Ratzel, *Städte und Kulturbilder aus Nordamerika* [2 vols.; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1876], 1:201-5). In 1870 Philadelphia had 112,336 home dwellings, whereas New York had only 65,044 (*ibid.*, p. 31).
 10. *Board of Trade Report* (1874), Appendix 7, p. 155, reprinting the article "The City of Homes" from *Public Ledger*; Gondos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 12-13; Thompson Westcott, *The Official Guide Book to Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1875), pp. 76-83, for the car colors; Philip S. Foner, "The Battle to End Discrimination Against Negroes on Philadelphia Streetcars: (Part I) Background and Beginning of the Battle," *PH* 40 (July 1971): 261-92; and *id.*, "(Part II) The Victory," *PH* 40 (Oct. 1971): 355-80.
 11. Sutherland, "Housing the Poor," esp. p. 182; Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, p. 50. Ratzel, a German geographer traveling in the United States in the 1870s, found the gridiron pattern lacked provision for enough wide streets and thought the right angles hindered traffic. He also deplored the lack of open parks along the Delaware and the growth there of ugly warehouses (Stehlin, "Philadelphia on the Eve," pp. 28-30).
 12. Sutherland, "Housing the Poor," p. 183.
 13. Caroline Golab, "The Immigrant and the City: Poles, Italians, and Jews in Philadelphia, 1870-1920," in Davis and Haller, eds., *Peoples of Philadelphia*, pp. 204-5; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 139; Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, pp. 76-87.
 14. *Board of Trade Report* (1875), p. 27.
 15. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:386, 393.
 16. Theo B. White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), p. 29.
 17. *Ibid.*; Westcott, *Guide*, p. 237.
 18. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:407-9; *Fisher Diary*, pp. 551, 552; Westcott, *Guide*, p. 201.
 19. Charles E. Peterson, "Library Hall: Home of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1790-1880," in Luther P. Eisenhart, ed., *Historic Philadelphia: From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century: Papers Dealing with Its Peoples and Buildings with an Illustrative Map* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953), p. 143.
 20. Edwin Wolf 2nd, "At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin": A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1731-1976 (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 44, 49-52.
 21. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:406; Horace M. Lippincott, *The University of Pennsylvania, Franklin's College* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1919), p. 67; Edward Potts Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), pp. 262, 263.
 22. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 95-106; Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," in Eisenhart, ed., *Historic Philadelphia*, pp. 7-42; Ordinances and Joint Resolutions of the City of Philadelphia (from January 1st to December 31st, 1868) (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 571-73.
 23. William E. Lingelbach, "Philosophical Hall: The Home of the American Philosophical Society," in Eisenhart, ed., *Historic Philadelphia*, p. 53, n.24.
 24. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:403-4; Gondos, "Cultural Climate," p. 11.
 25. Frank M. Etting, *An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1876), p. 166, 167, 189; Riley, "Independence Hall Group," p. 38. Etting's removal as chairman of the Committee on Restoration in July 1876 was attributed to his rudeness to the press and citizenry, but some members of the press evidently thought he did a good job (Stephen W. Stathis, "Returning the Declaration of Independence to Philadelphia: An Exercise in Centennial Politics," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* [hereafter cited as *PMHB*] 102 [Jan. 1978]: 180).
 26. Etting, *Historical Account of the Old State House*, p. 189.
 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 172, 179, 182, 183; Riley, "Independence Hall Group," pp. 38, 39. Riley suggests (p. 38, n.24) that pillars were not part of the original room. For a discussion of a contribution to Independence Hall in the Centennial period, see Arthur H. Frazier, "Henry Seybert and the Centennial Clock and Bell at Independence Hall," *PMHB* 102 [Jan.

- 1978): 40-58. The return of the Declaration of Independence to Independence Hall for the Centennial is described in Stathis, "Returning the Declaration," pp. 167-183; the effort to keep the Declaration in Philadelphia after the Centennial failed (p. 182).
28. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (3 vols.; Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884), 3:1855-60. John Maass, in *The Glorious Enterprise: The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and H. J. Schwarzmann, Architect-in-Chief* (Watkins Glen, N.Y.: American Life Foundation, 1973), writes that appointment to the Fairmount Park Commission was "a mark of high social prestige in Philadelphia"; he adds that the tradition continues to the present (p. 18 and n.8).
