Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850

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Notes

Abbreviations

A.B. American Banner
C.H. Catholic Herald
D.S. Daily Sun
E.B. Evening Bulletin
F.T.R. Fincher's Trades Review
G.T. Germantown Telegraph
Lib. Liberalist
M.C. Manayunk Courier
M.F.P. Mechanics' Free Press
N.Y.D.T. New York Daily Tribune
Operative, Principles The Principles of Aristocratic Legislation, Developed in an Address, Delivered to the Working People of the District of Southwark, and Townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk. In the Commissioners' Hall, August 14, 1828, By an Operative Citizen (Philadelphia: J. Coates, Jr., 1828).
Penn. Senate, Peltz Committee

Pennsylvania Senate, Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Visit the Manufacturing Districts of the Commonwealth, for the Purpose of Investigating the Employment of Children in Manufactories, Mr. Peltz, Chairman (Harrisburg: Thompson and Clark, 1838).

P.L.

Public Ledger

S.T.

Spirit of the Times

T.A.

Temperance Advocate and Literary Repository

T.R.

Temple of Reason

Unlettered Mechanic, Address

An Address, Delivered Before the Mechanics and Working Classes Generally of the City and County, of Philadelphia. At the Universalist Church in Callowhill Street, on Wednesday Evening, November 21, 1827. By the “Unlettered Mechanic” (Philadelphia: Mechanics’ Delegation, 1827).

U.S. Census, Industrial Schedule, Southwark

United States Census Office, Census of the United States, Industrial Schedule, Philadelphia County (Southwark), 1850 (microfilm, MSS, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Manayunk


U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Moyamensing


U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Philadelphia County


U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Southwark


U.S.G.

United States Gazette
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Introduction


4. See fn. 3, especially their "Workingclass Culture and Politics."

value in these works without accepting their structural-functionalist assumptions or their conservative politics.

Chapter 1


17. Ibid., pp. 77–80.
18. Ibid., pp. 135–40 and 442.
27. See, for example, Charles V. Hagner, *Early History of the Falls of Schuylkill, Manayunk, Schuylkill and Lehigh Navigation Companies, Fairmount Water Works, etc.* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869); “Address of Dr. John Elkinton,” *M.F.P.*, July 26 and Aug. 2, 1828; and *M.C.*, Mar. 11, 1848.


33. Ibid., pp. 296-97. For Campbell's budget see *N.Y.D.T.*, May 27, 1851.


36. The best and perhaps only study of the frequency of women's involvement in outwork during the antebellum period is Carol Groneman, "'She Earns as a Child, She Pays as a Man': Women Workers in a Mid-nineteenth-century New York City Community," in Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie, eds., *Class, Sex, and the Woman Worker* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), pp. 83-100. Quantitative data on this is unavailable for Philadelphia, but the testimony of artisans suggests a goodly number of their wives were employed in the home under the putting-out system. See, for example, the letters of journeymen cordwainers, *Penn.,* April 1, 1836; and journeymen house carpenters, *D.S.,* Aug. 9, 1850.


42. Hagner, *Early History of Manayunk*, p. 75; and *M.C.*, March 11, 1848.


44. See, for example, letter signed "A Jeffersonian American Working-Man," G. T., Sept. 18, 1833. The local press is sprinkled with news of mill shutdowns due to fires, freshets, and, of course, slack times. See letter signed "A Looker-on in Manayunk," P.L., May 2, 1846. See also ibid., Jan. 30, 1851; and G.T., April 3 and July 31, 1839, Nov. 29, 1843, Dec. 27, 1847, and Jan. 1, 1851.


46. On the millhands’ struggles for a ten-hour day, see below, pp. 91 and 143–47.


51. G.T., Nov. 6, 1833.


53. Ibid., Nov. 6, 1833.


55. Rona Weiss, “The Transition to Industrial Capitalism: Workers and Entrepreneurs in Randolph, Massachusetts, 1800–1870” (seminar paper, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1974).

56. The names of the largest shoe manufacturers in 1850 were selected out of the manuscripts of the industrial census and traced backwards in the city directories each year for twenty-five years.

57. Penn., April 4, 1834. See also letter signed “Sherman,” U.S.G., April 2, 1836.


59. See, for example, ibid., June 21, 1847.

60. Edwin T. Freedley, *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures: A Hand-
Notes


61. See Freedley, Philadelphia and Its Manufactures, pp. 186–88; Penn., April 1 and 4, 1836; and D.S., Feb. 14, 1845.


63. Adam Smith and then Karl Marx, of course, placed great emphasis on the division of labor. One of the first scholars to analyze this process in the American setting was John R. Commons in his classic article published in 1909, “American Shoemakers.” Since then many American writers have investigated the division of labor in one-industry towns and cities with diversified economies, the most recent of which are Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), esp. pp. 42–50; and Susan E. Hirsch, Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of the Crafts in Newark, 1800–1860 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), esp. pp. 21–36. It should be added that Prof. Hirsch also draws attention to the unevenness of this process within the crafts.