 29. *Board of Trade Report* (1874), Appendix 7, p. 157 (from reprint of *Public Ledger* article).
 30. *Board of Trade Report* (1870), pp. 15-17, 19.
 31. The Board of Trade reports are full of information on the city. By 1870 the reports contain a lengthy section with the names of the members categorized by occupation; e.g., *Thirty-eighth Annual Report* (1871), pp. 97-110; *Forty-third Annual Report* (1878), pp. 153-198. See *Board of Trade Reports, 1865-1877*. Specific references: Welsh elected president, March 1865, *ibid.* (1866), p. 11; Revision of Articles of Association, *ibid.* (1868), pp. 133 ff; on national organization, *ibid.* (1869), pp. 9-12; on currency, *ibid.* (1866), pp. 21, 22, and *ibid.* (1874), p. 19; on Department of Commerce, *ibid.*, p. 18; on metric system, *ibid.* (1877), pp. 15 ff.
 32. *Board of Trade Report* (1871), Appendix 5, p. 85.
 33. See the various *Board of Trade Reports*; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 3:2226-2349.
 34. *Board of Trade Report* (1866), p. 18; *ibid.* (1869), p. 15.
 35. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs*, part 3, Bureau of Industrial Statistics (Harrisburg: E. K. Myers, 1892), vol. 19, 1891, sect. C, pp. 48, 71; *Board of Trade Report* (1876), Appendix B, p. 87.
 36. *Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs*, 3:40-42 (quotation from p. 40).
 37. *Board of Trade Report* (1876), Appendix B, p. 88.
 38. *Ibid.* (1876), Appendix A, p. 90.
 39. *Ibid.* (1877), Appendix A, p. 85; *ibid.* (1876), Appendix B, p. 88.
 40. *Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs*, 3:58.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.
 44. *Board of Trade Report* (1867), pp. 10, 13, 83; *Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs*, 3:63. The Secretary's Report also stated that as of 1891 the Navy Yard had "never been put in a condition to construct or even make extensive repairs in modern vessels," though steps were being taken to remedy this situation.
 45. Gondos, "Cultural Climate," p. 26.
 46. *Board of Trade Report* (1876), Appendix B, p. 86.
 47. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *History of the Philadelphia National Bank: A Century and a Half of Philadelphia Banking, 1803-1953* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia National Bank, 1953), p. 129.
 48. *Board of Trade Report* (1876), Appendix B, pp. 86, 87.
 49. Wainwright, *Philadelphia National Bank*, p. 130. On Jay Cooke, see Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1907).
 50. *Board of Trade Report* (1874), p. 21.
 51. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:397.
 52. *Board of Trade Report* (1874), pp. 117-19; *Journals of the Select Council, Journals of the Common Council* (Philadelphia, 1873-1874).
 53. *Board of Trade Report* (1869), Appendix, p. 39.
 54. John R. Commons et al., *History of Labour in the United States* (4 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1918-1935), 2:15-16, 19, 45, 93-94.
 55. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-52, 55, 95, 96, 100, 130.
 56. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-34.
 57. *Ibid.*, esp. p. 196.
 58. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-99.
 59. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-11, 213, 214, 218, 270, 333, 334.
 60. [Henry Adams], *Democracy, A Novel* (paperback ed.; New York: New American Library, 1961), p. 48.
 61. Frank B. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1872-1877: A Study in Political Leadership* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1966), p. 13.
 62. *Fisher Diary*, p. 533 (Oct. 9, 1867).
 63. *Ibid.*, p. 33 (Oct. 9, 1867).
 64. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:398; *Public Ledger*, July 6, 1866; Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, p. 13.
 65. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 13, 15, 75-76; A. K. McClure, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Winston, 1905), 2:237-38, 239, 284; Erwin Stanley Bradley, *The Triumph of Militant Republicanism: A Study of Pennsylvania and Presidential Politics, 1860-1872* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 365.
 66. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:240. The *Times*, Oct. 5, 1875, stated that there had been an exposure of 15,000 fictitious names, "assessed on streets not yet paved and from houses of which foundations have not yet been dug."
 67. *Inquirer*, Nov. 2, 1875.
 68. Ira V. Brown, "Pennsylvania and the Rights of the Negro," *PH* 28 (Jan. 1961): 52-54; McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:282-88, 289.
 69. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 15, 16.
 70. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:397, 398.
 71. Howard Zink, *City Bosses in the United States: A Study of Twenty Municipal Bosses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1930), pp. 194, 195; Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 14, 15, 27; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:400; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1927; first published 1888), 2:408. The *Evening Star*, Feb. 24, 1876, stated that the Gas Trust should be made to open its books.
 72. Zink, *City Bosses*, pp. 196-202; Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, p. 15.
 73. Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, 2:408, 409; Pennypacker, *Autobiography*, p. 176, quoted by Zink, *City Bosses*, p. 198.
 74. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 13-14; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:399, (quotation);

- Public Ledger, Oct. 14, 1868. The Ledger wrote that it was a quiet election.
75. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:365; Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, p. 14; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:399-400; *Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 12, 1876; *Times*, June 5, 1876; *Evening Star*, Nov. 15, 1876.
 76. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:365-68, 374 (p. 365 for quotation); Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:401; Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 96-98 (p. 97 for quotation from Lea).
 77. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:364.
 78. *Evening Telegraph*, Aug. 31, 1876; *Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 1, 2, 1876; *Times*, Aug. 31, 1876; *Sunday Dispatch*, Sept. 3, 1876; *Sunday Times*, Sept. 10, 1876. The short quoted phrases are from the *Evening Telegraph* and the *Times*.
 79. *Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 2, 1876 (first quotation); *Sunday Dispatch*, Sept. 3, 1876 (second quotation); *Evening Star*, Nov. 17, 28, 1876; *Times*, Dec. 6, 1876; Press, Jan. 30, 1877; Hobart S. Perry, "Peter A. B. Widener," *Dictionary of American Biography* (DAB), 20:185-86; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:416.
 80. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 21, 52, 53, 146-62, 289, 308, 309, 328; Albert V. House, Jr., "Samuel Jackson Randall," DAB, 15:350-51.
 81. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 27, 79; Edward Sculley Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea: A Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), pp. 177, 189.
 82. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 81-82; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:401.
 83. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, p. 84.
 84. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93; McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:355-56.
 85. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 96-97, 98.
 86. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
 87. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-3 (quotation from p. 103).
 88. *North American*, Feb. 14, 1876 (quotation); *Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 9, 1875; May 4, 1876; Press, March 17, Oct. 11, 1875; March 6, 1877; *Inquirer*, Sept. 29, 1875; *Manayunk Sentinel*, Feb. 19, 1875.
 89. Lorin Blodgett in *Board of Trade Report* (1876), Appendix B, p. 84.
 90. *Public Ledger*, Nov. 4, 1876; *Evening Bulletin*, June 28, 1875.
 91. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. "James Frederic Wood," 7:251; Richard J. Purcell, "James Frederick Wood," DAB, 20:462; Press, June 16, 1875. Though Wood's middle name is spelled with a "k" in DAB, printed documents issued under his name omit the "k."
 92. Lefferts Loetscher, "Presbyterianism and Revivals in Philadelphia Since 1875," *PMHB* 69 (Jan. 1944): 57, 58; Press, Nov. 20, 1875. William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1900), p. 267, says that 13,000 could be accommodated.
 93. Loetscher, "Presbyterianism and Revivals," pp. 56, 59, 61.
 94. James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody, American Evangelist, 1837-1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 198; Loetscher, "Presbyterianism and Revivals," p. 62. See also Marion L. Bell, *Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Lewisburg, Penna.: Bucknell University Press, 1977).
 95. *Sunday Dispatch*, July 23, 1876.
 96. Loetscher, "Presbyterianism and Revivals," p. 58.
 97. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58, 62, 64, 65; Press, Dec. 1, 1875, Feb. 5, 1876. The *Weekly Guide* 5, no. 8 (Jan. 22, 1876): 2, gave the total attendance as 900,000. There was quite a struggle over the chairs used by Moody and Sankey, Wanamaker, and Grant; see *Penn Monthly* 7 (March 1876): 172. On the hymnbooks, see J. C. Pollock, *Moody: A Biographical Portrait of the Pacemaker in Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), p. 177.