64. The best analysis of the persistence of hand techniques in Raphael Samuel, “The Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in Mid-victorian Britain,” History Workshop Journal 3 (Spring, 1977): 6–72. Though Samuel claims that American industry mechanized much faster than British manufacturers, the evidence presented here and in Hirsch’s Roots of the American Working Class suggests that the gap was not as great as Samuel believes.

65. Sweatshops necessarily overlap with what will be described as artisan shops since both were quite small and are not easily distinguished from one another in the census manuscripts. There is reason to believe, however, that sweatshops or garrets were larger than artisan shops in this period. Freedley observes that they had as many as twelve workers and one can easily imagine the largest of them as twice that size. Thus it was decided to treat such operations as shops with six to twenty-five workers. See Freedley, Philadelphia and Its Manufactures, p. 188.

67. On the fitful pace of work in the needle trades see \textit{P. L.}, Sept. 21, 1837. That many small producers did repair work is indicated in the manuscripts of the industrial census.

68. There is no easy way of estimating the proportion of outworkers in the various trades. Evidence from antebellum New York and Philadelphia indicates, however, that with the notable exception of Alan Dawley (see \textit{Class and Community}) historians have vastly underestimated the role of outwork in the early period of industrialization. Thus, the largest clothing producers in New York and Philadelphia in 1849 and 1869, respectively, hired the overwhelming majority of their female employees at home under the putting-out system. See \textit{Hunt's Merchants' Magazine} 20 (March, 1849): 347-48; and Isaac Vansant, ed., \textit{Royal Road to Wealth: An Illustrated History of the Successful Business Houses of Philadelphia} (Philadelphia: Samuel Loage, n.d.), p. 144. On the frame tenders in the county see Hazard, \textit{Register of Pennsylvania} 1 (January, 1828): 28; and Freedley, \textit{Philadelphia and Its Manufactures}, pp. 239-49.

69. They earned less than $1.00 a day throughout this period. See Montgomery, "Shuttle and the Cross," p. 417.

70. Ibid., pp. 414-18.


72. See, for example, \textit{P. L.}, March 2, 1846.

73. That workers in the smallest shops usually earned the best wages is disclosed in Laurie, et al., "Immigrants and Industry," table 8, p. 228.

74. Tabulated from U.S. Census, \textit{Population Schedule, Philadelphia County}.

75. See, for example, Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," \textit{American History Review} 78 (June, 1973): 531-87; and Montgomery, "Workers' Control."

76. \textit{Penn.}, April 4, 1835.


79. Warner, \textit{Private City}, p. 71 also makes this point.

\textbf{Chapter 2}


2. Robert Adair, \textit{Memoir of Rev. James Patterson, Late Pastor of the
First Presbyterian Church, Northern Liberties, Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1840), pp. 170–76.


5. See, for example, Adair, Memoir of Rev. James Patterson, pp. 100–01; Alfred P. Smith, In Memorium, Abraham Oothout Halsey, D.D., 1798–1868: First Pastor of Eleventh, Now West-Arch Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: n.pub., 1897); and Rev. William Ramsey, Diary, 1822–1849, 23 vols., Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia vol. 6, Aug. 25, 1826, and passim. (Since Rev. Ramsey neglected to number the volumes of his diary after vol. 10, the citations to such volumes will include the date only.)


8. Quoted in Marsden, Evangelical Mind, p. 52.


12. See, for example, Barnes, Choice of a Profession, p. 11 and passim; and Barnes, The Desire of Reputation: An Address before the Mercantile


18. Ferguson, Organizing to Beat the Devil, p. 357.


22. Ferguson, Organizing to Beat the Devil, p. 359.


25. Compiled from Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America from its Organization in A.D. 1798 to A.D. 1820 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847); Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1821-1835, 1836-1841, 1842-1847, 1848-1849 (Philadelphia: By the Stated Clerk of the Assembly, n.d.); Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New School), 1838-1851 (New York: By the Stated Clerk of the Assembly, n.d.); Minutes Taken at

27. On Hopkins see Marsden, Evangelical Mind, pp. 34–38 and 40–41.


34. See letter signed “Obediah,” M.F.P., Oct. 31, 1829, and editorials, July 10 and 24, 1830.


38. Sewell, *Sorrow’s Circuit*, pp. 275-76. Nor was this an isolated incident of a worker’s committing suicide in frustration over his inability to refrain from drink, unemployment, or more likely, a combination of both. See D.S., Jan. 3, 1845, June 3 and 15, 1845, and March 29, 1848.