 98. *Times*, Dec. 4, 1875, Jan. 27, 1876; *Weekly Guide* 5, no. 8 (Jan. 22, 1876): 2; *Sunday Times*, Jan. 16, 1876; Press, Jan. 18, 1876; *Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 3, 1876; Press, Feb. 7, 1876.
 99. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 221-29, 234-36.
 100. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-18. The Radical Club, a women's organization, in January 1875 was investigating cruelty at the House of Refuge. It was a subject of which the newspapers did not tire easily; see Press, Jan. 21, 1875.
 101. *Evening Star*, Dec. 30, 1876; Press, Jan. 31, 1876.
 102. *Sunday Times*, Jan. 24, 1876; Press, Jan. 6, April 15, May 14, 1875, March 1, 1877; *Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 11, 1875; *Public Ledger*, June 26, 1875, Sept. 16, Nov. 3, 1876; *Evening Star*, Jan. 25, 1875, May 5, 1876; *Weekly Guide* 5, no. 40 (Sept. 2, 1876); *Times*, Oct. 27, 1875. See also John T. Custis, *The Public Schools of Philadelphia: Historical, Biographical, Statistical* (Philadelphia: Burk & McFetridge, 1897), p. 28.
 103. *Evening Star*, April 19, 1875, Nov. 25, 1876; Press, Nov. 30, 1876; *Public Ledger*, Dec. 9, 1876, Supplement; *Inquirer*, June 15, 1875.
 104. *Sunday Tribune*, Jan. 31, 1875; for opposing views, see Press, Jan. 6, 1875, and *Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 11, 1875.
 105. *Evening Bulletin*, April 16, 1875 (quotation); *North American*, April 26, 1875; *Times*, June 21, Dec. 2, 1875. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics*, pp. 195-96, states that an anti-Catholic campaign in Ohio greatly influenced Pennsylvania voters in the 1875 election year. On the neglected condition of the schools for blacks, see Harry C. Silcox, "Philadelphia Negro Educator: Jacob C. White, Jr.," *PMHB* 97 (Jan. 1973): 75-98.
 106. Custis, *Public Schools*, pp. 28, 38; Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 119, 120; Blodgett, in *Board of Trade Report* (1876), Appendix B, pp. 84-85. On the typical teacher and salaries, see Richard B. Fishbane, "The Shallow Boast of Cheapness: Public School Teaching as a Profession in Philadelphia, 1865-1890," *PMHB* 103 (Jan. 1979): 66-84 (quotation from p. 83).
 107. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 168-76; *Times*, July 14, 1875; Press, Feb. 9, May 26, 1875, March 20, 1877.
 108. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 177-79, 180-81; Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1906), p. 363; Henry C. Chapman, *Memoir of Joseph Leidy* (Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences, 1891), p. 7; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 2:347, 348.
 109. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 183-84.
 110. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 188, 190; White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture*, pp. 30-31.
 111. *Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 11, 1946, p. 12.

112. Westcott, *Guide*, p. 190.
113. *Weekly Guide* 5, no. 18 (April 1, 1876).
114. *Evening Telegraph*, Aug. 14, 1876. These statements were written in response to Theodore Thomas's complaints that no one had built him a music hall.
115. Press, June 8, 1875.
116. *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1875; White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture*, pp. 23, 29-30. The formal opening was on April 22, 1876 (Press, April 22, 1876).
117. *Evening Bulletin*, April 6, 1876; *Times*, April 22, 1876; *Evening Telegraph*, March 23, 1876.
118. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 192-94; John Sartain, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, 1808-1897* (New York: D. Appleton, 1899), p. 252.
119. Westcott, *Guide*, p. 197. The *Evening Telegraph*, Jan. 9, 1875, notes that the Sketch Club was at 10 Northwest Penn Square, in rooms just fitted up for its accommodation. [Anna] Margaretta Archambault, *A Book of Art, Architecture and Historic Interests in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1924), p. 61, states that the entrance building of the School of Design for Women was the former residence of the tragedian Edwin Forrest.
120. *Penn Monthly* 6 (June 1875): 402. Westcott, *Guide*, p. 250, gives the address of the club as 1525 Chestnut Street.
121. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 195-96. See also Press, April 9, 1877, and Sylvan Schendler, *Eakins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), p. 90.
122. Schendler, *Eakins*, pp. ix-x, 3-49 passim.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. x, 54 (quotation from p. x).
124. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
125. *Evening Telegraph*, April 28, 1876.
126. Schendler, *Eakins*, p. 60. Schendler (p. 292) suggests that John Sartain, chief of the Bureau of Art for the Centennial, did not like Eakins and must have had something to do with the failure to have *The Cross Clinic* properly displayed.
127. William Howe Downes, "Thomas Eakins," DAB, 5:591. The painting is now in the possession of the Thomas Jefferson University.
128. Schendler, *Eakins*, p. 60.
129. Elizabeth D. Gillespie, *Book of Remembrance* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1891), p. 366.
130. Nathaniel Burt, *The Perennial Philadelphians: The Anatomy of an American Aristocracy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), pp. 466-67. The Press, Jan. 9, 1875, reports a concert by the Beethoven Society and Orpheus Club to be held the following January 22 at the Academy, both groups trained by Michael Cross. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1875; notes a program by the Abt Male Singing Society. The Beethoven Society met in a hall at Eighteenth and Chestnut (*ibid.*, June 22, 1875). For the Theodore Thomas Symphony and the Philadelphia Philharmonic Society, see *ibid.*, Jan. 1, Nov. 13, 1875.
131. *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1875. The Kellogg Opera Company was playing to large audiences in April 1875 (*ibid.*, Jan. 5, April 16, 27, 1875). The quotation is from *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1875.
132. *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, March 1, 1875.
133. *Weekly Guide* 5, no. 18 (April 1, 1876).
134. Press, Jan. 11, 1876.
135. *Ibid.*, May 5, Sept. 26, 1876; *Inquirer*, May 18, 1876; *Evening Bulletin*, July 6, 1876; *Evening Telegraph*, July 31, 1876.
136. Press, Jan. 4, 1877. The *Evening Bulletin*, June 24, 1876, expressed the opinion that the chorus ought to become a permanent feature of Philadelphia musical life.
137. *Evening Telegraph*, Sept. 22, 1876; Press, Jan. 2, 4, 1875.
138. Press, Jan. 11, 25, 26, Feb. 4, 5, 12, 1875.
139. *Ibid.*, March 1, 2, 8, 18, April 5, May 10, 25, June 21, 1875.
140. Westcott, *Guide*, "Changes, Additions and Corrections"; Press, May 29, 1876. Later, the Alhambra became the Broad Street Theater.
141. Walter Prichard Eaton, "Edwin Forrest," DAB, 6:529-31; *Evening Telegraph*, Sept. 22, 1876. The date for the scheduled opening was given as Oct. 2.
142. Broadus Mitchell, "Henry Charles Carey," DAB, 3:487, 489; Charles Godfrey Leland, *Memoirs* (New York: D. Appleton, 1893), p. 213; Joanna Wharton Lippincott, *Biographical Memoranda Concerning Joseph Wharton, 1826-1909* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1909), p. 74.
143. Frank Luther Mott, "Charles Jacob Peterson," DAB, 14:512, 513; Oberholtzer, *Literary History*, pp. 237-38; Frank Luther Mott, "Henry Peterson," DAB, 14:513, 514; Burt, *Perennial Philadelphians*, p. 417.
144. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," p. 234; John H. Frederick, "Joshua Ballinger Lippincott," DAB, 11:287, 288.
145. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 235-39.
146. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," p. 309. See also manuscript kept at the Library Company of Philadelphia, dated Jan. 26, 1875, from W. S. Stokley, mayor, concerning the search for the child; also a notice of reward, signed by Alan Pinkerton, Sept. 1, 1874, in Manuscript Division, HSP.
147. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 247ff. See also Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea*; Ernest Earnest, *S. Weir Mitchell, Novelist and Physician* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950); Edward Sculley Bradley, *George Henry Boker, Poet and Patriot* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927); Leland, *Memoirs*; Elizabeth R. Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland: A Biography* (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906).
148. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," p. 267, citing Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea*, esp. p. 194.
149. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 256ff. Dates of editions of plays named are 1871, 1873, and 1877, respectively.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.
151. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:249-50; Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea*, p. 136; Gundos, "Cultural Climate," p. 225. The holding of Wistar Parties had lapsed; the Saturday Parties were in the tradition of the Wistar Parties. McClure notes (p. 250) that among those present at any one meeting might be Gen. Robert Patterson, William D. Lewis, Gen. Simon Cameron, Gen. Thomas M. Cadwalader, and Morton McMichael.
152. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," p. 201.
153. Westcott, *Guide*, pp. 255-56.
154. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 202, 203.
155. Foster Rhea Dulles, *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 191. See also Eben Rexford, "The Van Heydens' Croquet Party," *Peterson's Magazine* 69 (April 1876): 253-55.
156. Gundos, "Cultural Climate," p. 203.
157. *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 200.
158. *The Baseball Encyclopedia: The Complete and Official Record of Major League Baseball*

- (New York: Macmillan and Information Concepts Incorporated, 1969), pp. 9-10, 176-77; David Quentin Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to Commissioner System* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 35-40.
159. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:244, 246, 247.
 160. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
 161. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
 162. *Fisher Diary*, pp. 508-9 (Feb. 1, 1866).
 163. Gondos, "Cultural Climate," p. 170. See Thomas Willing Balch, *The Philadelphia Assemblies* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1916). On *Dangerous Ground: or Agatha's Friendship* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1876), a novel by a Philadelphian, Clara (Jessup) Bloomfield Moore, describes an Assembly of the time.
 164. Gondos, "Cultural Climate," p. 171.
 165. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.
 166. McClure, *Old Time Notes*, 2:247-48; *Public Ledger*, Nov. 30, Dec. 2, 4, 5, 1871; *Inquirer*, Dec. 4, 5, 1871.
 167. William Randel, "John Lewis Reports the Centennial," *PMHB* 79 (July 1955): 367; Dee Brown, *The Year of the Century: 1876* (New York: Scribner's, 1966), pp. 7-9; *Times*, Jan. 1, 1876; *Press*, Jan. 3, 1876; *Inquirer*, Jan. 3, 1876; *Evening Telegraph*, Jan. 1, 1876.
 168. Gondos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 2-4.
 169. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 170. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6; *Report of the Director General, U.S. International Exhibition, 1876* (9 vols.; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880), 1:4, 5. (This first volume has the reports of various bureau chiefs that reported to the director general, and is hereafter cited as *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*. A tenth volume, *Report of the Board on Behalf of U. S. Executive Departments at the International Exhibition held at Philadelphia, 1876*, was issued in 1884.) *Ibid.*, 1:16, 17; *ibid.*, *Reports of Officers of Centennial Commission, U. S. International Exhibition*, vol. 2, includes the Journal of the Final Session of the Centennial Commission, dated Philadelphia, Jan. 15, 1879, pp. 152-53; Regulations, etc., p. 5, National Archives, Record Group 43, E573; Westcott, *Guide*, p. 373; Dorsey Gardner, *Grounds and Buildings of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1878), which also appears as vol. 9 of *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, p. 16. The Conference Committee Report, 1873, Subcommittee Report on Fourth of July Celebration and ceremony of transfer of control of exhibition lands to the Centennial Commission from the commissioners of Fairmount Park, along with other primary records, is in the Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia, Record Group 230.11.
 171. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:25, 26.
 172. *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Times*, Jan. 5, 1876; *Inquirer*, March 1, 1876.
 173. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:30-32. The original plans submitted in the summer of 1873 were exhibited in the large lecture rooms of the old buildings of the University of Pennsylvania at Ninth and Chestnut. Demolition of the university buildings was delayed for this purpose (*ibid.*, p. 30n). See also Tatum, *Penn's Great Town*, pp. 103-7; Brown, *Year of the Century*, p. 115. White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture*, p. 31, states that the competition was for a combination permanent art gallery and temporary exhibit

- building, a plan soon recognized as unworkable. On the site and cost, see *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Installation (Henry Pettit), 1:111.