40. The names of the officers of the Pennsylvania Society were collected from Pendleton, “Influence of the Evangelical Churches upon Humanitarian Reform” and Rumbarger, “Social Origins of the Political Temperance Movement,” and traced to the city directories. The leadership included six ministers, twelve physicians, and twenty-four merchants, manufacturers, and lawyers. The Mechanics’ and Workingmen’s Society did not boast the names of wealthy merchants or professionals, but it did have a healthy representation of rising industrialists in addition to Baldwin and Vaughan. See Barnes, *Connexion of Temperance with Republican Freedom*.

41. Johnson, *Shopkeeper’s Millenium*, p. 119, finds the same pattern in Rochester where “A full 42 percent of the men who joined churches between 1832 and 1837 were journeymen craftsmen.”


44. Z. Smith to Halsey, Jan. 9, 1827, Miscellaneous Papers; Ramsey, Diary, vol. 5, Jan. 23, 1826, and vol. 6, July 29, 1829; and Young Men’s Association of the First Presbyterian Church, *Annual Report* (Philadelphia: I. Ashmead, 1839).


46. A. O. Halsey to John Johnston, March 11, 1828, Miscellaneous Papers.

47. Ramsey, Diary, vol. 6, July 25, 1826.


49. Ibid., pp. 59-61, 105-06, and 170-76.

50. Ibid., p. xi.


52. Ibid., vol. 7, July 13, 1828.

53. Adair, *Memoir of Rev. James Patterson*, pp. 126-47. The quotation is on p. 143. See also Ramsey, Diary, vol. 6, Feb. 2, 1828; vol. 8, Sept. 8, 1828; and vol. 9, May 4, 1830.


57. See, for example, First Presbyterian Congregation of Kensington, Session Books, 1814–1845, 1843–1859, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, June 2, 1821, June 2, 1827, June 23, 1828, and passim; Ramsey, Diary, vol. 8, Nov. 19, 1829, and passim; and Central Presbyterian Church in Northern Liberties, Minutes of the Session, 1832–1852, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1832, Nov. 7 and 21, 1832, June 8, 1836, and May 3, 1838.

58. Adair, Memoir of Rev. James Patterson, p. 146.


60. Paul Johnson finds that a comparable percentage of evangelical journeymen in Rochester improved their social standing, though his study terminates in 1837. See Johnson, Shopkeeper’s Millennium, pp. 123–24.


63. Ramsey complained that he was “frequently sent for by those who attended no place of worship and perhaps think of me only when ill” (Diary, vol. 6, Aug. 24, 1826). For instances of conversion encouraged by illness, the death of loved ones, and the like see ibid., vol. 7, June 13–14, 1828; vol. 8, Sept. 12, 1829; and vol. 9, June 12, 1830. See also Adair, Memoir of Rev. James Patterson, pp. 63 and 93.

64. Ramsey, Diary, vol. 6, Nov. 26–27, 1826.


66. See, for example, First Presbyterian Church in Southwark Minutes, 1830–1840; and Cedar Street Presbyterian Church, Records of the Session, 1838–1870, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

67. Johnson, Shopkeeper’s Millennium, pp. 33–34 finds that evangelical converts were more residentially stable than nonchurch members between
1830 and 1834, and thus deemphasizes the connection between rural-urban migration and evangelical instincts. A close reading of his evidence suggests, however, that the persistence rates of revivalist converts (79) and nonchurch members (67) are not strikingly different. My argument is not that immigration alone predisposed an individual to evangelicalism, but that it was one of three interacting factors, the others being career mobility and the nature of work.

68. G.T., May 20, 1835.
69. Johnson, Shopkeeper's Millenium, pp. 104-06, notes that employers in the more advanced work settings were more likely to become evangelized than those who ran traditional workshops. I have extended this argument to the workers in the employ of such owners.