174. Maass, in *The Glorious Enterprise*, has recalled Schwarzmann to historical attention.
 175. White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture*, p. 32, as well as Maass, *The Glorious Enterprise*, esp. p. 94.
 176. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:32. The number of buildings varies according to the authority: Gardner gives 249 as the total; *Public Ledger*, May 8, 1876, gives 190.
 177. *Press*, Dec. 18, 20, 1875, Jan. 25, 1876; *Inquirer*, Dec. 22, 1875; Brown, *Year of the Century*, p. 6.
 178. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:22-23; Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Installation, *ibid.*, p. 53.
 179. Brown, *Year of the Century*, pp. 113-15; *Sunday Dispatch*, May 14, 1876; *Press*, May 11, 12, 1876; *Times*, May 10, 1876.
 180. Brown, *Year of the Century*, p. 116.
 181. *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 117, 121-29; Howard Mumford Jones, *The Age of Energy: Varieties of American Experience, 1865-1915* (New York: Viking, 1971), pp. 139-43. Emperor Dom Pedro endeared himself to Philadelphians: he was intelligent and friendly, and visited the Centennial several times during the early months. On July 2, 1876, the *Sunday Dispatch* noted that his "shirt collars wilt just as do those of ordinary mortals."
 182. Brown, *Year of the Century*, p. 131n, quoting *Harper's Weekly*, July 15, 1876, p. 579.
 183. Gondos, "Cultural Climate," quoting *Inquirer*, July 21, 1876.
 184. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:661, 664.
 185. Gondos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 287-88; John Maass, "When the New World Dazzled the Old," *American Heritage* 27, pt. 4 (June 1976): 25-26; *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Admissions, 1:439. For a description of the exposition during the hottest part of the summer, see William H. Crew, "Centennial Notes," *PMHB* 100 (July 1976): 406-13.
 186. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:14, 15; *ibid.*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Transportation, pp. 359-62. On prices, see Brown, *Year of the Century*, pp. 133-34; *Press*, May 17, 1876. On the wooden buildings, see *ibid.*, June 29, 1875; *Evening Telegraph*, Feb. 25, 1875; *Inquirer*, July 2, 8, 1875. On hotels, see *Sunday Tribune*, Aug. 8, 1875; *Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 16, 1876.
 187. Randel, "John Lewis Reports," pp. 369-72; Gondos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 282-83.
 188. *Times*, Sept. 19, 1876; *Sunday Times*, May 14, 1876; Gondos, "Cultural Climate," pp. 181-82.
 189. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Transportation, 1:342-46; Brown, *Year of the Century*, pp. 115, 133; Maass, "When the New World Dazzled the Old," p. 79; *North American*, Oct. 17, 1876.
 190. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Transportation, 1:349, 355; *ibid.*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Engineering, p. 239; Brown, *Year of the Century*, pp. 114, 132.

191. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Protection, 1:680-88, 693, 694, 696; also *ibid.*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Admissions, p. 441.
192. *Ibid.*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Medicine, 1:661, 664; *Sunday Dispatch*, July 16, 1876; Gondos, "Cultural Climate," p. 18, quoting *Press*, July 11, 1876.
193. *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Art, 1:144, 145.
194. Maass, "When the New World Dazzled the Old," pp. 25-27, 76-79, is especially good on the impressions made on visitors, especially

foreign visitors; see p. 77 for Reuleaux and Hitler.

195. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town*, p. 102.
196. Jones, *Age of Energy*, p. 279, quoting *Atlantic Monthly* 38, no. 225 (July 1876): 89-90.
197. Maass, "When the New World Dazzled the Old," p. 27.
198. *Inquirer*, Aug. 30, 1876; *U.S.I.E. Report of Director General*, 1:5.
199. *Press*, Aug. 25, 1875.
200. *Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 16, 1876.
201. Brown, *Year of the Century*, p. 113, quoting *Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 1876.

THE IRON AGE, 1876-1905

1. Jos. H. Appel, *The Business Biography of John Wanamaker* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 342; Agnes Repplier, *Philadelphia, The Place and the People* (New York: Macmillan, 1898), pp. 390-91.
2. *Fortune Surveys* (500 Largest U.S. Corporations), 1956 et seq., under "Transportation."
3. Patricia Davis, *End of the Line: Alexander J. Cassatt and the Pennsylvania Railroad* (New York: Neale Watson Academic Publications, 1978), pp. 61, 46, passim; Sylvester K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 227; *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter cited as DAB), s.v. "Thomas A. Scott."
4. George H. Burgess and Miles C. Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad, 1846-1946* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), pp. 355, 433; Theo B. White et al., *Philadelphia Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), p. 32; George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town: 250 Years of Philadelphia Architecture Illustrated in Prints and Drawings* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 112, 196; Frank H. Taylor, ed., *The City of Philadelphia as It Appears in the Year 1894* (Philadelphia: George S. Harris & Sons, 1894), p. 97.
5. Davis, *End of the Line*, pp. 12, 19, 20, 83-84; DAB, s.v. "Alexander J. Cassatt."
6. Nathaniel Burt, *The Perennial Philadelphians: The Anatomy of an American Aristocracy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), pp. 196 and n, 211; *Chestnut Hill: An Architectural Study* (Philadelphia: Chestnut Hill Historical Society, 1969), p. 27; E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 206; Rand, McNally & Co.'s *Handy Guide to Philadelphia* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally, 1900), p. 110; Richard J. Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), pp. 253-54.
7. Carol Ann Golab, "The Polish Communities of Philadelphia, 1870-1920: Immigrant Distribution and Adaptation in Urban America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1971), pp. 82, 100, 390; Burgess and Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad*, p. 414; Moses King, *Philadelphia and Notable Philadelphians* (Philadelphia: Moses King, 1902), pt. 2:29; Edward Strahan, ed., *A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott and J. W. Lauderbach, 1876), pp. 176, 178; Taylor, ed., *City of Philadelphia, 1894*, pp. 97-98.
8. Burt, *Perennial Philadelphians*, pp. 205-6; Burgess and Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad*, p. 409; DAB, s.v. "Franklin B. Gowen."
9. Burt, *Perennial Philadelphians*, p. 208; DAB, s.v. "George F. Baer."
10. Taylor, ed., *City of Philadelphia, 1894*, pp. 97, 241; King, *Notable Philadelphians*, pt. 2:5; Richard Saul Wurman and John Andrew Gallery, *Man-Made Philadelphia: A Guide to Its Physical and Cultural Environment* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972), p. 7; *Bulletin Almanac*, 1971, p. 417.
11. Burgess and Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad*, pp. 401, 404, 406-7; W. Wallace Weaver, "West Philadelphia: A Study of Natural Social Areas" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1930), p. 107; Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and Its People* (4 vols.; Philadelphia: S. J. Clarke, 1912), 2:424; An Ex-Reporter, *Chestnut Street, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 47.
12. DAB, s.v. "Matthias Baldwin," 47; Matthew Baird, "Polish Communities of Philadelphia," p. 110; Sylvester K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania, Titan of Industry* (3 vols.; New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948), 1:307; Lorin Blodgett, *Census of Manufactures of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Dickson & Gill-ling, 1883), pp. 135, 198; Taylor, ed., *City of Philadelphia, 1894*, p. 182; King, *Notable Philadelphians*, pt. 2:40A; Paul de Rousiers, *American Life*, trans. from the French by A. J. Herbertson (Paris: Didot, 1892), p. 197; G. W. Stevens, *The Land of the Dollar* (Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897), p. 121; Cyrus Adler, *I Have Considered the Days* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941), p. 122; *City of Philadelphia: Leading Merchants and Manufacturers* (New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago: Historical Publishing Co., 1886), p. 72.
13. DAB, s.v. "William Cramp," "Charles Cramp"; Stevens, *Pennsylvania, Titan of Industry*, 1:333; David B. Tyler, *The American Clyde* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1958), pp. 33, 43, 72, 77, 83-84, 89-90, 112; Taylor, ed., *City of Philadelphia, 1894*, p. 111; King, *Notable Philadelphians*, pt. 1:10, pt. 2:41; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1600-1884* (3 vols.; Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884), 3:2339; *Philadelphia and Popular Philadelphi-*