70. Johnson's remarkably thorough research on Rochester led him to play down the possibility that evangelized workers succeeded because they internalized the Protestant work ethic and to emphasize the material ties between journeymen and employers of the same congregation. He finds that such employers "sponsored" the careers of workingmen in their congregations by hiring them over nonchurch workers, bringing them into their firms as partners, and lending money in hard times to those who achieved employer status, as well as publicly endorsing their products. See ibid., pp. 124-28. Sources do not disclose whether wealthier evangelicals in Philadelphia's suburban churches assisted their humbler brothers in similar ways, but it is unlikely that they did much beyond hiring them since there were very few prestigious members of these churches. That is, the churches under analysis here were not as class integrated as those studied by Johnson.

71. See, for example, Adair, Memoir of Rev. James Patterson, pp. 49-51, 66-69, and 105-06; Ramsey, Diary, vol. 7, June 13-14, 1828, and Feb. 10, 1829, and passim; and First Presbyterian church in Southwark, Trustees Minutes, 1818-1832, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.


Chapter 3


2. Alexander, American Mechanic, pp. 63-68. For examples of working-class recreation in this period see U.S.G., August 14, 1828; letter signed "I Am, Gentlemen, with Great Respect, a Working Man," M.F.P., April 8, 1831; Fountain, Feb. 24, 1838; and P.L., June 6, 1843. See also R. Sean Wilentz, "Ritual, Republicanism, and the Artisans of Jacksonian New York
City" (paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, New York, April 14, 1978).


7. Ibid., 2: 986.

8. P.L., Nov. 24, 1851. See also Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia 2: 941; and D.S., March 5, 1846.


17. Report of the Trial, p. 44.
18. Hunt, Jesse Jackson, p. 11.
22. For example, fully 85 percent of the members of Southwark’s Niagara Hose Company who were found in the census of 1850 were journeymen without real property. The remaining 15 percent were master craftsmen, grocers, and tavern owners, and most of them were officers. See Niagara Hose Company, Minute Books, 1833–1848, 1848–1864 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; city directories; and U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Southwark. The social profiles of several other Southwark companies closely resembled that of the Niagara. See Laurie, “Fire Companies and Gangs,” n. 29, pp. 85–86. It would be interesting to plot the occupational mobility and property holdings of such traditionalists from the 1830s to 1850, but this is not possible. Membership lists for the 1830s are rare and those that are available pertain to companies situated in suburban areas which were either covered poorly or ignored entirely in the city directories. Still, it should be obvious that in 1850, and probably in the 1830s, these traditionalists were not as prestigious as the revivalists or the radicals.
24. For the locations of the companies see Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 3: 1911–12.
26. Ibid. See also a retrospective on the county fire department in P.L. Sept. 13, 1903; and Neilly, “Violent Volunteers,” ch. 9.
28. Ibid.
29. Quoted in Oberholtzer, Philadelphia, 2: 89.
30. There is some evidence, however, that women did drink in the grog shops of the city's "skid row." See Sewell, Sorrow's Circuit, passim.
32. See the collection of firemen's memorabilia in the Atwater-Kent Museum, Philadelphia.
34. The following account is based on coverage in Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania 14 (Aug. 23, 1834) and 14 (Sept. 27, 1834). Both editions reprinted items published in other local newspapers.
35. See, for example, Leonard L. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-abolitionist Mobs in Jacksonian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
37. Ibid. Lists and names and addresses of 17 men who were arrested in the early stage of the riot. Eight of them were located in the city directories and of these three were weavers, two were laborers, and the remaining three were listed as cabinetmaker, limeburner, and house painter.
38. Ibid.
39. "The Diving Bell," for example, was an integrated tavern, and the houses of two employers who evidently hired Blacks were attacked with singular fury.
42. Ibid., (Sept. 27, 1834).

Chapter 4

2. Lib., July 14, 1832.
3. Ibid.
Notes


9. See, for example, T. R., Aug. 29 and Sept. 1 and 29, 1835; see also July 11, 1835.


11. On the Society of Liberal Friends see letter signed “A Liberal Friend,” M. F. P., June 7, 1828; and Lib., March 22, 1834. On the Society of Free Enquirers see T. R., Feb. 6 and Sept. 3, 1836. On the Liberal Union which was either an independent group or the Society of Free Enquirers under another name see P. L., Dec. 13, 1838. In addition to these groups there was one or more German-speaking organizations. See ch. 8, pp. 165-66. Another Free Thought newspaper, The Correspondent, appeared during this period, but copies have not survived.

12. These figures are based on projections of membership in churches and groups that left no records, and on estimates of the membership of some organizations that did leave records as reflected in First Universalist Church, Minute Book, 1820-1842, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; and Second Universalist Church, Minute Book, 1820-1854, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Edward Thompson, Oration on the Ninety-eight Anniversary of the Birth Day of Thomas Paine, at the Military Hall, before the Society of Free Enquirers, January 29, 1834 (Philadelphia: Thomas Clark, 1834); and T. R., Feb. 6, 1837, and Feb. 18, 1837.

13. See, for example, Lib., Oct. 18 and Nov. 22, 1834, and May 6 and 15, 1835.

14. T. R., Feb. 6, 1836. See also Feb. 18, 1837; and Thompson, Oration.

16. Ibid., May 28, 1836; and Thomas, Century of Universalism, p. 121.
17. Quoted in Pessen, Most Uncommon Jacksonians, p. 86.
18. See, for example, Gihon, Sermon against Universal Salvation, pp. 23–24; Gazetteer, Nov. 22, 1824; and letter signed “Paul,” M.F.P., May 24, 1828.
19. Compare the list of incorporators in The Charter, Articles of Faith, Constitution, and By-laws of the First Universalist Church (Philadelphia: Gihon, Fairchild, 1842) with the names on the register of First Universalist Church, Minute Book.
20. Most leaders of the General Trades’ Union, for example, were rationalists, and one of their number answered a critic who accused his organization of being a foreign import with a roster of the officers showing that all but one, John Ferral, an Irish immigrant, were native-born Americans. See letter signed “Sherman,” U.S.G., April 6, 1836.
26. Unlettered Mechanic, Address, p. 4. Most contemporary radicals, of course, did not consider unskilled laborers to be producers.
27. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 15.
30. Ibid.
31. Unlettered Mechanic, Address, p. 5.
34. M.F.P., Aug. 23, 1828.
35. See, for example, ibid., Jan. 24 and May 5, 1829; Lib., May 23 and June 20, 1835; and T.R., June 9, 1832, and Feb. 13, 1835.
36. Lib., Dec. 8, 1832. See also T.R., July 11, 1835.
39. Lib., June 14, 1834.
40. Gihon, Sermon against Universal Salvation, p. 27.
41. Lib., May 18, 1833.
43. Gihon, Sermon against Universal Salvation, p. 27.
44. T.R., August 15, 1835. See also May 9, 1835; Lib., Jan. 26, 1833, and July 29, 1835.
46. Ibid., Jan. 9, 1830.
48. See, for example, Radical Reformer and Working Man's Advocate, July 4, 1835.
49. Compare the letters written by "Franklin" and "Sherman" in U.S.G., March and April, 1836.
50. Wilentz, "Ritual, Republicanism, and the Artisans of Jacksonian New York City," esp. pp. 14–16, interprets republicanism in this light, but emphasizes the consensus view of it. He also regards it as an ambiguous ideology that propelled workers against employers while it limited the character of their protest, a point which we shall return to in assessing the political importance of the labor theory of value. See also Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 1–3, 9–10, 191–93, and 226–27, for a discussion of the economic import of "equal rights," the Lynn shoemakers' rendition of republicanism.

Chapter 5


14. See, for example, U.S.G., Oct. 2, 1835; and Penn., April 4, 1835.


24. Ibid., June 6, 8, and 9, 1835.


31. Penn., July 26, 1834.

32. The Democrats polled between 55 and 65 percent of the vote in these districts. Spring Garden and Northern Liberties returned slight Whig majorities in the early thirties, but shifted to the Democratic fold by the end of the decade.


34. Ibid., 6: 252–53. See also 6: 281–91.


36. See, for example, Lib., March 22 and April 19, 1834; and T.R., Sept. 10, 1836, and Jan. 28, 1837.


42. *P.L.*, June 10, 1836.


47. *An Address to the Workingmen of the City and County of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Mifflin and Perry, 1839).


58. *Penn.*, Feb. 9, 1836.


62. See, for example, *Penn.*, March 17 and 28, 1836; and Sullivan, *Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania*, p. 142.


64. See, for example, *U.S.G.*, March 3, April 2, 8, 9, and 20, and Oct. 11, 1836.

65. Ibid., Oct. 8, 1836.


67. On the cordwainers see *P.L.*, June 10, 1836; on the saddlers see
Notes


Chapter 6


16. See, for example, *Penn.*, June 8 and 9, 1835, Nov. 17, 1836, and Jan. 17, 1837.


20. See, for example, *Penn.*, June 13, 1838. See also *P.L.*, Feb. 12, 1839.

21. *P.L.*, Jan. 26, Feb. 2, 7, 11, and 18, 1839. The occupations of the delegates were: shoemakers (8), carpenters (4), tailors (3), brushmakers (2), coachmakers (2), and one each, jeweller, currier, cabinetmaker, bricklayer, oak cooper, house painter, laborer. The occupations of five delegates could not be identified.

22. The active Democrats were Solomon Demars, Joshua Fletcher, William Gilmore, Edward Penniman, Henry Scott, Samuel Thompson, and Israel Young.


24. Ibid., Jan. 10, 1839.


Society, Philadelphia, Nov. 26, Dec. 27 and 28, 1837, Jan. 19, 1838, and Feb. 23, 1839. (Since Rev. Ramsey neglected to number the volumes of his diary after vol. 10, the citations will include the date only.)


34. Ramsey, Diary, Feb. 18, 1845, May 5, 1847, May 1, 1851, Nov. 1, 1852, and March 22, 1855.


44. *Fountain*, Dec., 1837.


49. Ibid., March 11, 1843.

50. Ibid., Sept. 25, 1841.


54. See, for example, *P.L.*, Jan. 10, Sept. 7, and Nov. 9 and 11, 1843. See also *S.T.*, Sept. 9 and Aug. 26, 1843.

55. *P.L.*, Jan. 12–14, 1843.


57. Ibid., p. 416.


60. *P.L.*, June 10, 1842.

61. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1842.

62. Ibid., Aug. 11, 1842.


64. Ibid., p. 48.

65. Ibid., pp. 57–58.


69. S. T., March 4, 1844. See also Lannie and Diethorn, “For the Honor and Glory of God,” p. 65.

70. See the election returns in *P.L.*, March 16 and 18, 1844.


**Chapter 7**


2. On the store order system see ibid., March 5, 1844, and letter signed “One Who Knows, and a Weaver,” Sept. 9, 1848. See also *P.L.*, July 31, 1850.


4. See, for example, *P.L.*, Oct. 15, and Nov. 18, 1847. See also March 15, 1844, and March 25, 1850.

5. Ibid., July 30, 1849.


11. Ibid., p. 107.


14. Rev. William Ramsey, Diary, 1822-1849, 23 vols., Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, vol. 1, March 1, 1824, vol. 6, Dec. 16, 1826, and passim. (Since Rev. Ramsey neglected to number the volumes of his diary after vol. 10, the citations to such volumes will include the date only.)


16. Ramsey, Diary, March 31, 1848.

17. Ibid., May 4, 1840. See also Sewell, Sorrow's Circuit, pp. 269-70.

18. Ramsey, Diary, Aug. 20, 1841, March 2, 1842, and June 28, 1843. See also Sewell, Sorrow's Circuit, pp. 214-15; and First Presbyterian Congregation of Kensington, Sessions Books, 1814-1845, 1843-1859, June 24, 1845, and passim.

19. See, for example, Ramsey, Diary, Sept. 22, 1828, March 3, 1830, Nov. 17, 1837, and passim.

20. Alexander Fulton, for example, was a member of the Odd Fellows and many followers of local temperance-beneficial societies in Southwark and Moyamensing were on the rolls of New School Presbyterian and Methodist churches.


23. For the names and religious identities of Manayunk strike leaders see P.L., October 15, and November 18, 1847 and Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, Members, Green Lane Methodist Episcopal Church Manayunk, Philadelphia. For the Manayunk Sons of Temperance see P.L., Aug. 26, 1845.

24. These petitions are available in Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pa. box 26, folder 80, Senate File.

25. S.T., Nov. 12, 1847.

26. Ibid.

28. *Penn.* May 30, 1848; and *P.L.* June 17, 1848.

29. Ibid.


31. Ibid., July 29, and Aug. 10, 1848.

32. See, for example, ibid., June 30, 1848; and *P.L.*, October 2, 1848.


34. This was true at Rockdale as well. Hiram McConnell, leader of the 1842 strike was clearly a radical, despite Prof. Wallace’s claims to the contrary. See McConnell’s speech in Wallace, *Rockdale*, p. 369.

35. *S.T.*, March 11, 1849, emphasis added. See also, March 15, 1849.

36. It should be noted that local manufacturers reimposed the twelve- and thirteen-hour day in the early 1850s as prosperity returned and the ten-hour movement fell apart. See *Penn.*, Aug. 20, 1852; and *P.L.*, Dec. 6, 1853.


42. Ibid., pp. 19–38.

43. The foregoing data was compiled for me by Ms. Joann Weeks of the University of Pennsylvania. See also Dennis Clark “A Pattern of Urban Growth: Residential Development and Church Location in Philadelphia,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 82 (Sept., 1971): 159–70.


45. *C.H.*, July 1, 1841.


50. See C.H., Jan. 6 and July 20, 1848.

51. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1850.


57. On the Killers see Life and Adventures of Charles Anderson Chester, the Notorious Leader of the Philadelphia “Killers” (Philadelphia: Yates and Smith, 1850); and P.L., April 1, 1901. On the Schuylkill Rangers see P.L., June 23, 1849.


63. Ibid., Feb. 5, 8, 9, and 16, 1850. See also D.S., Feb. 5, 8, 15, and 23, and March 1–2, 1850.

Volunteer Fire Department, 1736-1871" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsyl-
vania, 1959), pp. 70-72.
66. D.S., Aug. 29, 1849.
67. Ibid., Jan. 28, 1850.
68. Ibid., April 19-20, 1850.
70. D.S., June 18, 1849.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., June 19-20, 1849. See also P.L., June 19-20, 1849.
74. Ibid., Oct. 10-11, and Nov. 12, 1849. See also P.L., Oct. 10-13, and
Nov. 11-12, 1849.
77. Theodore Hershberg, "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia: A
Study of Ex-slaves, Freeborn, and Socioeconomic Decline," Journal of
78. See, for example, P.L., June 23, 1849, for a description of the
activities of the Rangers.
79. D.S., Feb. 6, 1851.
80. Ibid., Feb. 10-11, 1851.
81. C.H., March 26, 1846. At least two Catholics were on the Manayunk
Ten-hours Committee. Compare the names of the Committee men in P.L.,
Oct. 15 and 18, 1847, with the list of parishioners in Eugene Murphy, The
Parish of St. John the Baptist, Manayunk: The First One Hundred Years
83. Stephan Thernstrom, "Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility
in Late Nineteenth-century America," in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., Towards a
New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History (New York: Pantheon

Chapter 8
2. Abel Thomas, A Century of Universalism in Philadelphia and New
York: With Sketches of Its History in Reading, Hightstown, Brooklyn, and
3. First Universalist Church, Minute Book, 1820-1842, Historical
Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Jan. 3, 1842. Forty of the expelled were
located in the city directories of 1842 and 1843 and their occupations were:
gentlemen (1), professional (5), manufacturer (2), merchant (4), public official (2), master craftsman (2), journeyman (21), unskilled worker (3).

4. On the tailors see P.L., Aug. 21, 1843, Oct. 1, 1846, and Oct. 5, 1847; on the shoemakers see March 10, 1843, and June 1, 1850.


9. Ibid., pp. 322-47.


18. Wittke, German-language Press, pp. 41-44. See also Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, pp. 130-31.
20. See, for example, P.L., Aug. 4, 1849. See also Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, pp. 141-42.
21. Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, pp. 122-46. See also D.S., Sept. 22-24, 1851. The Universalist minister, John H. Gihon, was a firebrand nativist, but he appears to have been atypical of his sect.
22. Walker, Germany and the Emigration, p. 69.
23. Ibid., pp. 158-59.
24. Ibid., p. 155.
25. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants, p. 239.
26. Ibid., p. 157. See also pp. 147 and 171.
27. See, for example, ibid., pp. 162-82.
28. Fully one-fifth of the Germans, for example, were shoemakers and tailors. For the occupational distribution of the city's leading immigrant groups in 1840, see Bruce Laurie, et al., "Immigrants and Industry: The Philadelphia Experience, 1850-1880." Journal of Social History 9 (Winter, 1975): table 13, pp. 235-38.
30. See, for example, D.S., March 20, 1845, April 4, 1848, and Oct. 5, 1849. See also John Hancock Lee, Origin and Progress of the American Party in Politics; Embracing a Complete History of the Philadelphia Riots in May and July of 1844 and a Refutation of the Arguments Founded on the Charges of Religious Proscription and Secret Combinations (Philadelphia: Elliot and Gihon, 1855).
32. Eight of the American Republican master craftsmen were traced to the industrial census of 1850 and all but one of them hired less than eight workers. The exception was Philip Dubosq, the son or brother of a large jewelry manufacturer with a labor force of thirty workers.
33. Again, the glaring exception was Dubosq, whose business was well established in the previous decade.
34. The former Trades' Union radicals Joshua Fletcher and Andrew Craig, for example, were members of the John Hancock Temperance Beneficial Society. See *P.L.*, Nov. 29, 1842, and Nov. 21, 1844.

35. See, for example, *D.S.*, March 27, 1847. See also *A.B.*, Jan. 10, 1852.


37. See, for example, American Republican Central Executive Committee, *Address of the American Republicans of the City and County to the Native and Naturalized Citizens of the United States* (Philadelphia: n.pub., 1844). See also *P.L.*, Sept. 10, 1847.


42. *A.B.*, Aug. 30, 1851. See also Aug. 3, 1850.

43. *D.S.*, March 16, 1847. See also June 18, 1846, March 8, 1847, and April 11, 1848.

44. Ibid., April 15, 1848.

45. Ibid. See also March 8, 1847.

46. Ibid., March 27, 1847.


48. Ibid., p. 22. The occupations of the twenty-two founders were: house carpenter (8), gunsmith (7), cabinetmaker (2), fancy chairmaker (1), shipsmit (1), patternmaker (1) coachmaker (1), and printer (1).


51. Ibid., p. 435.

52. Ibid., passim. See also Order of United American Mechanics Fredonia Lodge, No. 52, Records of the Society.

53. *A.B.*, June 1, 1850.

54. See *P.L.*, Nov. 26, 1847. See also *D.S.*, March 27, 1847.


56. Ibid., p. 3.
Notes

61. See, for example, P.L., Sept. 2, 1843, and March 10, 1847.
62. Ibid., Aug. 21 and 25, 1843 and Dec. 4–6, 1847.
63. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1847.
64. Ibid., May 4, 1850.
65. Ibid., Sept. 13, and Oct. 11, 1845. William F. Green and William Harper, leaders of the Brotherhood, were also members of the U.A.M.
66. Ibid., Dec. 28, 1847.
69. Ibid., March 4, 1846.
70. Ibid., May 6, 1848.
71. Ibid., Dec. 28, 1847.
72. D.S., June 15 and 18, 1847.
73. Ibid., June 28 and 29, 1847.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., April 25, 1851.
76. Ibid., May 14, 1851.
77. A.B., Sept. 2, 1850.
78. D.S., May 14, 1851.
79. P.L., April 4–6 and May 4, 1847, and April 14 and May 7, 1848.
80. See Laurie, "Working People of Philadelphia," app. C.
81. D.S., Aug. 6, 1850.
82. Ibid. See also P.L., July 27, and Aug. 3, 8, and 22, 1850.
83. P.L., March 5, May 20, June 2 and 9, 1851.
84. D.S., April 25, 1851. See also May 12, 1851.
85. P.L., May 31, June 2 and 16, 1851.
86. S.T., Aug. 10, 1843.
87. See Laurie, "Working People of Philadelphia," app. C.
89. Ibid., July 22 and 29, 1850. See also D.S., July 9, 1850.
90. P.L., Aug. 11, 1851.
91. Ibid., Aug. 21 and 23, 1850. See also A.B., Sept. 21, 1850. See also letter signed “S. H. Johnson, et al.,” A.B., Nov. 6, 1850.

Chapter 9

1. See, for example, D.S., Oct. 29, 1851. See also P.L., Oct. 24, 1850.
2. The roster of trades included blacksmiths, bookbinders, bricklayers, brushmakers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, carpet weavers, coachmakers, coopers, frame work knitters, hatters, hat finishers, lithographic printers, machinists, plasterers, printers, shipsmiths, shoemakers (ladies' and men's), stone cutters, tailors, tinsmiths, trunkmakers and upholsterers. See P.L., Nov. 1, 7, 8, 16, and 20, 1850. By January 1851, however, the number of affiliated trades fell to under twenty. See P.L., Jan. 2, 1851.
3. Ibid., Dec. 9 and 11, 1850.
4. N.Y.D.T., Aug. 6, 1850.
6. Ibid., Dec. 11, 1850.
8. N.Y.D.T., April 12, 19, and 26, 1851. See also P.L., June 18 and July 8, 1851.
9. N.Y.D.T., April 19, 1851.
10. P.L., Aug. 30, 1851. Twenty-four of the forty-eight delegates were located in the city directory and twenty of them were journeymen.
11. Ibid., Sept. 18, 1851.
12. See, for example, ibid., Aug. 19 and 25, 1851.
15. Ibid., Sept. 19, 1851. See also Oct. 4 and 13, 1851.
Notes

16. Ibid. See also D.S., Sept. 18 and 19, 1851.
19. Ibid., Oct. 11, 1851.
20. Ibid., Oct. 6, 1851.
22. Ibid.


35. In order to avoid competing with mechanized production, they also specialized in fabrics that were not produced on power looms, but this strategy did not always work. In 1842, for example, a Manayunk manufacturer produced by machine the same fabric weaved by the frame tenders of Kensington. The weavers marched into Manayunk intending to burn down the mill, but were intercepted by the sheriff and the mill owner. See Michael Feldberg, *Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 36.